ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE

VOLUME IV

The MM Co.

ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA

A CRITICAL DICTIONARY OF THE LITERARY POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY THE ARCHÆOLOGY GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

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VOLUME IV

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TO THE

MEMORY

OF

WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH

PREFACE

Genesis of the Encyclopædia.

THE idea of preparing a new Dictionary of the Bible on critical lines for the benefit of all serious students, both professional and lay, was prominent in the mind of the many-sided scholar to whose beloved memory the present volume is inscribed. It is more than twelve years since Prof. Robertson Smith began to take steps towards realising this idea. As an academical teacher he had from the first been fully aware of the importance of what is known as Biblical Encyclopædia, and his own earliest contributions to the subject in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* carry us as far back as to the year 1875. If for a very brief period certain untoward events arrested his activity in this direction, the loss of time was speedily made up, for seldom perhaps has there been a greater display of intellectual energy than is given in the series of biblical articles signed 'W. R. S.' which appeared in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* between 1875 and 1888. The reader who is interested in Bible study should not fail to examine the list, which includes among the longer articles BIBLE, CANTICLES, CHRONICLES, DAVID, HEBREW LANGUAGE, HOSEA, JERUSALEM, JOEL, JUDGES, KINGS, LEVITES, MALACHI, MESSIAH, MICAH, PHILISTINES, PRIEST, PROPHET, PSALMS, SACRIFICE, TEMPLE, TITHES, ZEPHANIAH; and among the shorter, ANGEL, ARK, BAAL, DECALOGUE, ELI, EVE, HAGGAI, LAMENTATIONS, MELCHIZEDEK, MOLOCH, NABATÆANS, NAHUM, NAZARITE, NINEVEH, OBADIAH, PARADISE, RUTH, SABBATH, SADDUCEES, SAMUEL, TABERNACLE, VOW.

Nor should the students of our day overlook the service which this far-seeing scholar and editor rendered to the nascent conception of an *international* biblical criticism by inviting the co-operation of foreign as well as English contributors. That names like those of Nöldeke, Tiele, Wellhausen, Harnack, Schürer, Gutschmid, Geldner, appeared side by side with those of well-known and honoured British scholars in the list of contributors to the *Encyclopædia* was a guarantee of freedom from dangerous eccentricity, of comprehensiveness of view, of thoroughness and accuracy of investigation.

Such a large amount of material illustrative of the Bible, marked by unity of aim and consistency of purpose, was thus brought together that the *Encyclopædia Britannica* became, inclusively, something not unlike an *Encyclopædia Biblica*. The idea then occurred to the editor and his publishers to republish, for the guidance of students, all that might be found to have stood the test of time, the lacunæ being filled up, and the whole brought up, as far as possible, to the high level of the most recent scholarship. It was not unnatural to wish for this; but there were three main opposing considerations. In the first place, there were other important duties which made pressing demands on the time and energy of

the editor. Next, the growing maturity of his biblical scholarship made him less and less disposed to acquiesce in provisional conclusions. And lastly, such constant progress was being made by students in the power of assimilating critical results that it seemed prudent to wait till biblical articles, thoroughly revised and recast, should have a good chance of still more deeply influencing the student world.

The waiting-time was filled up, so far as other occupations allowed, by pioneering researches in biblical archæology, some of the results of which are admirably summed up in that fruitful volume entitled *The Religion of the Semites* (1889). More and more, Robertson Smith, like other contemporary scholars, saw the necessity of revising old work on the basis of a more critical, and, in a certain sense, more philosophical treatment of details. First of all, archæological details had their share — and it was bound to be a large share — of this scholar's attention. Then came biblical geography — a subject which had been brought prominently into notice by the zeal of English explorers, but seemed to need the collaboration of English critics. A long visit to Palestine was planned for the direct investigation of details of biblical geography, and though this could not be carried out, not a little time was devoted to the examination of a few of the more perplexing geographical problems and of the solutions already proposed (see *e.g.*, APHEK, below, col. 191 *f.*). This care for accuracy of detail as a necessary preliminary to a revision of theories is also the cause of our friend's persistent refusal to sanction the republication of the masterly but inevitably provisional article BIBLE in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to which we shall return later. The reader will still better understand the motive of that refusal if he will compare what is said on the Psalter in that article (1875) with the statements in the first edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1880), in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article PSALMS (1885), and in the second edition of *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church* (1892).

It is only just, however, to the true 'begetter' of this work to emphasise the fact that, though he felt the adequate realisation of his idea to be some way off, he lost no time in pondering and working out a variety of practical details — a task in which he was seconded by his assistant editor and intimate friend, Mr. J. S. Black. Many hours were given, as occasion offered, to the distribution of subjects and the preparation of minor articles. Some hundreds of these were drafted, and many were the discussions that arose as to various difficult practical points, which have not been without fruit for the present work.

In September 1892, however, it became only too clear to Prof. Smith that he was suffering from a malady which might terminate fatally after no very distant term. The last hope of active participation in his long-cherished scheme of a Bible Dictionary had well-nigh disappeared, when one of the present editors, who had no definite knowledge of Prof. Smith's plan, communicated to this friend of many years' standing his ideas of what a critical Bible Dictionary ought to be, and inquired whether he thought that such a project could be realised. Prof. Smith was still intellectually able to consider and pronounce upon these ideas, and gladly recognised their close affinity to his own. Unwilling that all the labour already bestowed by him on planning and drafting articles should be lost, he requested Prof. Cheyne to take up the work which he himself was compelled to drop, in conjunction with the older and more intimate friend already mentioned. Hence the combination of names on the title-page. The work is undertaken by the editors as a charge from one whose parting message had the force of a command.

Such is the history of the genesis of the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, which is the result primarily of a fusion of two distinct but similar plans — a fusion desired by Prof. Robertson Smith himself, as the only remaining means of realising adequately his own fundamental ideas. With regard to details, he left the editors entirely free, not from decline of physical strength, but from a well-grounded confidence that religion and the Bible were not less dear to them than to himself, and that they fully shared his own uncompromisingly progressive spirit. The Bible Dictionary which he contemplated was no mere collection of useful miscellanea, but a survey of the contents of the Bible, as illuminated by criticism — a criticism which identifies the cause of religion with that of historical truth, and, without neglecting the historical and archæological setting of religion, loves best to trace the growth of high conceptions, the flashing forth of new intuitions, and the development of noble personalities, under local and temporal conditions that may often be, to human eyes, most adverse. The importance of the newer view of the Bible to the Christian community, and the fundamental principles of the newer biblical criticism, have been so ably and so persuasively set forth by Prof. Robertson Smith in his Lectures that his fellow-workers may be dispensed from repeating here what he has said so well already. 'There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed.' Let us assume, then, that the readers of this *Encyclopædia*, whatever be their grade of knowledge or sphere of work, are willing to make an effort to take this widely extended land in possession.

Principles of the Encyclopædia.

Every year, in fact, expands the narrow horizons which not so long ago limited the aspirations of the biblical scholar. It is time, as Prof. Robertson Smith thought, to help students to realise this, and to bring the standard books on which they rely more up to date. It may seem hopeless to attempt this with an alphabetically arranged encyclopædia, which necessarily involves the treatment of subjects in an isolated way. By an elaborate system of cross references, however, and by interspersing a considerable number of comprehensive articles (such as, in Part I., APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, CAINITES, DRAGON), it has been sought to avoid the danger of treating minute details without regard to their wider bearings. Many of the minor articles, too, have been so constructed as to suggest the relation of the details to the larger wholes. Altogether the minor articles have, one ventures to hope, brought many direct gains to biblical study. Often the received view of the subject of a 'minor article' proved to be extremely doubtful, and a better view suggested itself. Every endeavour has been used to put this view forward in a brief and yet convincing manner, without occupying too much space and becoming too academic in style. The more comprehensive articles may here and there be found to clash with the shorter articles. Efforts, however, have been made to mitigate this by editorial notes in both classes of articles.

It will also doubtless be found that on large questions different writers have sometimes proposed different theories and hypotheses. The sympathies of the editors are, upon the whole, with what is commonly known as 'advanced' criticism, not simply because it is advanced, but because such criticism, in the hands of a resourceful scholar, takes account of facts, both literary and archæological, which the criticism of a former generation overlooked or treated superficially. They have no desire, however, to 'boycott' moderate criticism, when applied by a critic who, either in the form or in the substance of his criticism, has something original

to say. An 'advanced' critic cannot possibly feel any arrogance towards his more 'moderate' colleague, for probably he himself held not very long ago views resembling those which the 'moderate' critic holds now, and the latter may find his precautionary tests end in his adopting, as nearer approximations to truth, views that now seem to him difficult. Prof. Robertson Smith's views of ten years ago, or more, may, at the present day, appear to be 'moderate' criticism; but when he formulated them he was in the vanguard of critics, and there is no reason to think that, if he had lived, and devoted much of his time to biblical criticism, his ardour would have waned, and his precedence passed to others.

There are, no doubt, some critical theories which could not consistently have been represented in the present work; and that, it may be remarked, suggests one of the reasons why Prof. Robertson Smith's early *Encyclopædia Britannica* article, BIBLE, could not have been republished, even by himself. When he wrote it he was still not absolutely sure about the chronological place of P (Priestly Code). He was also still under the influence of the traditional view as to the barrenness and unoriginality of the whole post-exilic period. Nor had he faced the question of the post-exilic redaction of the prophetic writings. The fundamental principles of biblical criticism, however, are assumed throughout that fine article, though for a statement of these we must turn to a more mature production of his pen. See, for example, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*(2), pp. 16 *ff.* (cp 1st ed. pp. 24 *ff.*), and notice especially the following paragraph on p. 17:—

'Ancient books coming down to us from a period many centuries before the invention of printing have necessarily undergone many vicissitudes. Some of them are preserved only in imperfect copies made by an ignorant scribe of the dark ages. Others have been disfigured by editors, who mixed up foreign matter with the original text. Very often an important book fell altogether out of sight for a long time, and when it came to light again all knowledge of its origin was gone; for old books did not generally have title-pages and prefaces. And, when such a nameless roll was again brought into notice, some half-informed reader or transcriber was not unlikely to give it a new title of his own devising, which was handed down thereafter as if it had been original. Or again, the true meaning and purpose of a book often became obscure in the lapse of centuries, and led to false interpretations. Once more, antiquity has handed down to us many writings which are sheer forgeries, like some of the Apocryphal books, or the Sibylline oracles, or those famous Epistles of Phalaris, which formed the subject of Bentley's great critical essay. In all such cases the historical critic must destroy the received view, in order to establish the truth. He must review doubtful titles, purge out interpolations, expose forgeries; but he does so only to manifest the truth, and exhibit the genuine remains of antiquity in their real character. A book that is really old and really valuable has nothing to fear from the critic, whose labours can only put its worth in a clearer light, and establish its authority on a surer basis.'

The freedom which Prof. Robertson Smith generously left to his successors has, with much reluctance, yet without hesitation, on the part of the editors, been exercised in dealing with the articles which he wrote for the *Encyclopædia Britannica.* The editors are well assured that he would have approved their conduct in this respect. Few scholars, indeed, would refrain from rewriting, to a large extent, the critical articles which they had produced some years previously; and this, indeed, is what has been done by several contributors who wrote biblical articles for the former Encyclopædia. The procedure of those who have revised our friend's articles has in fact been as gentle and considerate as possible. Where these articles seemed to have been destined by himself for some degree of per-

manence, they have been retained, and carefully revised and brought up to date. Some condensation has sometimes been found necessary. The original articles were written for a public very imperfectly imbued with critical principles, whereas now, thanks to his own works and to those of other progressive scholars, Bible students are much more prepared than formerly to benefit by advanced teaching. There is also a certain amount of new material from Prof. Smith's pen (in two or three cases consisting of quotations from the MS of the second and third courses of Burnett Lectures), but much less, unfortunately, than had been expected.

Freedom has also been used in taking some fresh departures, especially in two directions — viz., in that of textual criticism of the Old Testament, and in that of biblical archæology. The object of the editors has been, with the assistance of their contributors, not only to bring the work up to the level of the best published writings, but, wherever possible, to carry the subjects a little beyond the point hitherto reached in print. Without the constant necessity of investigating the details of the text of the Old Testament, it would be hard for any one to realise the precarious character of many details of the current biblical archæology, geography, and natural history, and even of some not unimportant points in the current Old Testament theology. Entirely new methods have not indeed been applied; but the methods already known have perhaps been applied with somewhat more consistency than before. With regard to archæology, such a claim can be advanced only to a slight extent. More progress perhaps has been made of late years in the field of critical archæology than in that of textual criticism. All, therefore, that was generally necessary was to make a strong effort to keep abreast of recent archæological research both in Old Testament and in New Testament study.

The fulness of detail with which the data of the Versions have been given may provoke some comment. Experience has been the guide of the editors, and they believe that, though in the future it will be possible to give these data in a more correct, more critical, and more condensed form, the student is best served at present by being supplied as fully as possible with the available material. It may also be doubted by some whether there is not too much philology. Here, again, experience has directed the course to be pursued. In the present transitional stage of lexicography, it would have been undesirable to rest content with simply referring to the valuable new lexicons which are now appearing, or have already appeared.

With regard to biblical theology, the editors are not without hope that they have helped to pave the way for a more satisfactory treatment of that important subject which is rapidly becoming the history of the movement of religious life and thought within the Jewish and the Christian church (the phrase may be inaccurate, but is convenient). Systems of Prophetic, Pauline, Petrine, Johannine theology have had their day; it is perhaps time that the Bible should cease to be regarded as a storehouse of more or less competing systems of abstract thought. Unfortunately the literary and historical criticism of the New Testament is by no means as far advanced as that of the Old Testament. At no very distant date a real history of the movement of religious life and thought in the earlier period may be possible. For such a history for the later period we shall have to wait longer, if we may infer anything from the doubtless inevitable defects of the best existing handbook of New Testament theology, that of the able veteran critic, H. J. Holtzmann. The editors of the present work are keenly interested in the subject at

present called 'Biblical Theology'; but, instead of attempting what is at present impossible, they have thought it better to leave some deficiencies which future editors will probably find it not difficult to supply. They cannot, however, conclude this section without a hearty attestation of the ever-increasing love for the Scriptures which critical and historical study, when pursued in a sufficiently comprehensive sense, appears to them to produce. The minutest details of biblical research assume a brightness not their own when viewed in the light of the great truths in which the movement of biblical religion culminates. May the reader find cause to agree with them! This would certainly have been the prayerful aspiration of the beloved and lamented scholar who originated this *Encyclopædia*.

Acknowledgments.

To the contributors of signed articles, and to those who have revised and brought up to date the articles of Prof. Robertson Smith and other deceased scholars, it may seem almost superfluous to render thanks for the help they have so generously given. It constitutes a fresh bond between scholars of different countries and religious communions which is surely of happiest augury. But the special services of the various members of the editorial staff require specific acknowledgment, which the editors have much pleasure in making. Mr. Hope W. Hogg became a contributor to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* in 1894, and in 1895 became a regular member of the editorial staff. To his zeal, energy, and scholarship the work has been greatly indebted in every direction. Mr. Stanley A. Cook joined the staff in 1896, and not only has contributed various signed articles, which to the editors appear to give promise of fine work in the future, but also has had a large share in many of those that are of composite authorship and unsigned. Mr. Maurice A. Canney joined the staff in 1898; he also has contributed signed articles, and has been eminently helpful in every way, especially in the reading of the proofs. Finally, the editors desire to acknowledge their very special obligations to the Rev. Henry A. Redpath, M.A., editor of the *Concordance to the Septuagint*, who placed his unrivalled experience at their disposal by controlling all the proofs at a certain stage with special reference to the LXX readings.

T. K. CHEYNE.
J. SUTHERLAND BLACK.

20th September 1899.

POSTSCRIPT

If in what was written more than three years ago by way of preface to the *Encyclopædia Biblica* any modification were to be thought desirable, it would chiefly perhaps be in the sentences devoted to the immediate prospects of Biblical Theology. It is becoming more and more obvious that the yearly advancing study of the apocryphal and apocalyptic Jewish literature is destined to have considerable effect within the near future on the treatment of the religious ideas of both parts of our Bible. Nor can we doubt that the progress now being made in the investigation of the early Christian literature will also turn to the advantage of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament. It is on this ground that the editors have ventured to include in Vols. III. and IV. a number of introductory and descriptive articles connected with this new subject. To meet a possible objection, it may perhaps be added that the researches into the original text of the Old Testament with which the name of one of the editors is specially connected are by no means necessarily unfavourable to the study of Old Testament Theology. For even if the religious contents of parts of the Old Testament in their original form should turn out to be somewhat less rich and varied than is agreeable to traditional ideas, yet the text in its present form, even if not the original, has an independent right of existence, and the interpretation put upon this text by Jewish and early Christian students deserves the most respectful attention. The Old Testament was surely not a dead book to the Jews of the great post-exilic age, but was full of light, and susceptible of the most varied and edifying adaptations. At the same time, the historical student may justly cherish the hope that by the researches into the underlying text of precious passages in psalms and prophecies (not to add, narratives) which have just now been referred to, the course of historical development may become more comprehensible than it has hitherto been, while those who have the best of all enthusiasms—the enthusiasm for religion—will be stirred up to more and more admiration of the wonderful dealings of God in the religious training of that Israel within Israel to which the Christian church is under perpetual obligations. The Editors would also take this opportunity of expressing a natural regret that the discovery of the 'oldest code of laws in the world,' that promulgated by Ḫammurabi king of Babylon (2285-2242 B.C.), and disinterred in Dec. 1901–Jan. 1902 by M. J. de Morgan on the site of the ancient Susa, was not made a year or two earlier. This code is the most valuable single contribution of recent years to that study of ancient Semitic laws and usages with which the name of Robertson Smith is specially connected, and will not only throw fresh light on the legal codes of the Israelites, but also give a fresh impetus to the critical study of the Hebrew *origines*. On all

accounts they are sorry not to have been able to make this new find helpful to the readers of the *Encyclopædia.*

To attempt any discussion of the criticisms, whether favourable or adverse, which have been made upon the methods employed or results set forth in the *Encyclopædia* would manifestly be out of place here. Other opportunities will occur; and time, too, will doubtless exercise its mellowing and reconciling influence. It may even be hoped that the confusing practice of denominating some critics super-naturalistic, others naturalistic, some critics sober and safe, others extravagant and unsafe, may soon pass away in the light of a fuller comprehension of the meaning of critical results, the complexity of critical problems, and the variety of legitimate and necessary critical methods. There are some other things of a more general nature which the editors would fain say in all simplicity and earnestness, but they prefer to ask leave to quote a passage from Dr. Hort's *Introduction* to the now famous edition of the New Testament by himself and Bishop Westcott, with the spirit of which they are in deepest sympathy, and the expressions of which, especially in the closing sentences, they can heartily adopt as their own.

'*It only remains to express an earnest hope that whatever labour we have been allowed to contribute towards the ascertainment of the truth of the letter may also be allowed, in ways which must for the most part be invisible to ourselves, to contribute towards strengthening, correcting, and extending human apprehension of the larger truth of the spirit. Others assuredly in due time will prosecute the task with better resources of knowledge and skill, and amend the faults and defects of our processes and results. To be faithful to such light as could be enjoyed in our own day was the utmost that we could desire. How far we have fallen short of this standard, we are well aware: yet we are bold to say that none of the shortcomings are due to lack of anxious and watchful sincerity. An implicit confidence in all truth, a keen sense of its variety, and a deliberate dread of shutting out truth as yet unknown are no security against some of the wandering lights that are apt to beguile a critic; but, in so far as they are obeyed, they at least quench every inclination to guide criticism into delivering such testimony as may be to the supposed advantage of truth already inherited or acquired. Critics of the Bible, if they have been taught by the Bible, are unable to forget that the duty of guileless workmanship is never superseded by any other.*'

In conclusion, the Editors desire anew to express their gratitude for the invaluable services of the members of the editorial staff—Messrs. Hogg, Cook, and Canney—which have been continued with unabated zeal to the termination of the work; as also, their great indebtedness to Dr. Redpath for having read the proofs with a special reference to the readings of the LXX. In connection with the maps their thanks are due not only to the authors of various articles to which these relate, but also to Prof. Max Müller, particularly for help in the preparation of the map of Syria according to the Egyptian monuments, to Col. Billerbeck for two maps of Syria according to cuneiform documents, and in a very special degree to Mr. (now Prof.) Hogg, who has throughout superintended the whole map-work in the *Encyclopædia*, including the indexing.

T. K. C.
J. S. B.

27th March, 1903.

GENERAL EXPLANATIONS

THE labour that has been bestowed on even minor matters in the preparation of this *Encyclopædia* seemed to be warranted by the hope that it might be found useful as a students' handbook. Its convenient use will be facilitated by attention to the principles that have been adopted in regard to the following matters.

1. Classes of Articles. — The following notes will give a general idea what the reader may expect to find and where to look for it: —

i. *Proper Names.* — Every proper name in the Old and the New Testament canons and the OT Apocrypha (Authorised Version or Revised Version, text or margin) is represented by an article-heading in Clarendon type, the substantive article being usually given under the name as found in the AV text. The printing of *Adoraim*, on the same line as ADORA (col. 71), and *Adullamite*, three lines below ADULLAM (col. 73), in bold black type, are examples of a means of saving space.

ii. *Books.* — Every book in the OT and the NT canons and the OT Apocrypha is discussed in a special article — *e.g.*, Acts, Chronicles, Deuteronomy. The 'Song of Solomon' is dealt with under the title CANTICLES, and the last book in the NT under APOCALYPSE.

iii. *General Articles.* — With the view, amongst other things, of securing the greatest possible brevity, many matters have been treated in general articles, the minor headings being dealt with concisely by the help of cross-references. Such general articles are: ABI (NAMES WITH), AGRICULTURE, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, APOCRYPHA, ARMY, BAKEMEATS, BIRDS, BREAD, CAINITES, CANON, CATTLE, CHARIOT, CHRONOLOGY, CITY; CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, HOLY AND PROFANE; COLOURS, CONDUITS AND RESERVOIRS, COOKING AND COOKING UTENSILS, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH, DISPERSION, DIVINATION, DRESS.

iv. *Other Subjects.* — The following are examples of other important headings: — ADAM AND EVE, ANGEL, ANTICHRIST, ASHERAH, AZAZEL, BABEL (TOWER OF), BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN, BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS, CALF (GOLDEN), CHERUB, CHRISTIAN (NAME OF), CIRCUMCISION, COMMUNITY OF GOODS, COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, COVENANT, CREATION, DANCE, DECALOGUE, DELUGE, DEMONS, DRAGON.

v. *Things.* — The *Encyclopædia Biblica* is professedly a dictionary of things, not words, and a great effort has been made to adhere rigidly to this principle. Even where at first sight the rule seems to have been neglected, it will generally be found that this is not really the case. The only way to tell the English reader what has to be told about (*e.g.*) CHAINS is to distinguish the various things that are called, or should have been called, 'chain' in the English Version, and refer him to the articles where they are dealt with.

vi. *Mere Cross-references* (see above, **1**, i.; and below, **2**).

2. Method of Cross-References. — A very great deal of care has been bestowed on the cross-references, because only by their systematic use could the necessary matter be adequately dealt with within the limits of one volume. These references have made possible a conciseness that is not attained at the expense of incompleteness, repetition of the same matter under different headings being reduced to a minimum. For this reason the articles have been prepared, not in alphabetical order, but simultaneously in all parts of the alphabet, being thereafter worked up together constantly and kept up to date. The student may be assured, therefore, that the cross-references have not been inserted at random; they have always been verified. If any should be found to be unwarranted (no such is known), it must be because it has been found necessary, after the reference was made, to remove something from the article named to another article. The removed matter will no doubt be represented by a cross-reference.

The method of reference employed is as follows: —

i. *Identification of Article.* (*a*) *Long Names.* — To save space long headings have been curtailed in citations — *e.g.*, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE is cited as APOCALYPTIC.

(*b*) *Synonymous Articles.* — Persons or places of the same name are ranged as 1, 2, 3, etc. (Arabic numerals), under a common heading and cited accordingly. In other cases (and even in the former case when, as in ADNAH in col. 67, one English spelling represents different Hebrew spellings), the articles usually have separate headings, in which case they are cited as i., ii., iii., etc. (Roman numerals), although they are not so marked. Usually geographical articles precede biographical, and persons precede books. Thus SAMUEL i., 2 is the second person called Samuel; SAMUEL ii. is the article SAMUEL, BOOKS OF. If a wrong number should be found the explanation will be not that it was not verified, but that the article referred to is one of a very small number in which the original order of synonymous articles had to be changed: the precautions always taken in such circumstances must have failed in this case. Thus the BERED referred to in the article ALUSH is now BERED i., 1, not, as is stated in the earlier impressions, BERED ii., 1.

ii. *Indication of Place in Article Cited.* — Articles of any length are divided into numbered sections (§§ 1, 2, etc.) indicated by insets containing a descriptive word or phrase. As convenience of reference is the great aim, the descriptive phrases are limited to, at most, three or four words, and the sections are numbered consecutively. Logical subordination of sections, therefore, cannot appear. Divisions larger than sections are sometimes indicated in the text by I., II., etc., and subdivisions of sections by letters and numbers (*a*, *b*, *c*; α, β, γ; i., ii., iii.). References like (BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β) are freely used. Most of the large articles (*e.g.*, APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, CHRONOLOGY) have prefixed to them a table of contents.

iii. *Manner of Citation.* — The commonest method is (see DAVID, § 11, [*c*] ii.). EZRA (*q.v.*, ii. § 9) means the article EZRA-NEHEMIAH, BOOK OF, § 9. Sometimes, however, the capitals or the *q.v.* may be dispensed with. CHAINS printed in small capitals in the middle of an article would mean that there is an article on that term, but that it hardly merits *q.v.* from the present point of view. In articles (generally on RV names) that are mere cross-references *q.v.* is generally omitted; so, *e.g.*, in ABADIAS in col. 3.

3. Typographical Devices. i. *Size of Type.* — (*a*) *Letters.* — Two sizes of type are used, and considerable care has been devoted to the distribution of the small-type passages. Usually the general meaning of an article can be caught by reading simply the large-type parts. The small-type passages generally contain such things as proofs of statements, objections, more technical details. In these passages, and in footnotes and parentheses, abbreviations (see below, p. xviii *ff.*), which are avoided as much as possible elsewhere, are purposely used. (*b*) *Numbers.* — Two sizes of Arabic numerals are used. (Note that the smallest 6 and 8 are a different shape from the next larger 6 and 8.) In making references, when only the volume is given, it is usually cited by a Roman number. Pages are cited by Arabic numbers except where (as is often the case) pages of a preface are marked with Roman numbers. When numbers of two ranks are required, two sizes of Arabic numbers (5_5) are used whether the reference be to book and chapter, volume and page, or section and line. If three ranks are needed, Roman numbers are prefixed (v. 5_5).

ii. *Italics.* — Italic type is much used in citing foreign words. In geographical articles, as a rule, the printing of a modern place-name in italics indicates that the writer of the article identifies it with the place under discussion. For the significance of the different kinds of type in the map of Assyria see the explanations at the foot of the map. On the two kinds of Greek type see below, **4** ii. (*b*). On the Greek MS *D* as distinguished from D, see below, **4** ii. *d*.

iii. *Small Capitals.* — Small Roman capitals are used in two ways: (1) in giving the equivalent in RV for the name in AV, or *vice versa*, and (2) in giving a cross-reference (see above, **2** iii.). On the use of small italic capitals see below, **4** ii. *b*.

iv. *Symbols.* — (*a*) *Index Figures.* — In 'almost always[6] clear,' the 6 indicates footnote 6. In 'Introd.[(6)]' the 6 means sixth edition. On the 2 in 'D_2' etc. see below, p. xviii. *ff.*

(*b*) *Asterisk.* — B* means the original scribe of codex B. If the Egyptian *dobet* were printed **dobet* the * would mark the word as hypothetical in form (*e.g.*, uncertain vocalisation). *v.* $_5$* means *v.* 5 (partly).

(*c*) *Dagger.* — A dagger † is used to indicate that all the passages where a word occurs are cited. The context must decide whether the English word or the original is meant.

(*d*) *Sign of Equality.* — 'AALAR, 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV = Ezra 2_{59} IMMER, i.,' means that the two verses quoted are recensions of the same original, and that what is called Aalar in the one is called Immer in the other, as will be explained in the first of the articles entitled IMMER.

(*e*) *Sign of Parallelism.* — ‖ is the adjective corresponding to the verb =. Thus: 'Aalar of 1 Esd. 5_{36} AV appears as Immer in ‖ Ezra 2_{59}.' ‖ also denotes Hebrew 'parallelism.' See, *e.g.*, CLEAN and UNCLEAN, § 1 (3).

(*f*) *Other devices.* — '99 means 1899. 1 Ch. 6_{81} [66] means that verse 81 in the English version represents that numbered 66 in Hebrew texts. √ is used to indicate the 'root' of a word.

v. *Punctuation.* — As a rule commas are not used between citations, thus: 2 K. 6 21 25 Is. 21 7. Commas are omitted and semicolons or colons inserted whenever ambiguity seems thus to be avoided — *e.g.*, the father Achbor [1] is called 'Father of Baal-hanan [1] king of Edom,' and the son Baal-hanan [1] is called 'ben Achbor [1]; one of the kings of Edom.'

4. Text-Critical Apparatus. — As all sound investigation must be based, not on the ancient texts as they lie before the student, but on what he believes to be the nearest approach he can make to their original reading, the soundness of every text is weighed, and if need be, discussed, before it is used in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

i. *Traditional Original Text.* — In quoting the traditional Hebrew text the editions of Baer and of Ginsburg have been relied on as a rule; similarly in the case of the New Testament, the texts of Tischendorf and of Westcott and Hort.

ii. *Evidence of Versions.* — The Vulgate (ed. Heyse-Tischendorf), the Syriac (ed. Lee, and London Polyglott; for the Apocrypha, Lagarde and the minor Greek versions (Field, *Hexapla*; Hatch-Redpath, *Concordance*) have been quoted quite freely; the testimony of the Septuagint has been attended to on every point.

In exceptional cases 'Holmes and Parsons' has been consulted; ordinarily Swete's manual edition (including the variants) and Lagarde's *Pars Prior* have been considered sufficient. In general (for the main exception see next paragraph) only variations of some positive interest or importance have been referred to. Almost invariably a quotation from the LXX is followed by symbols indicating the authorities cited (thus υιοι [BAL]). This does not necessarily imply that in some other MS or MSS a different reading is found; it is simply a guarantee that Swete's digest of readings and Lagarde have both been consulted. The formula [BAL], or 𝔊^BAL, standing alone means that the editors found no variant in Swete or Lagarde to report. In the parts, therefore, where Swete cites ℵ or other MSS as well as BA, BAL includes them unless the context indicates otherwise. When BAL stands alone the meaning is everywhere the same; it is a summary report of agreement in Swete and Lagarde.

Proper names have been felt to demand special treatment; the aim has been to give under each name the readings of Lagarde and all the variants of BℵA as cited in Swete. The commonest, or a common, form for each witness is given at the head of the article, and this is followed at once or in the course of the article by such variants as there are. Where all the passages containing a given name are cited in the article, the apparatus of Greek readings (as in Swete and Lagarde) may be considered absolutely complete. In other cases, completeness, though aimed at, has not been found possible.

The distinction between declinable and indeclinable forms has generally been observed; but different cases of the same declinable form have not as a rule (never in the case of common nouns) been taken note of. Where part of one name has been joined in the LXX to the preceding or succeeding name, the intruding letters have usually been given in square brackets, though in some very obvious cases they may have been ignored.

When MSS differ only in some giving ι and others giving ει this is indicated concisely thus: 'αβεια [B], αβια [AL],' becomes 'αβ[ε]ια [BAL].' Similarly, -τ., -ττ. becomes -[τ]τ.

Much care has been bestowed on the readings, and every effort has been made to secure the highest attainable accuracy. Naturally the Hatch-Redpath *Concordance to the Septuagint* has been freely used. As has been already stated, however (p. xii), the *Encyclopædia Biblica* has also had the benefit of Dr. Redpath's personal help. Unfortunately, misprints and other inaccuracies — inaccuracies sometimes appearing for the first time after the last proof reading — are especially liable to occur in a work of this kind. Corrections of errors, however minute, addressed to the publishers, will always be gratefully received.

Some typographical details require to be explained: —

(*a*) In giving proper names, initial capitals, breathings, and accents are dispensed with; they were unknown in the oldest MSS (cp Swete, vol. 1 p. xiii 2).

(*b*) The Greek readings at the head of an article are given in uncials, and the Vulgate readings in small italic capitals; elsewhere ordinary type is used.

(*c*) The first Greek reading is given in full; all others are abbreviated as much as possible. Letters suppressed at the beginning of a word are represented by a dash, letters at the end by a period. In every case the abbreviated form is to be completed by reference to the Greek form immediately preceding, whether that is given in full or not. Thus, *e.g.*, 'αβελσαττειμ, β. . . . ττιμ, -ττειν, βελσα'[1] means 'αβελσαττειμ, βελσαττιμ, βελσαττειν, βελσα.' That is to say, the abbreviated form repeats a letter (or if necessary more) of the form preceding. Two exceptions are sometimes made. The dash sometimes represents the *whole* of the preceding form — *e.g.*, in

[1] 'βελσα.' with a period, as it stood in early impressions of the art. ABEL-SHITTIM, would mean βελσαττειν.

cases like *αβια*, -ς — and one letter has sometimes been simply substituted for another: *e.g.*, *ν* for *μ* in *ειμ*, -*ν*. These exceptions can hardly lead to ambiguity.

(*d*) The following are the symbols most frequently quoted from Swete's digest with their meaning: —

* = original scribe.
1 = his own corrections.
a, b, c = other correctors.
ab = first corrector confirmed by second.
a? b? = a or b.
a? b = b, perhaps also a.
a(vid) = prob. a.
a vid = a, if it be a *bona fide* correction at all.
D = testimony of the Grabe-Owen collation of D before D was partly destroyed (see Swete, vol. I p. xxiv).
D^{sil} = readings inferred from the collation *e silentio*.
ℵ$^{c.a}$ = a corrector of ℵ belonging to the 7th cent. (Sw., vol. 2 p. viii; cp vol. I p. xxi).
ℵ$^{c.b}$ = corrector of ℵ$^{c.a}$ or ℵ*; see Sw., vol. 2 p. viii.
ℵ$^{c.c}$ = corrector of ℵ$^{c.a}$ or ℵ*; see Sw., vol. I p. xxi.
B^{edit} = B as in Vercellone and Cozza's facsimile ed.

(*e*) The following are the MSS most commonly cited: —

ℵ Sinaiticus (cp Swete, vol. I p. xx).
A Alexandrinus (Swete, vol. I p. xxii).
B Vaticanus (Swete, vol. I p. xvii).
C Cod. Ephraemi Syri rescriptus Parisiensis (Swete, vol. 2 p. xiii).
D Cod. Cottonianus Geneseos (Swete, vol. I p. xxiii).
E Cod. Bodleianus Geneseos (Sw., vol. I p. xxvi).
F Cod. Ambrosianus (Swete, vol. I p. xxvi).
87 Cod. Chisianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. xii).
Syr. Cod. Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. xiii).
V Cod. Venetus (= 23, Parsons; Swete, vol. 3 p. xiv).
Q Cod. Marchalianus (Swete, vol. 3 p. vii).
Γ Cod. rescriptus Cryptoferratensis (Swete, vol. 3 p. ix *f.*).

5. Proper Name Articles. — Proper name articles usually begin thus. The name is followed by a parenthesis giving (1) the original; (2) when necessary, the number of the section in the general article NAMES where the name in question is discussed or cited; (3) a note on the etymology or meaning of the (personal) name with citation of similar names; (4) the readings of the versions (see above, **4** ii.). See for an example AARON. The Hebrew 'ben' ('b.'), 'son of,' 'b'ne,' 'sons of' is often used, partly for brevity and to avoid certain ambiguities (see above, **3** v.) and partly because of its indefinite meaning.

6. Geographical Articles. — The interpretation of place-names is discussed in the article NAMES. The maps that are issued with Volume I. are the district of Damascus, the environs of Babylon, and 'Syria, Assyria, and Babylonia' (between cols. 352 and 353). The last-mentioned is mainly designed to illustrate the non-Palestinian geography of the Old Testament. It is made use of to show the position of places outside of Palestine mentioned in Volume I. which happen to fall within its bounds.

In all maps biblical names are assigned to sites only when the article discussing the question regards the identification as extremely probable (the degree of probability must be learned from the article).

The following geographical terms are used in the senses indicated: —

Dēr, *deir*, 'monastery.'
Ḥaj (*j*), 'pilgrimage to Mecca.'
Jebel (J.), 'mountain.'
Kefr, *Kafr*, 'village.'
Khān, 'caravanserai.'
Khirbet-(*Kh.*), 'ruins of —.'
Nahr (N.), 'river.'
Tell, 'mound' (often containing ruins).
Wādī (W.), 'valley,' 'torrent-course.'
Welī, *welȳ*, 'Mohammedan saint,' 'saint's tomb.'

7. Transliteration, etc. — Whilst the *Encyclopædia Biblica* is meant for the student, other readers have constantly been kept in view. Hence the frequent translation of Hebrew and other words, and the transliteration of words in Semitic languages. In certain cases transliteration also saves space. No effort has been made at uniformity for its own sake. Intelligibility has been thought sufficient. When pronunciation is indicated — *e.g.*, Bĕhēmōth, Leviāthān — what is meant is that the resulting form is the nearest that we can come to the original as represented by the traditional Hebrew, so long as we adhere to the English spelling.

In the case of proper names that have become in some degree naturalised in an incorrect form, that form has been preserved: *e.g.*, Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser. Where there is an alternative, naturally the closer to the original is selected: therefore Nebuchadrezzar (with *r* as in Ezek., etc.), Nazirite. Where there is no naturalised form names are given in exact transliteration — *e.g.*, Ašur-rēš-iši. In the case of Assyrian names, hyphens are used to separate the component parts, which begin with a capital when they are divine names — *e.g.*, Puzur-Ašur; but Ašur-dān.

In the case of modern (Arabic) place-names the spelling of the author whose description has been most used has generally been retained, except when it would have been misleading to the student. The diacritical marks have been checked or added after verification in some Arabic source or list.

On the Assyrian alphabet see BABYLONIA, § 6, and on the Egyptian, EGYPT, § 12. One point remains to be explained, after which it will suffice to set forth the schemes of transliteration in tabular form. The Hebrew ḥ (ח) represents philologically the Arabic ḥ and ḫ, which are absolutely distinct sounds. The Hebrew spoken language very likely marked the distinction. As the written language, however, ignores it, ח is always transliterated ḥ. The Assyrian guttural transliterated with an h, on the other hand, oftenest represents the Arabic ḫ, and is therefore always transliterated ḫ (in Muss.-Arn. *Dict.*, *x*, for χ), never ḥ. There is no ḥ in transliterated Assyrian; for the written language did not distinguish the Arabic ḥ from the Arabic h, ʿ, ġ, or ʾ, representing them all indifferently by ʾ, which accordingly does not, in transliterated Assyrian, mean simply א but indifferently א or ה or ḥ or ע or ġ. Hence, *e.g.*, Nabū-nahid is simply one interpretation of Nabū-na'id. Egyptian, lastly, requires not only h, ḥ, and ḫ, like Arabic, but also a fourth symbol h̲ (see EGYPT, § 12, note).

TRANSLITERATION OF HEBREW (AND ARABIC) CONSONANTS

HEBREW.		ARABIC.		HEBREW.		ARABIC.		HEBREW.		ARABIC.		HEBREW.		ARABIC.	
א	'	ء	'	ז	z	ز	z	ל	l	ل	l	צ	ṣ	ص	ṣ
בּ	b	ب	b	ח	ḥ	ح	ḥ	מ	m	م	m	ק	ḳ (q)	ق	ḳ
ב	bh (b)					خ	ḫ	נ	n	ن	n	ר	r	ر	r
גּ	g	ج	j, ǵ	ט	ṭ	ط	ṭ	ס	s	س	s	שׂ	ś		
ג	gh (g)			י	y	ى	y	ע	ʿ	ع	ʿ	שׁ	sh, š	ش	sh, š
דּ	d	د	d	כּ	k	ك	k			غ	ġ	תּ	t	ت	t
ד	dh (d)			כ	kh (k)			פּ	p			ת	th (t)		
ה	h	ه	h					פ	ph	ف	f				
ו	w, v	و	w, u												

Extra Arabic Consonants: ث, th, t̲; ذ, dh, d̲; ض, ḍ; ظ, ẓ.

VOWELS

	'long'	'short'	very short	almost a glide
Heb.	ā ē ī ō ū	a e i o u	ă ĕ ŏ *or* $^{a\,e\,o}$	ĕ *or* ^{e} *or* ʾ
Ar.	ā ī ū		a (e) i (e) u (o)	

Ar. diphthongs: ai, ay, ei, ey, ē; aw, au, ō.

8. Signatures. — Parts of articles as well as whole articles bear the signature of the author or authors, the exact share contributed by each writer being indicated, where possible, at the end thus: A. B. §§ 1–5; C. D. §§ 6–10. When the signature would be too complex, and in a majority of the 'minor articles' even otherwise, no attempt has been made to assign a definite authorship and the articles rest on the editorial responsibility. When in such an article there occurs a suggestion that seems to need a signature, its author's initials are appended to the whole article. A key to the signatures will be found on p. xxvii.

H. W. H.

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The following pages explain the abbreviations that are used in the more technical parts (see above, p. xiv **3** i. [*a*]) of the *Encyclopædia*. The list does not claim to be exhaustive, and, for the most part, it takes no account of well-established abbreviations, or such as have seemed to be fairly obvious. The bibliographical notes will, it is hoped, be welcome to the student.

The Canonical and Apocryphal books of the Bible are usually referred to as Gen., Ex., Lev., Nu., Dt., Josh., Judg., Ruth, S(a.), K(i.), Ch[r.], Ezra, Neh., Esth., Job, Ps., Pr., Eccles., C(an)t., Is., Jer., Lam., Ezek., Dan., Hos., Joel, Am., Ob., Jon., Mi., Nah., Hab., Zeph., Hag., Zech., Mal.; 1 Esd., 4 Esd. (*i.e.*, 2 Esd. of EV), Tob., Judith, Wisd., Ecclus., Baruch, Epistle of Jeremy (*i.e.*, Bar. ch. 6), Song of the Three Children (Dan. 3_{23}), Susanna, Bel and the Dragon, Prayer of Manasses, 1–4 Macc.; Mt., Mk., Lk., Jn., Acts, Rom., Cor., Gal., Eph., Phil., Col., Thess., Tim., Tit., Philem., Heb., Ja[s.], Pet., 1–3 Jn., Jude, Rev. [or Apoc.].

An explanation of some of the symbols (A, א, B, etc.), now generally used to denote certain Greek MSS of the Old or New Testaments, will be found above, at p. xvi. It may be added that the bracketed index numerals denote the edition of the work to which they are attached: thus *OTJC*$^{(2)}$ = *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, 2nd edition (exceptions *RP*$^{(2)}$, *AOF*$^{(2)}$; see below). The unbracketed numerals above the line refer to footnotes; for those under the line see below under D_2, E_2, J_2, P_2.

When a foreign book is cited by an English name the reference is to the English translation.

It is suggested that this work be referred to as the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, and that the name may be abbreviated thus: *Ency. Bib.* or *EBi.* It will be observed that all the larger articles can be referred to by the numbered sections (§§); or any passage can readily be cited by column and paragraph or line. The columns will be numbered continuously to the end of the work.

Abulw. . . . Abulwalīd, the Jewish grammarian (b. *circa* 990), author of *Book of Roots*, etc.

Acad. . . . *The Academy: A Weekly Review of Literature, Science, and Art*, London, '69 *ff.*

AF . . . See *AOF.*

AHT . . . *Ancient Hebrew Tradition.* See Hommel.

Alt[test]. Unt. . See Winckler.

Amer. Journ. of Phil. *American Journal of Philology*, '80 *ff.*

A[mer.]J[ourn.] S[em.] L[ang.] *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing *Hebraica* ['84–'95]), '95 *ff.*

Am. Tab. . . The Tell-el-Amarna Letters (= *KB* 5)

Ant. . . . Josephus, *Antiquities.*

AOF . . . *Altorientalische Forschungen.* See Winckler.

Apocr. Anecd. . *Apocrypha Anecdota*, 1st and 2nd series, published under the general title 'Texts and Studies' at the Cambridge University Press.

Aq. . . . Aquila, Jewish proselyte (temp. revolt against Hadrian), author of a Greek translation of the Old Testament. See TEXT.

Ar. . . . Arabic.

Aram. . . . Aramaic. See ARAMAIC.

Arch. . . . *Archæology* or *Archäologie.* See Benzinger, Nowack.

Ar. Des. . . Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, '88.

Ar. Heid., or *Heid.* *Reste arabischen Heidentums.* See Wellhausen.

Arm. . . . Armenian.

Ass. . . . Assyrian.

Ass. HWB . . *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch.* See Delitzsch.

As. u. Eur. . W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*, '93.

AT, *ATliche* . *Das Alte Testament*, *Alttestamentliche.* Old Testament.

AT Unters. . *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen.* See Winckler.

AV . . . Authorised Version.

b. . . . *ben*, *b'ne* (son, sons, Hebrew).

Bä. . . . Baer and Delitzsch's critical edition of the Massoretic Text, Leipsic, '69, and following years.

Bab. . . . Babylonian.

Baed., or Baed. *Pal.* Baedeker, *Palestine* (ed. Socin), $^{(2)}$, '94; $^{(3)}$, '98 (Benzinger) based on 4th German ed.

Baethg., or Baethg. *Beitr.* Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religions-geschichte*, '88.

BAG . . . C. P. Tiele, *Babylonische-assyrische Geschichte*, pt. i., '86; pt. ii., '88.

Ba. *NB.* . . Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, i., '89; ii., '91; $^{(2)}$ '94.

Baraitha . . See LAW LITERATURE.

BDB *Lex.* . . [Brown, Driver, Briggs, *Lexicon*] *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, based on the Lexicon of Gesenius, by F. Brown, with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, Oxford, '92, and following years.

Be. . . . E. Bertheau (1812–88). In *KGH; Richter u. Ruth*, '45; $^{(2)}$ '83; *Chronik*, '54; $^{(2)}$, '73; *Esra, Nehemia u. Ester*, '62; $^{(2)}$, by Ryssel, '87.

Beitr. . . . *Beiträge*, especially Baethgen (as above).

Beitr. z. Ass. . *Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*; ed. Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt, i., '90; ii., '94; iii., '98; iv. 1, '99.

Benz. *HA* . . I. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, '94.

Kön.	*Konige* in *KHC*, '99.
Bertholet, *Stellung*	A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, '96.
Bi.	Gustav Bickell:
	Grundriss der hebräischen Grammatik, '69 *f.*; ET, '77.
	Carmina VT metrice etc., '82.
	Dichtungen der Hebräer, '82 *f.*
	Kritische Bearbeitung der Prov., '90.
Biblioth. Sac.	*Bibliotheca Sacra*, '43 *ff.*
BJ	*De Bello Judaico.* See Josephus.
BL	Schenkel, *Bibel-Lexicon;* Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Geistliche u. Gemeindeglieder, 5 vols., '69–'75.
Boch.	S. Bochart (1599–1667):
	Geographia Sacra, 1646;
	Hierozoicon, sive de Animalibus Scripturæ Sacræ, 1663.
Boeckh	Aug. Boeckh, *Corpus Inscr. Græc.*, 4 vols., '28–'77.
BOR	*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, '87 *ff.*
Böttch.	Friedrich Böttcher, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '66–'68.
Böttg. *Lex.*	Böttger, *Lexicon z. d. Schriften des Fl. Josephus*, '79.
BR	*Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.
Bu.	Karl Budde:
Urgesch.	*Die biblische Urgeschichte* (Gen. 1–12₄), '83.
Ri.Sa.	*Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau*, '90.
Sam.	*Samuel* in *SBOT* (Heb.), '94.
	Das Buch Hiob in *HK*, '96.
	Klagelieder and *Hohelied* in *KHC*, '98.
Buhl	See *Pal.*
Buxt. *Syn. Jud.*	Johann Buxtorf (1564–1629), *Synagoga Judaica*, 1603, etc.
Buxt. *Lex.*	Johann Buxtorf, son (1599–1644), *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, 1639, folio. Reprint with additions by B. Fischer, 2 vols., '69 and '74.
c., cir.	*circa.*
Calwer Bib. Lex.	*Calwer Kirchelexikon, Theologisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. P. Zeller, '89–'93.
c. Ap.	*contra Apionem.* See Josephus.
CH	*Composition des Hexateuchs.* See Wellhausen.
Chald. Gen.	*The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, by George Smith. A new edition, thoroughly revised and corrected by A. H. Sayce, '80.
Che.	T. K. Cheyne:
Proph. Is.	*The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 2 vols. ('80–'81; revised, (5), '89).
Job and Sol.	*Job and Solomon*, or *The Wisdom of the Old Testament* ('87).
Ps.	*The Book of Psalms*, transl. with comm. ('88); (2), rewritten (forthcoming).
OPs.	*The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter* ('Bampton Lectures,' '89), '91.
Aids	*Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism*, '92.
Founders	*Founders of Old Testament Criticism*, '94.
Intr. Is.	*Introduction to the Book of Isaiah* ('95).
Is. SBOT.	*Isaiah* in *SBOT* [Eng.], ('97); [Heb.], ('99).
	Jeremiah, his Life and Times in 'Men of the Bible' ('88).
Jew. Rel. Life	*Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, '98.
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* (ed. Dittenberger), '82 *ff.* See also Boeckh.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, '63, and following years, 14 vols., with supplements.
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Paris, '81 *ff.* Pt. i., Phœnician and Punic inscriptions; pt. ii., Aramaic inscriptions; pt. iv., S. Arabian inscriptions.
Class. Rev.	*The Classical Review*, '87 *ff.*
Cl.-Gan.	Clermont-Ganneau:
Rec.	*Recueil d'Archéologie*, '85 *ff.*
Co.	Cornill:
Ezek.	*Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, '86.
Einl.	*Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, '91; (3), '96.
Hist.	*History of the People of Israel from the earliest times*, '98.
COT	*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* See Schrader.
Crit. Mon.	A. H. Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, '94.
Cr. Rev.	*Critical Review of Theological and Philosophical Literature* [ed. Salmond], '91 *ff.*
D	Author of Deuteronomy; also used of Deuteronomistic passages.
D_2	Later Deuteronomistic editors. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.
Dalm. *Gram.*	Dalman, *Grammatik des jüdisch-palästinischen Aramäisch*, '94.
Worte Jesu	*Die Worte Jesu*, i., '98.
Aram. Lex.	*Aramäisch - Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud, und Midrasch*, Teil i., '97.
Dav.	A. B. Davidson:
Job	*Book of Job* in Camb. Bible, '84.
Ezek.	*Book of Ezekiel* in Cambridge Bible, '92.
DB	W. Smith, *A Dictionary of the Bible, comprising its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, 3 vols., '63; *DB*(2), 2nd ed. of vol. i., in two parts, '93.
	or, J. Hastings, *A Dictionary of the Bible, dealing with its Language, Literature, and Contents, including the Biblical Theology*, vol. i., '98; vol. ii., '99.
	or, F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, '95 *ff.*
de C. *Orig.*	Alph. de Candolle, *Origine des Plantes Cultivées*, '82; (4), '96. ET in the *International Scientific Series.*
De Gent.	*De Gentibus.* See Wellhausen.
Del.	Delitzsch, Franz (1813–90), author of many commentaries on books of the OT, etc.
	or, Delitzsch, Friedrich, son of preceding, author of:
Par.	*Wo lag das Paradies?* ('81).
Heb. Lang.	*The Hebrew Language viewed*

in the light of Assyrian Research, '83.

Prol. . *Prolegomena eines neuen hebr.-aram. Wörterbuchs zum AT*, '86.

Ass. HWB *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, '96.

DHM *Ep. Denk.* D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, '89.

Die Propheten in ihren ursprünglichen Form. Die Grundgesetze der ursemitischen Poesie, 2 Bde., '96.

Di. . . . Dillmann, August (1823-94), in *KGH: Genesis*, 3rd ed. of Knobel, '75; (4), '82; (6), '92 (ET by Stevenson, '97); *Exodus und Leviticus*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '80; 3rd ed. by Ryssel, '97; *Numb., Deut., Josh.*, 2nd ed. of Knobel, '86; *Isaiah*, (5), '90; (edd. 1-3 by Knobel; 4th ed. by Diestel; 6th ed. by Kittel, '98).

Did. . . *Didachè*. See APOCRYPHA, § 31, 1.

Dozy, *Suppl.* . *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, '79 *ff.*

Dr. . . . Driver, S. R.:

HT. . *A Treatise on the Use of the Tenses in Hebrew*, '74; (2), '81; (3), '92.

TBS . *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, '90.

Introd. . *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, (1), '91; (6), '97.

Par. Ps. . *Parallel Psalter*, '98.

Deut. . *Deuteronomy* in *The International Critical Commentary*, '95.

Joel and Amos in the *Cambridge Bible*, '97.

Lev. SBOT *SBOT* (Eng.), *Leviticus*, assisted by H. A. White, '98.

'Hebrew Authority' in *Authority and Archæology, Sacred and Profane*, ed. David G. Hogarth, London, '99.

Is. . . *Isaiah, His Life and Times*, in 'Men of the Bible,' (2), '93.

Drus. . . Drusius (1550-1616) in *Critici Sacri*.

Du. . . . Bernhard Duhm:

Proph. . *Die Theologie der Propheten als Grundlage für die innere Entwicklungsgeschichte der israelitischen Religion*, '75.

Is. . . *Das Buch Jesaia* in *HK*, '92.

Ps. . . *Die Psalmen erklärt*, in *KHC*, '99.

E . . . Old Hebrew historical document.

E_2 . . . Later additions to E. See HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

EB(9) . . *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed., '75-'88.

Ebers, *Aeg. BM* Georg Ebers ('37-'98), *Aegypten u. die Bücher Mose's*, i., '68.

Einl. . . *Einleitung* (Introduction). See Cornill, etc.

Eng. Hist. Rev. *The English Historical Review*, '86 *ff.*

Ent[*st*]. . . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*. See Ed. Meyer.

ET . . . English translation.

Eth. . . Ethiopic.

Eus. . . Eusebius of Cæsarea (2nd half of 3rd to 1st half of 4th cent. A.D.):

Onom. or *OS* *Onomasticon*: 'On the Names of Places in Holy Scripture.'

HE . . *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

P[*ræp.*]*E*[*v.*] *Præparatio Evangelica*.

Chron. . *Chronicon*.

EV . . . English version (where authorised and revised agree).

Ew. . . Heinrich Ewald (1803-75):

Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Sprache*, '44; (8), '70.

Gesch. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*; (3) i.-vii., '64-'68; ET (2) 5 vols. (pre-Christian period), '69-'80.

Dichter . *Die Dichter des Alten Bundes* (3), '66 *f.*

Proph. . *Die Propheten*, '40 *f.*; (2), '67 *f.*; ET '76 *f.*

Expos. . . *Expositor*, 5th ser., '95 *ff.*

Exp[*os*]. *T*[*imes*] *Expository Times*, '89-'90 *ff.*

f. and *ff.* . . following (verse, or verses, etc.).

FFP . . *Fauna and Flora of Palestine*. See Tristram.

Field, *Hex.* . F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt sive Veterum Interpretum Græcorum in totum Vetus Testamentum Fragmenta* ('75).

F[*r.*]*HG* . . *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum*, ed. Müller, 5 vols., '41-'72.

Fl. and Hanb. *Pharm.* F. A. Flückiger and D. Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*.

Floigl, *GA* . Floigl, *Geschichte des semitischen Altertums in Tabellen*, '82.

Founders . . *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*. See Cheyne.

Fr. . . . O. F. Fritzsche (1812-96), commentaries on books of the Apocrypha in *KHG*.

Frä. . . . Sigismund Fränkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, '86.

Frankenb. . W. Frankenberg, *Die Sprüche* in *KH*, '98.

Frazer . . J. G. Frazer:

Totemism ('87).

Golden Bough ('90); (2) in prep.

Pausanias's Description of Greece (translation and notes, 6 vols., '98).

Fund. . . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

𝕲 . . . Greek Version, see above, p. xv. *f.* and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

GA . . . *Geschichte d. Alterthums* (see Meyer, Floigl).

GÄ . . . *Geschichte Ägyptens* (see Meyer).

GBA . . *Gesch. Babyloniens u. Assyriens* (see Winckler, Hommel).

GASm. . . George Adam Smith. See Smith.

GAT . . Reuss, *Geschichte des Alten Testaments*, '81; (2), '90.

Gei. *Urschr.* . A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der inneren Entwicklung des Judenthums*, '57.

Ges. . . F. H. W. Gesenius (1786-1842):

Thes. . *Thesaurus Philologicus Criticus Ling. Hebr. et Chald. Veteris Testamenti*, '35-'42.

Gramm. . *Hebräische Grammatik*, '13; (26), by E. Kautzsch, '96; ET '98.

Lex. . . *Hebräisches u. chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, '12; (11) (Mühlau u. Volck), '90; (12) (Buhl, with Socin and Zimmern), '95; (13) (Buhl), '99.

Ges.-Bu. . . Gesenius-Buhl. See above, Ges.

Gesch. . . *Geschichte* (History).

GGA . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, '24 *ff.*

GGN . . *Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten*, '45 *ff.*

GI . . *Geschichte Israels*. See Winckler.

Gi[nsb]. . . Ginsburg, *Massoretico-critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible*, '94, *Introduction*, '97.

GJV . . *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*. See Schürer.

Glaser . . Eduard Glaser:
  Skizze . *Skizze der Gesch. u. Geogr. Arabiens*, '90.

Gr. . . K. Grimm (1807-91). *Maccabees* ('53) and *Wisdom* ('60) in *KGH*.

Grä. . . Heinrich Grätz:
  Gesch. . *Geschichte der Juden*, i.-x., '74 *ff.*; ET i.-v., '91-'92.
  Ps. . . *Kritischer Commentar zu den Psalmen*, '82 *f.*

Gr. Ven. . . Versio Veneta. See TEXT.

GVI . . *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*. See Ewald, Stade, etc.

H . . 'The Law of Holiness' (Lev. 17-26). See LEVITICUS.

HA or *Hebr. Arch.* *Hebräische Archäologie*. See Benzinger, Nowack.

Hal. . . Joseph Halévy. The inscriptions in *Rapport sur une Mission Archéologique dans le Yémen* ('72) are cited: Hal. 535, etc.
  Mél. . . *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie Sémitiques*, '74.

Hamburger [*RE*] Hamburger, *Realencyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*, i. '70, (2) '92; ii. '83, suppl. '86, '91 *f.*, '97.

Harper, *ABL* . R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the K*[Kuyunjik] *collection of the British Museum*, '93 *ff.*

HC . . *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, bearbeitet von H. J. Holtzmann, R. A. Lipsius, P. W. Schmiedel, H. v. Soden, '89-'91.

Heb. . . Hebrew.

Hebraica . . Continued as *AJSL* (*q.v.*).

Heid. . . *Reste arabischen Heidentums*. See Wellhausen.

Herst. . . Kosters, *Het Herstel van Israël in het Perzische Tijdvak*, '93; Germ. transl. *Die Wiederherstellung Israels*, '95.

Herzog, *RE* . See *PRE*.

Het Herstel . See *Herst.*

Hex. . . *Hexateuch* (see Kuenen, Holzinger, etc.).

Hexap. . . See Field.

HG . . *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. See Smith, G. A.

Hierob. . . See Bochart.

Hilgf. . . A. Hilgenfeld, NT scholar (*Einl.*, etc.), and ed. since '58 of *ZWT*.

Hist. . . See Schürer, Ewald, Kittel, etc.

Hist. Proph. Mon. J. F. M'Curdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*: i. To the Downfall of Samaria ('94); ii. To the Fall of Nineveh ('96).

Hi[tz]. . . F. Hitzig (1807-75), in *KGH*: *Prediger* ('47), *Hohelied* ('55), *Die kleinen Propheten* ('38; (3), '63), *Jeremias* ('41; (2), '66). Also *Die Psalmen* ('35-'36; (3), '63-'65).

HK . . *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Nowack, '92 *ff.*

Holz. *Einl.* . H. Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch* ('93), *Genesis* in the *KHC* ('98).

Hommel . . Fritz Hommel:
  AHT . *Die altisraelitische Ueberlieferung*; ET, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition*, '97.
  GBA . *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '85 *ff.*

Hor. Hebr. . Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, 1684.

HP . . Holmes and Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum Græcum cum variis lectionibus*, 1798-1827.

HPN . . G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, '96.

HPSm. . . Henry Preserved Smith. *Samuel* in *International Critical Commentary*.

HS . . *Die Heilige Schrift*. See Kautzsch.

HWB . . Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, 2 vols., '84; (2), '93-'94. See also Delitzsch (Friedr.).

IJG . . *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*. See Wellhausen.

Intr[od]. . . Introduction.

Intr. Is. . . *Introduction to Isaiah*. See Cheyne.

It. . . Itala. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

It. Anton. . *Itinerarium Antonini*, Fortia d'Urban, '45.

J . . Old Hebrew historical document.

J_2 . . Later additions to J.

J[*ourn.*] *A*[*m.*] *O*[*r.*] *S*[*oc.*] *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, '51 *ff.*

Jastrow, *Dict.* M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli, etc., and Midrashim*, '86 *ff.*

J[*ourn.*] *As.* . *Journal Asiatique*, '53 *ff.*; 7th ser., '73; 8th ser., '83; 9th ser., '93.

JBL . . *Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis*, '90 *ff.*; formerly ('82-'88) called *Journal of the Society of Biblical Lit. and Exeg.*

JBW . . *Jahrbücher der bibl. Wissenschaft* ('49-'65).

JDT . . *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, '56-'78.

JE . . The 'Prophetical' narrative of the Hexateuch, composed of J and E.

Jensen, *Kosm.* . P. Jensen, *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier*, '90.

Jer. . . Jerome, or Jeremiah.

Jon. . . Jonathan. See Targum.

Jos. . . Flavius Josephus (b. 37 A.D.), *Antiquitates Judaicæ, De Bello Judaico, Vita, contra Apionem* (ed. Niese, 3 vols., '87-'94).

J[*ourn.*] *Phil.* . *Journal of Philology*, i. (Nos. 1 and 2, '68), ii. (Nos. 3 and 4, '69), etc.

JPT . . *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie*, '75-'92.

JQR . . *Jewish Quarterly Review*, '88-'89 *ff.*

JRAS . . *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society* (vols. 1-20, '34 *ff.*; new series, vols. 1-24, '65-'92; current series, '93 *ff.*).

JSBL . . See *JBL*.

KAT . . *Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament*. See Schrader.

Kau. . . E. Kautzsch:
  Gram. . *Grammatik des Biblischen-Aramäischen*, '84.
  HS . . *Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments*, '94.

Apokr. . *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, '98 *f.*

KB. . . *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von ass. u. bab. Texten in Umschrift u. Uebersetzung*, 5 vols. (1, 2, 3 *a*, *b*, 4, 5), '89-'96. Edited by Schrader, in collaboration with L. Abel, C. Bezold, P. Jensen, F. E. Peiser, and H. Winckler.

Ke. . . . K. F. Keil (d. '88).

Kenn. . . B. Kennicott (1718-83), *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, 2 vols., 1776-80.

KG . . . *Kirchengeschichte.*

KGF . . *Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung.* See Schrader.

KGH . . *Kurzgefasstes exegetisches Handbuch.* See Di., Hitz., Knob., Ol.

KGK . . *Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten u. Neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen*, ed. H. Strack and O. Zöckler, '87 *ff.*

KHC . . *Kurzer Hand-commentar zum Alten Testament*, ed. Marti, '97 *ff.*

Ki. . . . Rudolf Kittel:
  Gesch. . *Geschichte der Hebräer*, 2 vols., '88, '92; Eng. transl., *History of the Hebrews*, '95-'96.
  Ch. SBOT *The Book of Chronicles*, Critical Edition of the Hebrew text, '95 (translated by Bacon).

Kim. . . R. David Ḳimḥi, *circa* 1200 A.D., the famous Jewish scholar and lexicographer, by whose exegesis the AV is mainly guided.

Kin[*s*]. . . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.* See W. R. Smith.

Kl. Proph. . *Kleine Propheten* (Minor Prophets). See Wellhausen, Nowack, etc.

Klo[st]. . . Aug. Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* ('87) in *KGK.*
  GVI. . *Geschichte des Volkes Israel bis zur Restauration unter Esra und Nehemia*, '96.

Kn[ob]. . . Aug. Knobel (1807-63) in *KGH: Exodus und Leviticus*, [2] by Dillmann, '80; *Der Prophet Jesaia*, '43, [3], '61. See Dillmann.

Kö. . . . F. E. König, *Historisch-Kritisches Lehrgebäude der Hebräischen Sprache*, 3 vols., '81-'97.

Köh. . . Aug. Köhler.

Ḳr. . . . Ḳrē (lit. 'to be read'), a marginal reading which the Massoretes intended to supplant that in the text (Kĕthīb); see below.

Kt. . . . Kĕthīb (lit. 'written'), a reading in the MT; see above.

Kue.. . . Abr. Kuenen (1828-91):
  Ond. . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de verzameling van de Boeken des Ouden Verbonds*, 3 vols., '61-'65; [2], '85-'89; Germ. transl., *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, '87-'92; vol. i., *The Hexateuch*, translated by Philip Wicksteed, '86.
  Godsd. . *De Godsdienst van Israel*, '69-'70; Eng. transl., 3 vols., '73-'75.
  De Profeten en der Profetie onder Israel, '75; ET, '77.
  Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, German by Budde, '94.

L . . . de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti Canonicorum, Pars Prior Græce*, '83.

Lag. . . Paul de Lagarde ('27-'91):
  Hag. . *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, '73.
  Syr. . . *Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi Syriace*, '61.
  Ges. Abh. . *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, '66.
  Mitt. . *Mitteilungen*, i.-iv., '84-'89.
  Sym. . *Symmicta*, ii., '80.
  Prov. . *Proverbien*, '63.
  Übers. or *BN* *Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen, und Hebräischen übliche Bildung der Nomina*, '89.
  Beitr. . *Beiträge z. baktrischen Lexikographie*, '68.
  Proph. . *Prophetæ Chaldaice*, '72.
  Sem. . *Semitica*, '78 *f.*
  Arm. St. . *Armenische Studien.*
  Or. . . *Orientalia*, i., '79; ii., '80.

Lane . . E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, '63 *ff.*

L [*and*] *B* . W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, '59; new ed. '94.

LBR . . *Later Biblical Researches.* See Robinson.

Levy, *NHWB* J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, '76-'89.
  Chald. Lex. *Chaldäisches Wörterbuch über die Targumim*, '67 *ff.*

Lehrgeb. . . See König.

Leps. *Denkm.* . R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, '49-'60.

Lightf. . . John Lightfoot (1602-75), *Horæ Hebraicæ* (1684).
  Joseph B. Lightfoot ('28-'89); commentaries on *Galatians* ([4], '74); *Philippians* ([3], '73); *Colossians and Philemon* ('75).

Lips. 1 *f.* . . Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten u. Apostellegenden*, '83-'90.

Löw . . . J. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, '81.

Luc. . . See L.

LXX or 𝔊 . Septuagint. See above, p. xv *f.*, and TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Maimonides . Moses Maimonides (1131-1204). Exegete, author of *Mishneh Torah*, *Mōrē Nebōkhim*, etc.

Mand. . . Mandæan. See ARAMAIC, § 10.

Marq. *Fund.* . J. Marquart, *Fundamente israelitischer u. jüdischer Geschichte*, '96.

Marti . . K. Marti:
  Gram. . *Kurzgefasste Grammatik d. biblisch-Aramäischen Sprache*, '96.
  Geschichte der Israelitischen Religion[3], '97 (a revision of A. Kayser, *Die Theol. des AT*).
  Jes. . . *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *KHC*, '99.

Masp. . . G. Maspero:
  Dawn of Civilisation, Egypt and Chaldea ([2], '96).
  Les premières Mêlées des Peuples; ET by McClure

The Struggle of the Nations—Egypt, Syria, and Assyria. Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient ('99 *ff.*).

MBBA . . *Monatsbericht der Berliner Akademie.*

MDPV . . *Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, '95 *ff.*

Merx . . A. Merx, *Archiv f. wissenschaftliche Erforschung d. AT* ('69).

Mey. . . Ed. Meyer:
GA . . *Geschichte des Alterthums;* i., *Gesch. d. Orients bis zur Begründung des Perserreichs* ('84); ii., *Gesch. des Abendlandes bis auf die Perserkriege* ('93).
Entst[*eh*]. . *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, '96.

Meyer . . H. A. W. Meyer (1800–73), founder of the series *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament.*

MGWJ . . *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judenthums*, '51 *ff.*

MH . . . Mishnic Hebrew, the language of the Mishna, Tosephta, Midrashim, and considerable parts of the Talmud.

MI . . . Mesha Inscription, commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone.' See MESHA.

Midr. . . Midrash. See CHRONICLES, § 6 (2).

Mish. . . Mishna, the standard collection (completed, according to tradition, by R. Judah the Holy, about 200 A.D.) of sixty-three treatises (representing the Jewish traditional or unwritten law as developed by the second century A.D.), arranged in six groups or Sēders thus:—i. *Zĕrā'īm* (11 tractates), ii. *Mō'ēd* (12), iii. *Nāshīm* (7), iv. *Nĕzīkīn* (10), v. *Ḳodāshīm* (11), vi. *Ṭohŏrōth* (12).

'Ăbōdā zārā, iv. 8	Miḳwā'ōth, vi. 6
Ăbōth, iv. 9	Mō'ēd Kāṭān, ii. 11
'Ărākhin, v. 5	Nāzir, iii. 4
Bābā Bathrā, iv. 3	Nĕdārim, iii. 3
Bābā Kammā, iv. 1	Nĕgā'im, vi. 3
Bābā Mĕṣī'ā, iv. 2	Niddā, vi. 7
Bĕkhōrōth, v. 4	Ohālōth, vi. 2
Bĕrākhōth, i. 1	'Orlā, i. 10
Bēṣā, ii. 7	Pārā, vi. 4
Bikkūrim, i. 11	Pē'ā, i. 2
Chăgīgā, ii. 12	Pĕsāchīm, ii. 3
Challā, i. 9	Rōsh Ha(sh)shānā, ii. 8
Chullin, v. 3	Sanhedrīn, iv. 4
Dĕmái, i. 3	Shabbāth, ii. 1
'Edūyōth, iv. 7	Shĕbū'ōth, iv. 6.
'Erūbin, ii. 2	Shĕbi'ith, i. 5
Giṭṭin, iii. 6	Shĕḳālim, ii. 4
Hōrāyōth, iv. 10	Sōṭā, iii. 5.
Kēlim, vi. 1	Sukkā, ii. 6
Kĕrithōth, v. 7	Ta'ănith, ii. 9
Kĕthūbōth, iii. 2	Tāmid, v. 9
Kiddūshīn, iii. 7	Ṭĕbūl Yōm, vi. 10
Ḳil'áyim, i. 4	Tĕmūrā, v. 6
Ḳinnim, v. 11	Tĕrūmōth, i. 6
Ma'ăsēr Shēnī, i. 8	Tohŏrōth, vi. 5
Ma'ăsērōth, i. 7	'Ūḳṣin, vi. 12
Makhshirin, vi. 8	Yādáyim, vi. 11
Makkōth, iv. 5	Yĕbāmōth, iii. 1
Mĕgillā, ii. 10	Yōmā, ii. 5
Mĕ'ilā, v. 8	Zābīm, vi. 9
Mĕnāchōth, v. 2	Zĕbāchīm, v. 1
Middōth, v. 10	

MT . . . Massoretic text, the Hebrew text of the OT substantially as it was in the early part of the second century A.D. (temp. Mishna). It remained unvocalised until about the end of the seventh century A.D. See TEXT.

Murray . . *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. J. A. H. Murray, '88 *ff.*; also H. Bradley, '97 *ff.*

Muss-Arn. . W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, '94–'99 (A–MAG).

MVG . . *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, '97 *ff.*

n. . . . note.

Nab. . . Nabatæan. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

NB . . . *Nominalbildung*, Barth; see Ba.

Nestle, *Eig.* . *Die israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, '76.
Marg. . *Marginalien u. Materialien*, '93.

Neub. *Géogr.* . A. Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, '68.

NHB . . *Natural History of the Bible.* See Tristram.

NHWB . . *Neu-hebr. u. chaldäisches Wörterbuch.* See Levy.

no. . . . number.

Nö[ld]. . . Th. Nöldeke:
Unters. . *Untersuchungen z. Kritik d. Alten Testaments*, '69.
Alttestamentliche Litteratur, '68.

Now. . . W. Nowack:
H[*ebr.*] *A*[*rch.*] *Lehrbuch d. Hebräischen Archäologie*, '94.
Kl. Proph. *Die Kleinen Propheten* (in *HKC*), '97.

NT . . . New Testament, Neues Testament.

Ol[sh]. . . Justus Olshausen:
Ps. . . *Die Psalmen*, '53.
Lehrb. . *Lehrbuch der hebr. Sprache*, '61 [incomplete].

OLZ (or *Or. LZ*) *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung*, ed. Peiser, '98 *f.*

Ond. . . *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek.* See Kuenen.

Onk., Onq. . Onkelos, Onqelos. See Targ.

Onom. . . See *OS.*

OPs. . . *Origin of the Psalter.* See Cheyne.

OS . . . *Onomastica Sacra*, containing the 'name-lists' of Eusebius and Jerome (Lagarde, (2), '87; the pagination of (1) printed on the margin of (2) is followed).

OT . . . Old Testament.

OTJC . . *Old Testament in the Jewish Church.* See W. R. Smith.

P . . . Priestly Writer. See HIST. LIT.

P_2 . . . Secondary Priestly Writers.

Pal. . . F. Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, '96. See also Baedeker and Reland.

Palm. . . Palmyrene. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

Pal. Syr. . . Palestinian Syriac or Christian Palestinian. See ARAMAIC, § 4.

PAOS . . *Proceedings of American Oriental Society*, '51 *ff.* (printed annually at end of *JAOS*).

Par. . . *Wo lag das Paradies?* See Delitzsch.

Pat. Pal. . . Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, '95.

PE . . . *Præparatio Evangelica.* See Eusebius.

PEFM[*em.*] . *Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs*, 3 vols., '81–'83.

PEFQ[*u. St.*] . *Palestine Exploration Fund* [founded '65] *Quarterly Statement*, '69 *ff.*

Per.-Chip.	Perrot and Chipiez: *Histoire de l'Art dans l'antiquité. Égypte — Assyrie — Perse — Asie Mineure — Grèce — Étrurie — Rome;* '81 *ff.* ET: *Ancient Egypt,* '83; *Chaldæa and Assyria,* '84; *Phœnicia and Cyprus,* '85; *Sardinia, Judæa,* etc., '90; *Primitive Greece,* '94.
Pers.	Persian.
Pesh.	Peshîṭta, the Syriac vulgate (2nd-3rd cent.). *Vetus Testamentum Syriace,* ed. S. Lee, '23, OT and NT, '24. W. E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version,* '97.
Ph., Phœn.	Phœnician.
PRE	*Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie u. Kirche,* ed. J. J. Herzog, 22 vols., '54–'68; $^{(2)}$, ed. J. J. Herzog, G. L. Plitt, Alb. Hauck, 18 vols., '77–'88; $^{(3)}$, ed. Alb. Hauck, vol. i.–vii. [A-Hau], '96–'99.
Preuss. Jahrbb.	*Preussische Jahrbücher,* '72 *ff.*
Prim. Cult.	E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture,* '71; $^{(3)}$, '91.
Proph. Is.	*The Prophecies of Isaiah.* See Cheyne.
Prol.	*Prolegomena.* See Wellhausen.
Prot. KZ.	*Protestantische Kirchenzeitung für das Evangelische Deutschland* (vols. i.–xliii., '54–'96); continued as *Prot. Monatshefte* ('97 *ff.*).
PSBA	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology,* '78 *ff.*
PS *Thes.*	Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus.*
Pun.	Punic.
R	Redactor or Editor.
R_{JE}	Redactor(s) of JE.
R_D	Deuteronomistic Editor(s).
R_P	Priestly Redactor(s).
1–5R	H. C. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* i.–v. ('61–'84; iv. $^{(2)}$, '91).
Rab.	Rabbinical.
Rashi	*i.e.* Rabbenu Shelomoh Yiṣḥaḳi (1040–1105), the celebrated Jewish commentator.
Rec. Trav.	*Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philol. et à l'Archéol. egypt. et assyr.* '70 *ff.*
REJ	*Revue des Études juives,* i., '80; ii. and iii., '81; and so on.
Rel. *Pal.*	Reland, *Palæstina ex Monumentis veteribus illustrata,* 2 vols., 1714.
Rev.	*Revue.*
Rev. Sém.	*Revue sémitique,* '93 *ff.*
Ri. Sa.	*Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel.* See Budde.
Rob.	Edward Robinson:
BR	*Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mt. Sinai, and Arabia Petræa, a journal of travels in the year* 1838 (i.–iii., '41 = *BR*$^{(2)}$, i.–ii., '56).
LBR or *BR* iv. or *BR*$^{(2)}$ iii.	*Later Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions, a journal of travels in the year* 1852 ('56). *Physical Geography of the Holy Land,* '65.
Roscher	*Ausführliches Lexikon d. Griechischen u. Römischen Mythologie* ('84 *ff.*).
RP	*Records of the Past, being English translations of the Ancient Monuments of Egypt and Western Asia,* ed. S. Birch, vols. i.–xii. ('73–'81). New series [*RP*$^{(2)}$] ed. A. H. Sayce, vols. i.–vi., '88–'92. See ASSYRIA, § 35.
RS or *Rel. Sem.*	*Religion of the Semites.* See W. R. Smith.
RV	Revised Version (NT, '80; OT, '84; Apocrypha, '95).
RWB	G. B. Winer (1789–1858), *Biblisches Realwörterbuch,* '20; $^{(3)}$, 2 vols., '47 *f.*
Rys.	Ryssel; cp. Dillmann, Bertheau.
Saad.	R. Sa'adya (Sĕ'adya; Ar. Sa'îd), the tenth century Jewish grammarian and lexicographer (b. 892); Explanations of the *hapax-legomena* in the OT, etc.
Sab.	Sabæan, less fittingly called Himyaritic; the name given to a class of S. Arabian inscriptions.
Sab. Denkm.	*Sabäische Denkmäler,* edd. Müller and Mordtmann.
Sam.	Samaritan.
SBAW	*Sitzungsberichte der Berlinischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
SBE	*The Sacred Books of the East,* translated by various scholars and edited by the Rt. Hon. F. Max Müller, 50 vols. 1879 *ff.*
SBOT (Eng.)	[Otherwise known as the *Polychrome Bible*] *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament, a new Eng. transl., with Explanatory Notes and Pictorial Illustrations; prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and of America, and edited, with the assistance of Horace Howard Furness, by Paul Haupt,* '97 *ff.*
SBOT (Heb.)	Haupt, *The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; a critical edition of the Hebrew text, printed in colours, with notes, prepared by eminent biblical scholars of Europe and America, under the editorial direction of Paul Haupt,* '93 *ff.*
Schöpf.	Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit u. Endzeit,* '95.
Schr.	E. Schrader; editor of *KB* [*q.v.*]:
KGF	*Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung,* '78.
KAT	*Die Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament,* '72; $^{(2)}$, '83.
COT	Eng. transl. of *KAT*$^{(2)}$ *by* O. C. Whitehouse, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament,* 2 vols., '85, '88 (the pagination of the German is retained in the margin of the Eng. ed.).
Schür.	E. Schürer:
GJV	*Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi;* i. Einleitung u. Politische Geschichte, '90; ii. Die Inneren Zustände Palästinas u. des jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter

Jesu Christi, '86; new ed. vol. ii. Die Inneren Zustände, '98, vol. iii. Das Judenthum in der Zerstreuung u. die jüdische Literatur, '98.

Hist. . ET of above ('90 *ff.*). Vols. 1 *f.* (*i.e.*, Div. i. vols. 1 *f.*) = vol. 1 of German; vols. 3-5 (*i.e.*, Div. ii. vols. 1-3) = vol. 2 of German [= vols. ii., iii. of [3]].

Selden . . J. Selden, *de Jure naturali et gentium juxta disciplinam Ebræorum*, 7 bks., 1665. *de Diis Syris*, 1617.

Sem. . . Semitic.

Sin. . . Sinaitic; see ARAMAIC, § 4.

Smend, *Listen* . Smend, *Die Listen der Bücher Esra u. Nehemiah*, '81.

Smith

GASm. . George Adam Smith:

HG . *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church*, '94 (additions to [4], '96.)

WRS . . William Robertson Smith ('46-'94):

OTJC *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, '81; [2], revised and much enlarged, '92; (Germ. transl. by Rothstein, '94).

Proph. . *The Prophets of Israel and their place in History, to the close of the eighth century B.C.*, '82; [2], with introduction and additional notes by T. K. Cheyne, '95.

Kin. . *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, '85.

R[el.]S[em.] *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites:* 1st ser., The Fundamental Institutions, '89; new and revised edition (*RS*[2]), '94; Germ. transl. by Stube, '99.

[The MS notes of the later Burnett Lectures—on Priesthood, Divination and Prophecy, and Semitic Polytheism and Cosmogony—remain unpublished, but are occasionally cited by the editors in the *Encyclopædia Biblica* as 'Burnett Lects. MS.]'

SP . . . A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their history*, '56, last ed. '96.

Spencer . . *De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus* (2 vols. 1727).

SS . . . Siegfried and Stade, *Hebräisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testamente*, '93.

St., Sta. . . B. Stade:

GVI. . *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, '81-'88.

Abh. . . *Ausgewählte Akademische Reden u. Abhandlungen*, '99.

St. Kr. . . *Studien und Kritiken*, '28 *ff.*

Stad. m. m. . *Stadiasmus magni maris* (Marcianus).

Stud. Bibl. . *Studia Biblica, Essays in Biblical Archæology and Criticism and kindred subjects*, 4 vols., '85-'91.

Sw. . . . H. B. Swete, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Septuagint;* [1], '87-'94; [2], '95-'99.

SWAW . . *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.*

Sym[m]. . . Symmachus, author of a Greek version of the Old Testament (*circa* 200 A.D.). See TEXT.

Syr. . . . Syriac. See ARAMAIC, § 11 *f.*

Tab. Peut. . *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Desjardins, '68.

Talm. Bab. Jer. Talmud, Babylonian or Jerusalem, consisting of the text of the Mishna broken up into small sections, each followed by the discursive comment called Gĕmārā. See LAW LITERATURE.

T[ar]g. . . Targum. See TEXT.

Jer. . . The (fragmentary) Targum Jerushalmi.

Jon. . . Targum Jonathan, the name borne by the Babylonian Targum to the Prophets.

Onk. . . Targum Onkelos, the Babylonian Targum to the Pentateuch (towards end of second century A.D.).

ps.-Jon. . The Targ. to the Pentateuch, known by the name of Jonathan.

TBS . . *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis:* see Wellhausen; or *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel:* see Driver.

temp. . . tempore (in the time [of]).

T[extus] R[eceptus] The 'received text' of the NT. See TEXT.

Th[e]. . . Thenius, *die Bücher Samuelis* in *KGH*, '42; [2], '64; [3], Löhr, '98.

Theod. . . Theodotion (end of second century), author of a Greek version of the Old Testament ('rather a revision of the LXX than a new translation'). See TEXT.

Theol. Studiën . *Studiën*, published in connection with *Th. T* (see DEUTERONOMY, § 33₂).

Thes. . . See Gesenius. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, '68 *ff.*

Th. T . . *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, '67 *ff.*

Ti. or Tisch. . Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Græce*, editio octava critica maior, '69-'72.

TLZ . . *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, '76 *ff.*

Tosephta . . See LAW LITERATURE.

Treg. . . S. P. Tregelles, *The Greek New Testament; edited from ancient authorities*, '57-'72.

Tristram . . H. B. Tristram:

FFP . . *The Fauna and Flora of Palestine*, '89.

NHB . *The Natural History of the Bible*, [8], '89.

TSBA . . *Transactions of Soc. Bib. Archæol.*, vols. i.-ix., '72 *ff.*

Tüb. Z. f. Theol. *Tübingen Zeitschrift f. Theologie*, '28 *ff.*

Untersuch. . *Untersuchungen.* See Nöldeke, Winckler.

Urgesch. . . *Die biblische Urgeschichte.* See Budde.

v. . . . verse.

Var. Apoc. . *The Apocrypha* (AV) *edited with various renderings, etc.*, by C. J. Ball.

Var. Bib. . *The Old and New Testaments* (AV) *edited with various renderings, etc.*, by T. K. Cheyne, S. R.

Driver (OT), and R. L. Clarke, A. Goodwin, W. Sanday (NT) [otherwise known as the *Queen's printers' Bible*].

Vet. Lat. . . Versio Vetus Latina; the old-Latin version (made from the Greek); later superseded by the Vulgate. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

Vg. . . . Vulgate, Jerome's Latin Bible: OT from Heb., NT a revision of Vet. Lat. (end of 4th and beginning of 5th cent.). See TEXT.

We., Wellh. . Julius Wellhausen.
- *De Gent.* — *De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis quæ in* 1 *Chr.* 2 4 *numerantur Dissertatio* ('70).
- *TBS* . — *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* ('71).
- *Phar. u. Sadd.* — *Die Pharisäer u. d. Sadducäer; eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschicht* ('74).
- *Gesch.* . — *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i. ('78).
- *Prol.* . — 2nd ed. of *Gesch.*, entitled *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*, '83; ET '85; 4th Germ. ed. '95.
- *IJG* . . — *Israelitische u. jüdische Geschichte*, '94; [3], '97; an amplification of *Abriss der Gesch. Israels u. Juda's* in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten,' '84. The *Abriss* was substantially a reproduction of 'Israel' in *EB*[9] ('81; republished in ET of *Prol.* ['85] and separately as *Sketch of Hist. of Israel and Judah*, [3], '91).
- [*Ar.*]*Heid.* — *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (in 'Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten') ('87; [2], '97).
- *Kl. Proph.* — *Die Kleinen Propheten übersetzt, mit Noten* ('92; [3], '98).
- *CH* . . — *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* ('85; Zweiter Druck, mit Nachträgen, '89; originally published in *JDT* 21 392 *ff.*, ['76], 22 407 ['77], and in Bleek, *Einl.* [4], '78).

Weber . . *System der Altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*; or *Die Lehren des Talmud*, '80 (edited by Franz Delitzsch and Georg Schnedermann); [2], *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*, '97 (ed. Schnedermann).

Wetstein . . J. J. Wetstein, *Novum Testamentum Græcum*, etc., 2 vols. folio; 1751-1752.

Wetz. . . Wetzstein, *Ausgewählte griechische und lateinische Inschriften, gesammelt auf Reisen in den Trachonen und um das Haurângebirge*, '63; *Reisebericht über Haurân und Trachonen*, '60.

WF . . . Wellhausen-Furness, *The book of Psalms* ('98) in *SBOT* (*Eng.*).

WH [W & H] . Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, '81.

Wi. Hugo Winckler:
- *Unters.* . — *Untersuchungen z. Altorientalischen Geschichte*, '89.
- *Alt*[*test*]. *Unt.* — *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, '92.
- *GBA* . — *Geschichte Babyloniens u. Assyriens*, '92.
- *AOF* or *AF* — *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 1st ser. i.-vi., '93-'97; 2nd ser. (*AF*[2]) i., '98 *f.*
- *GI* . . — *Geschichte Israels in einzeldarstellungen*, i. '95.
- *Sarg.* . — *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, '89.
- *KB*5. . — *Die Thontafeln von Tell-el-Amarna* (ET Metcalf).

Wilk. . . J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, '37-'41; [2] by Birch, 3 vols., '78.

Winer . . G. B. Winer:
- *RWB* . — *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*; see *RWB.*
- *Gram.* . — *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*[8], neu bearbeitet von Paul Wilh. Schmiedel, '94 *ff.*; ET of 6th ed., W. F. Moulton, '70.

WMM . . See *As. u. Eur.*

Wr. . . . W. Wright:
- *Comp. Gram.* — *Lectures on the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, '90.
- *Ar. Gram.* — *A Grammar of the Arabic Language, translated from the German of Caspari and edited, with numerous additions and corrections* by W. Wright; [2] 2 vols., '74-'75; [3] revised by W. Robertson Smith and M. J. de Goeje, vol. i. '96, vol. ii. '98.

WRS . . William Robertson Smith. See Smith.

WZKM . . *Wiener Zeitschrift für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 87 *ff.*

Yāḳūt . . The well-known Arabian geographical writer (1179-1229). *Kitab Mo'jam el-Buldān* edited by F. Wüstenfeld (*Jacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch*, '66-'70).

Z . . . *Zeitschrift* (Journal).

ZA . . . *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie u. verwandte Gebiete*, '86 *ff.*

ZÄ . . . *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache u. Alterthumskunde*, '63 *ff.*

ZATW . . *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, '81 *ff.*

ZDMG . . *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, '46 *ff.*

ZDPV . . *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins*, '78 *ff.*

ZKF . . *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, '84 *f.*, continued as *ZA.*

ZKM . . See *WZKM.*

ZKW . . *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft u. kirchliches Leben* (ed. Luthardt), i.-ix., '80-'89 *ff.*

ZLT . . *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, '40-'78.

ZTK . . *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, '91 *ff.*

ZWT . . *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* (ed. Hilgenfeld), '58 *ff.*

ABBREVIATIONS, SYMBOLS, AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

ACL	*Altchristliche Litteratur: e.g.*— Adolf Harnack. *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, of which there appeared in 1893 Pt. I. *Die Ueberlieferung und der Bestand*, and in 1897, Pt. II. *Die Chronologie*, vol. I. down to Irenæus (cited also as *Chronol.*, 1). Gustav Krüger, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1895 (in *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*).
APK	F. Spiegel, *Die alt-persischen Keilinschriften*, 1862, (2) 1881.
Crit. Bib. . . .	Cheyne, *Critica Biblica*, 1903.
GÄ	*Geschichte Aegyptens.*
OCL	W. C. van Manen, *Handleiding voor de Oudchristelijke Letterkunde*, 1900.
Ohnefalsch-Richter .	M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel, und Homer*, 1893.
SMAW . . .	*Sitzungsberichte der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Munich.
S(yr.) c(ur.) . .	Curetonian Syriac version of NT (see TEXT, § 25).
S(yr.) s(in.) . .	Sinaitic Syriac version of NT (see TEXT, § 25).

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Q

QUAIL (שְׂלָו, *śĕlāw*, Kr. שְׂלָיו, *śĕlayw*; ορτυγομητρα;[1] *coturnix*). Mentioned in EV in Ex. 16$_{13}$ Nu. 11$_{31}$*f.* Ps. 105$_{40}$ Wisd. 16$_{2}$ 19$_{12}$†; cp עוף כנף, Ps. 78$_{27}$. That the quail, not the sand-grouse (?) or the locust (Hasselquist's alternatives, *Travels*, 443) or the crane (Dean Stanley and H. S. Palmer, see § 2, note 2) is meant, is generally recognised.

1. Identification. The Ar. word for 'quail,' *salwā*, which is a loan-word, was found by C. Niebuhr (1774) to be still in use in Egypt. Another word for it is *sumānā*, given to it because of its 'fatness,' and Lagarde (*Uebers.* 81) has proposed to connect the name with Eshmun-Iolaos, the god who restored Heracles to life by giving him a quail to smell at. The quail was annually sacrificed among the Phœnicians in the month Feb.-Mar. to commemorate the reviving of Heracles (Athen. 9 47, referred to by WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 469). There is no trace, however, of the sacred character of this bird among the Arabians or the Hebrews.

The *Coturnix communis* or *C. dactylisonans* of ornithologists is well-known in the Sinaitic peninsula, where it passes, migrating northward in spring, in immense flights. Tristram found them in the Jordan valley (*Land of Israel*, 460). They arrive in Palestine in March and April—though a few remain there during the winter—on the way to their breeding-places in the plains and cornfields of the upper country. Even these flocks are said to be surpassed in numbers by the autumn flight when they return S. to their winter-quarters. The quail flies very low, which Dillmann supposed to explain the important clause at the end of Nu. 11$_{31}$ (but see § 2). It is soon fatigued, and hence falls an easy prey to man. 160,000 have been captured in a season at Capri, where their plump flesh is esteemed a delicacy, as indeed it is all along the shores of the Mediterranean. They were salted and stored as food by the ancient Egyptians (Herod. 2 77).

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

2. The quails of the wanderings. There are two references to a supply of quails for the food of the Israelites—viz., in Ex. 16$_{12}$*f.* (scene, the wilderness of Sin, on the way to Sinai), and in Nu. 11$_{18-23}$ $_{31-34}$ (scene, Kibroth-hattaavah, after the departure from Sinai). The former belongs to P. He has just made Moses and Aaron tell the Israelites that in the evening they shall know that Yahwè has brought them out of Egypt, and that in the morning they shall see Yahwè's glory (*vv.* 6 *f.*). The evening event is the arrival of the quails; the morning event is the lighting down of the manna. The redactor has omitted P's account of the fall of the manna, the passage from 'the dew lay round' to 'has given you to eat' being J's (see Baentsch). The narrative in Nu. 11 [J] is much more detailed. The announcement of the quails specifies a month as the period during which quails should be eaten; after this the flesh was to become loathsome to the eaters. The coming of the quails is thus described (*vv.* 31-34), 'And a wind from Yahwè [a SE. wind, Ps. 78$_{26}$] took up quails from the sea [read וְרוּחַ מֵאֵת י׳ נָשָׂא שלוים],[1] and made them to fall by the camp, about a day's journey on this side, and a day's journey on the other side, round about the camp, like heaps of wheat[2] (כְּמוֹ־עֲרֵמִים) on the face of the ground.' The appropriateness of the figure is clear from what follows. 'And the people rose up all that day, and all the night, and all the next day, and gathered the quails; he that gathered least gathered ten homers, and they spread them all about for themselves [to dry them] round about the camp.' But the result was a fatal malady. 'While the flesh was yet between their teeth, ere it was chewed, the anger of Yahwè was kindled against the people,' etc. The story (with which cp Ps. 78$_{26-31}$) is told to account for the name 'Kibroth-hattaavah' (graves of lust); it belongs to the large class of ætiological legends. The more correct name, however, is probably 'Taberah.' See KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH.

T. K. C.

3. The malady. The peculiarity of the incident needs some better explanation than a reference to the statement of Aristotle (*d. Plant.* 1 5; cp Bochart, ii. 1 15) that quails eat poisonous things—*e.g.*, hellebore—which are harmful to men. It may be more instructive, therefore, to give a parallel case from the Elizabethan voyages. The ship 'Desire' belonging to Cavendish's last and ill-fated expedition to the east by way of the Pacific, put back for home from the Straits of Magellan in 1592. They came to anchor at a harbour in Patagonia, named after the vessel Port Desire, and found on an island near it such numbers of penguins that the men could hardly go without treading on them. A party of twenty-two men was landed on the island to kill the birds and dry them on the rocks. From 30th Oct. to 22nd Dec.

1 ὀρτυγομήτρα means properly (see L. and S.) 'a bird which migrates with the quails,' perhaps = κρέξ, the land-rail, *Rallus crex*; but Photius and Hesychius explain as = 'a large ὄρτυξ' (Di.). The right Gk. word for quail, ὄρτυξ, is given by Jos. and Gr. Ven. On Rabbinical notices see *Jomā*, 75 *b*. Cp also FOWL, § 1, col. 1159, and n. 1.

1 [The traditional text contains two improbabilities—נָסַע, applied to a wind (Pasek should put us on our guard), and וַיָּגָז (𝔊, ἐξεπέρασεν), from גזז, which occurs again only in Ps. 90$_{10}$, where (see Che. *Ps.*(2)) it is corrupt. Both words spring out of the reading נָשָׂא, which alone suits the sense. The corruption, however, must be very old because of Ps. 78$_{26}$.—T. K. C.]

2 [The text has 'about two cubits' (כְּאַמָּתַיִם), which the commentators suppose to refer to the very low flight of the quails. Dean Stanley, however, (*SP*, 82) thought that large cranes (storks?) *three feet high* might be meant. Only our subservience to MT has prevented us from seeing that the true text must be כְּמוֹ־עֲרֵמִים, a figure which occurs again in Ex. 15$_{8}$ (כְּמוֹ־נֵד־נֶעֶרְמוּ).—T. K. C.]

they killed and dried 20,000; the captain (John Davis), the master, and John Lane, the narrator, were able to make a small quantity of salt by evaporating sea-water in holes of the rocks, wherewith they salted a certain number of birds. 'Thus God did feed us even as it were with manna from heaven.' Only 14,000 dried penguins could be got on board. The crew were put on rations of which the principal part was five penguins every day among four men. It was not until some time after that disease broke out, the dried birds having begun to breed a large worm in appalling numbers in the warmer latitudes.

Various symptoms of the malady here described are sufficiently characteristic of the acute dropsical form of the disease called beri-beri (some derive the name from the Arabic); there are, however, dropsical conditions caused by parasitic worms apart from the special dietetic errors to which beri-beri is commonly ascribed. But, however this may be, the parallelism between the two narratives is obvious. There is the same generic cause, and the quail is a fat bird, like the penguin, which would corrupt the more easily if it were dried with its fat. In St. Kilda, where the diet used to be of air-dried gannets and fulmars, it was customary to remove the fat before curing. C. C.

A. E. S.—S. A. C., § 1; T. K. C., § 2; C. C., § 3.

QUARRIES (RVmg. 'graven images'; פְּסִלִים; ΤΩΝ ΓΛΥΠΤΩΝ; *idola*, Judg. 3 19 26†). The *pĕsīlīm* near Gilgal are a well-known landmark. Heb. usage of *pĕsel* favours the sense 'sculptured sacred stones' (so Moore, Budde). Many scholars find an allusion to the stones mentioned in Josh. 4 8 20. If so, *pĕsīlīm* is used in its original sense of 'hewn stones.' Cp Ass. *pašallu*, a pillar; Tg. Pesh. give 'quarries,' a guess.

The view of the Ehud-story advocated elsewhere (see JERICHO, § 2), which detects an underlying form in which the place-names, now corrupted, were of the Negeb, throws doubt on both the above theories. Among the possible corruptions of ישמעאל (Ishmael) is פסל or פסיל: cp SHELEPH. In order to escape to Seirah (for the reading adopted by the present writer see SEIRAH), Ehud had to pass an outpost of Ishmaelites (= Jerahmeelites); for Eglon, the Miṣrite king, was a Jerahmeelite (see *v.* 13, where 'Ammon' and 'Amalek' both = 'Jerahmeel'). For פסילים, read therefore probably ישמעאלים.

2. Josh. 7 5 RVmg., see SHEBARIM. T. K. C.

QUARTERMASTER (שַׂר־מְנוּחָה), Jer. 51 59 RVmg. See SERAIAH, 4.

QUARTUS (ΚΟΥΑΡΤΟΣ [Ti. WH]) adds his salutation to that of Tertius, addressed to the Christians in Rome, at the close of Rom. 16 (22 *f.*). It has been conjectured that he may have been one of those Jews who were expelled from Rome by Claudius. See, further, SIMON (the Cyrenian).

In the lists of the seventy disciples by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus he appears as bishop of Berytus. In the apocryphal *Acts of Peter and Paul* he is a member of the prætorian guard, one of the soldiers who have charge of Paul in Rome.

QUATERNION (ΤΕΤΡΑΔΙΟΝ: Acts 12 4), a guard of four soldiers.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN (מְלֶכֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם; 𝔊 Η ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ, except Jer. 7 18 Η ΣΤΡΑΤΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ[1] [Aq. Sym. Theod. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗ]; Vg. *regina caeli;* Pesh. *pulḥān šemayyā*, except Jer. 44 19 *malkat šemayyā;*[2] Tg. כוכבת שמיא), an object of worship to which offerings were made by inhabitants of Jerusalem and other cities of Judah in the seventh century and by Jewish refugees in Egypt after the fall of the kingdom; see Jer. 7 16-20 44 15-30.

1. Cult.

The peculiarity of this worship appears, from Jeremiah's description, to have been the offering of a special kind of cakes which were made by the Jewish women with the assistance of their families ('the boys gather firewood and the fathers kindle the fire and the women knead dough to make cakes,' etc., Jer. 7 18; cp 44 19). The cakes were offered to the deity by fire (44 15 17 *ff.* 21 25; *kiṭṭēr*, קטר, erroneously translated in EV, 'burn incense'), and the burning was accompanied by libations (44 17 *f.*). These rites were performed 'in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem' (7 17 44 17); the worship seems to have been domestic, and perhaps specifically a woman's cult (see 44 15 19 25);[1] that the men assist in the preparations (7 18) and assume their share of the responsibility (44 15 *ff.*) is not inconsistent with the latter view, nor are the expressions in which the prevalence of the worship is affirmed (44 17).[2]

The cakes (*kawwānīm*, כַּוָּנִים, Jer. 7 18 44 19†;[3] 𝔊 χαυῶνες, and in the latter passage χαυανες [Q*], χαυβωνες [א*]; Vg. *placenta;* Pesh. *zauthārē*, a species of sacrificial cakes;[4] Tg. כרדיטין or כרדוטין, perhaps χονδρῖται,[5] Gen. 40 16) were rightly compared by Chrysostom and other early commentators to the πόπανα or πέμματα of the Greeks, of which there were many varieties.[6] Some of these were made in the likeness of a victim; others imaged or symbolised the deity to whom they were offered.[7]

It has been thought by many that the *kawwānim* of the queen of heaven represented the moon,[8] or—upon a different view of her nature—the planet Venus (see below, § 3). Jer. 44 19 has been understood to testify to the iconic character of these cakes, the verb לְהַעֲצִבָהּ being connected with עצבים (IDOL, § 1*b*),[9] and translated 'to image her'; but both the text and the interpretation are extremely doubtful.

2. Title.

The translation 'Queen of Heaven' (EV) represents *malkat haššāmáyim;* and this interpretation—the only one which would naturally suggest itself to one who read the words מלכת השמים in an unpointed text—is supported by the oldest exegetical tradition (𝔊). The vowelled text, however, gives מְלֶכֶת (*mĕlĕket*), treating מלכת as a defective spelling of מלאכת from מלאכה,[10] 'work,' and this view of the derivation of the word is represented by Pesh. *pulḥān šemayyā* (religious work, cultus). The Jewish scholars with whom this interpretation originated doubtless thought that the worship of the מלכת השמים in Jer. 7 44 was the same as the worship of the 'host of heaven' (צבא השמים), Jer. 8 2 19 13 Zeph. 1 5 Dt. 4 19 17 3, etc.

This identification, suggested perhaps by a general comparison of the references to these cults, would seem to be confirmed by the passages in which the worship of the מלכת השמים appears to be equivalent to burning offerings or making libations 'to other gods' (see 7 18 44 15; cp 17-19), as though the cult were addressed to a collective object such as the heavenly bodies. A warrant for taking the word מלאכה in this sense was found in Gen. 2 where מלאכה (God's 'work which he wrought') in *v.* 2*a* is obviously parallel to צבא in *v.* 1.[11] This opinion was known to Jerome, who writes (*Comm.* on Jer. 7 18): reginæ cæli . . . 'quam lunam debemus accipere, vel certe militiæ cæli, ut omnes stellas intelligamus,' and is given a place in the margin of AV, 'frame, or workmanship of heaven.'

Modern scholars, however, almost without exception, have adopted the older and more natural interpretation, 'queen of heaven.' This prevailing opinion was vigorously assailed by Stade in 1886; he maintained

1 Probably reading צבא, as in 8 2 19 13.
2 Contamination from 𝔊, which is otherwise demonstrable in this verse.

1 Peritz, *JBL* 17 121 (1898), without apparent reason, connects 2 K. 23 7*b* with this cult.
2 See, for the opposite opinion, Stade, *ZATW* 6 127 *ff.*
3 See BAKEMEATS, § 2.
4 [See Lagarde, *Ges. Abh.* 42, 108.]
5 Jastrow, *Dictionary*, *s.v.* [otherwise Levy, *Targ. HWB*, 384 *f.*].
6 See Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 1060 *ff.*
7 See Stengel, *Griech. Kultusaltertümer*(2), 90; for similar customs among other peoples see Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 436 *ff.*
8 Comparing the ἀμφιφῶντες of Artemis at the Munychia, Athen. 14 645 A; Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*, 1 312.
9 So Sym., Tg., Rashi, and others.
10 Omission of silent א. Examples of this spelling occur in Phœnician inscriptions—*e.g.*, *CIS* 1 no. 86 A *ll.* 6 9. On the other hand, many Hebrew MSS in our passage have introduced א into the text.
11 Abarbanel on Jer. 44 15, as the opinion of older interpreters. Similarly Stade, *ZATW* 6 339. See also *Dĕbārim rabbā*, § 10 end.

that מלכת השמים (? *malkūt*) was a collective, 'the rule, that is, the ruling powers, of heaven,' a more comprehensive term than 'host of heaven'; at a later stage of the controversy he was inclined to conjecture that מלכת (מלאכת, 'work'; cp Gen. 2 1 *f.*) had been substituted for צבא by a scribe or editor to whom the word צבא was offensive. Stade did not, however, establish his main contention that the rendering 'queen of heaven' must be rejected; the result of the discussion upon this point was rather to confirm the conviction that that is the only satisfactory interpretation of the words.[1]

It is not probable that a deity invoked as queen of heaven, to whose displeasure at the neglect of her worship the contemporaries of Jeremiah could attribute the calamities that had befallen them and their country, was a minor figure in the Semitic pantheon; the presumption is that the rites described by the prophet belonged to a specific cult of the great goddess Astarte. The title seems also to indicate that the worship was addressed to one of the heavenly bodies, and was one of the particular cults embraced in the general prophetic condemnation of the worship of the 'sun and moon and the whole host of heaven.' From an early time it has been disputed whether the queen of heaven in the sky was the moon[2] or the planet Venus.[3] The former opinion was probably in its origin only an application of the general theory which in the last centuries of the ancient world identified all manner of goddesses with the moon; in modern times it has appeared to follow from the current though ill-founded belief that the Astarte of the western Semites was a moon goddess. (See ASHTORETH, § 4.) In the Babylonian system, which was at the height of its influence in the W. in the seventh century, the star of Ištar was the planet Venus, whilst the moon was a great god, Sin. The traces in Syria and Arabia of cults similar to that described by Jeremiah connect themselves with the worship of Venus. Thus the name Collyridians was given to a heretical Arab sect because their women offered cakes to the Virgin Mary, to whom they paid divine honours.[4] See also Isaac of Antioch, ed. Bickell, 1 244 *ff.*

3. Identification.

More than one of the questions discussed above would be put beyond controversy if it were established that ***malkatu***, or ***malkatu ša šamē***, the literal equivalent of the Heb. ***malkat haššāmáyim***, occurs in cuneiform texts as a title of Ištar;[5] but that the ideogram *AA* should be read ***malkatu*** is at best a plausible conjecture, on which no conclusions can properly be based. Ištar is called, however, ***bēlit šamē*** and *šarrat šamē*,[6] the latter exactly corresponding in meaning to the Hebrew ***malkat haššāmayim***, 'queen of heaven.' In a catalogue of the names of Venus in various regions and languages preserved by Syrian lexicographers we are told that Venus was called ***malkat šemayyā*** by the Arzanians,[7] that is the inhabitants of Arzon, a diocese in the province of Nisibis (*ZDMG* 43 394 n.). The list shows in other particulars accurate information, and may be taken as evidence that a cult of Venus with the epiklesis 'queen of heaven' survived in that locality into Christian times.

Herodotus (1 105) sets it down that the temple of Aphrodite Urania in Askalon was the oldest seat of her worship; thence it passed to Cyprus and Cythera.[8]

[1] See especially Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 186-211. [Cp, however, *Crit. Bib.*—T.K.C.]

[2] Jerome, Olympiodorus, and very many down to our own time.

[3] Tg., Isaac of Antioch, and others.

[4] Epiph. *Hær.* 78 c. 23 79 c. 1 18. Epiphanius recognises the identity with the worship of the queen of heaven in Jer. 7 44. It is in fact one of those direct transfers of a Venus cult to Mary of which there are many examples. See Rösch, 'Astarte-Maria,' *St. Kr.* 1888, pp. 265 *ff.*

[5] Schrader; for titles see below, § 4.

[6] Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 86.

[7] Bar Bahlūl, col. 244; some codd. have Darnāyē. See Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 16.

[8] See also Herodot. 1 131.

According to Pausanias (i. 36 7) the religion was of 'Assyrian' (Syrian) origin,[1] taken up by the people of Paphos in Cyprus and of Ascalon in Phœnicia; the Cytherans learned it from the Phœnicians (cp iii. 23 1); it was introduced into Athens by Ægeus. We may take these passages as evidence of the belief of the Greeks that the worship of the 'heavenly' goddess ('Αφροδίτη Οὐρανία, more often simply ἡ Οὐρανία)[2] was of oriental origin. It is highly probable that in this they were right,[3] and that the epiklesis is in some way connected with the title Queen of Heaven in the Semitic religions.[4]

The goddess of Carthage, in the inscriptions *T-n-t* (pronunciation unknown), must have had a similar title, since by Latin writers and in Latin inscriptions she is called Cœlestis.[5]

Milkat in Phœnician and Punic proper names, on the other hand, is more probably the divine sovereign of the city or community (cp *Milk*) than of the heavens.

4. Literature.

G. F. Meinhard, 'Dissertatio de selenolatria,' in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, 23 811 *ff.* (in *Thesaurus theologico-philologicus*, 1 808 *ff.* this dissertation appears under the name of Calovius; the older literature very fully given and discussed); Frischmuth, 'Dissertatio de Melechet caeli,' in *Thesaurus theologico-philologicus*, 1 866 *ff.*; J. H. Ursinus, *Quæstiones biblicæ*, 2 21-25; J. G. Carpzov, *Apparatus antiquitatum*, 510 *f.*; B. Stade, 'Die vermeintliche Königin des Himmels,' *ZATW*, 6 123-132 (1886); 'Das vermeintliche aramäisch-assyrisches Aequivalent der מלכת השמים, Jer. 7 44,' *ZATW* 6 289-339 (1886); E. Schrader, 'Die מלכת השמים und ihr Aramäisch-assyrisches Aequivalent, *SBBA*, 1886, 1 477-491; 'Die Göttin Ištar als ***malkatu***,' *ZA* 3 353-364; A. Kuenen, 'De Melechet des Hemels,' *Verslagen en mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschapen*, Afd. Letterkunde, 1888, pp. 157-189 (Germ. trans. [1894], Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 186-211); Eerdmans, *Melekdienst*, 53 *ff.*; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen*, 300 *f.*, cp 272 *ff.*; Grünbaum, 'Der Stern Venus,' *ZDMG*, 1888, pp. 45-51. G. F. M.

QUICKSANDS (ΣΥΡΤΙΣ: Acts 27 17), RV **Syrtis**, *q.v.*

QUILT (כְּבִיר), 1 S. 19 13 16, RVmg. See BED, §§ 3, 4 (*b*).

QUINCE. See APPLE, § 2 (4), col. 269.

QUINTUS MEMMIUS (2 Macc. 11 34). See MEMMIUS.

QUIRINIUS (ΚΥΡΗΝΙΟΣ [Ti. WH], Lk. 2 2). The name of this official is given in an inscription as P. Sulpicius Quirinius. The main facts of his life are given by Tacitus, *Ann.* 3 48. A native of Lanuvium, of an undistinguished family, he was elected consul in 12 B.C.; some years later he was sent on an expedition against the Homonadenses in Cilicia, who had vanquished Amyntas, king of Galatia. For his successes against these mountaineers he received the honour of a triumph. When Gaius Cæsar was sent out to the East in 2 A.D., Quirinius accompanied him as his tutor. In 6 A.D. Quirinius was appointed as legatus of the Emperor Governor of Syria, and in that capacity took over Judæa on the deposition of Archelaus, and made a census of the newly annexed district (Jos. *Ant.* 17 13 18 1). At this post he remained four or five years. At a later time (Tac. *Ann.* 3 22) he caused some scandal in Rome by accusing his divorced wife, Lepida, of having long before tried to poison him. Unpopular at Rome, he retained the favour of Tiberius, who in 21 A.D. procured him a public funeral.

1. Life.

To these facts one of importance is added by the celebrated Lapis Tiburtinus (*CIL* 14 3613), which inscription, though much mutilated, appears to prove that Quirinius' proconsulate of Syria in 6 A.D. had been preceded by an earlier tenure of the

[1] Cp *CIA*, 2 168 627 1588.

[2] Cp also Herod. 3 8 (Arabs). 'Heavenly' was originally meant in a physical sense; the ethical significance Plato gives it (*Sympos.* 180 D) is arbitrary, and in conflict with what we know of the attributes and cult of Urania.

[3] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 2 620 *f.* 629 *f.* 746 *ff.*

[4] See Theodoret on Jer. 44 17.

[5] Οὐρανία Herodian, *Ab exc. div. Marc.* 5 6; cp Philastrius, *Hær.* 15. See Röscher, 2 614 *ff.*; Cumont, in Pauly-Wissowa, 3 1247 *ff.*; cp PHŒNICIA, § 11 (col. 3745 *f.*).

same office. The view of Mommsen is that this previous tenure was in 3-1 B.C., and that the crushing of the Homonadenses, who dwelt in Cilicia, at that time attached to the province of Syria, was an event of this first proconsulate. It cannot well be dated earlier, because Sentius Saturninus governed Syria 9-7 B.C., and Quinctilius Varus from 7 B.C. to after the death of Herod (Tac. *Hist.* 5 9), since he put down a sedition which arose when Herod died.

Amid these facts, the statements of Lk. as to the date and circumstances of the birth of Jesus (2 1-5) raise intricate questions. The miraculous events preceding the birth cannot be discussed from the historical point of view; but the asserted census in Judæa and the journey of Joseph and Mary to Bethlehem come within the field of historical investigation.

2. The census.

Lk.'s statements are as follows :—

(1) Cæsar Augustus decreed a general census of the Roman world. Of such a general census nothing is known from other sources, though Augustus made a census of Roman citizens only. However, we need not delay over this statement, which is unimportant for our purpose, and may be merely an exaggeration.

(2) This census was first carried out in Palestine in the days of Herod, when Quirinius was governor of Syria. Here several difficulties arise. From the above-cited testimony of Tacitus, it appears that Quirinius was not proconsul of Syria until after the death of Herod. Palestine being not strictly a part of the Roman Empire, but a dependent or protected kingdom under Herod, a Roman census would not be carried out in that district. On the other hand, we know that when in 6 A.D. Archelaus the son of Herod was deposed from his tetrarchy of Judæa, and the district was annexed to the province of Syria, Quirinius, who was then for the second time proconsul of Syria, carried out a census in Judæa, which caused, as we learn from Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 1 1), much disaffection in that country. It is not unnatural to suspect that Lk. may have misdated his census.

(3) For the purposes of the census every man went to the abode of his family or clan; thus Joseph went to Bethlehem the town of David,[1] and with him his affianced wife, Mary. It is, however, pointed out that in a Roman census every man reported at his place of residence. No instance is known to us in antiquity in which the citizens of a country migrated to the ancestral home of their family, in order to be enrolled. In any case, no ancient census would require the presence of any but the head of a household. Women would certainly not have to appear in person.

These considerations have led many historians, such as Mommsen, Gardthausen, Keim, Weizsäcker, and Schürer, to the view that Lk.'s statements about the census of Quirinius are altogether mistaken. On the other hand, some writers, such as Huschke and Wieseler and many English theologians, have adopted an apologetic attitude in regard to Lk.'s statements.[2] The most recent apologetic work on the subject is that of Prof. W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* in which work it is pointed out in regard to Quirinius that Lk. does not say that it was he who conducted the census, but only that it was made when he was in some position of authority in Syria (ἡγεμών, not ἀνθύπατος, proconsul). He may have been in command of troops of the Syrian province against the Homonadenses at the time. It is further maintained that a census conducted by Herod in his own dominions might decidedly differ

3. Ramsay's Theory.

[1] [On the birthplace of David, see DAVID, § 1; DEBIR; JUDAH, § 4.]

[2] A summary, and refutation of their views will be found in Schürer's *GVI* (3) 510-543 (ET i. 2 105-143).

from a Roman census, especially in the point that the people might be numbered not by domicile, but by clan or family.

A new element has been introduced into the discussion by the discovery from papyri published by Messrs. Grenfell, Kenyon, and others, that an enrolment occurred in Egypt at intervals of fourteen years from the year 20 A.D. onwards, and probably from the time of the regulation of Egypt by Augustus, that is, also in the years 6 A.D. and 8 B.C., and further that this enrolment was a census by families, not a mere valuation of property. One or two definite, though not conclusive, pieces of evidence, seem to indicate that this periodical census was not confined to Egypt, but was, in some cases at all events, extended to Syria.

Arguing on the basis of this new discovery, Prof. Ramsay maintains that a census may probably have been held in Syria in 9-8 B.C., and gives certain reasons why, if Herod at the same time proposed a census in Judæa, he should have postponed it to the year 6 B.C., and then carried it out on a different plan from that usual in a Roman census. The date 6 B.C. Ramsay accepts as probably that of the birth of Jesus.

To set forth Prof. Ramsay's arguments at length is impossible, and they are so minute as not to bear compression. But if we grant their validity they leave unexplained several difficulties. Why should a census in Judæa be dated by Lk. by the irrelevant fact of a campaign being at the time fought by Quirinius in Cilicia? Even if an enrolment by tribes was carried out by Herod, would this be likely to involve a journey of all Jews to the native town of their family? How could the presence of Mary be required at Bethlehem, when it was a settled principle in all ancient law to treat the male head of a family as responsible for all its members? In Palestine especially it is difficult to imagine such a proceeding as the summoning of women to appear before an officer for enrolment. On all these questions the new discoveries shed no light.

The last difficulty is further increased by the use by Lk. of the word ἐμνηστευμένῃ (unless, indeed, it be an early emendation of the text by some scribe). For this word implies that Mary at the time was not the wife of Joseph, but only betrothed to him. In such circumstances her travelling with him to Bethlehem is even more inexplicable. She would not go as an heiress, or in her own right, as we have no reason to suppose that she was descended from David, and indeed from the context it is clear that she was not.

Josephus tells us that the census of Quirinius was a great innovation, causing alarm and revolt; it is therefore not easy to think that a similar census can have been held twelve or fourteen years earlier, and passed off with so little friction that Josephus does not mention it. It is true that Prof. Ramsay discriminates in character the earlier census which he supposes from the Roman census of Quirinius of 6 A.D.; but it is doubtful how far this view is maintainable, especially as Lk. uses the same word (ἀπογραφή) to designate the known census of Quirinius and the supposed earlier census (Acts 5 37). Thus there can be no doubt that the supposition of errors of fact in Lk. would, from the purely historical point of view, remove very great difficulties. The question which remains is whether our opinion of Lk. as a historian is so high that we prefer to retain these difficulties rather than to suppose serious errors in his narrative of the birth of Jesus. See, further, CHRONOLOGY, §§ 57 *ff.*; GOSPELS, § 22 (col. 1780, n. 2), and cp NATIVITY, NAZARETH. P. G.

QUIVER. 1. אַשְׁפָּה, *'ašpāh*, cp Ass. *išpatu*; φαρέτρα; *pharetra*; literally in Job 39 23 (𝔊 om.) Is. 22 6; figuratively in Is. 49 2 Ps. 127 5 (𝔊 ἐπιθυμίαν) Lam. 3 13 Jer. 5 16 (𝔊 om.)†. In Lam. 3 13 arrows are called 'sons of the quiver.'

2. תְּלִי, *teli*, φαρέτρα, *pharetra*; Gen. 27 3.† The sense, however, is uncertain. 𝔊, Vg., Tg., Ps.-Jon., Ibn Ezra, render 'quiver,' but Onk., Pesh., Rashi, 'sword.' √תלה means 'to hang, suspend.' Possibly תליך is a corrupt repetition (dittogram) of the preceding כליך, which word (EV 'thy weapons') would quite well refer to the quiver and arrows. Cp WEAPONS.

R

RAAMAH (רַעְמָה; ρεγμα [BAD^silEL] ρεγχμα [A]), one of the sons of CUSH [*q.v.*] Gen. 10 7 (but רַעְמָא; 1 Ch. 1 9 RV **Raama**). Raamah is also grouped with Sheba in Ezekiel's list of trade centres (27 22 רַעְמָה; *ραμα* [B], *ραγμα* [AQ]). A Sabæan inscription (Glaser, 1155) refers to 'the hosts of Saba and Ḥavilân' as attacking certain people 'on the caravan-route between Ma'ân (=Ma'în, ? Bab. Magan) and Raġmat' (Hommel, *AHT* 240; cp *ZDMG* 30 122). Here we have at any rate one Raamah. Glaser, however, places Raamah near Rās el-Khaima, on the Persian Gulf (*Skizze*, 2 252). Against identification with Regma, on the Arabian side of the same gulf, see Dillmann. Cp GEOGRAPHY, § 23, and *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10 7 Ezek. 27 22 where 'Raamah' is brought nearer to Palestine. See CUSH, 2; SABTA.

RAAMIAH (רַעַמְיָה, 'Yahwè thunders?' cp 3 R, 67, 46 *c d*, where Rammān, the storm-god, is called the god *ša rimi*, *i.e.*, 'of thunder' [Del. *Ass. HWB*, 605]; the Phœn. proper name רעמחנא is no support, the true reading being דעמחנא), one of the twelve leaders of the Jews, Neh. 7 7† (*δαεμια* [א], *ρεελμα* [A], *δαιμιας* [L], *ναaμια* [B], *ναεμια* [B^ab]; the last two readings are due to the proximity of NAHAMANI [*q.v.*]). Cp GOVERNMENT, § 26.

In Ezra 2 2 the name is miswritten as REELAIAH, and in Zech. 7 2 (probably) as REGEMMELECH (*q.v.*). All these forms seem to come from 'Jerahmeel'. The race-element counts for much in the later history of Israel [Che.].

RAAMSES (רַעַמְסֵס), Ex. 1 11. See RAMESES and cp PITHOM.

RAB. The use of רַב, *rab*, 'chief, head, leader' in compound titles descriptive of rank or office (corresponding to the Gr. αρχι-) is sufficiently well exemplified in Assyrian, Phœnician, and Aramaic.

Typical examples are:—*rab dup-šar-ri* 'head scribe' (see SCRIBE), and *rab nikasi* 'treasurer' (cp Heb. נְכָסִים), see Del. *Ass. HWB* 609*b*, Phœn. רב חרש, 'head workman' (*CIS* 1 64), רב ספרם, 'head of the scribes' (*ib.* 86 14), רב כהנם, 'head of the priests' (*ib.* 119), Palm. רב חילא, 'general,' רב שירתא, 'leader of the caravan' (in Gk. bilinguals *στρατηλάτης*, *συνοδιάρχης*[1]), רב שוק, 'chief of the market'[2] (cp רב אגרא, 'head of the ἀγορά'); and Nab. רב משריתא, 'chief of the camp(s).'

This usage of רב seems to be wanting in the S. Semitic stock, and in Hebrew is not frequent. Here the more common term employed is *śar* (שַׂר, peculiar to Heb.) which is frequently found in pre-exilic writings (cp PRINCE), and its occurrence in the later literature should be looked upon in some cases, perhaps, as a survival of a once popular idiom, and in others as an intentional archaism.

In the sense of 'great' the Heb. *rab* is not common[3] in the early writings; the best instances being the poetical fragment Gen. 25 23 ('elder' opposed to צעיר), Nu. 11 33 (J or E), 1 K. 19 7, Am. 6 2. In agreement with this is the usage of the Heb. compounds of רב which express a rank or office. Of foreign origin, on the other hand, are the compounds Rab-saris, Rab-shakeh, and Rab-mag, which appear to be titles borrowed from the Assyrian. The rest occur in later literature only, and are mere descriptions of office.

It is very probable that they have been formed simply upon Assyrian or Babylonian analogy; (*a*) רַב טַבָּחִים, 2 K. 25 8 (in an exilic or post-exilic narrative, see KINGS, § 2 n. 2); cp רַב טַבָּחַיָּא, Dan. 2 14†;[1] EV 'captain of the guard,' AVmg. 'chief marshal' (*ἀρχιμάγειρος* [87 BAQL]),[2] see EXECUTIONER, 1. Contrast with this שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים, Gen. 37 36 39 1 41 12; (*b*) רַב בֵּית, Esth. 1 8†, officer of the household (*οἰκονόμος* [BאALβ]); and (*c*) רַב סָרִיסָיו, Dan. 1 3† (see RAB-SARIS), but שַׂר הַסָּרִיסִים, Dan. 1 7-11 18† (*ἀρχιευνοῦχος* [87 BAQΓ]). שׂר must probably be looked upon here as an intentional archaism. The writer has modelled the narrative of Daniel to some extent upon that of Joseph (Bevan, *Dan.* 31), and remembers the שַׂר הָאוֹפִים, שַׂר הַמַּשְׁקִים, and שַׂר הַטַּבָּחִים, which recur in Gen. 39-41.

S. A. C.

RABBAH. RABBATH of the Ammonites (רַבַּת, רַבָּה בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן, *ραββα*, Josh. 13 25 [A], Am. 1 14 6 2 1 Ch. 20 1 [B *bis*, once *ραββαν* as accusative]; *ραββαθ*, 2 S. 11 1 12 27 29 Jer. 49 2 [A], 1 Ch. 20 1 [*bis* A]; *ραββαθ υἱῶν αμμων*, 2 S. 12 26 [B], 17 2 17 [A], Ezek. 21 20; *ρεββαθ* Jer. 49 3 [א]; *ραββωθ* Jer. 49 3 [Q*vid.]; *ραβαθ* Jer. 49 2 [א*]; *ραβαθ υἱῶν Αμμων*, 2 S. 12 26 [A], 17 27 [B]. In Dt. 3 11 𝔊 translates *ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν υἱῶν Αμμων* and in Ezek. 25 5, *τὴν πόλιν τοῦ Αμμων*. In Josh. 13 25, B reads Ἀράδ. The Vulgate has *Rabba* or *Rebbath* according to the Hebrew construction, except in Jer. 49 3 Ezek. 25 5 where we have *Rabbath* for רַבָּה. In Polyb. *Hist.* v. 7 4, it appears as *ραββαταμανα*).

1. Name.

Rabbah is mentioned in Dt. 3 11 as the location of Og's 'bed' or sarcophagus (see BED, § 3); also in Josh. 13 25, in connection with the borders of Gad. In 2 S. 11 *f.* 1 Ch. 20 we have an account of the siege and capture of Rabbah by Joab and David. In the oracles against Ammon by Amos, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, Rabbah represents Ammon, as being its one important city. Jer. 49 4 refers to the treasures and the well-watered valleys of Rabbah, and Ezek. 25 5 Amos 1 14 to its palaces. These oracles announce the ruin of Rabbah as part of the punishment of Ammon. In Ezek. 21 20 Nebuchadrezzar hesitates whether to march against Jerusalem or Rabbah, but decides for Jerusalem by casting lots. Thus Rabbah was the capital of Ammon during the whole period of the history of the Ammonites, and shared their fortunes throughout (see AMMON). It has been suggested that Rabbah may be the Ham (see HAM, 2) of Gen. 14 5.

2. History.

Rabbah continued an important city in post-exilic times. It is not mentioned in OT in connection with the Jewish history of the period; but the Ammonites are referred to in Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, and Judith, and doubtless Rabbath remained their capital. Ptolemy Philadelphus, 285-247 B.C., gave it the name of Philadelphia, and probably by erecting buildings and introducing settlers gave it the character of a Greek city; it became one of the most important cities of the Decapolis, Eus. *Onom.* Ῥαμαδ and Ἀμμαν.

In 218 B.C. it was taken from Ptolemy Philopator by Antiochus Epiphanes, Polyb. 5 17. In the time of Hyrcanus (135-107 B.C.) we read of a Zeno Cotyles, tyrant of Philadelphia, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 1 15 3. According to a conjecture of Clermont-Ganneau, Rabbath should be read for Nadabath in 1 Macc. 9 37; see NADABATH. In 63 B.C. it was held by the Arabs (Jos. *BJ* i. 6 3), who were defeated there by Herod, 30 B.C. (i. 19 5 and 6). The extensive Roman remains show that it participated in the prosperity of Eastern Palestine in the second and third centuries A.D. Later, it was the seat of a Christian bishopric. The city is said by Abulfeda (Ritter, *Syr.* 1158) to have been in ruins when the Moslems conquered Syria.

3. Site.

Rabbah (the mod. *'Ammān*) was situated on one of the head-waters of the Jabbok, about 22 m. E. of the Jordan. 2 S. 12 26-28 apparently distinguished between 'the royal city' or 'the city of waters,' and 'the city.' The 'waters' referred to in the second of these names may be the Nahr 'Ammān, a stream rich in fish, which takes its rise at the site of Rabbah (so Buhl, *Pal.* 260 [§ 132]). In that case

[1] Συνοδιάρχης, apparently, only in inscriptions. Liddell and Scott cite Böckh, 4489.

[2] De Vogüé, *La Syrie centrale*, nos. 6, 7, 15, 28, etc.

[3] The exact opposite is the case, however, with רַב, 'much, many' (as opposed to מְעַט).

[1] In Dan. also רַב סִגְנִין, 2 48 (see DEPUTY), and רַב חַרְטֻמַּיָּא, 4 6 5 11 (see MAGIC, § 2 *a*).

[2] Compounds of רב and שׂר are alike rendered in 𝔊 by ἀρχι-.

the first two names belonged to a lower quarter of the town in the valley (cp § 4). The 'city' may be a designation of the citadel, which was situated on a hill N. of the valley. One would naturally like to find some Ammonitish ruins. There are old rock-hewn tombs, and the remains of the outer walls of the citadel seem very ancient, being formed of great blocks of stone without any cement. What is left of the city walls may belong to the time of the Ptolemies. Conder even thinks that the remains of a reservoir and aqueduct may belong to the subterranean passage which enabled Antiochus to capture the citadel. If so, they may carry us back to Ammonite times, and show how the ancient citadel was supplied with water. The great bulk of the ruins—baths, colonnades, temples, theatres, and tombs—are Roman. There is a small building, which Conder regards as Sasanian or early Arab; and ruins of a Christian cathedral (5th or 6th cent.?) and two chapels. Rude stone monuments (dolmens, etc.) have also been found.

4. Literature. Conder, *Heth and Moab*, 157-167, *Palestine*, 175-7, and in *PEF Survey of Eastern Palestine*, 1 19-64 (a very full and exact account of a thorough survey of 'Ammān, with many fine illustrations); *PEFQ*, 1882, pp. 99-116; G. A. Smith, *HG*, 595-608; L. Gautier, *Au delà du Jourdain*(2), 93 *ff.* (1896). [Cheyne (*Exp. T*, Nov. 1897; Feb. 1899) discusses the titles of Rabbah in 2 S. 12 26 *f.*, and emends both עיר המלוכה and המים into עִיר מִלְכֹּם; Wellhausen, however, emends המלוכה into המים. See TAHTIM-HODSHI, § 2, and cp *Crit. Bib.*]

W. H. B.

RABBAH (הָרַבָּה, as if '*the* Rabbah'; ϲωθηΒα [B], αρεΒΒα [AL], *Arebba*), mentioned with Kirjath-jearim in Josh. 15 60. Read most probably 'Kirjath-Jerahmeel the great' (Che.). See SOLOMON, § 3.

RABBI (ραΒΒει [Ti. WH], many MSS ραΒΒι; Heb. רַבִּי), a title of honour and respect given by the Jews to their learned doctors, more especially to their ordained teachers and spiritual heads (cp HANDS [LAYING ON OF]). רַבִּי (lit. 'my great one,' with the suff. as in Heb. אֲדֹנִי, Syr. ܡܪܝ; cp Fr. *monsieur*, etc.) is from רַב (see RAB) which at a later period among the Jews was frequently used in the narrower sense not only of a master as opposed to a servant, but of a teacher as opposed to a pupil (cp *Ābōth*, 1 6 and *Ber.* 63 *b* where רב and תלמיד are used of Yahwè and Moses respectively); see DISCIPLE, § 1. Rab (an older pronunciation is Rib) was especially used as the title of the Babylonian teachers, and designates *par excellence* Abbā Arēkā, a noted exegete of the beginning of the third century A.D. Rabbi, on the other hand, was the title given to Palestinian teachers,[1] and, used alone, applies to Jehudah Hannāsī, the chief editor of the Mishna.

In the NT, Rabbi occurs only in Mt., Mk., and Jn. It is once applied by his followers to John the Baptist (Jn. 3 26), but everywhere else is used in addressing Jesus (Mt. 26 25 49 Mk. 9 5 11 21 14 45 Jn. 1 38 3 2 4 31 6 25 9 2 11 8).[2] Lk. and Mk. both favour the use of διδάσκαλε (see DISCIPLE, TEACHER), which in Jn. 1 38 is the Gr. translation of ῥαββεί, but ἐπιστάτα occurs only in Lk. (*e.g.*, 5 5 8 45, etc.). Almost synonymous with ῥαββεί are the terms πατήρ and καθηγητής (Mt. 23 9 10) which are probably equivalent to the Aramaic אַבָּא and (so Wünsche) מוֹרֶה.[3]

From its use in the NT it is evident that Rabbi had not yet come to be employed as a title, but was merely

a form of address (cp Dalman, *Der Gottesname Adonaj*, 21), whence Mt. 23 7 *f.* appears to be an anachronism (cp Grätz, *Gesch.* 4 500). Ewald's argument (*Gesch. Is.* 5 25 n. 2), from the words of Abṭaliōn in the Pirḳê Ābōth, 1 16 (שְׂנָא אֶת־הָרַבָּנוּת), that רַב and רַבָּן must have been in use for a long time, rests on an erroneous interpretation of רבנות (lit. 'lordship'; cp Strack 'herrschaft').

A fuller form is **Rabboni** (Mk. 10 51 Jn. 20 16, ῥαββουνεί [B], ῥαββουνί [minusc.], ῥαββωνεί [Δ in Mk. and D in Jn.]), cp the Aram. *ribbōn* (רִבּוֹן) another form of *rabbān* (רַבָּן), but with the retention of the *ă* sound in the first syllable.[1] רבון in Aram. is used by a slave of his master, or a worshipper of his God, and is, like Rabbi, explained as meaning διδάσκαλε (Jn. *l.c.*). According to 'Ārūch (*s.* אביי), a רבן was more honourable than a רבי, and a רבי than a רב, but greatest of all was one whose name alone was mentioned (גדול מרבן שמו). The title רַבָּן was first held by Gamaliel I. (see GAMALIEL).

For the Jewish use of these various titles, see *EB*(9), *s.v.* 'Rab, Rabbi,' and for NT usage, Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 272 *ff.*

S. A. C.

RABBITH (הָרַבִּית; ΔαΒειρωΝ [B], ραΒΒωθ [AL]), a city in Issachar, properly hā-Rabbīth, Josh. 19 20.† Identified with Râbâ, N. of Ibzīḳ (Buhl, 204). C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 367; cp 𝔊[B]) reads דָּבְרַת, DABERATH [*q.v.*]; cp Josh. 21 28. But perhaps the true reading is רחבות, and P's original authority related to the Negeb (cp SHUNEM).

T. K. C.

RABBONI. See RABBI, end.

RAB-MAG (רַב־מָג; *rab-mag*), a title applied to NERGAL-SHAREZER [*q.v.*] (Jer. 39 3; ραΒαμαθ [B], -ακ [A]; -αγ [Q], ρα'μαγ [ℵ*], Βαμαγ [ℵ c.a?]; *v.* 13 ροΒομογ [Theod. in Q mg.] om. 𝔊); see RAB. Older critics explain 'chief Magian'; but the Magians (μαγοι) are a Median tribe according to Herodotus (1 101), and have no place in Babylonia. *Rab-mugi* is said to be the title of a physician referred to in an Assyrian letter (tablet K 519) respecting a sick man (Pinches in *RP*(2) 2 182; cp Wi. *OLZ*, Feb. 1898, col. 40). Schrader (*KAT*(2) 417 *f.*) and Hommel (Hastings, *DB* 1 229 *a*), however, derive *mag* from *emḳu*, *emgu*, 'wise,' and Frd. Delitzsch (*Heb. Lang.* 13 *f.*) from *maḫḫu* 'prophet, soothsayer' (= *eššepu*, אַשָּׁף). From a text-critical point of view these suggestions have no probability. There is strong reason to believe that רב־מג is corrupt. See NERGAL-SHAREZER.

1. Name.

T. K. C.

2. Assyrian equivalent. The Assyrian term referred to is generally *rab mugi*, also *rab mugu*. There is nothing in K. 519 to connect this officer even remotely with a physician: see Harper's *Ass.-Bab. Letters*, 97, for text, and Chr. Johnston's *Epistolary Literature of the Assyrians and Babylonians*, 163, for transliteration and translation. The writer, Ardi-Nanā, is the Court Physician (as Johnston shows). The *rab mugi* only reports, or brings the report of, the sick man's condition. He is likely to have been an express messenger. There was a *rab mugi* of the *bitḫalli* and another *rab mugi* of the *narkabâti* (on Rm. 619, no. 1036, see Johns' *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2, no. 1036). Hence the *Rab-mag* may have had to do primarily with chariots and horses, and been the master of the horse in the Assyrian Court.

T. K. C., § 1; C. H. W. J., § 2.

RABSACES (Ecclus. 48 18), RV RABSHAKEH.

RAB-SARIS (רַב־סָרִיס), the title (so RV mg., and see RAB) of (*a*) an officer sent by the king of Assyria to

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1 The Targ. on 2 K. 2 12 makes Elisha call Elijah Rabbi; cp Targ. on Ps. 55 14.

2 The AV frequently has MASTER; cp Mt. 26 25 49 Mk. *l.c.*, Jn. 4 31 9 2 11 8. The Pesh. renders by ܪܒܝ and in Jn. 1 38 3 26 4 31 6 25 9 2 11 8 by ܪܒܝ.

3 Against this see Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 276, 278 *f.* אבא as a term of address seems to be unknown to the Targumists. It is rather a title of respect. καθηγητής, according to this scholar is a Gr. variant to διδάσκαλος—*v.* 10 being another recension of *v.* 8.

1 Pressel in *PRE s.v.* 'Rabbinismus,' explains the *a* to be a Galilean provincialism; cp Kautzsch, *Gram. Bibl. Aram.* 10. The change of *ă* and *ĭ* is similar to that in Syr. *pešḥā* and πασχα.

Hezekiah (2 K 18 17; ραφεις [B], ραβσαρεις [A], ραψεις [L]; *rabsaris*), and (*b*) an officer present at the capture of Jerusalem (Jer. 39 3, ναβουσαρεις [B], -σαρις [ℵ^cQ], -σεεις [ℵ*] and ραβσαρις [Q^{mg.} *ib.* and Theod. in *v.* 13 where BℵA om.; *rabsares*). In both passages, however, we should possibly read either עֲרָב אַשּׁוּר, 'Arabia of Asshur' (cp TARSHISH) or שַׂר עֲרָבִים, 'the prince of the Arabians' (see NERGAL-SHAREZER); indeed in the case of Jer. (*l.c.*) the probability is very strong. As to 2 K. (*l.c.*) a doubt is permissible (cp SENNACHERIB, § 5), and we therefore offer the views of Rab-saris which are possible on the assumption that an Assyrian invasion was really referred to in the original narrative. The title has often been interpreted 'chief eunuch,' and Schrader (*KAT*[(2)] 319) thinks that it may be the translation of a corresponding Assyrian phrase (so Dillm.-Kittel, *Jesaia*, 312). This, at any rate, is not very probable.

Winckler conjectured (*Unters.* 138) that it was a reproduction of an artificial Ass. phrase *rab-ša-riš*—a learned scribe's interpretation of *rab-sag* (RAB-SHAKEH), which is half Sumerian; while, according to Pinches (letter in *Acad.*, June 25, 1892), *rab-ša-reši*, 'chief of the heads' was the title of the special officer who had charge of the royal princes (cp Dan. 1 3). Finally, Del. (*Ass. HWB* 694*a*) registers *ša-riš* as the title of a court-official of uncertain meaning. We may plausibly hold that the second element in rab-saris is both Hebrew and Assyrian, but primarily Assyrian (see EUNUCH), and that rab-saris (=Heb. rab-šališ) means chief captain. If so, it hardly differs from RAB-SHAKEH (*q.v.*).

How רב סריסיו in Dan. 1 3 (cp *v.* 7) is to be understood, is not quite clear. The context suggests that the writer misunderstood the phrase which he found already corrupted in 2 K. 18 17; for eunuchs, having the charge of royal harems, were frequently employed in superintending the education of princes. See EUNUCH. Even if the story of Daniel has been recast, this explanation may, at any rate, serve provisionally. T. K. C.

RAB-SHAKEH (רַב־שָׁקֵה; ραψακης [BℵAQΓOCL]; *rabsaces*), the title (so RV^{mg.}; see RAB) of the officer sent by the Assyrian king to Hezekiah (2 K. 18 17-19; Is. 36 *f.*, and in the Heb. original of Ecclus. 48 18, AV RABSACES; ραβσακης, Is. 36 2 [B] 4 12 22 37 4 [BQ^{mg.}] 36 13 [Q^{mg.}] 37 8 [B? Q^{mg.}]). In its Heb. form it has been taken to mean 'chief cup-bearer'; but a cup-bearer would not have been intrusted with important political business. The word is the exact reproduction of the Assyr. *rab-šaḳe* 'chief of the high ones' (*i.e.*, officers)—for so the Rab SAG or Rab SAG^{pl.} of the inscriptions should be read (Del. *Ass. HWB*, 685*a*). This was the title of a military officer, inferior to the Tartan, but of very high rank. A *rab-šaḳe* was despatched to Tyre by Tiglath-pileser III. to arrange about tribute (*KB* 2 23, cp Del. *l.c.*). Just so the Rab-shakeh goes (with the Tartan, according to 2 K.) to Jerusalem. He is acquainted both with Hebrew ('the Jews' language,' 2 K. 18 26) and with Aramaic; such a leading diplomatist needed no dragoman. Since the time of Tiglath-pileser III. there was a large Aramæan population in Assyria. Cp Schr. *KAT*[(2)] 320; ARAMAIC, § 2. If, however, the original narrative referred to a N. Arabian rather than an Assyrian incursion, the name underlying Rab-shakeh may very possibly be 'Arāb-kūš, 'Arabia of Cush.' Cp RAB-SARIS. T. K. C.

RACA (ραχα [Ti.], ρακα [Treg. WH]; probably an abbreviated form of the Rabb. ריקא; cp Kau. *Gram. Bibl. Aram.* 10; Dalm. *Aram. Gram.* 138, n. 2; for interchange of κ and χ cp Dalm. *ib.* 304, n. 2, and see ACELDAMA, § 1), a term of abuse in the time of Christ, Mt. 5 22 †. Whether it conveys a more or a less offensive meaning than μωρέ (EV, 'Thou fool') is disputed; indeed, the whole passage, as it stands, is obscure. According to Holtzmann, there is a double climax in the clauses introduced by 'But I say to you'; (1) from wrath in the heart to its expression in a word, and (2) from the denial of the intellectual capacity of a brother to that of his moral and religious character, while the punishments referred to range from that awarded by a mere local court ('Beth-din') to that by the Sanhedrin, and finally to that of the fiery Gehenna. Holtzmann, however, understates the offensiveness of Raca and exaggerates that of μωρέ. Raca (cp Jn. 9 4) involves moral more than intellectual depreciation, and μωρός nowhere in the NT bears the sense of 'impious' (the OT נָבָל; see FOOL). Nor is it at all probable that Jesus would have recognised the provisional institution of the Sanhedrin side by side with the Messianic punishment of Gehenna, and assigned the punishment of one abusive expression to the former, and of another to the latter. The text must have suffered a slight disarrangement; the clause about Raca should be parallel to the clause about murder. Read probably thus, 'Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Thou shalt not murder, and whosoever murders is liable to the judgment, and whosoever says 'Raca' to his brother, is liable to the Sanhedrin. But I say unto you, Every one who is angry with his brother is liable to the (divine) judgment, and whoever says, Thou fool, is liable to the fiery Gehenna.' The Law as expounded by the Rabbis treated libellous expressions[1] as next door to murder. But such gross offences as murder and calling another 'Raca' could never occur if on the one hand anger were nipped in the bud, and on the other even such seemingly harmless expressions as 'thou simpleton' (μωρέ) were scrupulously avoided. So first J. P. Peters (*JBL* 10 131 *f.* [1891]; 15 103 [1896]), except that he prefers to repeat 'It was said,' etc., and 'But I say,' avoiding rearrangement. See FOOL. T. K. C.

RACAL, AV RACHAL.

RACE, RACE-COURSE. See generally HELLENISM, § 5 (with references), WRESTLING.

'Race' is an apt rendering of στάδιον in 1 Cor. 9 24 (RVmg. 'race-course') and of ἀγών (lit. contest) in Heb. 12 1. In Ps. 19 5 RV preferably renders *'ōraḥ* (ארח) by 'course.' In Eccles. 9 11, *m'rōṣ* (מֵרוֹץ) is properly an abstract='running' (EV's rendering of מְרוּצָה, 2 S. 18 27).

RACHAB (Mt 1 5), RV RAHAB.

RACHAL, RV, RACAL. For 'in Rachal' (בְּרָכָל) in 1 S. 30 29 we ought, probably, following 𝔊^{BL} (εν καρμηλω, but εν ραχηλ [A]), to read 'in Carmel' (בכרמל); so all critics—'A necessary emendation' (Bu., *SBOT*). See CARMEL, 2, col. 706.

RACHEL (רָחֵל, 'ewe,' see WRS *Kin.* 219,[2] ραχηλ [BℵADEQL]), the 'mother' of the tribes of Israel settled in the highlands of West Palestine, between the Canaanite strips of territory at Esdraelon and Aijalon. Rachel died when Benjamin or Benoni was born (Gen. 35 16 *ff.*).

1a. No mere name.

Was there, we may ask, at some remote period, a distinct clan with the ewe 'Rāḥēl' as its totem, and the 'maṣṣēbah of Rachel's grave' (see RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE) as its chief sacred spot? The members of such a clan would be b'nē Rāḥēl. They all lived in Ephraim; but in time some came to be banded together, as Jeminites (BENJAMIN, § 1). Then, perhaps, the others began to drop the name b'nē Rāḥēl in favour of something else (cp JOSEPH i., § 2; EPHRAIM, § 5 ii.; MANASSEH, § 2). Rachel, certainly, as far as we can see, was no mere name, as in historical times was Leah. In Jer. 31 15 (cp Mt. 2 18) we hear of Rachel weeping for

[1] On the importance attached to words like Raca, cp *Koran*, 17 24, 'And say not to them, Fie,' and Ghazâli's description of the weighing of a man's actions; 'But the angel bringeth yet a leaf which he casteth into the scale of the evil actions. On this leaf is written the word "Fie!" Then the evil actions outweigh the good. . . . The order is given to cast this man into hell.' (*La perle precieuse de Ghazâli* [Gautier], 1878, p. 80.)

[2] Grüneisen (*Ahnencultus*, 257) proposes to read Aharhel for the *Judahite* name AHARHEL, comparing 𝔊^{BAL} ἀδελφοῦ Ρηχαβ (also the Benjamite AHRAH, אחרח, 𝔊 ιαφαηλ). [According to Cheyne Rachel may be a fragment of ירחמאל, Jerahmeel; see JACOB, § 3, SHAPHAN, and for a similiarly doubtful name, see LEAH.]

her children (although there is no explicit indication who these are understood to be); and at a later date, in the story of Ruth, Rachel and Leah are the builders of the 'house of Israel' (Ruth 4 11). According to the legend as we know it (both J and E) Rachel was the beloved wife, a feature that it is natural to connect with the acknowledged superior splendour and power of northern Israel. There is a remarkable passage in J, however, where Jacob seems to speak as if he had had only two sons (Gen. 42 38). The question therefore arises whether there may not have been an older form of the story where Rachel was the only wife, just as Rachel's 'double,' Rebecca, was the only wife of Isaac. This question Steuernagel answers in the affirmative (*Einwanderung*, 39). He also makes the interesting suggestion that there may be a monument of the importance of Rachel in the name Israel. As the men of the Gad tribe were called Ish Gad (see GAD, § 1), so, Steurnagel suggests, the men of the Rachel (or Jacob, or Joseph) tribe were perhaps called Iś-Ra'-el (on ś see SHIBBOLETH, and on the change of ḥ to ' in words containing a liquid, see REUBEN, col. 4092, n. 9.

1b. Relation to other wives. We must now consider Rachel's relation to Bilhah. Rebecca has no such attendant (DEBORAH [*q.v.*, 2] is not represented as a concubine of Isaac). Sarah, however, has Hagar; and in Sarah's as in Rachel's case, the son of the wife is not born till after the son of the concubine. This is obscure (cp MANASSEH, § 3). In Rachel's case the most natural conjecture would be that 'Joseph' was not born till after the sons of Bilhah were settled in Canaan. So Guthe (*GVI* 41). Steuernagel thinks that Rachel (or rather Jacob-Rāhēl) entered Palestine from the E. just in the rear of Bilhah (*Einwanderung*, 98; cp Guthe, *GVI* 42), and that it was because the Bilhah tribes (Dan and Naphtali) came to be treated as 'brothers' of Joseph that their 'mother' Bilhah came to be called a concubine of Jacob. Why only Rachel was a full wife is often explained by the importance of the Rachel tribes in historical times. There may, however, have been religious grounds (so, for example, Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 45). Of what race her maid came we are not told (on the statements in later writings, see ZILPAH, § 1); but Rachel herself was a daughter of Laban, which appears to point to a belief in the presence of Aramæan elements in N. Israel (differently, LABAN, REBEKAH). If Rachel was the chosen wife of Jacob, she was not the only one. The surreptitious introduction of Leah seems an important feature of the story. Quite as difficult of clan-historical interpretation is the representation of Rachel as Leah's sister.[1] Are we to infer that there were once actually two tribes, a Ewe tribe and a Wild-cow tribe, living in association? If so, where and when? Or is it that when the northern Ephraim tribes came to be associated with the southern tribes they came all to be regarded as brothers, and therefore as having a common father though different mothers? The theory is attractive. It explains, however, why Rachel and Leah are fellow-wives, hardly why they are sisters.[2]

The points that remain are the stealing of the teraphim, the initial barrenness, and the story of the dūdā'īm.

1c. Other points. The stealing of the teraphim by a woman as a feature in this quaint story tells us something of the light in which the teraphim came to be viewed (Gunkel compares the case of Michal, cp HPSm. *Sam.* p. xxxiv.). It is through the initial barrenness that Dan and Naphtali come to be older than Joseph (see NAPHTALI, § 2). The real origin of the story of the dūdā'īm is not clear (see ISSACHAR, § 2, REUBEN, § 3, NAPHTALI, § 2). E does not mention them; but in the original J they no doubt cured Rachel's barrenness. This is now obscured, as the birth of Zebulun precedes that of Joseph. According to the dates assigned to the births in the present text of *Jubilees*, 28 23 *f.*, however, Joseph comes immediately after Issachar, before Zebulun, although it is Joseph and Zebulun, not (as it ought to be) Joseph and Issachar that are born in the same year. On the general question of the order in which the tribes are enumerated, see TRIBES. H. W. H.

2. Rachel's death. The death of Rachel is related in Gen. 35 16-20 (JE); the narrative throws much light on the earlier phase of the tribal traditions, but needs perhaps to be studied in connection with a comprehensive textual criticism.

As pointed out in JACOB, § 3, the phraseology of Gen. 29 1 suggests that, according to a very early form of the tradition, the home of Laban was among the Jerahmeelites of the S. Evidence which was not in the writer's hands when that article was written, or at least was not fully appreciated by him, is now before him in abundance, showing that this was indeed the case —*i.e.*, that Laban was indeed originally regarded as an Aramæan or Jerahmeelite (ירחמאל=ארם) of the S. Laban's Ḥaran was, however, not Hebron but a district of the Negeb which also supplied to Sanballat (?) the designation חרני (MT Hōrōnī), 'Haranite' (see SANBALLAT). It was there that Rachel and Leah—a distinction without a difference, if רחל and לאה are both corrupt fragments of Jerahmeel—dwelt, according to the early tradition and the 'Bethel,' where the divinity appeared to Jacob was, if not, strictly speaking, in 'the land of the b'ne Jerahme'el' (29 1), at any rate, at no very great distance from it, for, like Ḥaran, it was in the Negeb. In the Negeb, too, was the Gilead of the famous story of the compact between Jacob and Laban, and of not a few other much misunderstood OT passages, and in the Negeb was 'Shechem'—*i.e.*, Cusham (see SHECHEM, 2). It therefore became superfluous to emend the 'Ephrath' of Gen. 35 16 19 into 'Beeroth,' a change which on a more conservative view of the tribal traditions (see EPHRATH, 1; JOSEPH i., § 3) was helpful, and indeed necessary. The 'Ephrath' of the story of Rachel's death is the Ephrath of the Negeb (in Gen. 2 14 Jer. 13 4 *ff.* it appears to be called Pĕrāth; cp PARADISE, § 5; SHIHOR); its other name, according to the gloss in *v.* 19, was בית־לחם, a popular distortion of בית ירחמאל, 'Beth-jerahmeel.' See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. Thus 'Rachel' (the vocalisation is of course relatively late, and not authoritative for the early tradition)—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel—was fitly enough buried at one of the leading centres of the Jerahmeelite race in the Negeb. Before her death she gave birth to a son variously called Ben-oni and Ben-jamin. 'On' is one of the place-names of the Negeb (see ON i.), and 'Jamin' is, in its origin, a popular corruption of an abbreviated form of 'Jerahmeel.' (There is, in fact, enough to warrant the surmise that Benjamin's original home was in the Negeb). The early tradition also made a statement respecting the distance between the place where Rachel died and Ephrath or Beth-jerahmeel.

There was but *kibrath hā-āreṣ* (כברת הארץ) to come to Ephrath when Rachel travailed. None of the explanations of *kibrath* in Ges. *Thes.*, or elsewhere is satisfactory,[1] and in the Psalter ארץ and ארח have a tendency to get confounded. Probably we should read *kim'aṭ hā-ōraḥ*, כִּמְעַט הָאֹרַח, 'a trifle (left) of the way.' See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

H. W. H., § 1 *a-c*; T. K. C., § 2.

RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. The biblical references are (*a*) Gen. 35 19*b* (JE), (*b*) 48 7*b* (R), (*c*) 1 S. 10 2 *f.* (*d*) Jer. 31 15, (*e*) Mt. 2 16-18. It is generally supposed (see Buhl, *Pal.* 159, and Dillm. on Gen. 35 19) that either (i.) there was a double tradition with reference to the site of Rachel's grave, one (*a*, *b*, *e*) placing it near Bethlehem in Judah, another (*c*, *d*) 'in the border of Benjamin' towards Ramah (so Nöld., Del.[(5)], Dillm.); or (ii.) the gloss 'that is Bethlehem' in (*a*) and (*b*), which (*e*) appears to follow, is based upon a geographical confusion and is to be disregarded (so Holzinger, Gunkel, and *Oxf. Hex.*). The weak point in i. is thought to be

1 In *Test. xii. Patr.*, Naph. 1, etc., Bilhah and Zilpah also are sisters. See ZILPAH, § 1.

2 Perhaps they were sisters simply because of the frequency of such a marriage of sisters in the society in which the story was told (see MARRIAGE, § 2, (1)). [For a different view, see REBEKAH.]

1 כברה is conventionally regarded as a measure (𝔊 ἱππόδρομος; Pesh. a parasang). Of course, the Ass. *kibrâti*, 'a quarter of the world,' can hardly, by any ingenuity, be made illustrative. It is clear that the text is corrupt. So also in 2 K. 5 19 כברת ארץ (no article before ארץ) is shown by the context to be corrupt (see NAAMAN).

that Rachel has nothing to do with the S. kingdom, and the weak point in ii. certainly is that a N. Ephrath is undiscoverable. Before proceeding further we must criticise the text (see *Crit. Bib.*).

(*a*) and (*b*) בית־לחם is a popular corruption of בית ירחמאל. 'Ephrath' and 'Beth-jerahmeel' are both place-names of the Negeb. We have no reason to doubt that the gloss in Gen. 35 19*b* and 48 7*b* is correct, and that Beth-jerahmeel either had Ephrath as its second name, or was in the district called Ephrath. We must remember that Ephrath was traditionally the wife of Caleb (1 Ch. 2 19).

(*c*) The geographical description has suffered serious corruption. The text should run, 'When thou departest from me to-day, thou shalt find two men by Beth-jerahmeel in Shalishah.' See SHALISHA, ZELZAH.

(*d*) Jer. 31 being most probably of late origin, we could not be surprised if it contained a statement based on a misunderstanding of the Rachel tradition. It is quite possible, however, that the Ramah spoken of is the same that is meant in the underlying *original* of Jer. 40 1 *ff.*, which probably referred to a Ramah (= Jerahmeel) in the Negeb, which was the starting-point of the captives who went to a N. Arabian exile. If so, the writer may also conceivably have known of Rachel as having died and been buried in the Negeb. Taking, as was supposed, a profound interest in the fortunes of her descendants, Rachel had never ceased to grieve over the tribe of Joseph, which had gone into exile with other N. Israelites in N. Arabia (see *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 17 6[1]). When, however, the Jerahmeelite setting of the early Israelite legends, and the N. Arabian exile of the two sections of the Israelite race, had passed into oblivion (partly through corruption of the texts), it was natural that the sepulchre of Rachel should be transferred to the N., in spite of the fact that no Ephrath was in existence to impart to this transference a superficial plausibility.

According to JE, the site of Rachel's tomb was marked by a sacred pillar (see MASSEBAH), which existed in the writer's time (Gen. 35 20). The tomb known in our own day as Rachel's has plainly been restored, though the tradition has attached to the same spot throughout the Christian period. It is a short distance from Bethlehem, on the road to Jerusalem. According to Clermont-Ganneau,[2] it may perhaps be the tomb (cenotaph) of the Jewish king Archelaus (cp HEROD, § 8) referred to by Jerome (*OS* 101 12). T. K. C.

RADDAI (רַדַּי), son of Jesse, and brother of DAVID [*q.v.* § 1 *a*, n.] (1 Ch. 2 14†; ζαδδαι [B], ζαβδ. [B^ab], ραδδαι [A], ρεδαι [L]). Ewald identifies with him the corrupt רעי (Rei) of 1 K. 1 8, see SHIMEI 2. The name is more probably a corruption of זבדי (see Marq. *Fund.* 25 cp 𝔊 B^ab); see ZABDI.

RAFTS (דֹּבְרוֹת), 1 K. 4 23 [5 9]. See SHIP, § 1.

RAGAU. 1. See RAGES.

2. (ραγαυ [Ti.WH]), Lk. 3 35, RV REU. See GENEALOGIES, ii. § 3.

RAGES (ραγας, -γων, -γοις [τη -γη BA 6 10 is uncertain; in Tob. 4 20 ℵ αργοις], *rages* [Vg.], *rāgā* [Syr.]), an important city in NE. Media, situated in the province of Rhagiana, near the celebrated Caspian Gates, and hence a place of great strategical importance. It is frequently mentioned in the above form in the Book of Tobit (1 14 4 1 20 5 5 6 13 9 2). In Judith (1 5 15) the name appears as **Ragau** (ραγαυ, *ragau* [Vg.], 'plain of Dūrā,'[3] and *rĕgū* [Syr.]), which is apparently identical with REU [*q.v.*].

This city, which is frequently mentioned by classical writers, occurs as Rhagā in the Avesta (*Vend.* ch. 1), and also in the Behistun Inscription of Darius Hystaspis 2 13). After suffering various changes, it fell into decay; but the name may perhaps survive in the huge ruins of *Rhey*, situated some 5 m. SE. of Teheran. See Rawlinson, *Monarchies*, 2 272 *f.*; Curzon, *Persia*, 1 345-352; Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, *s.v.*

RAGUEL (רְעוּאֵל). (1) RV REUEL. See JETHRO, REUEL. (2) a man of the tribe of Naphtali (Tob. 6 12; cp 1 1 7 4), related to Tobias; husband of Edna, whose only daughter Sara became the wife of Tobias ραγουηλ, 3 7 17; -ηλος).

In Enoch 20 4 Raguel is the name of one of the archangels. Perhaps this was suggested by Tob. 3 17, where the name Raguel occurs in connection with Raphael (both names may have a similar origin; see REUEL, RAPHAEL). That the name has any reference to this angel's rôle as a 'chastiser' (Charles on Enoch 20 4) is hardly probable. T. K. C.

RAHAB (רַהַב), a synonymous term for the DRAGON (*q.v.*) in post-exilic writings, sometimes also applied to Egypt (or, as may plausibly be held, to Miṣrim, the N. Arabian foe of Israel; see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), Job 9 13 (*κήτη τὰ ὑπ' οὐρανόν*), 26 12 (*τὸ κῆτος*), Ps. 89 10 [11] (*ὑπερήφανον*), Is. 51 9 (LXX om.), 30 7 (*ὅτι ματαία ἡ παράκλησις ὑμῶν αὕτη*), Ps. 87 4† (*ρααβ*).[1]

1. References. From Job 9 13 26 12 we perhaps learn that Rahab was another name for Tiāmat, the dragon of darkness and chaos. 'God,' says Job in his despondency, 'will not turn back his fury; [even] the helpers of Rahab bowed beneath him.' On the 'helpers of Tiāmat,' see DRAGON, § 5. Later, Job again refers to the fate of Rahab (or is it Bildad, following out Job's suggestions in his unoriginal way?),

By his power he threatened (גָּעַר) the sea,
And by his skill he shattered Rahab.

Here 'sea' and 'Rahab' are coupled, as 'sea' and 'Leviathan,' probably, in Job 3 8 (see LEVIATHAN), and in *v.* 13 the 'dragon' is referred to. In Ps. 89 9 *f.* [10 *f.*] the same parallelism is observable, and since *v.* 11 proves that the psalmist has the creation in his mind, the view that Rahab is a synonym for Leviathan or the dragon again becomes plausible. The passage runs,—

Thou (alone) didst crush Rahab as a dishonoured corpse;
With thy strong arm thou didst break down thine enemies.

The invocation to the arm of Yahwè in Is. 51 9 also refers to Rahab. Here, however, though the allusion to the Dragon-myth is obvious, there is also a special reference to מצרים (see DRAGON), or perhaps to the people called Miṣrim in N. Arabia. How this was possible we seem to learn from Is. 30 7 (on the text see *SBOT*, *ad loc.*). It has been held (cp Duhm, *ad loc.*) that the latter half of the verse is a later addition. Living in an age when the mythological interest had revived, a reader was struck by the resemblance between the characteristics of the dragon of chaos and those of מצרים. Both were pre-eminent in strength; both in the olden time had rebelled against Yahwè; for מצרים, therefore, as well as for the dragon, the fate of abject humiliation (cp Is. 19) was reserved. In Ps. 87 4 Rahab, according to the exegetical tradition, is simply a synonym for Egypt (as the Targum already explains it), though even here this is not beyond critical questioning.

2. Meaning. Rahab in Hebrew would mean 'raging,' 'insolence.' This would be not unsuitable as a title of the chaos-dragon, a reference to which is plainly intended in all the above passages except the last. It would not be strange, however, if Rahab were a Hebraised form of some Babylonian mythic name. In the third of the creation-stories mentioned elsewhere (see CREATION)—that which begins 'cities sighed, men [groaned]'—the dragon is repeatedly called by a name which Zimmern and Gunkel would like to read *rebbu* (for **ruhbu*), and to consider the Ass. equivalent of Rahab. The name, if it means 'violence,' would be specially appropriate in the story of the tyranny exercised by Tiāmat. Unfortunately the reading is uncertain. The polyphonous character of the Assyrian script allows us equally to read *kalbu*, 'dog,' and *labbu*, 'lion' (Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 29 4 18). For another theory of the origin and precise significance of the title Rahab we may be allowed to refer to *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

[1] It is there shown that there has been a confusion between two captivities of N. Israel, an Assyrian and a N. Arabian.

[2] *Recueil d archéol. orientale*, 2 134 *ff.*

[3] Cp בִּקְעַת דּוּרָא Dan. 3 1, and see DURA. Duru was not an uncommon Babylonian name.

[1] In Job 9 13 26 12 Is. 51 9, Symm. has ἀλαζονείᾳ, ἀλαζονείαν, in Is. 51 9 30 7 Aq. ὅρμημα, Theod. πλάτος, in Is. 30, Symm. has ταραχαί or -χή, in Ps. 87 4 Aq. has ὁρμήματος, Symm. ὑπερηφανίαν.

RAHAB (רָחָב; ραaβ), Josh. 2 1 3 6 17 23 25. The story of Rahab must not be taken literally. She is clearly the eponym of a tribe, and the circumstances of the tribe are reflected in her fortunes. The statements in Josh. 6 23 25 apply to no tribe known to us so well as to the Kenites, who were admitted among the Israelites on relatively unfavourable terms—as sojourners; hence the term *zōnāh*. The name רחב is best accounted for as the equivalent of חֶבֶר, 'Heber,' the second name of the tribe of the Kenites.[1] See JERICHO, § 4; RECHABITES.

In Heb. 11 31 Rahab is praised as an example of faith. This is suggested by the edifying speech of Rahab in Josh. 2 9-11, of which, however, only *v.* 9*a* is recognised by critical analysis as belonging to the earlier narrative (see *Oxf. Hex.* 2 321). It *is* no doubt startling that Rahab should be a worshipper of Yahwè—*if* Rahab is to be viewed as a Canaanite. If, however, Rahab is a symbolic term for the Kenites, all becomes plain, for the Kenites were worshippers of Yahwè (cp KENITES). The attempts of (later) Jewish and Christian interpreters to explain away the term *zōnāh*, 'harlot,' as 'hostess, innkeeper,' also now prove to be doubly unnecessary (see above). On Rahab's good works (James 2 25), cp the Jewish view in Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 332. The mention of her in the genealogy of Jesus (Mt. 1 5) rests on the assumption that she became the wife of SALMON [*q.v.*]. No less a man than Jeremiah is stated in *Megillah* 14*b* to have been a descendant of Rahab on his mother's side. This passed for an edifying belief.

T. K. C.

RAHAM (רַחַם), son of SHEMA b. HEBRON, b. MARESHAH, and father of JORKEAM (*qq.v.*); 1 Ch. 2 44 (ραμεε [B], ραεμ' [A], -αμ [L]). See REKEM.

RAHEL (Jer. 31 15), RV RACHEL.

RAIN. That at the present day rain is considered in Palestine as one of God's best gifts, is undeniable.

1. Conception of rain.

Moslems, Christians, and Jews can unite in imploring heaven for the 'showers that water the earth' (Ps. 72 6). But it is a question whether the fertilising operation of the Baalim was associated in early times with the rain of heaven, or only with springs, streams, and underground flow (cp BAAL, § 1). Robertson Smith, who discusses the subject fully in *Rel. Sem.* lect. 3, comes to the conclusion that originally the Baalim were *gods of the streams and fountains, but that*, as husbandry spread, the 'gods of the springs' extended their domain over the lands watered by the sky, and gradually added to their old attributes the new character of 'lords of rain' (p. 106). Yahwè in the OT is certainly the rain-giver; Jer. 14 22, 'Can any of the vanities of the heathen cause rain?' In Ps. 65 9 [10], according to the traditional text, the early rain is called 'the river of God.' The word used (פֶּלֶג) is remarkable. Generally it occurs in the plural for the artificial streams used in irrigation (Is. 30 25 32 2 Ps. 1 3 119 136 Prov. 5 16 21 1 Lam. 3 48). Here, if MT is right, there is a similar conception. The rain is imagined as water which has been drawn from the great heavenly reservoirs (Gen. 7 11) and sent down on earth through the solid dome of the sky. This is illustrated by Job 38 25, 'Who has *cleft a channel* for the waterflood' (so RV; *šéṭeph*, שֶׁטֶף, 'torrential rain'). With this cp *v.* 28, where the 'rain' (*māṭār*, מטר) and the 'parted streams of dew' (read פַּלְגֵי טַל, for אֶגְלֵי טַל; see DEW) are parallel expressions.

Naturally, rain and rain-mist (*ṭal*, טַל) are prominent in poetic benedictions. In Dt. 33 13 the 'precious things of heaven above' (reading מֵעַל for מִטַּל)[2] are the rain, the rain-mist, and the dew. In Gen. 27 28 the fine rain, or rain-mist, of heaven stands first among the blessings called down upon Jacob's land by Isaac. In Dt. 28 12 Moses promises to obedient Israel that Yahwè 'will open his good treasury, the heaven, to give the rain in its season'; to this treasury the Book of Enoch refers (60 20 *f.* 69 23); cp DEW. The 'self-springing plants of Yahwè' in Is. 4 2 (*SBOT*) are those which depend on the moisture which God sends from this heavenly storechamber. Notice, too, that in Ps. 104 13 God is said to 'water the mountains from his upper chambers.' It is a slightly different mythic symbol which a poet in Job uses—'Who (but Yahwè) can tilt the bottles of heaven?' (Job 38 37). To be able to bring rain through prayer was one of the greatest proofs of eminent piety. Elijah 'prayed fervently that it might not rain, and it rained not,' etc. (Jas. 5 17); and Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 2 1) relates that, in the time of King Aristobulus, there was a man named Onias, 'righteous and beloved of God,' *who by his prayers could bring rain to the parched* earth. Cp PRAYER.

Palestine is well described in Deut. 11 11 (in contradistinction to Egypt) as 'a land of hills and valleys,

2. Former and latter rain.

which drinks water, when rain falls from heaven.' Shortly afterwards (*v.* 14) a fuller description is given. See also Hos. 6 3 Joel 2 23 Zech. 10 1 *f.* (see Nowack), Job 29 23, and Ja. 5 7 (πρόϊμον καὶ ὄψιμον; BN insert ὑετόν, giving the sense rightly). The distribution of rain is very unequal. On one occasion Thomson found the ground in the Jordan valley like a desert, while at Tiberias the whole country was 'a paradise of herbs and flowers.' Just so it was in ancient times. 'I caused it to rain upon one city, and caused it not to rain upon another city: one piece was rained upon, and the piece whereupon it rained not withered' (Am. 4 7). The prophet continues, 'So two or three cities wandered unto one city to drink water, but they were not satisfied,' on which Thomson remarks that this is 'a fact often repeated' in Palestine.[1] The variableness of the climate helps to account for the frequent failure of the crops, both in ancient and in modern times, and gives point to the promises of regularity in the seasons on condition of obedience to the divine commands.[2] The former or autumnal rains (יורה, מורה) usually begin about the end of October. In Lebanon they may begin a month earlier; but no dependence can be placed upon this, and according to Thomson (*LB* 90) the winter rains are sometimes delayed till January. They are usually accompanied by thunder and lightning (Jer. 10 13). The next four months may be called the rainy season. In April rain (the latter rain, מַלְקוֹשׁ, √לקשׁ, 'to be late') falls at intervals; in May the showers are less frequent and lighter, and at the close of that month they cease altogether.

It appears from Glaisher's observations (*PEFQ*, 1899, p. 71) that the heaviest monthly rainfall in 1897 was 11.21 in., in January; the next, 6.74 in. in December, and that the total fall for the year was 27.72 in. This refers to Tiberias. At Jerusalem the total fall was 41.62 in. At Tiberias no rain fell from May 25 to Oct. 29, making a period of 156 consecutive days without rain. At Jerusalem, none fell from May 26th to Oct. 20, making a period of 146 consecutive days without rain.

3. Hebrew terms.

1. גֶּשֶׁם, *gėšem*, a violent downpour, 1 K. 18 41 Ezek. 13 11; continuous, Ezra 10 9 13; such as the early or latter rain, Lev. 26 4 Jer. 5 24 Joel 2 23; accompanied with wind, 2 K. 3 17 Prov. 25 14.

2. מָטָר, *māṭār*, a more general term, *e.g.*, 'the rain (מְ׳) of heaven,' Dt. 11 11. A torrential rain is 'a sweeping rain' (Prov. 28 3); or the two words גשם and מטר may be combined, Zech. 10 1 Job 37 6.

3. זֶרֶם, *zérem*, a rain-storm, Is. 25 4 28 2 32 2 Hab. 3 10 Job 24 8; sometimes accompanied by hail, Is. 28 2 30 30. The supposed occurrences of a verb denom. (Ps. 77 18 90 5, MT) are probably due to corruption.

4. and 5. יוֹרֶה, *yōreh*, and מוֹרֶה, *mōreh*, the former rain, and מַלְקוֹשׁ, *malḳōš*, the latter rain, see § 2.

6. רְבִיבִים, *rĕbībīm*, EV 'showers,' Jer. 3 3 14 22 Mi. 5 6 [7] Dt. 32 2 Ps. 65 11 [10] 72 6†.

[1] For a less probable view see C. Niebuhr, *Gesch.* 1 353 *ff.*

[2] Tg., Onk. and Pesh. combine the readings מעל and מטל. The former therefore is no modern conjecture.

[1] *The Land and the Book*, 395.

[2] *Ibid.* 90.

7 רְסִיסִים, *rĕsisim* (from √רסס, 'sparsit, stillavit'), sprinkled moisture. In Cant. 5 2† (EV 'drops of the night') of the night-mist (see DEW), but probably applicable to rain in general (see רביבים). In Dt. 32 2 Lagarde and Grätz correct שְׂעִירִים into רסיסים. In Ps. 104 13 also מַרְסִיסֶיךָ should perhaps be read for מִפְּרִי מַעֲשֶׂיךָ. T. K. C.

RAINBOW. 1. קֶשֶׁת, *ḳésheth* (τόξον), Gen. 9 13 *ff.* Ezek. 1 28 Ecclus. 43 11. On Gen. 9 13 *ff.* see DELUGE, § 11.
2. ἶρις, Rev. 4 3 10 1.

RAISINS. 1. צִמּוּקִים, *ṣimmūḳīm*, see FRUIT, § 4.
2. אֲשִׁישִׁים, *ăšīšīm*, Hos. 3 1, RV. See FRUIT, § 5.

RAKEM (רָקֶם), 1 Ch. 7 16 EV, pausal form for REKEM, 4.

RAKKATH (רַקַּת, 'bank,' an Aramaic word? δακεθ [B], ρεκκαθ [A], ρα. [L]), a 'fenced city' of Naphtali, mentioned between Hammath (S. of Tiberias) and Chinnereth (on the upper part of the E. side of the Sea of Galilee), Josh. 19 35. Two identifications of Rakkath are offered in the Babylonian Talmud in the same context (*Meg.* 5*b*, 6*a*). According to R. Johanan, Rakkath was the important city of Sepphoris. But the etymological midrash attached to this identification is such as entirely to discredit it. Raba, on the other hand, refers to a generally received opinion that Rakkath is Tiberias, and according to Neubauer (*Géog. du Talm.* 209) the use of the name Rakkath for Tiberias lasted into the fourth century A.D. Certainly the position of Rakkath in the list of cities at least permits this view. Only, (1) we must not suppose that Tiberias stood exactly on the site of the ancient Rakkath. For, as Josephus informs us (*Ant.* xviii. 2 3), the land upon which it was built had been occupied by tombs, which implies that the ancient town (however it was named) had lain at a short distance from the site of the new city. And (2) it is possible enough that רקת is a fragment of קרית (city of), and should be prefixed to כנרת (Chinnereth). T. K. C.

RAKKON (רַקּוֹן, not in 𝔊ᴮᴬ; 𝔊ᴸ ηρεκκων), Josh. 19 46 (probably a *vox nihili*). See ME-JARKON.

RAM (רָם; ραμ [BAL]). 1. The name of a Judahite family, whose eponym is variously described as the second son of Hezron the grandson of Judah (1 Ch. 2 9: ραμ and αραμ [BA], αραμ [L]; *v.* 10, αρραν [B, cp אֹרֶן *v.* 25], αραμ [AL]), and as the firstborn son of Jerahmeel the firstborn son of Hezron (*v.* 25, ραν [B]; *v.* 27, αραμ [B]). The same supposed person is also named in the (late) genealogy of David, as the son of Hezron, Ruth 4 19 (αρραν [BA], αραμ [L]), and consequently in Mt. 1 3 4 (ARAM [AV]; Ram [RV]; Αραμ [BN etc.]: see also ARNI, Lk. 3 33). Doubtless Ram is a shortened form of some well-known name, hardly Jehoram (Nöld.) or Abiram (Klost. *Gesch.* 112), but rather the name from which both these names probably sprang—Jerahmeel (Che.).

2. Name of the supposed family of the Elihu of Job (32 2; ραμ [BN]; ραμα [A]; αραμ [C]), certainly not a shortened form of the ethnic name Aram, unless there was a southern Aram.

RAM (אַיִל), Gen. 15 7, etc. See SHEEP.

RAM, BATTERING (כַּר), Ezek. 4 2 21 27 [22]. See SIEGE, § 2 *f.*

RAMA (ραμα [Ti.WH]), Mt. 2 18, RV RAMAH.

RAMAH (רָמָה, Jer. 31 15 Neh. 11 33, elsewhere הָרָמָה, 'the height'; usually ραμα [BAL]; gentilic, רָמָתִי, Ramathite; see SHIMEI, 9). 1. A city of the tribe of Benjamin, Josh. 18 25 Neh. 11 33 (BN*A om.), incidentally referred to in Judg. 19 13 (om. 𝔊ᴬ) Is. 10 29 Hos. 5 8 (ἐπὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν [BAQ]), Ezra 2 26 (αραμ [B], τῆς ραμα [AL]), and stated in 1 K. 15 17 (ρααμα [B], ραμμαν [A], ραμα [L]) to have been fortified by Baasha king of Israel in order to isolate Jerusalem (cp ASA). Near it lay the grave of Rachel, according to Jer. 31 15 (τῇ ὑψηλῇ [N*A]), where the tribal ancestor is poetically represented as appearing on her grave, and uttering a lamentation for the exile of her children.[1] Near it was also, a later writer believed, the palm tree of the prophetess Deborah (Judg. 4 5, τῆς βαμα [B], ιαμα [A]). This Ramah is no doubt the mod. *er-Rām*, a village with ancient remains, 2600 ft. above the sea-level, 5 m. N. from Jerusalem. Its rediscovery is due to Robinson (*BR* 1 576).

2. The home of Samuel and his father Elkanah (1 S. 1 19 2 11 7 17 8 4 15 34 16 13 19 18 *ff.* 25 1 28 3), also called, or rather miscalled, in EV of 1 S. 1 1, RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM [*q.v.*]. It was in the hill-country of Ephraim and more particularly in the land of ZUPH [*q.v.*]. According to Eus. and Jer. who call it αρμαθεμ σειφα *Armathem Sophim* (*OS* 225 12; 96 17) it was near Diospolis, and Jer. adds that it was 'in regione Thamnitica.' This addition agrees with what is said in 1 Macc. 11 34 of RAMATHEM [*q.v.*] as having originally been reckoned to Samaria, and suggests identifying Ramah with *Beit-rima*, a place mentioned in the Talmud (Neub. *Géogr.* 82), situated a little to the N. of *Tibnah* (Thamna). This is the view of Buhl, *Pal.* 170; Kittel, *Hist.* 2 107. It accords with the route of Saul described in 1 S. 9 1 *ff.*; cp Wellh. *TBS* 70. See also *PEFMem.* 3 12 149 *ff.* (On 𝔊's readings, see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.)

3. 2 K. 8 29: ρεμμωθ [B], ραμωθ [A], ραμαθ γαλααδ [L]. See RAMOTH-GILEAD.

4. RAMAH [AV RAMATH] OF THE SOUTH; Josh. 19 8 (βαμεθ κατὰ λίβα [B], ραμμωθ [A?], ιαμεθ κατὰ λίβα [A?L]). See RAMATH OF THE SOUTH.

5. A 'fenced city' of Naphtali (Josh. 19 36; αραηλ [B], ραμα [AL]), the modern *Rāmeh*, 1295 ft. above sea-level, W. of *Ṣafed*, on the southern slope of the ridge (here rising to a height of 3480 ft.) which forms the boundary between Upper and Lower Galilee. Cp Guérin, *Gal.* 1 453 *f.*

6. A place mentioned in the delimitation of the territory of Asher, Josh. 19 29. According to Robinson beyond all doubt to be identified with the village of *Rāmeh* (*PEF Survey*:—*Râmia*), in the latitude of *Rās en-Nāḳūra*, situated 'upon an isolated hill, in the midst of a basin with green fields, surrounded by higher hills' (*BR* 4 63). Buhl (*Pal.* 231) accepts this identification, whilst admitting that the frequent occurrence of the name prevents a final decision. Apart from the name, indeed, one might prefer to locate Ramah a little way to the W., at or near the ruins of *Belāt*, on a hill which commands a grand prospect. The language of Josh. 19 28 *f.*, however, does not seem to favour either view. The border of Asher is traced in *v.* 28 from Hammon (*Ḥămūl*) to Kanah (*Ḳānā*) and thence to Sidon; then in *v.* 29 we are told to turn back southward to Ramah, and draw a line thence to Tyre and to Hosah (near *Rās el-'Ain*); somewhere on the coast to the S. of Hosah (at the mouth of the river SHIHOR-LIBNATH) the border ends. Can the meaning be that the territory within the first of these lines belongs to Tyre and Sidon together, and that within both lines taken together (the second modifying the first) to Tyre, both territories being theoretically possessed by Asher? If so, Ramah would seem to be not very far from Tyre; indeed, this is the natural inference from the Hebrew of *v.* 29*a*. Its true site may perhaps be lost.

(Since this was written, an abundance of similarly perplexing phenomena have been noticed by the present writer, which can only be explained on the hypothesis that the original document referred to districts in the Negeb. Cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH; TYRE; ZEMARAIM, last par.) T. K. C.

RAMATHITE (רָמָתִי), 1 Ch. 27 27. See SHIMEI, 9.

RAMATH-LEHI (רָמַת לְחִי), Judg. 15 17. See LEHI.

RAMATH-MIZPEH (רָמַת הַמִּצְפֶּה; αραβωθ κατα την μασσηφα [B], ραμωθ κ. τ. μασφα [A], ραμεθ κ.τ.μ. [L]), a place on the northern border of the Gadites, Josh. 13 26†. Probably the same as MIZPEH (4), MIZPAH (2).

1 On the discrepant traditions respecting the site of Rachel's grave, and on Mt. 2 18, see EPHRATH, RACHEL.

RAMATH OF THE SOUTH (רָאמַת נֶגֶב; for 𝔊 see RAMAH, 4), and (in 1 S.) RAMOTH OF THE SOUTH (רָמוֹת נֶגֶב; ραμα [BL]-θ [A] νοτου, ραμα προς μεσημβριαν [Sym.]), apparently the most remote of the Simeonite towns (Josh. 19 8); mentioned also among the towns in the Negeb to which David sent presents from ZIKLAG (Ḥaluṣah), 1 S. 30 27. The full name was Baalath-beer-rama(o)th-negeb, *i.e.*, 'Baalah of the well of Ramath (Ramoth) of the Negeb,' or 'Baalah of the well, Ramath of the Negeb' (see BAALATH-BEER). The name, however, needs correction by the help of *v.* 6 *f.* and Josh. 15 32. The lists of the Simeonite and Judahite towns are disfigured by errata, nor do they agree as they should. The opinion of the present writer is that the most remote of these towns was most probably called Baalath-beer-ramah (also Baalath-en-rimmon),—*i.e.*, Baalah of the well (also, fountain) of Ramah or Rimmon,—and that both Ramah and RIMMON (*q.v.*) are popular corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' Consequently in 1 S. 30 27 the second of the names in the list should be not Ramoth-negeb, but Jeraḥmeel-negeb. See EN-RIMMON, TAMAR, NEGEB.

In Josh. 15 32 Lebaoth (לְבָאוֹת) and in 19 6 Beth-lebaoth (בֵּית־ל׳) are miswritten for בַּעֲלַת. In 1 Ch. 4 33 'Baalath-beer' becomes shortened into 'Baal.' T. K. C.

RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM (הָרָמָתַיִם צוֹפִים; αρμαθαιμ σ(ε)ιφα [BL]; αρ. σωφιμ [A]), the name of the city of Elkanah in the hill-country of Ephraim, 1 S. 1 1. The text, however, has Ha-ramathaim-ṣophim, the article being prefixed to ramathaim. The difficulties of this supposed compound form, and indeed of MT's reading, however viewed, are well set forth by Driver (*TBS ad loc.*), who, with Wellhausen and W. R. Smith, following 𝔊's σ(ε)ιφα, reads צופי 'a Zuphite,' which is explained by a reference to 1 Ch. 6 20 [35], Kr. as = 'a member of the clan called ZUPH' [*q.v.*]. Haramathaim is also plausibly explained by Wellhausen (*TBS* 34 *f.*) as the later form of the name Ha-ramah (see RAMATHEM), which was introduced into 1 S. 1 1 from a tendency to modernisation, and stands (*αρμαθαιμ*), in 𝔊, not only here, but also wherever הרמה has the ה of motion attached to it. With the form *αρμαθαιμ* we may rightly compare the *αραμαθα* or *αρμαθα* or *ραμαθα* of Josephus and the *αριμαθαια* of the NT.

The name Ha-ramah in the Hebrew text almost always occurs in the augmented form הָרָמָתָה. The exceptions are 1 S. 19 18-20 1 25 1 28 3. Here we constantly find בָּרָמָה except in 19 18 22, where הָרָמָתָה occurs. 𝔊^A accordingly represents the former word by *ἐν ραμα*, the latter by *εἰς αρμαθαιμ*—a new distinction suggested perhaps by the occurrence of ת in הרמתה, The same correction has penetrated once into 𝔊^BL, for in 19 22, where הרמתה and ברמה occur at different points, 𝔊^BL gives first *εἰς αρμαθαιμ* and then *ἐν ραμα* (cp *v.* 18 in Σ).

The objections to the above plausible explanation of Ramathaim-zophim are—(1) that Ha-ramathaim occurs nowhere else in the MT, (2) that the Chronicler is an insufficient authority for the existence of a clan called Zuph, (3) that 'land of Zuph' occurs in a passage (1 S. 9 5) which has all the appearance of corruptness (see ZUPH), and (4) that 1 S. 1 1 itself is obviously no longer in its original form.[1] The probability is that איש אחד (EV, 'a certain man') should be [איש ירח]מאלי, a Jerahmeelite,' and that מן הרמתים צופים מהר אפרים should be מן המטרי [ה]ירחמאלי ממצפה מהר אפ so that the whole sentence becomes (omitting the superfluous variant ירחמאלי at the beginning and certain variants at the end), 'And there was a Jerahmeelite of the family of the Matrites, whose name was Elkanah.' מטרי (Maṭri), however, like 'Tamar' and 'Ramath,' is only a corruption of ירחמאלי, 'Jerahmeelite,' and 'mount Ephraim' is in southern not in central Palestine (so Judg. 17 1 19 1, etc.). See *Crit. Bib.*

The ARIMATHÆA of the NT is identified by Eus. (*OS* 225, 12) with the city of Elkanah, and said to be situated near Diospolis (Lydda). This situation is beyond question suitable for the Ramathaim of 1 Macc. 11 34, and perhaps too for the Arimathæa of the NT. See JOSEPH, col. 2595 *ff.*; RAMATHAIM (on meaning of form); NICODEMUS, § 3. T. K. C.

[1] See Marq. *Fund.* 12 *f.*, and cp other corrupt passages in 1 S. having proper names (*Crit. Bib.*).

RAMATHEM, RV RAMATHAIM (ραθαμειν [A𝔖V]), the seat of one of the governments formerly belonging to Samaria which were transferred to Judæa under Jonathan by king Demetrius, 1 Macc. 11 34. On the name, see NAMES, § 107, and RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.

RAMESES (רַעְמְסֵס; ραμεσση [BAFL], ραμεση [L], Gen. 47 11; or **Raamses**, רַעַמְסֵס, Ex. 1 11, *ραμεση* [FL], 12 37 Nu. 33 3, *ραμεσσων* [B^aA], 5 *ραμεσσης* [B^ab]; also Judith 1 9 [RAMESSE, AV]; see also Redpath; *RAMESSES*). For kings Rameses I. and II. see also EGYPT, § 57 *f.*

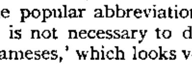
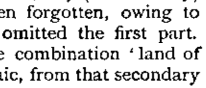
In Ex. 1 11 Raamses is one of the cities built by the Israelites as Egyptian serfs; in 12 37 they march from Raamses (eastwards) to Succoth (cp also Nu. 33 3 5). In Gen. 47 11 the family of Jacob receive from Joseph 'a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Rameses, as Pharaoh had commanded.' The land of Rameses is, according to *vv.* 4 6 etc., a part of Goshen, or, more probably, is synonymous with Goshen.

In 46 28 𝔊 has indeed for the Goshen of Heb. 'to Heroopolis (*i.e.*, adding PITHOM, or ETHAM [*q.v.*]), into the land of Ramesse' (*καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ραμεσση*). [For various views of this passage, with discussion, see JOSEPH (in OT), col. 2587, n. 4.]

1. The land and the town. It is usually assumed that the land has its name from the town, the administrative centre of that province. The present writer would, however, prefer to understand Rameses here as having preserved the original sense, namely, that of a royal name. Goshen, or at least its eastern part, still recalled by its name that the great Pharaoh Rameses II. had been its opener and coloniser (see GOSHEN). In the name of the town, on the other hand, the original sense, which must once have been 'house, place, city (or similarly) of Rameses,' seems to have been forgotten, owing to the popular abbreviation which omitted the first part. It is not necessary to derive the combination 'land of Rameses,' which looks very archaic, from that secondary use

The royal name which the Hebrew has preserved here was *Ra'-m(e?)s-su*,[1] or, following more the later pronunciation, *Ra'* (this can, of course, be written in many ways)-*me(?)s-s(e)*,[2] 'the sun-god Rē' has borne him.' The classic transliterations are Ραμψης, Ραμεσσης (in varying the Manethonian fragments, etc.), *Ramses*. From these Greek forms the Massoretic scholars seem to have taken their vocalisation; whether the Hebrew consonants are intended to render the name as *Ra'-mes-(ĕ)s*, or in a seemingly more archaic form, *Ra'-mesē-s* (the verbal root was originally *masy*, *tertiæ Jodh*), can, therefore, not be decided from the biblical punctuation. In the rendering of the consonants, the preservation of the 'Ain deserves mention as a sign of antiquity.

2. Pharaoh Rameses. The Pharaoh meant is the famous Rameses II., called also Osymandyas (this is the official name; *User-ma'(t)-rē'*) or Sesostris[3] by the Greeks, also Ram(p)ses (etc.), Meiamūn ('loving Amon'); see EGYPT, § 58. His reign of nearly sixty-seven years is less remarkable for his military achievements in Asia (which were very modest) than for his paramount activity as a builder. For his great work of irrigating and colonising the Wādy Ṭūmīlāt, see GOSHEN, § 4. This enterprise seems to have been completed before the twenty-first year of his reign. Gen. 47 might anticipate a later name for the region E. of Goshen proper. The building of the city of Rameses (as well as of Pithom), however points unmistakably to that earlier part of the reign of Rameses II.—*i.e.*, to the end of the fourteenth century B.C.

1 . 2 .

[3] On the reason of the confusion of this name with a king of dyn. 12 in Manetho, different opinions prevail. A popular (but already contemporaneous) abbreviation of the name Rameses seems to be at the root of the Greek form.

It must be accidental that the expression 'land of Rameses' has not yet been read on the Egyptian monuments, although we find allusions to the merits of Rameses II. as a coloniser (which characteristically are wanting with other kings). A city, or rather cities, bearing the name of this king are, however, mentioned repeatedly.

3. The city Raamses.

In the twenty-first year (see above) of his reign, Rameses received ambassadors of the Hittite king bringing the treaty of peace and alliance 'in the city: house of *Ra'-mes-su, Mey* (or old *Mer*)*-amūn*, doing the commands of his father Amon, of Harmachis and Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, the Amon of *Ra'-mes-su* Mey-amūn, the Ptaḥ of Ra'-mes-su Mey-amūn, and Sēt.' This list gives to us the names of the official gods of the new city, confirming its position in eastern Goshen, where Atum of Heliopolis was the chief god. LD 3_{194} says: 'thou hast made for thyself a splendid residence to fortify the frontier of the country, The House of Ra'messu Meyamūn; . . . a royal palace is in it.' Pap. Anastasi 2_{1} 4_{6} gives a poetical description of a residence,[1] 'the castle: "Great of Victory (or Strength)" is its name, between Phœnicia (!) and Egypt.' The local gods are Amon, associated with Set, then Astarte and Buto. These gods and the name do not agree with our house of Rameses mentioned above; indeed, the city 'great of victori(es)' (mentioned also in the great text of Abydus, in Pap. Leyden, 1_{348}, and in the expedition of Sety I. against the Bedouins (?) does not seem to be identical (as is usually supposed), but must be a later foundation of Rameses, N. of Goshen. Anast. iii. 1_{12} *f.* 'the house of Ra'messu Meyamūn' appears as identical with the place 'Great of victori(es)' (3_{2} etc.). Its description seems to point to the country W. of Tanis, not very far from the sea. Thus a monument which has led Brugsch considerably astray becomes intelligible. In Tanis was found a statue of a priest who had among other titles that of a 'prophet of Amon of Rameses of (the city?) House of Rameses (and?) Amon (of the one) great of strength.'[2] Brugsch (*Dict. Geogr.* 418, etc.) concluded from it that Rameses and Tanis-Zoan were one and the same city, sought consequently for Goshen far in the N., and came thus to his strange Exodus-theory, considering the Sirbonian bog as the 'sea' through which the Israelites passed. The statue furnishes rather the confirmation that we have two different Rameses-cities. Consequently, we have to be very careful in distinguishing them; LD 3_{194} refers possibly to the later foundation,[3] as it dates from the year 34 of Rameses.

The biblical Rameses can, of course, be only a city in or near Goshen. That mentioned in the treaty with the Hittites seems to be identical, if we may judge by the local gods alluded to.

4. Situation.

Compare the granite group found at Tel(l) el-Maskhūṭa which represented Rameses II. between Atum and Harmachis, the principal gods of that district. From this group Lepsius concluded that Tel(l) el-Maskhūṭa was the biblical Rameses (see PITHOM), but on insufficient grounds. The excavations of Naville have shown that the names Pithom and Succoth are to be associated with that locality, but not Rameses. The latter city remains to be determined. In accordance with Ex. 12_{37} Nu. 33_{3} 5 it should be sought for in the western part of Goshen, E. of Pithom-Etham. There are not many points bearing traces of ancient cities in that region; Lepsius described the place (Tell) Abu-Soleimān (or Islēmān), as showing extensive ruins, and thought of Pithom. Naville (*Pithom*, (3) 36) disputes the existence of town-ruins at that spot. He marks Shugafieh (in which he believes he finds the Roman garrison place Thohu or Thou) and Tell Rotab as the only ruins, W. of Pithom-Tel(l) el-Maskhūṭa. Both localities exhibit extensive ruins of the Roman age, and seem to have been Roman military stations; it is not improbable that they were settled before that period. If so, we may expect the settlements to go back to the time of Rameses' colonisation; but nothing certain can be said until a thorough exploration of those ruins has been made.

For the various attempted identifications of Rameses, see Ebers, art. 'Ramses,' *HWB*(2), 1254*a*, and cp *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*,(2) 512 *ff.*; Naville, *Land of Goshen* (1887), 18, 20; Brugsch, *Steinschrift und Bibelwort*, 1891, p. 154. [The question of identification assumes a fresh aspect if we hold that primitive tradition represented the early home of the Israelites as, not in Mizraim, but in Mizrim. In this case we must suppose that here as elsewhere the geographical setting of the story has been transformed on the basis, probably, of corrupt texts. Possible corrections or restorations are indicated in col. 3211, n. 2.] W. M. M.

RAMIAH (רַמְיָה, 'Yahwè is high'? or rather a transformed ethnic, Rāmī = Jeraḥme'eli? [Che.]), a layman who joined in the league against foreign marriages; Ezra 10_{25}† (ραμια [BℵA], -ειας [L]) = 1 Esd. 9_{26} HIERMAS (ιερμα [B], ιερμας [A], ραμιας [L]).

RAMOTH (רָמוֹת). 1. 1 K. 4_{13}. See RAMOTH-GILEAD.

2. Ezra 10_{29}, Ḳrī. See JERIMOTH, 12.

RAMOTH (רָאמוֹת; δαβωρ [B], αμως [?A], ραμωθ [L]; 1 Ch. 6_{73} [58]), or REMETH (רֶמֶת; ρεμμας [B], ραμαθ [AL]; Josh. 19_{21}), also called JARMUTH (יַרְמוּת) in Josh. 21_{29} (ιερμωθ [AL], where however 𝔊^B has ρεμμαθ), a Levitical city within the territory of Issachar.

RAMOTH-GILEAD (רָמֹת גִּלְעָד, *i.e.*, 'heights of Gilead'), otherwise RAMOTH IN GILEAD (רָאמֹת בַּגִּלְעָד, η ραμωθ εν (τη or γη) γαλ., Dt. 4_{43} [ραμμωθ A], Josh. 20_{8} [αρημωτθ B] 21_{38} 1 Ch. 6_{65} [80] [ραμμων B, ραμαθ L]), RAMOTH (1 K. 4_{13} [ερεμαθ B, -ερμαθ L]), but more correctly RAMAH (2 K. 8_{29} [ρεμμωθ B, ραμαθ L]) or Ramath-Gilead (cp AHAB), a fortress on the E. of Jordan, the administrative centre of one of Solomon's prefectures (1 K. 4_{13}), hotly disputed by the Israelites and the Aramæans in the reigns of Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram (1 K. 22_{3} *ff.* [ρεμμαθ BA, ραμαθ L], 2 K. 8_{28} 9_{14} [ρεμμωθ B, ραμαθ L], 2 Ch. 18_{3} *ff.* [ραμμωθ A, ραμαθ L], 22_{5} *f.* [ραμα B, ρεμμωθ A, ραμαθ L]); also one of the so-called 'cities of refuge' (Dt. 4_{43} Josh. 20_{8} 21_{38}, where it is assigned to Gad).

1. OT References.

Largely on account of the striking narrative in 1 K. 22, the name of Ramoth-Gilead is extremely familiar to readers of OT, and yet, after all the researches of scholars, no one is able to tell exactly where the place was. It is the object of this article (1) to record the chief opinions which have been held as to the site of Ramoth-Gilead, and (2) to offer what, in the opinion of the present writer, looks like the true solution of the problem.

Let us begin with the Talmud, according to which Ramoth-Gilead lay over against Shechem (Neub. *Géog.* 55, 251), while, as Eusebius and Jerome tell us (*OS* 287_{91} 145_{31}), it was known to them as a village, 15 R.m. W. of Philadelphia (Rabbath-Ammon). These views are irreconcilable. Most scholars till lately preferred the authority of Eusebius, and identified Ramoth-Gilead with the modern es-Salṭ,[1] 10 m. S. of the Jabbok, and 11 E. of the Jordan. Cp GILEAD, § 7.

2. Sites (*a*)-(*d*).

The town acquired some importance during the Crusades,

[1] See Erman, *Egypt*, chap. 9, for a translation.

[2] This ('*a-zr*) seems to be synonymous with 'great of strength (or victory) or victories,' '*a-nḫt* or '*a-nḫtw*. If not, it might point to a temple (not a city) of Rameses II. Has a '(loving) Amon' been mutilated?

[3] There may be more Rameses-cities. It seems that a Nubian colony near Abusimbel was one. Cp (with considerable caution) the essay of Lepsius, *ÄZ*, 1883, p. 4 (on Pithom and Rameses).

[1] The name is a corruption of Salton Hieraticon, which occurs in the *Notitt. Vet. Eccles.* as the name of a trans-Jordanic episcopal city (Reland, *Pal.* 315); the epithet *hieraticon* may be explained by the πόλις φυλῆς γαδ ἱερατική of Eus. in the *Onom.*

when Saladin fortified it with other towns on the E. of the Jordan; it is now the capital of the *Belḳā*, but cannot claim to represent Ramoth-Gilead. The place could not be approached by chariots (see 1 K. 22 34 *f.*). It 'hangs on the steep sides of a narrow gorge, entirely shut in on the N., and opening out on a narrow flat of garden-land at the other end; and even this open extremity of the ravine is blocked by a high ridge at right angles to the town, closing up the only outlet.'[1] It is also far too southerly; a place easily accessible from Jezreel and not far from the Aramæan border is imperatively required.

Ewald (*Gesch.* 3 500 note) and Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 175; Smith's *DB*(2) 1 1191) do more justice to the biblical narratives by fixing the site of Ramoth-Gilead at Reimūn, a lofty and ancient site a few miles W. of Jerash (Gerasa), in the Jebel ʿAjlūn. The place was quite open to Aramæan incursions, and could be reached by chariots up the valley of the Jabbok. Sir G. Grove (Smith's *DB*(1) 2 1003) and Merrill (*East of the Jordan*, 284 *ff.*) urge the claims of Jerash itself; Oliphant too (*Land of Gilead*, 213) thinks Ramoth-Gilead must have been either at or near Jerash.[2] This view is supported by the Arabic Joshua (20 8 21 38 Rāmat al-Jaraš). G. A. Smith, however (*HG* 588) is not satisfied with any of these identifications, and thinks Ramoth-Gilead, being so hotly disputed by Aram and Israel, must have been farther N., near the N. limit of Gilead—the Yarmūk (so G. A. Cooke, *l.c.*). Irbid and Ramtheh [er-Remthè], he remarks, are both of them fairly strong sites. Er-Remthè has been very recently favoured by Smend (*ZATW*, 1902, p. 153), who finds in the name er-Remthè an echo of an Aramaic form רָמְתָא*. Buhl combines Ramoth-Gilead with the mod. Jalʿūd, N. of es-Salṭ (see GILEAD, 2), and whilst Smend identifies Ramoth-Gilead with Mizpeh-Gilead, Buhl inclines to distinguish between them.

To get beyond Prof. G. A. Smith's acute but vague conjecture, we must look at the Hebrew of 1 K. 4 13.

3. Site (*e*). Removing the accretions on the original text we find it stated that one of Solomon's prefects called Ben-geber (nothing depends on the correctness of this reading) was over the region of Argob, and resided in Ramoth-Gilead. Is the latter circumstance probable? Surely his residence must have been in Bashan, unless indeed we prefer to omit the statement about Argob and Bashan, and make Ben-geber the prefect of the so-called Havvoth-Jair, which Nu. 32 39-41 places in Gilead. Possibly for רמת גלעד, 'Ramath-Gilead,' we ought to read רָמַת צַלְחַד, 'the Ramah of Ṣalḥad.' Ṣalḥad is probably the true name of the fortified city on the extreme SE. of Bashan, which protected that fertile land from the invasions of the nomads; it is called in MT SALECAH [*q.v.*]. The objections raised to the other sites certainly do not apply to Ṣalḥad. For other supposed traces of the name see GILEAD, § 8, SUCCOTH, ZELOPHEHAD.

Ṣalḥad is situated on an eminence forming one of the southernmost heights of the Jebel Ḥaurān (see Driver, *Dt.* 53). That the district to the N. of Edrei (Derʿāt) and Ṣalḥad fell into the region of Argob, will hardly be doubted (cp Driver, in Hastings' *DB* 1 147). It was also probably Ṣalḥad (Ramath-Ṣalḥad) that Benhadad kept back, contrary to the agreement in 1 K. 20 34, and the Israelitish kings therefore sought to recover (1 K. 22 3, etc.). Holding it, the Aramæan kings had the fertile district of Argob at their mercy. The harmonising process of an editor corrected רמת צלחד, 'Ramath-Ṣalḥad,' wherever it occurred, into רמת גלעד, 'Ramoth-Gilead.'

It is probable that no better explanation can be found

4. Site (*f*). on the assumption that the current view respecting the Aramæans with whom the kings of Israel were so often at war, and respecting the region of the legendary Og, king of Bashan, is correct.

The assumption in question is at first sight a reasonably safe one, and it receives support from the legend of the meeting of Jacob and Laban, in the earlier form disclosed to us by textual criticism of Gen. 31 17-54. We may even go farther, and pronounce it not improbable that Ṣalḥad really was the place which the editor of the Book of Kings in its present form thought to be referred to in the account of the Aramæan wars. But it was not the place which was meant in the original narratives (see PROPHET, § 7). It was at Cusham, not at Damascus (as the traditional text represents) that Ben-hadad, or Bir-dadda, dwelt (1 K. 13 18; see TAB-RIMMON), and it was the great achievement of Jeroboam II. that he recovered Cusham and Maachath-jerahmeel for Israel. It must have been a fortress on the border of the Negeb, towards Arabia, that the Aramæans (= Jerahmeelites) and the Israelites so hotly contested. Ahab fell when endeavouring to regain it. Joram won it back for a time from the N. Arabian king Ḥazaʾilu (Hazael), and Jehu (himself of Jerahmeelite extraction[1]) was serving in the garrison when Elisha (a prophet of the Negeb; see PROPHET, § 7) sent to anoint him king. Both 'Ramah' and 'Gilead' are, when S. Palestine and the Negeb are concerned, corruptions of 'Jerahmeel,' but while 'Ramah' or 'Ramath' is a mere popular distortion, 'Gilead' seems to be a transcriptional corruption of that ethnic name. The place intended is probably the 'Tamar' (רמת = תמר) fortified by Solomon, according to 1 K. 9 18, cp 2 Ch. 8 4. Cp TAMAR, TADMOR. T. K. C.

RAMOTH OF THE SOUTH. See RAMATH OF THE SOUTH.

RAMPART, in AV sometimes, and in RV generally the rendering of חֵיל. See FORTRESS, § 5, col. 1557.

RAM'S HORN (קֶרֶן הַיּוֹבֵל, Josh. 6 5), TRUMPETS OF RAMS' HORNS (שׁוֹפְרוֹת הַיּוֹבְלִים, Josh. 6 4 6 8 13). See MUSIC, § 5.

RAMS' SKINS (עֹרֹת אֵילִים), Ex. 25 5, etc. See TABERNACLE, § 4.

RANGE (Lev. 11 35), RVmg. 'Stewpan,' see COOKING UTENSILS, § 4.

RANSOM (from Lat. *redemptionem*).

1. גאל, *gāʾal*. Cp GOEL.

2. כפר, *kippēr*. Cp ATONEMENT (Ex. 21 30 RV, AV 'sum of money'; Lev. 27 27 AV 'redeem,' RV 'ransom'; Nu. 35 31 *f.* AV 'satisfaction'; 1 S. 12 3, AV and RVmg. 'bribe'; RV and AVmg. 'ransom'; Ps. 69 18*b* Job 36 18).

3. פדה, *pādāh*, Ex. 34 20, etc.

RAPHA (רָפָא). 1. See RAPHAH, 2.

2. In genealogy of Benjamin (*q.v.* § 9 ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 8 2 (ραφη [BA], ραφα [L]); but the name may be corrupted, *e.g.*, from Gera (see *JQR* 11 109, § 8). Or (if correct) cp REPHAIAH (4) and the clan-name BETH-RAPHA.

3. See REPHAIAH, 4.

RAPHAEL (רפאל, 'God heals'; the name, however, has possibly grown out of something very different; see REPHAEL [Che.]; ραφαηλ), one of the most sympathetic figures in Jewish narrative literature, is introduced to us in the Book of Tobit, where under the name of AZARIAS ('Yahwè is a help') he accompanies Tobias in his adventurous journey and conquers the demon ASMODÆUS [*q.v.*] (Tob. 3 17 8 2 9 1 11 2 7). He is, however, a disguised visitor from heaven, being really 'one of the seven[2] angels [archangels] who present the prayers of the saints and enter into the presence of the glory of the Holy One' (12 15). In the Book of Enoch (100 20) Rufael (= Rafael) is called 'the angel of the spirits of men'; it is his function to 'heal the earth which the angels have defiled,' as a preliminary to which he has to place AZAZEL (*q.v.*) in confinement. This view of the essential connection between a name and the person bearing it is thoroughly antique; it has strongly coloured the story of TOBIT (*q.v.*), and is endorsed in the Midrash (*Bemidbar rabb.*, par. 2), according to which Raphael is to heal the iniquity of Ephraim (*i.e.*, the ten tribes). The later Midrash also represents him as the angel commissioned to put down the evil spirits that vexed the sons of Noah with plagues and sicknesses after the flood, and as the instructor of men in the use of simples; he it was who was the promoter of the 'Book of Noah,' the earliest treatise on materia medica (Rönsch, *Buch der Jubiläen*, 385 *sq.*). See ANGELS, § 4, note.

RAPHAH (רָפָה). 1. AV RAPHA (1 Ch. 8 37). See REPHAIAH (4).

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1 G. A. Cooke, in Driver, *Dt.*(2), p. xx.; cp L. Gautier, *Au delà du Jourdain*(2) (1896), 30.

2 Schumacher (*Mitth. DPV*, 1897, 66) places Ramoth-Gilead at el-Manāra, W. of Jerash.

1 'Jehoshaphat' is probably a modification of Ṣephăthī (Zephathite) and 'Nimshi' of Yišmeʿʾeli (Ishmaelite).

2 But Syr. and Heb. 2 omit 'seven.' The number of the chief angels varied. See ANGEL, § 4, n. 1; GABRIEL; MICHAEL, 11.

2. Four giants are described in 2 S. 21 16 18 20 22 (cp 1 Ch. 20 4 6 8) as descendants of 'the Raphah' (EV 'the giant'; RVmg. RAPHAH; AVmg. RAPHA; הָרָפָה, in Ch. הָרָפָא). See ISHBI-BENOB, SAPH. (𝔊's readings in S. Ραφα [BA], L in vv. 16 18 . . . γιγάντων, v. 20 . . . Τιτᾶνος, v. 22 adds the words . . . τῷ οἴκῳ Ραφα, in Ch. γίγαντες [BAL; but in v. 8 also ραφα BA, ραφαιν L]). Is הרפה correct? The sing. form occurs only here. See REPHAIM.

RAPHAIM (ραφαιν [A], BℵOm.), one of the ancestors of Judith; Judith 8 1.

RAPHON (ραφων [Aℵ], ραφελ [Vfort]: 1 Macc. 5 37 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 8 4), an unknown city mentioned in 1 Macc. 5 37 as 'beyond the brook'; it was besieged by Timotheus and relieved by Judas the Maccabee. From the context it obviously lay not very far from Carnaim (Ashteroth-Karnaim). It is no doubt the Raphana mentioned by Pliny (*HN* v. 18 74) as one of the cities of the Decapolis, and may possibly be identical with the Capitolias of Ptol. (v. 15 22), 16 m. from Edrei (Der'ăt). See Schürer, *GJV* 293.

RAPHU (רָפוּא, as if 'healed'; ραφου [BAF]; ραφαυ [L]), father of PALTI (2) (Nu. 13 9†). On origin of name see PALTI, 2; REPHAEL.

RASSES, CHILDREN OF (ρασσεις [BA], ραασσεις [ℵ]; *tharsis* [Vg.]; *thiras et rasis* [Vet. Lat., cod. Sangerm.]; [illegible] [Syr.]), a people mentioned along with Put, Lud, and the children of Ishmael (Judith 2 23). That ῥῶ(σ)σος, a mountain range and town S. from Amanus on the gulf of Issus, is intended is improbable; others prefer TARSUS [*q.v.*]. The mention of a town ill accords with the enumeration of such peoples as PUT and LUD, and the name is possibly a corruption of TIRAS. See ROSH.

RATHUMUS (ραθυμος [BL], ραθυος? [A*]), 1 Esd. 2 16 *ff.* = Ezra 4 8 *f.*, REHUM, 5.

RAVEN (עֹרֵב, from ערב, 'to sink' [of the sun], 'be black'; κοραξ; *corvus*). It is noteworthy that the lilies and the ravens possess the same representative character in a famous saying of Jesus, at least according to the version in Lk. 12 24 (but in Mt. 6 26 τὰ πετεινά); in the OT too they are referred to in evidence of God's providential care (Job 38 41 Ps. 147 9). In Cant. 5 11 their glossy black plumage (cp deriv. above) is referred to. In Prov. 30 17 Is. 34 11 Zeph. 2 14 [1] (crit. emend. with 𝔊BℵC.aAQΓ), other habits of the raven are mentioned, and in Gen. 8 7 the raven is stated to have been the first bird let out of Noah's ark.[2]

1. OT References.

[The feeding of Elijah by the ravens (1 K. 17 4 6) has been regarded as a supernatural feature appropriate to the circumstances of the prophet, but if, as Cheyne suggests, Elijah's hiding-place was at Rehoboth in the extreme S. of Palestine, a reference to 'Arabians' would gain considerably in plausibility, nor can it be a loss to edification that human instruments should take the place of 'unclean' birds like the ravens (see MIZRAIM, § 2 [*b*]). An analogy for the emendation referred to is offered by Jer. 3 2 in 𝔊 Pesh., which give 'like a crow' (עֹרֵב, κορώνη, *na'bā*) for 'like an Arabian' (עֲרָבִי). This is an error, but in Bar. 6 54 the crow is no doubt mentioned. The gods of the Babylonians are there likened to the crows (κορῶναι) that fly between heaven and earth.]

It is probable that the Heb. *'ōrēbh* included all the members of the family *Corvidæ*—*i.e.*, the crows, choughs, rooks, jays, and jackdaws, as well as the true raven. Tristram enumerates eight species of *Corvidæ* at present found in Palestine; among which the *C. umbrinus* or brown-necked raven may be specially mentioned, as it is almost ubiquitous. They feed to some extent on carrion, but will also attack animals of some size, though usually only when these are weakly or injured.

2. Species.

[1] A comparison of Zeph. *l.c.* with Is. 34 11 shows that חֹרֶב in the famous passage should be עֹרֵב.

[2] In the cuneiform account the raven is the last; see DELUGE, §§ 2, 17, and cp Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. and Ass.* 503.

The raven has always been regarded as a bird of omen, and excited superstitious awe which is not even yet entirely extinct. To the ancients it was one of that class of living creatures which were at once venerated and shunned.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, to find the raven in the list of (so-called) 'unclean' birds (Dt. 14 14; cp CLEAN, § 9). Besides the Midianite chieftain's name OREB, the Ar. clan-name *Ġorāb* indicates that the bird did not always possess an ill-omened character; and it is a significant fact that *Ġorāb* was one of the names of heathenism which Mohammad made its bearer change.[2]

3. Character.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

RAZIS (ραζ[ε]ις [AV*vid.] *razias* [Vg.]), 'an elder of Jerusalem,' 'called Father of the Jews for his good-will toward them.' His story is told in 2 Macc. 14 37 *ff.* The name is possibly from an original רָזֶה = רָזִי, 'to be lean.' The Syr., however, gives his name as *r-g-sh.*

RAZOR (תַּעַר, etc.), Nu. 6 5, etc. See BEARD.

REAIAH (רְאָיָה, 'Yahwè has seen'; but cp JORAH).

1. A Calebite, son of SHOBAL; 1 Ch. 4 2 (ραδα [B], ρεια [A], ρεαα [L]). Reaiah ought also, perhaps, to be read for HAROEH (*q.v.*) in 1 Ch. 2 52, but both forms may be corruptions.

2. A Reubenite; 1 Ch. 5 5 (AV REAIA; ρηχα [BA], ραια [L]).

3. The family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nethinim: Ezra 2 47 (ρεηλ [B], ραια [A], αρ. [L]); Neh. 7 50 (ραεα [Bℵ], ρααια [AL]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 (ιαειρος [B], ιαιρος [A], ραια [L]; AIRUS [AV], JAIRUS [RV]).

REBA (רֶבַע, probably by transposition from עֲרָב, 'Arabia,' cp REKEM [Che.]; ροβοκ, -βε [B], ροβοκ, ρεβεκ [A], ροβεκ, -ε [L]), one of the five chiefs of Midian, slain after the 'matter of Peor'; Nu. 31 8 Josh. 13 21.

REBEKAH or [NT] **REBECCA** (רִבְקָה; ρεβεκκα [ℵADEL]; *Rebecca;* on the name, see below, § 2), sister of Laban, and therefore daughter of Nahor, according to J (see Di. on Gen. 24 15), but daughter of Bethuel, according to P (see Gen. 25 20). For the idyllic story of her betrothal and marriage, which is not only beautiful in itself, but a valuable record of Israelitish sentiment in the time of the writer or writers, it is enough to send the reader to the original narrative. Gunkel, it may be observed, thinks he can trace a double thread (J*a* and J*b*) in this narrative. It is certainly possible that more than one hand has been concerned in the story; at the same time the narrative would hardly gain by being reduced to the limits of the assumed J*a*. Another critic (Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 39) draws a weighty critical inference from the parallelism between Gen. 24 and 29. Independently, a larger inference of the same kind is drawn in § 2 of the present article.

1. Traditions.

It has been thought that there is a discrepancy between J and P as regards the original home of Rebekah. J brings her from Aram-naharaim, from the city of Nahor (24 10); P from Paddan-aram (25 20 *f.*; cp 28 2 *f.*). The discrepancy, however, did not always exist. 1. It is possible to hold that both in J and in P Rebekah had a traditional connection with the northern Jerahmeelites of Ḥaurān (for ארם most probably has been worn down from ירחמאל, and נחור may have come from

[1] Having been originally worshipped, they were honoured, and their presence was considered lucky; but their specific 'holy' character made them 'taboo,' and as such they were to be avoided. For this paradoxical conception, see CLEAN, § 7.

[2] See WRS, *Kin.* 200, 301, We. *Heid.*(2) 203. The raven was intimately associated with Apollo and Æsculapius; see Frazer, *Paus.* 3 72 *f.* Coronis is said to have been transformed into a raven. In Rome, a flight of ravens on the left hand was considered lucky, on the right hand unlucky. In northern Europe one is reminded of the ravens of Odin, and those of Flokki, by whose aid he discovered Iceland. Similarly the Vikings are said to have carried ravens in their ships to be able to find the bearing of the nearest land (cp CASTOR, and for the painting or carving of a totem on a boat, Frazer, *Totemism.* 30 *f.*).

חור, while פרן may be miswritten for חרן—*i.e.*, חורן). See LABAN, NAHOR, PADDAN-ARAM. 2. It is also plausible to hold the view set forth in JACOB, § 3, where it is shown that there was possibly a still earlier tradition which put Laban's home at Hebron. At any rate, both narrators have distinguished themselves in the delineation of Rebekah's character, which has some strong points of affinity to that of her son Jacob. She was accompanied, according to MT, to Isaac's home at Beer-lahai-roi (*i.e.*, Beer-jerahmeel) by her nurse (24 59), who, from the corrupt text of 35 8, is supposed to have been named Deborah (see DINAH, col. 1102, n. 1). Probably, however, the 'nurse' is not referred to, but the 'precious possessions' (מִגְדָּנֹת, cp *v.* 53) of the newly won bride. In the view of the present writer Laban was originally a southern Jerahmeelite, originally, it may be, placed in the Negeb, so that he may also have been called TUBAL (*q.v.*)—a name which seems to underlie בתואל (Bethuel!). See, further, RACHEL, § 2. Possibly, Rebekah is a personification alternately of the southern and of the northern Jerahmeelites. She has been, one may almost say, created as a true woman, with beating heart and planning brain, by J and E.

The explanation רִבְקָה, 'cord' (§ 71) is linguistically attractive; cp מַרְבֵּק, and the ποιμένιος θυγάτηρ of one of the Onomastica (*OS* 204 29). But we cannot get to the bottom of such names without considering the tribal relations of the patriarchs; wives and husbands alike are tribal personifications. It is probable that Abraham, Rebekah, and Leah-Rachel represent a tribal name. Abraham (from Ab-raham) means probably 'father of Jerahmeel'; Leah and Rachel (doubles), come from worn-down forms of Jerahmeel. Rebekah, or rather Ribkah, probably also comes from the latter name; רבק=רקב=רחם, cp, perhaps, the clan-names or tribe-names Becher, Heber, and the local name Hebron.[1] Observe that Rebekah's father Bethuel (perhaps = TUBAL [*q.v.*]) is the son of Nahor—*i.e.*, the southern Haran, by Milcah [Jerahmeel]. The same ethnographic traditions are repeated over and over again genealogically.

2. Origin of name.

T. K. C.

RECAH (רֵכָה), 1 Ch. 4 12 RV, AV RECHAH.

RECEIVER (שֹׁקֵל), Is. 33 18, RV 'he that weighed [the tribute].' Cp SCRIBE and TAXATION.

RECHAB (רֵכָב, 'charioteer,' perhaps short for Ben-rechab[-el]—*i.e.*, son of Rekab['el]; [2] but more probably an ethnic of the Negeb [Che.], ρηχαβ; but in 1 Ch. 2 55, ρηχα [B], and in Jer. 35 14 ρηχοβ [ℵ*]. On ρηχαβ in Judg. 1 19, see Moore's note).

1. One of the murderers of Ishbosheth (2 S. 4 2 *ff.*: ρεκχα [B, in *vv.* 5 *f.* 9]). His father was RIMMON (*q.v.*).

2. The eponym of the RECHABITES (2 K. 10 15 Jer. 35 6 *ff.*). A 'son of Rechab' is a 'Rechabite'; so even in Neh. 3 14 (see MALCHIJAH, 7).

RECHABITES [HOUSE OF THE] (בֵּית הָרֵכָבִים; οικος αρχαβειν [Bℵ], αλχαβειν or χαραβειν [A], ραχαβ[ε]ιν [Q], ρηχαβιται [Sym.]). The Rechabites have usually been considered to be a sort of religious order, analogous to the NAZIRITES [*q.v.*], tracing its origin to the Jehonadab or JONADAB, son of Rechab, who lent his countenance to Jehu in the violent abolition of Baal-worship. In Jer. 35 we meet with the Rechabites as continuing to observe the rule of life ordained by Jonadab their 'father,' abstaining from wine and dwelling in tents in the land of Judah till the Babylonian invasion forced them to take refuge in Jerusalem (JEREMIAH ii., § 17). According to Ewald (*GVI* 3 543), Schrader (*BL* 5 46), and Smend (*Rel.-gesch.*(2) 93 *f.*) they were an Israelitish sect which represented the reaction against Canaanitish civilisation, and took the Kenites—the old allies of Israel—as a model. In 1 Ch. 2 55*b*, however, the 'house of Rechab' is represented as belonging to the Kenites, and in 1 Ch. 4 12 (𝔊[BL]) the ἄνδρες ρηχαβ (MT אנשי רכה, 𝔊[A] ἄ. ρηφα, RV 'the men of Recah') including TEHINNAH (perhaps Kinah = Kenite) appear among the descendants of Chelub[1] (= Caleb). We have no right to set this statement aside on the ground of the late date of the Chronicler. It is perfectly credible that the Kenites who dwelt in tents among the Israelites long continued to feel themselves the special guardians of the pure religion of Yahwè, and were honoured as such by Jeremiah. Budde assumes that in the time of Jehu a Rechabite named Jonadab formally reimposed the old obligations on his fellow-clansmen, at the same time perhaps offering the privileges of fellowship to those from outside who accepted the Rechabite rule of life, and thus converting it to some extent into a religious order.[2] This is a plausible hypothesis, and rests upon the assumption that the Jonadab spoken of in Jer. 35 6-10 14 16 18 is the Jonadab who had a connection with Jehu. It is possible, however, that the true name of the reputed father of the Kenites was not Hobab but Jonadab (see HOBAB). This hypothesis is, at any rate, simpler than the other for the Rechabite laws are those characteristic of nomad races—*e.g.*, the Nabatæans (Diod. Sic. 19 94)—and we cannot help expecting the legislator of the Kenites to stand, like Moses, at the head of the history of his people.

The notice in 1 Ch. 2 55*b* is therefore most probably to be accepted, except in so far as the corrupt name 'Hammath'[3] there given to the 'father' of the Rechabites is concerned. Rechabites and Kenites are synonymous terms. No doubt this second name 'Rechabites' is puzzling; nor is it easy to believe that Yahwè, the God of the Kenites, had Recab-el (charioteer-god) as a title. It is a question, therefore, whether the readings רכבים 'Rechabites,' and בֵּית רֵכָב 'house of Rechab,' ought not to be emended in accordance with many analogies elsewhere, unless indeed we assume that the popular speech, which uses transposition freely, fluctuated. In Judg. 4 11 we meet with 'Heber the Kenite,' and in *v.* 17 with 'the house of Heber the Kenite.' It is highly probable that רכב, רכבים should be either חבר, or רחב, רחבים. In the former case, Jonadab comes before us anew as 'a son of Heber,' and the Rechabites become 'Heberites.' In the latter 'Rechab' gives place to 'Rehob' (= REHOBOTH) and 'Rechabites' to 'Rehobites' (= Rehobothites). Perhaps the former view is preferable. We can now see the full force of Judg. 4 11, 'Now Heber the Kenite (the eponym of the "Heberites," miscalled "Rechabites") had severed himself from Kain, even from the b'ne Hobab (Jonadab?). The Heberites (Rechabites) of Israel are a branch of the Heberites (Rechabites) of N. Arabia, equally with whom they honoured Jonadab as their ancestor and legislator.

Possibly בני חבב in Judg. 4 11 (cp Nu. 10 29) should rather be בְּנֵי חֶבֶר—*i.e.*, the Heberites. Whether 'Heber' (cp חבר כהנים, Hos. 6 9) had originally a religious sense, and marked out the Kenites as a priestly tribe (cp Jer. 35 19, and see MOSES, § 17), or whether it is connected with the mysterious Habiri of the Amarna Tablets (see HEBREW LANGUAGE, and cp HEBER) is of course uncertain. Another form which the second name of the Kenites has assumed by corruption is almost certainly the RAHAB [*q.v.*] of legend. Very possibly, too, the Danite place-name BENE-BERAK should be Bene-rechab—*i.e.*, Bene-heber; indeed the famous Barak (Judg. 4 5) was perhaps really a Heberite (= Heber the Kenite). See KENITES.

Later Jewish tradition said that the Rechabites intermarried with the Levites and so entered the temple service. Hegesippus, in his account of the death of James the Just, even speaks of Rechabite priests, and makes one of them protest

[1] A connection between the names Hebron and Ribkah has been already suspected by G. H. Bateson Wright (*Was Israel Ever in Egypt?*, 180).

[2] So, in the main, Hommel, *Das graphische* ח, p. 23. Bar-rekab['el] was a royal name at Sama'l in N. Syria; Rekab'el (or Rĕkūb'el) was probably a charioteer-god, the πάρεδρος of the sun (cp 'chariots of the sun,' 2 K. 23 11). See G. Hoffmann (who reads Rakkab-'el), *ZA*, 1896, p. 252; Sachau, 'Aram. Inschriften,' in *SBAW*, 1896, 41.

[1] See Meyer, *Entst.* 147.

[2] See Budde, 'The Nomadic Ideal in the NT,' *New World*, Dec. 1895, p. 729, not overlooking the interesting note on the possible Kenite origin of Yahwism; also *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 20, 44, 120 (1899).

[3] Read perhaps חֲמַת (= southern Maacath). Cp HEMATH.

against the crime (Eus. *HE* 2 23). Recent writers have tried to find the descendants of the Rechabites in this or that modern tribe. Such attempts could not but be illusory. Cp L. Gautier, 'A propos des Récabites,' *La liberté chrétienne*, June 15, 1901.
T. K. C.

RECHAH, RV **Recah** (רֵכָה), 1 Ch. 4 12 (ρηφα [A], ρηχαβ [BL]). See CALEB, § 4; RECHABITES.

RECONCILE, RECONCILIATION. The words are:

1. *kipper*, כִּפֶּר, ἐξιλάσκομαι, Lev. 6 30 8 15 16 20 Ezek. 45 15 17 20—where RV always has 'atone' 'make atonement' (cp ATONE); ἐξίλασις Nu. 29 11†, ἐξίλασμα, 1 S. 12 3 Ps. 49 7 (48 8)†, ἐξιλασμός Wisd. 18 21 Ecclus. 5 5 16 11 17 29 18 12 20 (BℵC; Heb. סלח twice).

2. *hithraṣṣāh*, הִתְרַצָּה, διαλλάσσομαι 1 S. 29 4. In 2 S. 24 23 'accept,' in Gen. 33 11 (εὐλογεῖν) Mal. 1 8 (προσδέχεσθαι) 'be pleased with'; διαλλαγή (Ecclus. 22 22 27 21).

3. *ḥiṭṭē'*, חִטֵּא, ἐξιλάσκομαι, 2 Ch. 29 24, AV 'make reconciliation,' RV 'make a sin offering.' See SACRIFICE, §§ 28 *a*, 44 *ff.*

The NT words are:

4. διαλλάσσεσθαι Mt. 5 24 (cp 2, and 2 Macc. 8 29 [V]).

5. καταλλάσσειν Rom. 5 10 (cp 2 Macc. 1 5 7 33 8 29 [A]), καταλλαγή Rom. 5 11 11 15 2 Cor. 5 18 19 (cp 2 Macc. 5 20).

6. ἀποκαταλλάσσειν Eph. 2 16 Col. 1 20 *f.*†

7. ἱλάσκεσθαι Lk. 18 13 Heb. 2 17, RV 'propitiation' (Ps. 65 3 [4], etc.), cp ἱλασμός 1 Jn. 2 2 4 10 EV 'propitiation'; cp Ecclus. 18 20 [A] 35 3 [ℵ*; ἐξιλ. Bℵc.aA] 2 Macc. 3 33; see also MERCY SEAT. Deissmann (*Neue Bibelstud.* 52) brings forward a parallel to the construction ἱλάσκεσθαι ἁμαρτίας (Heb. 2 17) in an inscription relative to a sanctuary in Asia Minor, ἣν (ἁμαρτίαν) οὐ μὴ δύνηται ἐξειλάσασθαι (*sic*). It is noteworthy, as regards the use of the idiom, that ἱλάσκεσθαι is employed alternately with καθαρισμὸν ποιεῖσθαι in 𝔊 to represent the conception of atonement. The latter phrase regards the act with reference to its effect upon men, the former with reference to its significance in relation to God.

RECORD (שָׂהֵד), RV 'he that voucheth for me,' Job 16 19†. See WITNESS.

RECORDS (Esth. 6 1 Ex. 17 14); see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

RECORDER (מַזְכִּיר—*i.e.*, 'one who brings to mind,' 'remembrancer'; αναμιμνησκων [four times and Is. 36 3 Qmg.], υπομνηματογραφος [four times],[1] επι των υπομνηματων [2 S. 8 16], υπομιμνησκων [2 S. 20 24 [L] 1 K. 4 3 (BL)]; *a commentariis*),[2] the title of a high officer (Jehoshaphat, Joah are named) in the court of the kings of Judah (2 S. 8 16 20 24 1 K. 4 3 2 K. 18 18 37 1 Ch. 18 15 2 Ch. 34 8 Is. 36 3 22†). RVmg. always has 'chronicler'; AVmg., often, 'remembrancer' or 'writer of chronicles.' The sense in which the word was taken by 𝔊 and Vg. is obvious. The Hebrew title might suggest that of the 'magister memoriæ' at the Roman Imperial court (Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Magister'), or that of the king's remembrancer, whose duty formerly was to remind the judges of the Exchequer Court 'of such things as are to be called and attended to for the benefit of the crown' (Bouvier, *Law Dict.*, *s.v.*). But the office of the *mazkīr* was almost certainly much more responsible than either of these. It might perhaps more aptly be compared to that of one of the chief advisers of the crown or of the 'keeper of the king's conscience.' See GOVERNMENT, § 21; cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 5.

On the 'story-writer,' RVmg. 'recorder' (בְּעֵל טְעֵם, ὁ τὰ προσπίπτοντα, cp *v.* 21 (ὁ) γράφων τὰ πρ.), of 1 Esd. 2 17, see REHUM, 5, where 'governor' (lit. 'man of command') is suggested as a more likely equivalent.

RED (חכלילי); see COLOURS, § 8 (אדמוני, אדם, חמר, חמץ), and for **Reddish** (אדמדם), see *ib.*, § 10.

RED CORAL (פְּנִינִים), Job 28 18. RVmg.; see CORAL.

[1] According to Strabo (797) the ὑπομνηματογράφος was one of the four native officers recognised in the Roman province of Egypt—the others being the ἐξηγητής, the ἀρχιδικαστής, and the νυκτερινὸς στρατηγός.

[2] The senator whose duty it was to compile the *acta diurna* of the Roman Senate received the title *ab actis* [or *a commentariis*] *senatus*. Under the empire the office was usually held as an annual one, after the quæstorship, but before the prætorship or ædileship (Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Acta').

REDEEM, REDEEMER, REDEMPTION. See GOEL.

RED HEIFER (פָּרָה אֲדֻמָּה), Nu. 19 2 *ff.* [P2]. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17; and SACRIFICE, § 38. On the symbolism of the red hue see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 16, end.

RED SEA. At Rās Moḥammad the Red Sea, 'one of the most remarkable oceanic gulfs on the globe,' is divided by the peninsula of Sinai into two gulfs, the western or Gulf of Suez, now about 130 geographical m. in length, with an average width of about 18, and the eastern or Gulf of 'Aḳabah, about 90 m. long, and of proportionate narrowness. On the question as to the extent of the Red Sea in early historic times, see EXODUS i., § 15.

Whether by the statement in Ex. 10 19 that the W. wind 'took up the locusts and drove them into the "Red Sea" (יָמָּה־סּוּף, εἰς τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν), the whole of what is known to geography as the Red Sea is meant, or only the Heroopolitan gulf (Gulf of Suez), cannot be decided from this passage alone. It is evident that the western gulf is meant in 13 18 (the way of the wilderness of the Red Sea—which the Israelites followed leaving Egypt). In 15 4, Pharaoh's captains are drowned in the Red Sea (parallel: 'sea,' the expression generally used in the chapters on the passage through 'the sea'), in *v.* 22 the Israelites leave the Red Sea. Similarly Nu. 14 25 33 10 *f.* Dt. 1 1 (after 𝔊, correctly EV) 40 11 4 Josh. 2 10 4 23 24 6 Judg. 11 16, etc., mean the Arabian gulf of the ancients, the modern Gulf of Suez. The eastern gulf, the *sinus Ælaniticus* or Gulf of 'Aḳabah, seems to be meant in Ex. 23 31 (?) (frontier of Israel) Nu. 21 4 (S. of the territory of Edom) Dt. 2 1 (to the S. of Mt. Seir) 1 K. 9 26 (ships built at Ezion-geber, on the Red Sea) Jer. 49 21 (adjoining the Edomites). Consequently, the name seems to apply to the Red Sea in general.

1. ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα. The rendering of the English version goes back through the Vulgate to the Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα of 𝔊BAL (where only Judg. 11 16 has θάλασσα Σιφ). The expression is common to classical (Æschylus, Pindar, Herodotus) and biblical Greek (1 Macc. 4 9 Wisd. 10 18 19 7 Acts 7 36 Heb. 11 29). The original meaning of the name was a subject of discussion with the Greeks. They thought of a source with reddish water, or of the alleged reddish colour of the sea itself, or of that of the mountains surrounding it; or they invented a king Erythras.[1] Egyptologists have compared the name *došret*, 'red land,' given by the ancient Egyptians to the desert in contrast to the *kēmet*, 'black land'—*i.e.*, cultivable ground or Egypt proper (see EGYPT, § 1); also the Edomites as alleged 'red men,' or the *'apury* around Goshen (§ 61).[2] Unfortunately, none of these names is ever found connected with the Red Sea; on the Egyptian name 'water' (or sea) 'of the circle' (or circuit?) and the hypothetical explanation of this expression, cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 254. Thus the origin of the Greek name is certainly to be sought for not in Egypt, but among the Semites. Some misunderstanding of a Palestinian or Syriac expression by the Greeks is quite likely. It must be recalled, in passing, that the Greeks used the name in a much wider sense than we do, extending it over the whole sea between Africa and India (cp Herod. 2 11, etc.).[3]

2. Yam sūph. The Hebrew name *yam sūph*, יַם־סוּף—*i.e.*, sea of the water-plant *sūph*—is also mysterious. The *sūph* (see FLAG, 1) belongs specially to Egypt (cp Ex. 2 3 5 Is. 19 6) and the Nile; only in Jon. 2 6 is it used of seaweeds, probably by poetic license. The word seems to be identical with the Coptic ϫοογϥ, *papyrus*, which is not found in the earlier language but appears as *ṭu-fī* in texts of the

[1] See Wiedemann's Commentary on Herod. 2 11 (who quotes Strabo, 16 779, Mela, 3 8, Nearchus, 30, Eust. Dion. Perieg. 36) The statement that the expression is found in an Egyptian inscription is incorrect.

[2] Wiedemann, *l.c.*

[3] The Persian gulf also thus belonged to it. The tradition that the Phœnicians came originally from the Red Sea—*i.e.*, Lower Babylonia—has been strangely misunderstood by scholars.

nineteenth dynasty.[1] Whether it be a foreign or a vernacular word cannot be determined; consequently it must remain an open question whether it was borrowed from Egyptian by the Palestinians or *vice versâ*. It is remarkable that the Coptic version, which otherwise strictly follows 𝔊, in Exodus renders 'Sea of *šari*' which seems to be *sari*, σαρι—according to Theophrastus, Pliny, and Hesychius, the name of an Egyptian water-plant (see Peyron, *Lex. Copt.* 304, who, however, prefers an impossible etymology).[2] It would therefore seem that the Coptic translator here consulted the Hebrew, rendering 'sea of papyrus-plants' (Luther renders *Schilfmeer*). These aquatic plants, of course, never grew in the salt water of the Red Sea; modern travellers have found, not without difficulty, some clumps of reeds on spots not far from Suez where fresh water mixes with the Red Sea (see Knobel-Dillmann, on Ex. 13 18); but the derivation of the name from these would be more than improbable. Others have thought (after Jon. 2 16) of seaweeds which are said to be plentiful in some parts of the Red Sea; but the common, early use of the word *sûph* is against this. We can understand how Brugsch (*l'Exode*, 11, etc.) was led by these freshwater plants to assume the swamps of NE. Egypt as the locality of the Exodus; he quite forgot, however, that the name *yam sûph* applies also to the Ælanitic gulf.[3] The freshwater Timsāḥ-lake with its large marshes full of reeds, exactly at the entrance of Goshen, would fulfil all conditions for the Exodus and for the Hebrew name (see EXODUS i., § 16). The word 'sea' is used of lakes in most oriental languages, especially in Hebrew (cp Nu. 34 11, 'Sea of Chinnereth,' etc.). Still, it would be very strange if the Crocodile Lake, or other swamps on the frontier of NE. Egypt, should have furnished a name to the whole Red Sea, including the Ælanitic gulf which was nearer to most Palestinians than the Egyptian lakes. On the connection between the present bitter lakes and the Gulf of Suez, which most scholars assume for biblical times, see EXODUS i., § 15. In the opinion of the present writer this theory must be rejected, and thus the Hebrew name remains obscure.

W. M. M.

With wonted precision and discriminating use of authorities BDB's *Lexicon* (*s.v.* סוּף) gives the following, on which it is not superfluous to comment, because it is one of the objects of the present work to intermix the old and the new, and by a junction of the forces of all critical students, to make definite advances wherever this is possible.

3. Is the solution hopeless?

'יַם־סוּף probably = *sea of rushes* or *reeds* (less probably *sea of* [city] *Suph*), which Greek includes in wider name θαλ. ἐρυθρά, *Red Sea* (cp Di. *Ex.* 13 18 and especially WMM *As. u. Eur.* 42 *f.*, who explains as name originally given to upper end of Gulf of Suez, extending into Bitter Lakes, shallow and marshy, whence *reeds* [probably also reddish colour]); name applied only to arms of Red Sea,' most often to Gulf of Suez, sometimes to Gulf of 'Aḳaba. It is noted also that מִיַּם־סוּף should possibly be read for מול ס׳ in Dt. 1 1. BDB also points out (*s.v.* יָם) that in Ex. 14 2 (*bis*) 9 Is. 51 10 (*bis*) 63 11, etc. הַיָּם, and in Is. 11 15 probably יַם־מִצְרַיִם = the 'Red Sea.' In the latter statement, however, 'probably' seems to be an exaggeration. 'The tongue (bay?) of the sea of Egypt' is a strange circumlocution for יַם־סוּף; indeed, to render מצרים, 'Egypt' in *vv.* 11 15 is only plausible if אשור may be rendered 'Syria' (cp Stade, *ZATW* 2 291). That there are errors in the text of 11 11-16, is certain; that לשון is sometimes a corruption of ישמעאל (cp *Ps.*(2) on Ps. 120 3), may also be assumed; that אשור sometimes stands for אשחור (Ashḥur), a synonym of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), is also difficult to gainsay. Methodical criticism, therefore justifies us in reading, והחרים י׳ יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים [מִצְרִים], 'And Yahwè shall place a ban upon the Ishmaelites' (cp *v.* 14); מצרים is an archaising gloss. Even alone, this

[1] See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 101. *Sêbe(t)*, 'reed,' which was formerly compared with סוּף, is different.

[2] Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 519, makes it probable that this word is *s'r* in hieroglyphics. This, however, could not well be identical with the above Coptic word.

[3] The Sirbonian bog would, however, justify the name as little as the Gulf of Suez.

would suggest the view that יַם־סוּף may be an early textual corruption, nor could it be said that 'Sea of Sûph' was improbable, except on the ground that the correctness of the supposed place-name 'Sûph' in Dt. 1 1 was open to question. But when we have recognised that ספרת, Neh. 7 57, is a corruption of צָרְפַת—*i.e.*, Zarephath in the Negeb (see SOPHERETH)—it at once becomes a plausible view that ספר or סוּף in the MT are sometimes corrupt abbreviations of the same place-name Zarephath (Ṣarephath). Just as the 'Dead Sea' was called ים המלח, a popular corruption (as many text-critical considerations suggest) of ים ירחמאל, so יַם־סוּף, as a name for the Gulf of 'Aḳabah, may be a corrupt abbreviation of יַם־צָרְפַת, where צ׳ is to be taken as a race-name = the Zarephathites (see ZAREPHATH). A similar explanation may be given of SUPH and SUPHAH. Prof. Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 255 *ff.*) is of opinion that Yam Sûph, wherever the phrase occurs, means the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. This, however, involves the further statement that the identification of the sea crossed by the Israelites with the Yam Sûph (Ex. 15 4 22) is incorrect. This is surely too bold. In Ex. 15 4 22, as elsewhere, the best course is to read ים צרפת (cp MOSES, § 12), unless, indeed, we prefer to read יַם׳ צרפת. All difficulties are obviated, if we adopt the view of the primitive tradition respecting Israel advocated in col. 3208 *ff.*, and suppose that the place of sojourn of the primitive Israelites was in the land of Mizrim, adjoining the land of Jerahmeel, on the border of the Negeb (see NEGEB). It is possible that the legend spoke of a great deliverance of the Israelites in ימן צרפת, where ימן (sometimes corrupted into יָוָן, 'Javan') represents ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). Quite early, the mark of abbreviation in ים׳ may have been lost, and צ׳ have become corrupted into סופר and סוּף. Then, floating mythic stories may have led to an alteration of the old legend. One such possible story is referred to elsewhere (MOSES, § 10). Another may now be added. We know that מצרים (Mizrim? or Mizraim?) was regarded as the antitype of the primitive תַּנִּין or 'dragon' (see DRAGON, § 4). There was also, in the Creation-story, a statement of the production of the dry land by the withdrawal of the water from a part of the ocean's bed (Gen. 1 9). This may very well have been regarded as a type of the deliverance of the Israelites, the story of which (so soon as textual corruption made this possible) was adjusted so as to fit this intuition. On Jon. 2 6 ('*sûph*, was bound about my head'), see *Crit. Bib.* On the whole, the closing sentence of § 2 seems to the present writer to be perfectly correct; but a special biblical scholar ought hardly to rest without trying some fresh avenue to the truth. W. M. M., § 1 *f.*; T. K. C., § 3.

REED. 1. קָנֶה, *ḳāneh*, 1 K. 14 15 κάλαμος (2 K. 18 21 Is. 36 6, etc., Mt. 11 7 12 20, etc.), is a word which is common to Heb., Syr., Arab., and Ass., and has passed into Gr. and Lat. as κάννα—*canna*, and into Eng. as 'cane.' The name is probably of Semitic origin (Lag. *Uebers.* 50; Barth, *Nominalb.* § 9 *c*); but the nature of its connection with the root קנה is obscure.[1] Besides the general meaning 'stalk' (Gen. 41 5 22) or 'shaft' (Ex. 37 17, etc.),[2] קָנֶה is used more specifically of (*a*) reedgrass, (*b*) sweet or aromatic cane(?).

(*a*) Reedgrass is frequently mentioned, though there is little to help in determining the particular species intended. It was distinct from *sûph* (see FLAG) and *gōme'* (see RUSH), but like these grew by the banks of rivers (*e.g.*, the Nile, Is. 19 6) and pools (Is. 35 7). It appears to have been somewhat tall (Job 40 21) and thick (to justify the metaphor in Job 31 22; EV 'bone,' AV^mg. 'chanel-bone'); and the jointed nature of the stalk appears to be indicated in the repeated references to the broken or bruised reed (2 K. 18 21, etc.).[3] Perhaps the most probable identification is with the tall *Arundo Donax*, L., which grows abundantly in S. Europe: though other species may have been included under the name.[4] In Ps. 68 [30] 31 חַיַּת קָנֶה certainly cannot be rendered 'the company of spearmen' (as AV); such a phrase can only be rendered 'the wild beast of the reeds' (cp AV^mg., 'the beasts of the reeds'). The animal intended may be the crocodile

[1] The קין (lance) of 2 S. 21 16, may be a kindred word, though the correctness of the text is very questionable.

[2] So of the beam of a balance (Is. 46 6), and of a measuring reed or rod (Ezek. 40 3, etc.), on which last see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.

[3] With these references cp the Talmudic phrase 'push with a reed'—of a feeble arguer (Löw, 344).

[4] The evidence of the Syriac lexicographers is somewhat in favour of *Arundo Phragmites*, L. (Löw, 341).

(cp Ps. 74 14, etc.), or the hippopotamus (cp Job 40 21). A symbol of Egyptian power seems to be required, and this the hippopotamus nowhere is. See CROCODILE.

[It is not surprising, considering the obscurity of the context, that opinion should not be quite unanimous. Duhm thinks that the swine is meant (cp 80 13 [14]), as the symbol of a Syrian population. Cheyne (*Ps.*(2)) reads חַיּת קַרְנֵי הַשֵּׁן, 'the wild beasts of pointed horns.'

(*b*) By the *ḳāneh* of Cant. 4 14 Is. 43 24 Ezek. 27 19, the קְנֵה הַטּוֹב of Jer. 6 20, and the קְנֵה בֹשֶׂם of Ex. 30 23 is meant some aromatic product. It formed an ingredient in the holy anointing oil, the others being myrrh, cinnamon, cassia, and olive oil. It came to the Jews 'from a far country' (Jer. 6 20, cp Ezek. 27 19), and was costly (Is. 43 24). The more general use of *ḳāneh* in other passages suggests that this 'fragrant cane' was an aromatic reed or flag, such as *Axorus Calamus*, L.: others, however, prefer to identify the substance as cassia bark, which is yielded by 'various species of cinnamomum occurring in the warm countries of Asia from India eastward' (Flück. and Hanb.(2) 527).

2. עָרוֹת, *'ārōth* (ἄχι; Is. 19 7†), which is in AV rendered 'paper reeds,' means properly 'bare places,' and (if not corrupt, see Che. *SBOT*, and Marti, *ad loc.*) refers to the uncultivated and treeless meadows along the banks of the Nile.

3. אֲגַמִּים, *'ăgammīm*, which generally means pools or marshes, is in Jer. 51 32 (but 𝔊 has συστέματα [BℵA] or συστήματα [B^(a?b)Q] though Aq., Sym. translate ἕλη) applied to the clumps or beds of reeds (such as grow on marshy spots), which are said to be 'burned with fire' (Grätz, however, would read אַרְמֹנִים, 'castles'). Cp POOL, 1.

4. אָחוּ, *'āḥū*, is twice in RV text (Gen. 41 2 18) and once in RV^(mg.) (Job 8 11) rendered 'reed-grass': on this see FLAG.

5. אֵבֶה, *'ēbeh*, in Job 9 26† (ἴχνος ὁδοῦ?) is rightly rendered 'reed' in RV^(mg.). Cp Ass. *abu* or *apu*. The allusion is to the light canoes or skiffs of reed anciently, and still, in use on the Nile; cp Is. 18 2 ('vessels of papyrus') and *SBOT ad loc.*

[It is not strange that this rendering should be a distinctly modern one. The explanation of *ēbeh* as 'reed' only goes back to Hiller (*Hierophyticon*, 1725) and Schultens (1737). Vg. (following Tg.) gives *poma portantes* (cp אֵב); Symm. σπεύδουσαι (AV^(mg.) 'ships of desire'); Pesh. and over 40 MSS read אֵיבָה, '(ships of) hostility'; and lastly Olshausen reads אֶבְרָה, '(ships of) wings.' See OSPREY, *ad fin.*, for a new emendation.]
N. M.

REEDS, WILD BEAST OF THE. See above 1 (*a*).

REELAIAH or rather, **Reeliah** (רְעֵלָיָה; ρεελειa [B], ρεελιac [AL]), Ezra 2 2 = Neh. 7 7, RAAMIAH = 1 Esd. 5 8 where it is corruptly REESAIAS [AV], RESAIAS [RV], (ρησαιου [BA], δεμιου [L = רעמיה = רעמיה]); the form REELIAS [*q.v.*], however, appears elsewhere in the same verse. Like 'Raamiah' it may represent 'Jerahmeel'; the existence of N. Arabian elements within the Jewish community can hardly be denied (Che.). Cp REGEM-MELECH.

REELIUS, RV **Reelias** (Βορολειογ [B], ρεελιογ [A]), a duplicate of the name of the fourth in the post-exilic list of leaders in 1 Esd. 5 8, which has by a scribe's error been substituted for Βαγοι (see *v.* 14 [A]) or Βαγογαι [L], *i.e.*, Bigvai (see Ezra 2 2 Neh. 7 7).

REESAIAS (ρηcαιογ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, REELAIAH.

REFINER (מְצָרֵף), Mal. 3 2 *f.*† See FURNACE, METALS.

REFUGE, CITIES OF (עָרֵי הַמִּקְלָט), Josh. 20 2. See ASYLUM, § 5, and cp § 6, 8; LEVITES.

REGEM (רֶגֶם; ραγεμ [B], ρε. [A], ρεγμα [L]), a Calebite name, one of the sons of Jahdai; 1 Ch. 2 47.

REGEM-MELECH (רֶגֶם־מֶלֶךְ; αρβεcεερ [BℵΓ], -cερ [ℵ^(c.a)], -cεcερ [A], -cεε [Q], ο βαcιλεγc; see below). A citizen of Jerusalem concerned in a deputation sent to the prophet Zechariah, Zech. 7 2 (see SHAREZER, 2). Most probably (as Marquart suggests) he is to be identified with RAAMIAH, one of the twelve (?) leaders of the Jews (Ezra 2 2 and parallel passages).[1] The present writer suspects, however, that both 'Raamiah' and 'Regem-melech' are simply corruptions of 'Jerahmeel.' The Jew spoken of would be (like so many others) partly of Jerahmeelite extraction. It would thus become unnecessary to explain Regem in Regem-melech by the Aram. רגם, *jaculari*.

Marti now (1897) reads, for 'Regem-melech and his men,' 'fourteen men,' ארבעה עשר אנשים, a trace of which he finds in 𝔊's αρβεσεερ ὁ βασιλεύς. This accounts rather ingeniously for αρβεσεερ. But we have no right to eliminate רגם מלך. αρβεσεερ may represent ערבאצר (cp שראצר)—*i.e.*, עֲרָב אַשֻּׁר (= Asshurite Arabia). Cp SHAREZER, 2; RAB-SHAKEH.
T. K. C.

REHABIAH (רְחַבְיָה[וּ], 'Yah is a wide place,' cp the use of רְחֹב in Ps. 4 2 18 37 [36] or quite as possibly an ethnic = רְחֹבִי, 'Rehobite' (Che.); ρααβια), b. Eliezer b. Moses (1 Ch. 23 17 24 21: αβια [L]; 26 25: ραβιαc [B], ρaa- [A], αβια [L]). Cp MOSES, RECHABITES, REHOBOAM.

REHOB (רְחֹב, 'broad place'; ροωβ [BAL]).

1. The northern limit of the 'spies,' apparently Aramæan, and in the direction of Hamath (Nu. 13 21 ρααβ [B], ροωθ [F] 2 S. 10 8 ροαβ [A], βαιθρααβ [L]); see BETH-REHOB. In the context of both passages, however (see NEGEB, MAMRE, ZOBAH), there are phenomena which suggest that both 'Rehob' and the 'Beth-rehob' of 2 S. 10 6 are incorrectly or imperfectly written for 'Rehoboth,' and that this 'Rehoboth' is the place of that name in the Negeb (see REHOBOTH). 'Hamath' may be miswritten for Maacath or MAACAH (*q.v.*), not improbably the southern Maacah. It may be added that, from this point of view, 'Aram' in the original narrative which underlies 2 S. 10 meant 'Jerahmeel,' a still shorter form of which is RAM (*q.v.*); also that 'ben Rehob,' the designation of Hadad-ezer in 2 S. 8 3 12, probably means 'native of Rehoboth' (see ZOBAH).
T. K. C.

2. and 3. The name of two unidentified Asherite cities, the one mentioned between Ebron and Hammon (Josh. 19 28, ρααβ [B]), the other with Accho and Aphek (*ib.* 30, ρααυ [B, see UMMAH], ραωβ [A] -οβ [Compl.], αρωβ [L]). There may well have been several Rehobs; but the mention of two in the Asherite list seems due to an error. It is only the second one which we know to have existed. It is enumerated (with Aphek and Accho) in Judg. 1 31 (ερεω [B]) among the cities of Asher in which the Canaanites remained; and again in Josh. 21 31 (P, ρααβ [B]), 1 Ch. 6 75 [60] (om. L) in a post-exilic list of Levitical cities assigned to the b'ne Gershon.[2] A possible connection with *raḥu*[*bu*?] in an Eg. list, may be mentioned (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 394). Of more importance, however, is the occurrence of the name *raḥubụ* (pap. Anast.) between *K'iyng* (see HEBER, 1), and *Baytị-Ša'-â-rụ* (perhaps Beth-shean?),[3] which is doubtless the same as the *Roob*, ροωβ of the Onom., situated near Beth-shean (*OS*(2) 145 21 286 82 *f.*). Now this Rehob in OT times must have been included within the borders of Issachar. It seems not improbable that the name in Josh. 19 28 (see above) has been accidentally transplanted from the list of cities of Issachar once given by E in *vv.* 17-23.[4] See BETH-REHOB.
S. A. C.

[1] Cp Ahijah (1 S. 14 3) = Ahimelech (1 S. 22 9-12).

[2] The criticism of Josh. 19 is difficult. See JOSHUA, § 6, Addis, *Doc. Hex.* 1 230 *f.* 2 467 *f.*, and cp *Oxf. Hex. ad loc.*

[3] WMM *As. u. Eur.* 153; cp *ruḥabạ* (Šošenḳ list) together with *Hapurama* (see HAPHARAIM).

[4] Of the older document only *v.* 17*a* has survived. The rest

REHOB (רְחֹב). 1. 2 S. $8_{3\ 12}$; see REHOB i. 1; BETH-REHOB; HADADEZER.

2. A Levite signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10_{11} [12] (B om., ροωβ [AL], ροοβ [ℵc.a mg.]).

REHOBOAM (רְחַבְעָם, as if 'the clan is enlarged.'[1]

But רחביה, REHABIAH, favours the view that either עם is the divine name 'Amm [cp AMMI, NAMES IN], or [Che.] the name is, or represents, one of the current modifications of 'Jerahmeel.' Possibly the true form was Rehab'el, just as the true form of JEROBOAM [*q.v.*] may have been Jerubba'al; the origin of both names, however, may be suspected to have been 'Jerahmeel.' Cp, however, Gray *HPN*, 59; ροβοαμ [BAL]).

Son of Solomon, and first King of Judah (about 930 B.C. ?). According to 2 Ch. 12_{13} the queen-mother was 'Naamah, an Ammonitess.' This supposed half-Ammonitish origin of Rehoboam would be important, were it probable (cp the -*'am* in the name). But we have no reason to think that Solomon's chief wife was an Ammonitess. Much more probably he married the 'companion' of David's old age, by an error (it seems) of 𝔊 and MT called Abishag. If so, עמונית may be a corruption of שׁוּנַמִּית, Sunammith, and Rehoboam's mother was probably Naamah the Shunamite (cp Cant. 6_{12} [13]). The queen-mother, however, need not have been an Issacharite; the Shunem from which she came was most probably in the Negeb (see SHUNAMMITE). Had it been otherwise, Rehoboam might have counted on the support of the tribesmen of Issachar. But Issacharites were certainly not among 'the young men that had grown up with him and stood before him,' of whom we are told in 1 K. 12_8.

The traditional story of the events which led to the disruption is considered elsewhere (see JEROBOAM, 1). It is necessary, however, to refer to it again in connection with the article SOLOMON. It would seem that in spite of the compulsory (?) cession of twenty cities to the king of Miṣṣur, Solomon succeeded in retaining a large part of the Negeb. It also appears that as late as the time of Amos (see PROPHET, § 35) Israelites from the N. frequented the venerable sanctuaries of the Negeb—a region which the second Jeroboam had recovered for Israel. It is further probable that the place-name which appears in Genesis (MT) as 'Shechem' should rather be Cusham, and that a place in the Negeb, on the border of the N. Arabian Cush is intended. See SHECHEM. Very possibly it was there that the great assembly was held, which issued in the rejection of Rehoboam by the larger part of Israel. That the story given in 1 K. 12 is correct, is intrinsically improbable. We do not know what it was that actually kindled the spark of disaffection, nor is it necessary that we should. The differences of N. and S. were reasons enough for a separation; in race and perhaps even in matters of cultus there was by no means complete unity among the federated clans of Israel. Was Rehoboam really forty-one years old at his accession? We may doubt it, even without laying stress on 1 K. 12_8; cp 2 Ch. 13_7. So far as we can see, he displayed no vigour, even in the feud between himself and Jeroboam; the historians ascribe this partly to the intervention of a prophet named SHEMAIAH. And in spite of the cities in the S. which Solomon (and, as the Chronicler states, Rehoboam himself) had fortified, he could not hinder the successful incursion of 'Shishak, king of Egypt,' or rather 'Cushi, king of Miṣrim' (see SHISHAK), which resulted in the loss of the treasures which Solomon had collected for the temple. This is the one great event recorded of his reign. See ISRAEL, § 28, and on Rehoboam's wives (2 Ch. $11_{18\ 20}$), MAACAH, MAHALATH.

T. K. C.

REHOBOTH (רְחֹבוֹת; ευρυχωρια [ADL]), the name of one of the wells dug by Isaac (Gen. 26_{22}).

1. Identification. See GERAR. Rĕhōbōth was really, however, an important place, to which great kings and diviners appear to have traced their origin, and where great prophets took refuge, and received messages from their God (see below). It may perhaps be the city of Rubuta mentioned in the Am. Tab. (182_{13} 183_{10}), and once called apparently Ḥubuti (239_{47}). In 183_{8-10} we read that the warriors of Gazri, Gimti, and Kilti have taken the region of Rubuti. Gimti is Gimti-Kirmil, *i.e.*, Gath of JERAHMEEL (*q.v.*, § 4 [*f.*]), Kilti is Keilah. The localities, except Gezer, lie pretty near together. Presumably the site is that of the mod. *Ruḥaibeh*, 8 hours SW. of Beersheba, at the point 'from which the roads across the desert, after having been all united, again diverge towards Gaza and Hebron.' Robinson, who visited the place, hesitated to make this identification, because 'this appears to have been nothing but a well' (*BR* 1_{291}). Rowlands[1] and Palmer saw more clearly. In the Wādy itself there is only one well; but on the sloping sides of the side-valley, in which the ruins are situated, are many wells, reservoirs, and cisterns. 'A little beyond this the Wādy opens out, and receives the name of *Baḥr bela mi* ('the waterless sea [lake]'), and on the left comes in a small valley called *Šutnet er-Ruḥaibeh*, in which names are preserved both the Sitnah and Reḥoboth of the Bible' (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 385). Probably Ruḥaibeh also represents the 'Reḥoboth by the River' of Gen. 36_{37} (רְחֹבוֹת הַנָּהָר; ροωβωθ τῆς παρὰ ποταμόν, or τοῦ ποταμοῦ [AL], om. B; *de fluvio Rohoboth*, or *de R. quæ juxta amnem sita est* [Vg.]). See SAUL (2), PETHOR. The appended description distinguished this Reḥoboth from other places of the same name. The 'River' is the River of Miṣrim (see MIZRAIM, § *2 b*; EGYPT, RIVER OF). For passages in the accounts of Bela, Balaam, and Elijah, in which Reḥoboth appears under disguises due to corruption in the text, see BELA, CHERITH, PETHOR; also MARCABOTH, NEGEB, § 2 *c*.

This, however, does not exhaust the list of probable references to Reḥoboth. It may have been displaced

2. Further OT references. by 'Ḥebron' in Gen. 23_2 35_{27} Judg. 1_{10}[2] (see KIRJATH-ARBA); in this case, it was at Reḥoboth, not at Ḥebron, that the famous cave of 'the MACHPELAH' (? Jerahmeel, Gen. 23_{17-20}) was situated. The error may have been a very early one (perhaps in the original P). No doubt, too, 'B'ne Ḥeth' in Gen. 23_3 *ff.* is miswritten for 'B'ne Reḥoboth' (חת for ת[ב]ח[ר]); so also 'Ḥittite' (חתי) in Gen. 26_{34} and 36_2 should be 'Reḥobothite' (רחבתי), and 'daughters of Ḥeth' (בנות חת) in Gen. 27_{46} should be 'daughters of Reḥoboth' (בנות רחבת); see JACOB, § 2.

The Book of Ezekiel, too, yields one remarkable reference to Reḥoboth, if in Ezek. $16_{3\ 45}$, 'thy mother was a Ḥittite,' we should read 'Reḥobothite' (‖ 'Amorite,' or rather 'Arammite' = 'Jeraḥmeelite'). On the probability that the early population of Jerusalem consisted of Jeraḥmeelites or Reḥobothites, see ZION, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

Most probably, too, 'URIAH the Ḥittite' should be 'Uriah the Reḥobothite,' and 'Ḥaggith' (the name of Adonijah's mother) in 2 S. 3_4 should be Reḥobith (רְחֹבִית). 'Cherethite' (כְּרֵתִי), too, can at last be rightly read; it should be 'Reḥobothite' (רְחֹבֹתִי). This, in fact, is a necessary inference from the corruption of רחבות into כרית in 1 K. $17_{3\ 5}$ (see CHERITH, and cp PELETHITES, ZAREPHATH). Thus David's faithful guards were not Philistines, but men of S. Palestine. That the Reḥobothites and Ṣarephathites, however, were always friendly to David is more than can be safely stated. Both tribes or peoples are apparently referred to as hostile to David in 2 S. 21_{15-22}. 'Philistines' should be 'Ṣarephathites,' and 'Gath' (גת) and 'Gob' (גב) are probably corrupt fragments of 'Reḥoboth' (רחבות). It will be remembered that the Miṣrites were famous for their tall stature (1 Ch. 11_{23}; cp Is. 45_{14}?), and that the Ănāḳīm are connected with Kirjath-arba. Now Kirjath-arba (קרית ארבע), or perhaps -'arâb (ק' עֲרָב) is at any rate not Ḥebron, but may be Reḥoboth (cp SODOM). These conjectures favour the view that Goliath, David's antagonist in the legend, was of Reḥoboth, not of Gath.

In short, it would appear that older and very different stories underlie the narratives in MT and 𝔊 of 1 S. 17 and (especially) 2 S. 21_{15-22} 23_{8-23}; either there has been a confusion between

has been rejected in favour of P's account of the tribal limits; see Addis (*loc. cit.*).

[1] Cp the play on the name in Ecclus. 47_{23} (Heb. text).

[1] In Williams, *Holy City*, 1_{465}.

[2] 'Canaanites' here should be 'Kenizzites' (as in some other parts of Judg. 1 and elsewhere).

two wars of David—one with the 'Philistines' and one with the Ṣarephathites and Reḥobothites, or there has throughout the life of David been a great error of the scribes—פלשתים written for צרפתים and כרתים for רחבתים. If so, it becomes at once probable that Ṣarephath and Reḥoboth are also referred to in 2 S 5 17-25 and 6 1-11 (see ZAREPHATH, ZIKLAG). 'OBED-EDOM [*q.v.*] the Gittite' should be 'Arāb-edom the Rehobothite.' Only on this critical conjecture can we explain the action ascribed to David in 2 S. 6 10 (cp ARK, § 5). This may be taken together with a less certain but not unimportant conjecture relative to Baal-peraṣim and Pereṣ-uzza (see PERAZIM, ZAREPHATH). The royal city of Achish (1 S. 27 5) was not 'Gath' but 'Reḥoboth.' This would throw a light on the story of Shimei's journey in 1 K. 2 39 *ff.* (see SHIMEI). Elsewhere (SISERA) it is suggested that both 'Achish' and 'Nahash' probably come from 'Ashhur' (='Asshur,' also='Geshur') so that 'Sisera' (=Asshur) may represent the Nahash, king of Ammon (rather Jerahmeel), of 1 S. 11 1 2 S. 10 2.

Other disguised references to Reḥoboth may perhaps be found in 1 S. 14 47 (where 𝔊ᴸ presupposes בֵּית רְחֹב, probably a corruption of רְחֹבֹת) and in 2 S. 8 3 12 10 6 8. In 1 S. 14 the conquest of Reḥoboth is ascribed to Saul; in 2 S., more correctly to David. In 2 S. 11 1 12 26-30 this important event is described; the phrases 'the royal city' and the 'city of waters' are both the result of textual corruption (read 'the city of Jeraḥmeel,' or 'of the Jeraḥmeelites'). See further *Crit. Bib.*, and cp SAUL, § 3; URIAH. See also MIZRAIM, where it is argued that Gen. 10 14 probably refers to Reḥoboth (not Caphtorim) as the starting-point of the Pelištim (cp 2 S. 21 18 *ff.*). T. K. C.

REHOBOTH-IR (רְחֹבֹת עִיר; ροωβωc πολιν [AD]; ροωβοθ π. [D^a]; ροωβωθ π. [EL]) or 'the city Rehoboth,' one of the four cities mentioned in Gen. 10 11†. The name cannot be identified with any of the cities in the neighbourhood of Nineveh and Calah, with which it is associated. In the inscriptions of Sargon and Esarhaddon mention is made of the *rêbit Ninâ*, as a place in which was situated the old city Maganuba, on the site of which Sargon founded his city of Dûr-Sargon, the modern Khorsabad. Rehoboth-Ir might represent Rêbit-âli, and this might be equivalent to Rêbit-Ninâ, and be a popular name for Dûr-Sargon (cp Del. *Par.* 160 *f.* *Calwer Bib.-Lex.* 723 *b*). The word *rêbitu* (from *ra'batu*?) denotes primarily the outskirts of a city, in some cases the fields and plantations which were part of the city but lay outside its walls, though possibly within the exterior circumvallation. Thus it was in the *rêbit* of Dûr-ili that Sargon fought with Ḫumba-nigaš king of Elam, at the commencement of his reign: and it was in the *rêbit* of Nineveh that Esarhaddon made his triumphal entry after his capture of Sidon, *KB* 2 126. There is evidence that *rêbit* is the name of the farm or estate in the open country and was usually followed by the name of its owner; thus Rêbit Rîmâni-ilu denotes the estate of Rîmâni-ilu (see *Assyrian Doomsday Book*, 62). This would suggest that, if a town-name, Rehoboth 'Ir implies a founder 'Ir. No such town name, however, has come down to us.[1]

1. Assyriological inquiry.

The failure of attempts to explain Rehoboth-Ir and Resen (not to add Accad and Calneh) from Assyriology compels biblical critics to look at the problem from a fresh point of view, suggested by experience of the confusions and misunderstandings of biblical names which abound in the traditional text. The problem thus viewed is part of a much larger one which affects the whole of the Nimrod passage, and indeed the context in which that passage occurs. It is far from unlikely that Nimrod was really a N. Arabian not a Babylonian hero, and 'Rehoboth-Ir and Calah' should most probably give place to 'Rehoboth and Jerahmeel.' See NIMROD, REHOBOTH. C. H. W. J., § 1; T. K. C., § 2.

2. Text-critical solution.

REHUM (רְחוּם as if 'beloved,' an Aramaic word [§ 56], but very possibly one of the popular transformations of 'Jerahmeel'; cp Harim, Rekem, Raamiah, and see SHIMSHAI [Che.]).

1. A leader (see EZRA ii., § 8 *e*) in the great post-exilic list (EZRA ii., § 9) Ezra 2 2 (ιρεουμ [A], ρειουμ [L], B om.); probably the same as (4) below. That the form NEHUM (נְחוּם; *ναουμ* [BℵAL]) in Neh. 7 7 is incorrect is shown by 1 Esd. 5 8 (*ροειμου* [B], *ρομελιου* [A^a], *ναουμ* [L], EV ROIMUS).

2. b. Bani, a Levite, in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1] 15 *d*) Neh. 3 17 (*βασουθ* [B], *ραουμ* [ℵA], *ρεουμ* [L]).

3. Signatory to the covenant (EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 25 [26] (*ραουμ* [BℵA], *ρε.* [L]).

4. A priest in Zerubbabel's band (EZRA ii., § 6 *b*), Neh. 12 3, miswritten for HARIM of *v.* 15 (so Guthe in *SBOT*; BℵA om.; *ρεουμ* [ℵ c.a mg. sup. L]).

5. The name of a high official (בְּעֵל טְעֵם) who joined with Shimshai the scribe and others in making representations against the Jews to Artaxerxes (Ezra 4 8 9 17 23). EV, following the early Hebrew commentators, who explain 'recorder,' calls him 'the chancellor'; 'the governor' would perhaps more exactly convey the force of בְּעֵל טְעֵם ('man of commands'), which is either the translation of an old Persian title (Pahlavi *framātār*—so Andreas in Marti, *Aram. Gram.*) or may even represent a Greek title (*e.g.*, *ἔπαρχος*). The latter alternative assumes that the writer transported the political relations of the Greek period into the Persian period to which documents used by him belonged (so Marquart, *Fund.* 60). It is desirable, however, that Ezra and Nehemiah should be re-examined in the light of the theory that the underlying original narrative related to the N. Arabian, not to the Persian, rule. This may affect our conclusions in many minor points.

T. K. C.

The versions of Ezra leave the title untranslated (*ραουλ βαδαταμεν, ραουμ βααλ, ραουμ βαλγαμ, ραουμ* [B], *ρεουμ βααλταμ ρεουμ* [A], *ρεουμ βελτεεμ* [L], *beelteem* [Vg.]). In 1 Esd. 2 16 *ff.*, RATHUMUS (*ραθυμος*) called the 'news-writer' (*v.* 17, ὁ [εἰς] *τὰ προσπίπτοντα*, EV 'the story-writer'), cp Jos. (*Ant.* xi. 2 1) *ρ. ὁ. πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα γράφων.* In other cases his title has been treated as a proper name BEELTETHMUS, a scribe's corruption of *βεελτεεμος*, *v.* 16 *ρ. καὶ βεελτεθμος* [B], *ραθυος καὶ βαελτεθμος* [A^a], *ραθυμος καὶ βεελτεμος* [L], *v.* 25 [21] . . . *ραθύμῳ τῷ γράφοντι τὰ προσπίπτοντα καὶ βεελτεθμῳ* . . . [B] . . . *βεελτεμωθ'* [A], *ρ. γρ. τ. πρ. κ. βεελτεμῳ* [L, *v.* 18], a doublet).

REI (רֵעִי; ρηcει [BA], also a Palm. name [Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* nos. 16, 22], but 𝔊ᴸ [και] οι εταιροι αυτου, with reference to Shimei; cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 14 4: 'Shimei David's *friend*' and see Th.), coupled with SHIMEI (*q.v.* n.), among those who did not favour Adonijah (1 K 1 8). Winckler (*Gesch.* 2 241) identifies him with Ira, the Jairite, who was a 'priest to David' (2 S. 20 26); he argues ingeniously to show that this Ira (or Jair) was a priest of Bethlehem. But for כֹּהֵן we should possibly read סֹכֵן 'a high officer' (cp SHEBNA). Ewald reads רֵעִי for רֵעִי and identifies (not plausibly) with David's brother RADDAI [*q.v.*].

REINS. 1. (כְּלָיוֹת, *kᵉlāyōth*; νεφροι [𝔊 and Rev. 2 23†]; *renes*), properly the *kidneys* (of animals offered in sacrifice, except in Job 16 13 Ps. 139 13 Lam. 3 13, where the human kidneys are referred to). 'A not less important seat of life [than the blood], according to Semitic ideas, lay in the viscera, especially in the kidneys and liver, which in the Semitic dialects are continually named as the seats of emotion, or more broadly in the fat of the omentum and the organs that lie in and near it' (*Rel. Sem.*[(2)] 379). Consequently P represents these parts as Yahwè's appointed share of the sacrifices (cp LIVER). We even find a peculiar symbolism connected with kidney-fat (see FOOD, § 1 *a*, but note that the text of the passages is doubted; see MILK, § 1). It is much more natural to find the 'reins' (as EV calls the 'kidneys,' when used metaphorically) employed as a term for the organ, not only of the

[1] There was a district known as Rabûte, near Nineveh (see *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Nos. 278, 416); but this was probably the *rabit* of the 'magnates,' *rabûte*, of Nineveh.

emotions (see Ps. 73 21 Job 16 13 19 27 [not 𝔊 but Theod.]) but of the moral sentiments (see Jer. 11 20 17 10 20 12 Ps. 7 10 16 7 (?) 26 2). 'Trier of the reins and the heart' is the characteristic and title of Yahwè, not only in the OT, but also in the Hebraistic Book of Revelation (Rev. 2 23). In Ps. 16 7, however, 'yea, my reins instruct me in the night seasons' can hardly be right. It is Yahwè, not the 'heart' or the 'reins,' who trains and disciplines men (see Che. *Ps.*(2) *ad loc.*).

2. חֲלָצַיִם, *ḥălāṣáim*, is in Is. 11 5 rendered 'reins' by EV simply for want of a synonym for 'loins.'

3. The AVmg. of Lev. 15 2 22 4 for זוֹב, *zôb*, is not literal, and is based on a long-exploded pathology (cp MEDICINE, § 5).

REKEM (רֶקֶם). 1. Apparently a Benjamite place-name, Josh. 18 27 (ΝΑΚΑΝ [B?], ΡΕΚΕΜ [A], ΡΕΚΕΝ [L]), but most probably a corruption of ירחמאל, Jerahmeel, and equivalent to בַּחֻרִים, BAHURIM (another of the developments of JERAHMEEL).[1]

2. A king of Midian, Nu. 31 8 (ροκομ [BAFL]). Cp (3).

3. One of the 'sons' of Hebron mentioned with TAPPUAH and SHEMA [*qq.v.*] in 1 Ch. 2 43; in 2 44 [MT] he is father of Shammai father of *Maon*, but in 𝔊 (ρεκομ [B], ροκομ [A], ρωκημ [L]) it is Shema who is ancestor of Shammai, the intermediate links being RAHAM and JORKEAM [*qq.v.*]; Rekem, Raham, Jorkeam, and Carmel are all probably corruptions of JERAHMEEL. Cp JOKDEAM.

4. In pause RAKEM (so EV), a Manassite; 1 Ch. 7 16 (BA om., ρακαμ [L]). Seemingly there was a strong Jerahmeelite element in the population of the Manassite territory.

These explanations suggest the true explanation of the phrase בני קדם; see EAST, CHILDREN OF, where the reader is referred to the present article for textual criticism of the phrase. One plausible view of the original form of the story of GIDEON (*q.v.*, § 1) requires us, in Judg. 6 3 33 7 12 to read בני רקם (see Pesh.), *i.e.*, בני ירחמאל; note the gloss 'Amalekites.' This should be taken in connection with the Targumic use of רקם for Kadesh; here too רקם must come from ירחמאל; the full name of Kadesh was Kadesh-jerahmeel, barnea' and 'reḳem' having the same origin. See SELA. In fact, wherever we meet with phrases like 'the sons' or 'the land' or 'the mountains of *Kedem*' we may safely regard *Kedem* as a corruption of *Rekem*, *i.e.*, *Jerahmeel*, with the doubtful exception of Gen. 10 30 (*i.e.*, if ספרה [EV 'toward Sephar'] does not come from צרפת, cp SEPHARAD). Cp OPHIR. See Gen. 25 6 29 1 Nu. 23 7 1 K. 5 9 [4 30] Is. 11 14 Jer. 49 28 Ezek. 25 4 10 Job 1 3. Similarly in Gen. 15 19 KADMONITES must be a corruption of 'Jerahmeelites.'
T. K. C.

RELEASE, YEAR OF. See JUBILEE, also LAW AND JUSTICE, § 15.

REMALIAH (רְמַלְיָהוּ, § 39; ΡΟΜΕΛΙΑ[C]), father of PEKAH (*q.v.*), 2 K. 15 25 etc., Is. 7 4 *f.* 8 6. Probably a corruption of ירחמאל, Jerahmeel. Pekah's Gileadites may really have come from the Negeb (on the southern גלעד, see *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 8 22 22 6 Am. 1 3). Similarly, Jehuw as not improbably an Ishmaelite (see NIMSHI), and Joab a Miṣrite (see ZERUIAH). It is easy to understand that the boldest adventurers might be of N. Arabian extraction.
T. K. C.

REMEMBRANCE (זִכָּרוֹן), Is. 57 8. See MEMORIAL.

REMEMBRANCER (2 S. 20 24 etc., AVmg.), EV 'recorder,' RVmg. 'chronicler.' See RECORDER.

REMETH (רֶמֶת), Josh. 19 21. See RAMOTH, 1.

REMMON (רִמּוֹן), Josh. 19 7 AV; RV RIMMON (ii., 1).

REMMON-METHOAR (רִמּוֹן הַמְּתֹאָר), Josh. 19 13. See RIMMON ii., 3.

REMPHAN (ΡΕΜΦΑΝ, Stephens with 1, 31 etc.; cp ΡΕΜΦΑΜ [D, Vg. Iren.]; ΡΟΜΦΑΝ [ℵ*]; ΡΟΜΦΑ [B], ΡΕΜΦΑ [61, Arm.]), or (Μ being intrusive, as in ΝΟΜΒΑ beside ΝΟΒΑ, 1 S. 21 1), as RV, REPHAN (ΡΕΦΑΝ [CE, Syrr., Memph. Theb. Æth.]; cp ΡΑΙΦΑΝ, [Aℵc]; ΡΑΦΑΝ, Just. *Dial.* 22, ex Amos), occurs, with the prefix 'the star of the god' (so RV with BD, Pesh., etc. and 𝔊AQ*), or 'the star of your god' (so AV, with AℵCE, Vg., Harcl., etc.), in Acts 7 43, in a quotation from Amos 5 26, 𝔊 (where BA ΡΑΙΦΑΝ, Q ΡΕΦΑΝ, Complut. ΡΕΜΦΑ). The same Jablonski who ventured on a Coptic explanation of BEHEMOTH (*q.v.*) explained Rempha or Rompha from the Coptic, as 'king of heaven,' *nullo plane apice immutato* ('Remphah, Ægyptiorum Deus,' in *Opuscula*, ed. Te Water, 2 [1806], pp. 1-72). But 'king of heaven' in Egyptian would be *suten em pet.*[1] Gloag (*Comm. on Acts* 1 249), Lumby (*Acts*, in Cambridge Bible, *ad loc.*), and Merx (Schenkel's *Bib.-Lex.* 1 517) suppose Rephan to be the Egyptian name for Saturn. So (besides Spencer and Kircher) Lepsius the Egyptologist, who says that Seb or Saturn is called repa-n-neteru, 'the youngest of the gods,' and suggests a possible connection with Rephan (*Die Chron. der Æg.* 93). On phonetic and other grounds this view is not more acceptable than Jablonski's, and the simple explanation is that ρεφαν should rather be ραιφαν—*i.e.*, ריפן, where ר is perhaps a corruption of כ, and פ (soft) a phonetic substitute for ו. See CHIUN.
T. K. C.

1 ב dropped out, and ח became ק (for the reverse process see H. P. Smith on 1 S. 8 16).

REPHAEL (רְפָאֵל, as if 'God heals'; cp Aram. ירפאל, רפאל, NAMES, § 30; ΡΑΦΑΗΛ [BAL]), a Korahite, b. Shemaiah; 1 Ch. 26 7†.

Probably 'God heals' is a late popular etymology, devised after the original name had become corrupted; that it took hold of the imagination we see from the RAPHAEL of Tobit and Enoch. The present writer suspects that Rephael, Irpeel, Raphu [Beth-]rapha, and perhaps even REPHAIAH (*q.v.*), all come ultimately from an ethnic. See PEDAH-ZUR; REPHAIM. Hommel (*Exp. T* 8 [1897] p. 563) compares the name of an Arab, temp. Sargon, in a text transcribed by Winckler, Ya-ra-pa, also the S. Arabian name Hi-rapa'a.
T. K. C.

REPHAH (רֶפַח; ΡΑΦΗ [BA], ΡΑΦΑ [L]), mentioned in the list of the B'ne Ephraim 1 Ch. 7 25. Both Rephah and RESHEPH (*q.v.*) occur nowhere else and are probably corrupt. Cp EPHRAIM, § 12.

REPHAIAH (רְפָיָה, §§ 30, 62, as if 'Yahwè heals'; ΡΑΦΑΙΑ [BAL]). On the ultimate origin of the name see REPHAEL, and note in confirmation that in Neh. 3 9 Rephaiah (5) is a 'son of Ḥur'—*i.e.*, most probably, of Jerahmeel. In 1 Ch. 2 19 Hur is the son of Caleb and Ephrath. Who the Calibbites are, we know [see CALEB]; Ephrath is probably a distorted fragment of Zarephath. Cp PARADISE, col. 3573, n. 5. See below, no. 5.
T. K. C.

1. b. Hananiah, mentioned in the genealogy in 1 Ch. 3 21 (ραφαλ [B]), where, for בני 'sons of,' 𝔊 and Pesh. four times read בנו 'his son.' So Kittel; Bertheau follows MT.

2. A Simeonite chieftain who attacked the Amalekites of Mt. Seir (apparently in Hezekiah's time), 1 Ch. 4 42 *f.* (ραφαιας [L]). See ISHI, SIMEON.

3. b. TOLA (*q.v.*): 1 Ch. 7 2 (ραφαρα [B]); cp ISSACHAR, § 7.

4. b. BINEA, 1 Ch. 9 43 (ραφαιαν [ℵ], αραχα [L]) = 1 Ch. 8 37 (רָפָה, RAPHAH; ραφαι [B], αραχα [L]). Cp BENJAMIN, § 9 ii. β.

5. b. HUR (4), the ruler of half 'the district of Jerusalem,' and one of the repairers of the wall (Neh. 3 9; ραφαιας [L]).

[He was of Jerahmeelite origin (see above). According to Meyer (*Entst.* 119) the Calibbites and Jerahmeelites did not become universally recognised as real Jews before the time of P. The study of proper names pursued in a series of articles in the present work confirms this, but with limitations. In Neh. 3 Hur, Malchijah, Paseah, Rephaiah, Urijah; in Ezra 8 Elam, Michael, Jeliel, Ariel; in Neh. 11 Mahalaleel, Jeroham, Malchiah, Micha are transparent 'Jerahmeelite' names. The Jerahmeelites became so prominent that the genealogists had to do them fuller justice. But the same study of names suggests that Jerahmeelite clans were recognised both in Judah and elsewhere before the exile.—T. K. C.]

1 From a private letter of Dr. Budge.

REPHAIM (רְפָאִים; ραφα[ε]ιν [or -μ], and [Gen. 14 Josh. 12 13, and 1 Ch.], γιγαντες [BAEL]; Josh. 17, 𝔊BA om.), a race of reputed giants, found by the Israelites in occupation of territory on both sides of the Jordan.

1. OT references.

Before attempting any linguistic or historical explanation, we must look into the several passages where the traditional text recognises the name, viz., Gen. 14 5 15 20 Dt. 2 11 20 (ραφαραειν [F once]) 3 11 13 Josh. 12 4 13 12 17 15, to which we may add 2 S. 21 16 18 20 22, cp 1 Ch. 20 4 6 8 (children of Hārāphā). The geographical phrase 'valley of Rephaim' will be treated only incidentally here (see next article).

1. Gen. 14 5. Chedorlaomer and his allies 'smote the Rephaim in Ashteroth-karnaim.'

No stress can be laid on this passage. In its present form Gen. 14 is probably later even than the archæological notices in Dt. 2 10 *f.*, and the names at present found in Gen. 14 5 probably come from a very late editor who arbitrarily 'corrected' a very corrupt text (see SODOM).

2. Gen. 15 20. The list of Canaanite peoples in Gen. 15 19-21 comes apparently from a late redactor, but has merely suffered from ordinary transcriptional corruption; the redactor had no historical theory to serve, and reproduced, though inaccurately, names derived from earlier sources.

The order of the names is, Kenites, Kenizzites, Kadmonites (from 'Jerahmeelites'?), Hittites (from 'Rehobothites'?), Perizzites (Zarephathites?), Rephaim, Amorites, Canaanites, Girgashites (from 'Girshites' or 'Geshurites'?), Jebusites (Ishmaelites?).' We may infer that, according to tradition, a people called 'Rephaim' was to be found in the far S. of Palestine.

3. Dt. 2 11 20 3 11 13. A 'remnant of the Rephaim,' under their king Og, survived in Bashan, which was therefore called 'the land of the Rephaim.' But we are also told that the Emim of Moab and the Anakim (of Hebron? or of Rehoboth?) were reckoned among the Rephaim. The passage comes from a late editor (D_2), and 'Bashan' should certainly be 'Cushan' (see OG).[1]

If גת (Gath) in 2 S. 21 20 is miswritten for רחובת (REHOBOTH), this statement is confirmed, for the warriors spoken of in that passage were Rephaites. It is true, in Nu. 13 33 the b'nē 'Anāķ are said to belong to the Nephīlīm; but we shall see presently that the 'Rephaim' and the 'Nephīlīm' must have been closely connected—*i.e.*, 'Rephaim' and 'Nephīlīm' may have been interchanged.

4. Josh. 12 4 13 12 depend on Dt. 2 11, etc.; but 17 14 *f.* has its own peculiarities. When purified from corrupt repetitions 17 14 *f.* states that the tribe of Joseph (b'nē Joseph) complained to Joshua that it was too large to have but one lot and portion. Joshua's reply was, 'If thou art a great people, go up to the forest-land, and clear away (space) for thyself in the land of the Perizzites and the Rephaim.' The Josephites objected that access to this region would be impeded by the Canaanites with their chariots of iron, and Joshua rejoined that the forest-land is not unattainable, and that their strength is equal to the task of driving out the Canaanites.[2] Here it would appear that the forest-land spoken of means the hill-country N. of Shechem; the view that trans-Jordanic territory is intended is not plausible.[3] But room must be left for the possibility that 'Shechem' should be 'Cusham,' and 'Canaanites' 'Kenizzites.' There were probably b'nē Ephraim in the Negeb (see *Crit. Bib.*).

5. In 2 S. 21 22 (cp 20) four champions of the Philistines are said to have been 'born (יֻלְּדוּ) to the Rāphā (לְהָרָפָה) in Gath' (*v.* 22; cp *v.* 20), while of two of them it is said that they were 'of the descendants of the Rāphā' (HPSm., מִילִידֵי; cp 1 Ch. 20 4), or perhaps rather (cp 𝔊 in *v.* 22) 'of the Rephaim.'[4]

There is, however, great difficulty in the text as it now stands. Surely the Philistines were quite formidable enough without having to accept the assistance of the remnant of the Rephaim. Are we to suppose that the references to the Rephaites in 2 S. 21 16 22 are a later appendage to the tradition, suggested by a reminiscence of the tradition respecting Og? Or is there not some explanation arising out of a somewhat more definite view of the older populations of Canaan made possible by textual criticism?

2. Origin of name.

It would be tedious to sum up here all the evidence directly or indirectly affecting the subject in hand provided by our textual criticism. Two passages, however, are specially important. In Josh. 17 15 it is evident that הַפְּרִזִּי and הָרְפָאִים are two competing readings, and that the former is more probably correct. And in 2 S. 5 18-20 it is plain that the spot called בַּעַל־פְּרָצִים is in the valley of Rephaim. It is maintained elsewhere (see PELETHITES, ZAREPHATH) that the tribe whose centre on the S. Palestinian border was at Zarephath (= ZEPHATH) was prominent in early Israelitish legend, and that its name underwent strange mutilations and corruptions. Among these transformations may probably be included Zelophehad, Ṣalḥad, names connected with the N.; and Pelištim[1] and Letušim, names connected with the S. That 'Perizzi' and 'Pelišti' are connected is not a violent supposition. Both are most probably corruptions of Ṣārephāthī (Zarephathite), and it is hardly less plausible to conjecture that Rephā'īm is a corruption of Peraṣīm, though an alternative derivation from Jeraḥme'elim is equally possible. Thus—to return to the story in 2 S. 5 18-20—instead of 'Baal-perazim' in the 'valley of Rephaim,' the original tradition probably spoke of 'Baal-ṣārĕphāthīm in the valley of Jeraḥme'elim (or Ṣārĕphāthīm).' That such long names were early corrupted, and that the corruption took different forms in different parts of Palestine, can easily be understood.

The result to which we are tending, and which it would lead us into too many digressions to justify fully, is that the Ṣārĕphāthīm or Jeraḥme'elim migrated into many parts both of eastern and of western Palestine. They started from the S.; it is not a random statement of Gen. 10 6 that PUT (פוט from צרפת) was the brother of (the N. Arabian) Cush and Mizraim and the son of Ḥam (Jerahmeel?), and of Gen. 25 3 that LETUSHIM was the brother of Leummim (Jerahmeelim?) and the son of Dedan (*i.e.*, S. Edom). The Ṣārĕphāthīm were in fact probably a branch of the Jerahmeelites, who, as our textual criticism tends to show, spread over many parts both of Western, and even of Eastern, Palestine (note the Phœnician Zarephath, and cp JERAHMEEL; EAST, CHILDREN OF). The Jerahmeelites or Ṣarephathites, according to the genealogies, became largely fused with the Israelites, and how much truth there may be in the statement that OG the Rephaite (Ṣarephathite? or Jerahmeelite?) and his people were smitten, till there were no survivors (Nu. 21 35), it is impossible to say.

It is hardly worth while to discuss the question whether the representation of the Rephaim—*i.e.*, possibly the Jerahmeelites of Ṣārĕphath—as giants (cp Am. 2 9, where 'the Amorite' is thus described) is purely mythical. Whether the Edomitish race (to which the Jerahmeelites belonged) was taller than the later Israelitish race or not, it is certain that the instinctive tendency of legend (both in Europe and in Asia) to picture aboriginal races as of gigantic stature would have led to such a representation. According to Robertson Smith,[2] 'the giant-legends arose in part

[1] There is no occasion to reject the second בענקים as an erroneous repetition from the preceding clause.

[2] In *v.* 16 read לֹא־יִמָּצֵא הַיַּעַר, and in *v.* 18 כִּי הַיַּעַר יִהְיֶה־לְּךָ.

[3] See Steuernagel, *ad loc.*

[4] It is usual to take הרפה as an eponym; but the art. is unfavourable to this view. רפה surely comes from רפא, which originally had after it the stroke of abbreviation (הרפא׳=הרפאים). In 2 S. 21 22 read יֻלְּדוּ לְבֵית הָרְפָאִים, 'were born to the (or, a) house of the Rephaim' (cp L's τῷ οἴκῳ). [In 2 S. 21, 𝔊BA has ραφα and also γίγαντες with ραφα in *v.* 22: 𝔊L γίγαντες in *vv.* 16, 18, Τιτᾶνος *v.* 20, γίγαντες and ραφα *v.* 22, whilst in 1 Ch. 20 𝔊 has γίγαντες in *vv.* 4, 6, 𝔊BA ραφα, 𝔊L ραφαιν and also 𝔊 γίγαντες.]

[1] The 'Philistines' of 2 S. 21 15-22 were really the Zarephathites; 'Gath' should be 'Rehoboth.' See PELETHITES, REHOBOTH.

[2] Note communicated to Prof. Driver, *Deut.* 40.

from the comtemplation of ancient ruins of great works and supposed gigantic tombs.' This may very well have been the case, in view of the legends attaching to huge sarcophagi, like that assigned to Og in Dt., at the present day. See OG.

A brief reference to other theories of the origin of the name Rephaim must suffice. The view that it is connected with Ar. *rafa'a* 'to lift up,' and means 'giants,' is not at all plausible; no cognate of *rafa'a* can be pointed to in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Assyrian. Stade (*GVI* I 116 120) was the first to connect the name with the Rephaim or 'shades' (see DEAD and DEATH). This has been taken up by Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 64, n. 1 [1892]; *ZATW* 18 132 [1898]). From the sense of 'spirits of the dead' arose, it is supposed, that of 'primeval population.' Schwally confirms this by a legend of the Hovas in Madagascar (*ZATW*, *l.c.*). This is surely most improbable. The transition is difficult, even if we do not hold, with Stade, that רפאים, the word for 'the shades,' means 'the weak.' It is most reasonable, therefore, to hold that, like a large proportion of ethnic names, Rephaim has been worn down from a longer form, and this form we may venture to trace either in Jeraḥme'elim or in Ṣarephāthīm.

See also REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, and on Job 26 3 see DEAD.

T. K. C.

REPHAIM, VALLEY OF, also VALLEY OF THE GIANTS (עֵמֶק־רְפָאִים; Josh. 15 8 18 16 2 S. 5 18 22 23 13 1 Ch. 11 15 14 9 Is. 17 5: Is. *ἐν φάραγγι στερεᾷ*[1] [BℵAQΓ]; Josh. 15, *γῆς ραφαειμ* [AL], *-ν* [B], Josh. 18 *εμεκραφαειν* [BL], *-μ* [A], 2 S. 5, *τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν τ[ε]ιτάνων* [BAL], 2 S. 23 *τῇ κοιλ. ραφαειμ* [B], *-ν* [A], *τιτάνων* [L]; 1 Ch. *τῇ κοιλάδι τῶν γιγάντων* [BℵAL]; *vallis Raphaim* and *gigantum*).

According to the prevalent theory, which supposes the same locality to be referred to in all the passages, the 'Valley of Rephaim' was an upland plain near Jerusalem and Bethlehem (cp 2 S. 23 13 *f.*) where not only corn and olive trees flourished (Is. 17 5 *f.*), but the so-called Baca trees (see MULBERRY) grew. At its N. end was a hill over which ran the boundary of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 8 18 16). The plain was famous as the scene of fights between David and the Philistines, (2 S. 5 18 22 23 13; cp 1 Ch. 14 9 11 15). Elsewhere, however, has been offered the theory that the enemies referred to in 2 S. 5 18 22 and the related passages were not the Philistines but the Zarephathites (see ZAREPHATH), and that the place referred to in 2 S. 23 14 was not Bethlehem but Beth-jerahmeel (thus the whole scene becomes historically and geographically more plausible). Elsewhere, too (see REPHAIM) we have urged that Rephaim, the name of an early population of Canaan, is probably a much worn-down form either of Ṣārĕphāthīm (Zarephathites), or perhaps more probably of Jeraḥme'ēlīm.

1. Prevalent theory criticised.

It would seem, then, that in 2 S. 5 18 22, etc., the 'valley (upland plain) of Rephaim (Jeraḥme'ēlīm)' cannot be a plain near Jerusalem, and that, like the '*ēmeḳ hā-ēlāh* of 1 S. 17 2 (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), it was one of the 'valleys or spaces between the low sloping hills' (Palmer) in the neighbourhood of Ruḥeibeh (Rehoboth), possibly indeed the Wādy Ruḥeibeh itself, though the broad Wādy el-Milḥ may also come into consideration (see NEGEB).

2. David's valley of Rephaim.

In the case of Is. 17 5, when we consider the manifest play on the name Ephraim in the next verse, it is possible to suppose (*a*) that רְפָאִים (Rephaim) should rather be אֶפְרַיִם (Ephraim), and to identify this '*ēmeḳ* with a part of the Great Plain of Esdraelon. (*b*) There are, however, also good critical arguments for identifying this '*ēmeḳ* with that in the story of David. The question is subordinate to the large inquiry, Does Is. 17 1-11 predict the ruin of Syria and Ephraim, or of the kingdom of Jerahmeel? See *Crit. Bib.* But there is no objection to the view (*c*) that the '*ēmeḳ rĕphā'īm* of Josh. 15 8 18 16 really did derive its name from the Jeraḥme'elim; in fact, the early population of Jerusalem was probably a combination of Amorites and Jerahmeelites (see REHOBOTH). The upland plain referred to seems to be the Beḳā'a, which stretches from the SW. side of Jerusalem southwards as far as Mār Elyās (3 hr. from Jerusalem), which may indeed be the 'mountain' referred to in Joshua.

3. Two other valleys of Rephaim?

Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 288 22 147 6) place the 'Valley of Rephaim' on the N. of Jerusalem, and Kittel (*Gesch. der Hebr.* 2 131) follows them on grounds derived from the (surely corrupt) text of 2 S. 5 22 *ff.* Tobler's main objection[1] to the ordinary view is that '*ēmeḳ* means a 'valley,' not a 'plain.' But '*ēmeḳ* is constantly used of plains shut in by hills, and this is just what the Beḳā'a is, 'shut in on all sides by rocky hill-tops and ridges' (Porter).

T. K. C.

[1] Cp 𝔊, 1 S. 4 8 *τῶν θεῶν τῶν στερεῶν τούτων* (𝔊L sing.).

REPHAN (ρεφαν), Acts 7 43 RV, AV REMPHAN.

REPHIDIM (רְפִידִים, plain-country, '*strata*' ??; ραφιδειν [BAFL], Ex. 17 1 8 19 2 Nu. 33 14 *f.*†), a place where the Amalekites attacked the Israelites and were defeated by Joshua with the aid of the wonder-working staff of Moses. As we see from his arrangement of the passages of diverse origin which he has brought together, R considers this event to have occurred when, according to P, the Israelites encamped at Rĕphīdīm immediately before entering the wilderness of Sinai. He also thinks that the spot (spots?) called Massah and Meribah was (were?) in the district of Rephidim, which, in this case, must have extended to, or perhaps even have been equivalent to, Horeb (see Ex. 17 6, 'the rock in Horeb'). On the analysis of sources, see EXODUS (BOOK), § 3.

The existence of a popular tradition of a war waged with varying fortunes by the early Israelites against the Amalekites may be assumed without discussion (see AMALEK, § 2; MOSES, § 12). But we have still to ask, Did tradition connect this war, or an episode of this war, with Rephidim? Some scholars (*Oxf. Hex.* 107) have doubted this; according to them, the connection of the battle described in Ex. 17 8-16 with Rephidim is purely editorial. Textual criticism may contribute something to the decision of this point. Among the names of the stations of the Israelites there are only two which end in -im, viz., Elim and Rephidim. It is difficult not to conjecture that both these names are corruptions of ethnics. That Elim probably comes from Jeraḥmeel or Jeraḥmeelim has been suggested already (MOSES, § 12). We have also conjectured that Marah (the reported name of the preceding station) has arisen out of another fragment of Jeraḥmeel, viz., Maraḥ (from Reḥem; cp REKEM, SELA). It may now be added that Rephidim is probably a corrupt fragment of Jeraḥmeelim.

1. Form and contents of legend.

'Rĕphīdīm' (רפידים), we may suppose, comes from 'Rĕphīlīm' (רפילים), which, through the intermediate stage of 'Rĕphāĕlīm' (רפאלים), comes from 'Remaelim' (רמאלים), *i.e.*, 'Jĕraḥmĕēlīm' (ירחמאלים); the corruption is easier and not less certain than that which we meet with sometimes, of Jeraḥmeel into Ephraim.

Bacon (*Ex.* 88, note *) has acutely conjectured that Ex. 15 26 (a passage usually assigned to R_D) may be based on an earlier document which derived the name Rephidim from *rapha* (רפא), 'to heal.' The name presupposed in the early tradition may have been not Rephidim but Rephaelim; רְפָאֵל naturally suggests the explanation, 'for I am Yahwè that heals thee.'[2] In short, the closing words of *v.* 26 may originally have stood in a context relative to the name Rephaelim.

From this point of view we cannot question the fact that early tradition connected the battle in Ex. 17 8-16 with Rĕphīdīm, the name of which place (like Meribah) appears to be a distortion of the ethnic Jĕraḥmĕēlīm. The truth is that there were traditional stories in circulation respecting two fertile spots in the Jeraḥmeelite country occupied by the migrating Israelites. One appears in a double form in Ex. 15 23-25*a*, and in *v.* 27; another has also a double representation in Ex.

[1] *Dritte Wanderung*, 202.

[2] See RAPHAEL, and cp *Eth. Enoch*, 10 7, where Raphael is commanded to proclaim that God will *heal* the earth.

17 1*b* 2 4-7 (part) and, in a very fragmentary form, in *vv.* 3 7 (part). The second certainly refers to the oasis of 'Ain Gadīs (the fountain of the Jerahmeelite Kadesh). And it is not unreasonable to hold that the Amalekite attack spoken of in Ex. 17 8 was connected in the original tradition with this fountain, the possession of which was naturally grudged by the Jerahmeelites (now become unfriendly?—see MOSES) to the intruding Israelites. (In this case, the 'hill' spoken of in *vv. 9 f.* may be one of the earth-covered limestone hills at the north-eastern sweep of the oasis; cp Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 273.) This, at any rate, is the view suggested by the text of Ex. 17 in its present form; but even if we reject it, there is strong probability in the opinion that the Amalekites attacked Israel in Rĕphīdīm—*i.e.*, Jĕraḥmĕēlīm—because we have express evidence (Nu. 13 29, cp Gen. 14 7) that the Negeb, including Kadesh, was the region specially occupied by the Jerahmeelite clans.

That the story of the Amalekite attack, not less than that of the smitten rock (*v.* 6, 'the rock *in Horeb*'), is placed too early by R, seems beyond doubt. The Moses who stood apart from the fight, holding the 'rod of Elohim,' but who after a time was in danger of letting his hand sink, and who committed the military leadership to Joshua, is clearly an old man; we are placed by this story at the beginning of the various wars which tradition referred to the close of the life of Moses. See MOSES; and cp JEHOVAH-NISSI, MASSAH AND MERIBAH, WANDERINGS.

2. Earlier geographical theories. In the above statement we have been compelled to assume that Horeb or Sinai was not in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, but in close proximity to Kadesh, *i.e.*, in the Jebel Magrah, on the SW. frontier of the Negeb (see MOSES, §§ 5, 14). If, however, we suppose that Sinai is either Jebel Serbāl or Jebel Mūsā (see SINAI, § 18), we may, with several modern geographers (Lepsius, Ebers, Ritter, A. P. Stanley, C. W. Wilson, E. H. Palmer), be tempted to attach ourselves to the tradition, recorded especially by Kosmas Indicopleustes (535 A.D.) and Antoninus Martyr (*circa* 600 A.D.), which identifies Rĕphīdīm with Feirān, the ancient Pharan, the ruins of which stand at the junction of the Wādy 'Aleyāt with the Wādy Feirān, about 4 m. N. of Serbāl. Antoninus Martyr speaks of an 'oratorium,' whose altar is set on the stones which were put under Moses while he was praying. Evidently he refers to the Jebel et-Tahūneh, on the right bank of the Wādy Feirān, which is about 720 ft. high, and is covered with remains of Christian tombs, cells, and chapels. This view was adopted as a whole by the members of the Sinai Expedition, excepting F. W. Holland (see *Ordnance Survey of Penins. of Sinai*, 153 *ff.*). More plausible, if the connection of the story of the rock and that of the battle be maintained, is the view of Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 212; cp Lepsius, *Briefe*, 349 *ff.*) that the biblical Rĕphīdīm is to be placed in the dry, north-western part of the Wādy Feirān, where the Amalekites might be supposed to have gathered to prevent the Israelites from entering the oasis. Robinson's theory (*BR* 1 179), adopted by F. W. Holland (*Recovery of Jerusalem*, 534 *ff.*), that Rĕphīdīm is in the narrow gorge of el-Watiyeh in the great Wādy es-Sheikh—the Wādy by which, according to this traveller, the Israelites approached Horeb—is less defensible, for reasons well summed up by E. H. Palmer (*Sinai*, 202); cp also Ritter (*Palestine and the Sinaitic Peninsula*, 1 323). All these theories depend, as we have seen, on the correctness of the traditional theory as to the general position of Horeb or Sinai, which is open to much question, and indeed appears to some scholars hardly defensible. T. K. C.

RESAIAS (ρηcαιογ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 8 RV = Ezra 2 2, REELAIAH.

RESEN (רֶסֶן; λαcεμ [*ADL*]; -εν [E]; *Resen*) is named in Gen. 10 12, as a city lying between Nineveh and Kalah.

1. Assyriological inquiry. Menant therefore considered it to be represented by the ruin-heaps of Selāmīye. Bochart and recently Nöldeke have connected it with the Larissa of Xenophon (*Anab.* iii. 4 7), the site of which, however, is uncertain, though Frd. Del. (*Calwer Bib.-Lex.* 731) suggests identifying it with Nimrūd (cp CALAH). In the inscriptions, so far published, no city of any importance bears a name like Resen. A city of the name Rê-êš-ê-ni (Rêš-êni) appears as not far from Nineveh, in the Bavian description of Sennacherib (*KB* 2 116 *f.*, cp Del. *Par.* 188 261); but there is nothing to show that it was an ancient foundation. There is little hope of its identification till the district has been properly explored. C. W. H. J.

2. Text-critical solution. From an exegetical point of view the matter is further complicated by the words which follow Resen—'the same is the great city.' Does this refer to Resen? No one would have doubted this, but for the silence of antiquity as to any important city near Nineveh with a name resembling Resen. Rêš-êni—*i.e.*, 'fountain-head, place of fountains,' is not a probable name at all. To suppose a 'tetrapolis' with two such doubtful names as Rehoboth-Ir and Resen is a desperate expedient. If, however, Nimrod was a N. Arabian, not a Babylonian, hero, a probable identification of Resen may be made. כלח (misread Calah) is in the view of the present writer one of the many corruptions of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel); נינוה (which was read Nineveh) not improbably comes from חברון (Hebron); and הוא העיר הגדולה is certainly a corruption of הוא ירחמאל (that is, Jerahmeel), a gloss on כלח. 'Between Hebron and Jerahmeel' appears to be a suitable description of Beersheba, the name of which is sometimes corrupted into בּוֹר עָשָׁן and עָשָׁן. See NIMROD. § 1, C. W. H. J.; § 2, T. K. C.

RESERVOIR (מִקְוָה, Is. 22 11, RV). See CONDUITS, § 1 [5].

RESHEPH (רֶשֶׁף; cαραφ [B], ραcεφ [A], ραcηφ [L]), a 'son' of Ephraim, 1 Ch. 7 25 (see EPHRAIM, § 12). The other names include SHEERAH (*i.e.*, Ashḥur?), Ammihud (*i.e.* Jeraḥmeel?) Elishama (*i.e.*, Ishmael?). 'Resheph' therefore should perhaps be צרף (cp 𝔊[B]), and mean 'Zarephathite'; cp בן הצרפי, Neh. 3 31—*i.e.*, a Zarephathite. Clermont-Ganneau, however, suggests that *Arsūf* (= the Apollonia of Jos.), about 7 m. N. of Jaffa, may correspond to an ancient town Resheph. Resheph (identified with Apollo) was the Phœnician and N. Syrian fire-god and war-god (cp *CIS* 1 n. 10, and Hadad-inscr. from Zenjīrlī, *ll.* 3, 11), whose cultus was introduced into Egypt during the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties (see list of gods on altar in Turin Museum, *TSBA* 3 429, *l.* 67, and plate; and cp E. Meyer, *ZDMG* 31 719 728 *f.*).[1] Close to *Arsūf* is an extraordinary holy place—a *Ḥarām*, which, under Moslem forms, possibly continues a primitive cultus (Cl.-Ganneau, *Horus et saint Georges*, 17; cp Baed.(2) 239). See, further, PHŒNICIA, § 12, end. T. K. C.

RESURRECTION. See ESCHATOLOGY (index).

[1] For further references see Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 156, n. 1.

RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

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1. General. The resurrection of Jesus is held to be the central fact upon which the Christian church rests. Even at a date so early as that of 1 Cor. Paul treats it as such in an elaborate discussion (1 Cor. 15 1-26). In particular he rests upon it three fundamental thoughts of the Christian faith: (1) the belief that the death of Jesus was not—what in accordance with Dt. 21 23 (Gal. 3 13) it must have seemed to be—the death of a malefactor, but a divine appointment for the forgiveness of sins and for the salvation of men (1 Cor. 15 17 Rom. 4 25 6 4-7, etc.); (2) a vindication of the supremacy of the exalted Christ over the Church (1 Cor. 15 25 *f.* Rom. 1 4 2 Cor. 13 4, etc.); and (3) a pledge of the certainty of an ultimate resurrection of all believers to a life of everlasting blessedness (1 Cor. 15 18-20 6 14 Rom. 6 8 8 11, etc.).

Whilst the second and the third of these points were so held at all times, that was not quite the case with the first. At a date as early as that of the speeches of Peter in Acts (see ACTS, § 14) the resurrection of Jesus was not the divine confirmation of the truth that the death of Jesus laid the foundations of the salvation of mankind; the death is there represented rather as a calamity (3 13-15 5 30) even if it was (according to 2 23 4 28) fore-ordained of God. But the significance of the resurrection of Jesus does not become on that account the less; on the contrary it figures as being itself the act with which the forgiveness of sins is connected (5 31, cp 3 25). Most modern schools of theology in like manner refrain from regarding the resurrection as an event without which the theologian would not be able to regard Jesus' death as a divine arrangement for the salvation of men.

Such theologians also, however, do not on that account attach to it any the less importance; rather do they see in it the divine guarantee for the truth that the person of Jesus and the cause which he represented could not remain under the power of death, but must of necessity at last gain the victory over all enemies in spite of every apparent momentary triumph.

It seems accordingly in logic inevitable that if at any time it should come to be recognised that the resurrection of Jesus never happened, the Christian faith with respect to all the points just mentioned would necessarily come to an end.

The shock to which the Christian religion and the Christian church would be exposed by any such discovery would appear to be all the heavier when it is reflected that only two other propositions can be named which would place it in equal or greater danger; the one, that the death of Jesus did not procure the salvation of mankind, the other that Jesus never existed at all. The first of these two theses would leave many schools of thought within the limits of Christianity comparatively unaffected, for they find the redeeming work of Jesus in his life, not, as Paul and orthodox theologians generally, in his death; on the other hand their faith would be most seriously affected if they found themselves constrained to recognise that Jesus remained under the power of death.

The reason for dreading all these dangers is that upon the assumption of the resurrection of Jesus (as also upon that of his atoning death and upon that of his existence at all) are based propositions which are fundamental to the Christian faith,—propositions concerning God and his relation to men, upon the truth of which no less an issue depends than the salvation of mankind. The question concerns things of priceless value, and the judgments upon which all interest concentrates are (to use the language of modern German theologians) Werthurtheile—*i.e.*, judgments which declare that to be able to believe such and such is for the religious man a thing of absolute value; unless such things can be accepted he can only despair. Thus the believing man can cherish no more urgent desire than that the basis upon which these beliefs, which are for him so priceless, rest should be raised securely above the reach of doubt.

Yet what is this basis? It consists in an affirmation regarding a fact in history which is known to us only through tradition and accordingly is open to historical criticism just as any other fact is. Indeed, whilst the very existence of Jesus and the fact of his death on the cross have been questioned by only a very few,[1] and on the other hand the meaning of his death, as soon as the fact has been admitted, is left an open question to every one, we find that the resurrection of Jesus—as is not surprising in view of its supernatural character—is in very many quarters and with growing distinctness characterised as unhistorical, and that not merely when it is conceived of as having been a revivification of the dead body of Jesus, but also when it is defended in some spiritualistic form.

The present examination of the subject will not start from the proposition that 'miracles are impossible.'

Such a proposition rests upon a theory of the universe (Weltanschauung), not upon exhaustive examination of all the events which may be spoken of as miracles. Even should we by any chance find ourselves in a position to say that every alleged miraculous occurrence from the beginning of time down to the present hour had been duly examined and found non-miraculous, we should not thereby be secured against the possibility of something occurring to-morrow which we should be compelled to recognise as a miracle. Empirically, only so much as this stands fast—and no more—that as regards present-day occurrences the persons who reckon with the possibility of a miracle (by miracle we here throughout understand an occurrence that unquestionably is against natural law) are very few, and that present-day occurrences which are represented as miraculous are on closer examination invariably found to possess no such character.

The normal procedure of the historian accordingly in dealing with the events of the past will be in the first instance to try whether a non-miraculous explanation will serve, and to come to the other conclusion only on the strength of quite unexceptionable testimony. Needless to say, in doing so, he must be free from all prepossession. He must accordingly, where biblical authors are concerned, in the first instance, look at their statements in the light of their own presuppositions, even though in the end he may find himself shut up to the conclusion that not only the statements but also the presuppositions are erroneous.

I. NARRATIVES EXAMINED

For our most authentic information on the subject of

[1] Loman, who in 1881 altogether denied the existence of Jesus, affirmed it in 1884 and still more distinctly in 1887. Amongst those who have most recently maintained the negative may be named Edwin Johnson, the author of *Antiqua Mater* (anonymous; 1887) and *The Rise of Christendom* (1890), and John M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology* (1900) and *A Short History of Christianity* (1902).

2. Gospel narratives of resurrection compared.

the resurrection of Jesus we naturally look to the Gospels ; these, however, exhibit contradictions of the most glaring kind. Reimarus, whose work was published by Lessing as *Wolfenbütteler Fragmente*, enumerated ten contradictions ; but in reality their number is much greater. (Mk. 16 9-20 is not taken account of in this place ; see below, § 8.)

(*a*) Of the watch and seal set upon the sepulchre, and of the bribing of the soldiers of the watch, we read only in Mt. (27 62-66 28 4 11-15). In Mk. and Lk. these features are not only not mentioned ; they are excluded by the representation of the women as intending to anoint the body and (in Mk. at least) as foreseeing difficulty only in the weight of the stone, not in the presence of a military guard. In Mt. the women's object is simply to see the sepulchre (28 1) ; they have therefore heard of its being guarded, as in fact they very easily could.

(*b*) According to Lk. (23 54 56) the women got ready the spices before sunset on Friday ; according to Mk. (16 1) they did not buy them till after sunset on Saturday. In Jn. the incident does not occur at all, for according to 19 38-40 Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus have already embalmed the body before laying it in the grave, whilst according to Mk. 15 46 = Mt. 27 59 *f.* = Lk. 23 53 Joseph alone (without Nicodemus) simply wrapped it in a fine linen cloth.

(*c*) The persons who come to the sepulchre on the morning of the resurrection are : according to Mk. (16 1), Mary Magdalene, Mary of James (cp MARY, §§ 26 23), and Salome ; according to Mt. (28 1) only the two Marys (the designation 'the other Mary' is explained by 27 56) ; according to Lk. (24 10), in addition to the two Marys, Joanna (cp 8 3) 'and the other women with them' ; according to Jn. (20 1) only Mary Magdalene,[1] to whom, however, are added Peter and the beloved disciple. In agreement with this last we have only the notice in Lk. (24 24) that after the women 'some of those with us' (τινὲς τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν) had gone to the sepulchre and had found the report of the women to be true ; also the notice in 24 12 (a verse not found in the 'western' MSS) according to which Peter ran, after the visit of the women, to the sepulchre, and stooping down beheld the linen clothes alone, and wondering departed. This verse, though we can hardly suppose it to have come from Jn. 20 3-8, is still open to the suspicion of being a later interpolation,—all the more because the mention of Peter alone does not harmonise with the 'some' (τινές) of *v.* 24, and 'them' (αὐτῶν) of *v.* 13 connects with *v.* 11, not with *v.* 12.

(*d*) The time of the visit of the women to the sepulchre is : in Mk. (16 2) 'when the sun was risen,' in Lk. (24 1, 'at early dawn') and Jn. (20 1, 'early, when it was yet dark') before sunrise, but in Mt. (28 1) about half a day earlier.

'Late on the Sabbath' (ὀψὲ σαββάτων) means unquestionably, according to the Jewish division of the day, the time about sunset, and the words immediately following— τῇ ἐπιφωσκούσῃ εἰς μίαν σαββάτων, 'as the light shone forth towards the first day of the week' (see WEEK, § 7)—are elucidated by Lk. 23 54, where the transition from the Jewish Friday to Saturday (Sabbath)—in other words the time of sunset—is indicated by the expression σάββατον ἐπέφωσκεν, 'the Sabbath shone forth.' This expression is usually explained by reference to the custom of kindling the lights somewhat before the beginning of the Sabbath because on the Sabbath it was unlawful to do so. Keim, however (*Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 3 552 *f.*; ET 6 303), produces evidence of the same *usus loquendi* for the other days of the week ; and this will cover the case of its employment in Mt. The word 'by night,' νυκτός, in 28 13 also goes to show that Mt. pictured to himself the journey of the women to the sepulchre and the opening of the sepulchre of the earthquake (or the angel) as having happened by night. Furthermore it is conceivable that Mt. should have been brought to this divergence to the extent of half a day from the account by the other evangelists precisely if he had followed Mk. with strict precision. For in point of fact Mk. indicates, first (16 1), sunset by the phrase 'when the Sabbath was past' (διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου) and, next (16 2) mentions sunrise ; his reference to sunset is in connection with the purchase of the spices, a circumstance which Mt. had no occasion to notice. Thus Mt. might come to look upon the second time-determination as synonymous with the first, inasmuch as the actual words 'very early on the first day of the week' (λίαν πρωὶ τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων), if the Jewish division of the day is assumed, does not absolutely exclude such a view. Cp, further, § 26 *a*.

(*e*) According to Mk. (16 4), Lk. (24 2), and Jn. (20 1) those who came to the sepulchre found that the stone at the door had already been rolled away ; according to Mt. (28 2) it was rolled back in the presence of the women by an angel who in a great earthquake came down from heaven.

(*f*) In Mk. (16 5-7), as in Mt. (28 2-7), there is only one angel ; in Lk. (24 4-7) and Jn. (20 12 *f.*) there are two (in Lk. called 'men,' ἄνδρες, but 'in dazzling apparel,' ἐν ἐσθῆτι ἀστραπτούσῃ, somewhat as in Mt. 28 3 Mk. 16 5).

(*g*) According to Mk. this one angel, according to Jn. the two, sat in the sepulchre ; according to Mt. the one angel sits without the sepulchre upon the stone ; according to Lk. the two come up to the women, to all appearance not until these have already left the sepulchre.

(*h*) As for what was seen in the sepulchre, according to Mk. (16 5) it was only the angel, and according to Lk. (24 3), at least when the women entered, there was nothing. According to Mt. (28 2-5) the women do not inform themselves as to the condition of the grave. Similarly Mary Magdalene, according to Jn. 20 1, at her first visit. Thereafter the beloved disciple is the first to look in, when he sees the linen clothes (20 5) ; next Peter enters and sees besides the linen clothes the napkin wrapped up in a place by itself (20 6 *f.*). Finally, Mary looks in and sees the two angels.

(*i*) The explanations given by the angels to the women contain the one point in the whole narrative in which there is, at least in the synoptics, complete agreement (*v.* 6) : 'he rose, he is not here' (ἠγέρθη, οὐκ ἔστιν ὧδε). To this in Mk. and Mt. there is the preface : 'fear ye not' ; the same two also have the words 'ye seek the crucified one' (similarly in Lk.). In Jn. the angels say merely (20 13) : 'Woman, why weepest thou ?'

(*k*) The discrepancies in the instructions given to the women are among the most violent in the whole account : in Mk. and Mt. there is the injunction to say to his disciples (Mk. adds : 'and to Peter') that Jesus goes before them to Galilee and that there they will see him as he had said to them (in Mt. 28 7 also perhaps we ought to read, 'behold, he said to you,' ἰδοὺ εἶπεν ὑμῖν); in Lk. on the other hand what we read is 'remember how he spake before of his death and resurrection while he was yet in Galilee.' Here, that is to say, still the word Galilee, but the sense quite opposite. In Lk. strictly there is no injunction at all (cp under *r*) and in Jn. we find no words which could even seem to answer to the command in Mk. and Mt.

(*l*) No less marked are the differences as to the announcements made by the women to the disciples. According to Lk. (24 9) they report their discovery ; according to Mt. (28 8) they intend to do so, and *v.* 16 leaves it to be inferred that they carried out their intention ; according to Jn. (20 2 18) Mary Magdalene reports, in the first instance to the two disciples, and in the second to the disciples at large, what she has seen. On the other hand, according to Mk. 16 8 the women out of fear say nothing to any one.

(*m*) As regards results of the message, in the last case of course, that in Mk., where the women say

[1] It must not be inferred from the plural, 'we do not know' (οὐκ οἴδαμεν : 20 2), that Jn. thought of other women as also present. The inference is excluded by the sing. 'comes' (ἔρχεται) of *v.* 1. The pl. 'we know' (οἴδαμεν) therefore can only be intended to express Mary Magdalene's thought that other Christians in whom perhaps some knowledge of the facts might be presumed did not actually possess it any more than herself—if it is not an unconscious reminiscence of the 'women' of the Synoptics. In 20 13 we find correctly the singular : 'I know not.'

nothing, there can be no immediate consequence. According to Mt. (28 16) the message issues in immediate compliance with the command to go to Galilee; according to Jn. (20 3-10) Mary's first communication leads to the running of the two disciples to the sepulchre, whilst her second (20 18) is not said to have produced any effect. In Lk. (24 11) the women's statement produces merely the unbelief of the disciples, unless we are to regard as genuine *v.* 12, according to which Peter alone of the whole number hastens to the grave (see above, *c*).

(*n*) An appearance of the risen Jesus at the sepulchre itself is reported only in Jn. (20 14-17), where it is made to Mary Magdalene; an appearance on the way back from the sepulchre to the city only in Mt. (28 9 *f.*), where it is made to the two Marys. Whilst in this last case, however, the women embrace Jesus' feet, in Jn. he does not permit Mary Magdalene to touch him.

(*o*) The injunction received from Jesus himself is according to Mt. the same as that given by the angels. The women are to direct the disciples, here called 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) by Jesus, to go to Galilee; according to Jn. Mary Magdalene is simply bidden tell his 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί) that he is ascending to heaven (cp above, *k*).

(*p*) An appearance of Jesus on the day of the resurrection on the road to Emmaus is known only to Lk. (24 13-35).

(*q*) An appearance to Simon Peter before the evening of the same day is known only to Lk. (24 34).

The view of Origen (for the passages see in Resch, *TU* v. 4 423 and x. 3 770-782), that the third evangelist says, and rightly, that Simon was the companion of Cleopas on the walk to Emmaus, is quite inadmissible. As in Origen the name is constantly used without any addition, it is evident that only Peter can be intended. It has to be observed on the other hand, however, that the announcement of an appearance of the risen Jesus to Simon is made, and made by the eleven (and their companions), to the two disciples on their return from Emmaus. For this reason, therefore, Resch prefers to read 'saying' in the nominative (λέγοντες for λέγοντας) with cod. D, according to which it is the Emmaus disciples who make the announcement. To this it has to be remarked that neither Lk. nor Origen, in view of 24 31 35, can have intended to say that Jesus had appeared in Emmaus to Peter only and not to Cleopas also. If, again, by the Simon in Origen's MSS of Lk. we ought to understand some disciple other than Peter, such a conjecture would be quite as baseless as that other guess of Church fathers and Scholiasts (see Tisch. on 24 18) that the companion of Cleopas was Nathanael, or the evangelist Luke, or a certain Am(m)aon, whose name perhaps comes from the place-name Emmaus.[1]

(*r*) An appearance on the same evening to the eleven and their companions (τοὺς ἕνδεκα καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς), at which Jesus asks the disciples to touch his hands and feet, and eats a piece of a broiled fish, is recorded by Lk. (24 33 36-51). The disciples are at this interview enjoined by Jesus to remain in Jerusalem till Pentecost (cp above, *k*). Jn. also (20 19-24) assigns an appearance before the 'disciples' to the same evening, and we must presume, therefore, that here the same interview is intended as that related by Lk. The circumstances, however, are very different. In Jn. Thomas is expressly stated not to have been with the eleven; and that the number of the 'disciples' included others than the ten apostles as we read in Lk. (οἱ σὺν αὐτοῖς) is not to be supposed, since Jesus solemnly sends them forth (πέμπω ὑμᾶς) and imparts to them not only the gift of the Holy Spirit (which in Lk. *v.* 49 he holds forth as a promise for Pentecost) but also the authority to bestow or withhold forgiveness of sins (cp MINISTRY, §§ 4, 34 *c*). Lk. makes no reference to the circumstance that the doors were shut when Jesus entered, any more than he does to the conferring of the authority just mentioned; Jn. on the other hand knows nothing of Jesus having

[1] The Itala codd. b, e, ff2, Ambrosiaster, Ambrosius (on both see Souter, *Exp. T*, 1901-1902, p. 429 *f.*) in *v.* 13 looking forward to *v.* 18, add Cleopas to Ammaus [=Emmaus] presumably because, reading ὀνόματι (so D, *it.*, *vg.*) for ᾗ ὄνομα, they saw in 'Emmaus' the name not of the village but of one of the two disciples (so Nestle, *Einführung in das griech. NT*(2) 96, ET 121 *f.*).

eaten. Besides his hands, Jesus shows not his feet but his side—the piercing of which, indeed, is mentioned only in Jn. 19 34; but he does not suffer himself to be touched, yet without expressly forbidding this as he had done in the case of Mary Magdalene.

(*s*) Jesus first suffers his hands and his side to be touched eight days afterwards, by Thomas in presence of 'his disciples'; but this is mentioned only in Jn. (20 26-29) and after he has again entered the same house (πάλιν ἦσαν ἔσω) through closed doors.

(*t*) 'After these things' (μετὰ ταῦτα), but only according to Jn. 21, Jesus appears once more by the lake of Galilee to Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the sons of Zebedee, and two other disciples who are not named.

(*u*) Galilee also, but certainly at an earlier date, was the scene of the appearance, recorded only in Mt. (28 16-20), to the eleven on the mountain to which Jesus had directed them to go (when and where he made the appointment is nowhere stated, but seems to have been recorded in a source that was used at this point). Jesus here enjoins upon them the mission to the Gentiles and baptism in the name of the Trinity. The missionary precept is in substantial agreement with Lk. 24 49 and also with Jn. 20 21 (see above, *r*).[1]

3. Extent of discrepancies.

That one and the same event should be to some extent differently described even by eye-witnesses is intelligible enough, as also that some particular incident connected with it should in later reminiscence be erroneously dissociated from it and attached to some other similar event.

(*a*) Thus no serious importance ought, for example, to be given to the circumstance that the words in which the disciples are bidden by the angel to betake themselves to Galilee, do not exactly agree in the different accounts, and that one narrator assigns the missionary precept to one appearance, another to another. To this, however, there are limits.

Whether the sepulchre was guarded or not guarded, how many women went to the sepulchre, whether or not the disciples were bidden go to Galilee, whether or not when Jesus appeared Mary Magdalene was alone, whether or not Thomas was present, whether or not Jesus asked for food and then actually partook of it, whether or not he allowed himself to be touched; above all, whether the appearances occurred in Jerusalem or in Galilee, and whether the women reported what they had seen at the sepulchre or were silent about it—these and many other points are matters with regard to which the eye-witnesses or those who had their information directly from eye-witnesses, could not possibly have been in the least uncertainty. Yet, what differences! Differences, too, of which it is impossible to say that they are partly explicable by the fact that one narrator gives one occurrence and another another without wishing thereby to exclude all the rest. Lk. enumerates a consecutive series of appearances and brings it to a close (24 51) with the

[1] The harmonistic attempt to dispose of this appearance in Galilee by maintaining that Galilee here means one of the summits of the Mount of Olives near Jerusalem—whether the summit on the N. or that called in 2 K. 23 13 the 'mount of corruption' (see DESTRUCTION, MOUNT OF; OLIVES, MOUNT OF, § 5), by which supposition Mt. 28 16 is brought into agreement with Lk. 24 50 Acts 1 12, has its basis only on assertions of mediæval pilgrims. The matter is not improved by the purely conjectural assumption of Resch (*TU* x. 2 381-389 x. 3 765 *f.*) that in Mt. 28 16 and already in 26 32 28 7 10 = Mk. 14 28 16 7, 'Galilee' (Γαλιλαία) is a wrong rendering of the *gĕlīlā* (גְּלִילָה) in the original Hebrew gospel postulated by him, the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (περίχωρος Mt. 3 5 Mk. 1 28, etc.) being what was really intended. In Tertullian's (*Apol.* 21) 'cum discipulis quibusdam apud Galilæam Judææ regionem ad quadraginta dies egit' Resch even finds Galilæa used as the *name* of this district (see, against this, Schürer, *TLZ*, 1897, p. 187 *f.*). That, further, the Mount of Olives belonged to this district Resch accepts from the mediæval pilgrims; and that it constituted the central point of the district, so that the disciples could at once understand by the 'district' to which (according to Mk. 16 7 = Mt. 28 7 10) they were directed the Mount of Olives, as being the 'mountain where Jesus had appointed them' (τὸ ὄρος οὗ ἐτάξατο αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς: 28 16), he derives from his own authority. The *Acta Pilati* and the *Gesta Pilati*, finally, which place the ascension of Jesus at once in Galilee and on the Mount of Olives, embody no true geographical recollection but only a quite crude harmonistic attempt (cp the passages in Zahn, *Gesch. d. Kanons*, 2 937; also Thilo, *Cod. Apocr. NT* 1 617-622). See also MATTHIAS.

express statement that Jesus parted from them; and all these occurrences are represented as having happened on one and the same day. In Jn., on the other hand, the events of the twentieth *chapter alone require eight days. Mt. and Mk. know of* appearances to disciples only in Galilee, Lk. and Jn. 20 only of appearances in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood (Emmaus), neither of the last-named evangelists taking any account whatever of any appearances in Galilee—not till Jn. 21 do we come upon one of this description; but this chapter is by another hand (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 40).

(*b*) Refuge is often sought in the reflection that sometimes an event may, after all, have actually happened, even if the accounts of it are quite discrepant. A famous illustration often quoted in this connection is the case of Hannibal, who quite certainly did cross the Alps, although Livy's account of the route taken by him is entirely different from that of Polybius. Most assuredly. The fact, however, that, whatever be the contradictions of chroniclers, he actually did cross the Alps *is a certainty for us, only because we know for* certain that at one date he was to be found on the Gallic side, and at a subsequent date on the Italian. If it were just as clearly made out that Jesus, after his death, came back again to this life, we could, indeed, in that case, with an easy mind, leave the differences between the narratives to settle themselves. Here, however, the position of matters is that the actuality of the resurrection of Jesus depends for its establishment upon these very narratives; and in such a case unimpeachable witnesses are naturally demanded.

Livy and Polybius lived centuries after the occurrence which they relate, and they were dependent for their facts upon written sources which perhaps were wanting in accuracy, and, moreover, were themselves in turn derived from inadequate sources. If any deficiency, even of only an approximately similar character, has to be admitted in the acquaintance of the writers of the gospels with the circumstances of the resurrection of Jesus, there is little prospect of anyone being induced to accept it as a fact, on the strength of such testimony, unless he has from the beginning been predisposed to do so without any testimony. And as a matter of fact we cannot avoid the conclusion from the contradictions between the gospels that the writers of them were far removed from the event they describe. If we possessed *only one* gospel, we might perhaps be inclined to accept it; but how far astray should we be according to the view of Lk. if we relied, let us say, on Mt. alone, or, according to the view of Jn., if we pinned our faith to Lk. In point of fact, not only do the evangelists each follow different narratives; they also each have distinct theories of their own as to Galilee or Jerusalem being the scene of the appearances, as to whether Jesus ate and was touched, and so forth (cp § 19 *a*, 27 *c*, *d*).

Shall we then betake ourselves to extra-canonical sources? Of these, several are often regarded as superior to the canonical in antiquity; so, for example, the Gospel of the Hebrews. This view, however, so far as the extant fragments at least are concerned, is distinctly not warranted (see GOSPELS, § 155).

4. Gospel of the Hebrews.

(*a*) For our present discussion the following citation by Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 2) from this gospel comes into consideration:—

'The Lord after he had given the cloth to the slave of the priest, went to James and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would not eat bread from that hour in which he had drunk the cup of the Lord until he should see him rising again from them that sleep'; and again after a little: 'Bring, says the Lord, food and bread,' and immediately there is added: 'he brought bread and blessed and break and gave to James the Just and said to him: My brother, eat thy bread, because the *son of man has risen again from them that sleep.*' ('Dominus autem cum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum et apparuit ei; juraverat enim Jacobus se non comesurum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem domini donec videret eum resurgentem a dormientibus'; rursusque post paululum: 'afferte, ait dominus, mensam et panem,' statimque additur: 'tulit panem et benedixit ac fregit et dedit Jacobo Justo et dixit ei: frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit filius hominis a dormientibus.'

This story is, to begin with, untrustworthy, because, according to the canonical gospels, James was not present at all at the last supper of Jesus.[1]

Lightfoot's conjecture (*Gal.*(4) 266 = *Dissert. on Apost. Age*, p. 26) that 'dominus' ought to be read for 'domini' seems, indeed, to be supported by some ecclesiastical writers (see in Handmann, *TU* v. 3 79-82) who reproduce the passage in this sense; but it is by no means certain. 'The Lord had drunk the cup' (biberat calicem dominus) would then have reference to the death of Jesus; *such a figurative expression, however, is little in keeping* with the simple narrative style of the fragment. Moreover, the bread which Jesus 'blesses and breaks' clearly answers to the bread of the eucharist, and this is to the point if James had eaten nothing since being present at the last supper. Earlier students may have perceived the contradiction between the reading 'of the Lord' (domini) and the canonical narratives just as easily as Lightfoot, and on this account have substituted 'the Lord' (dominus: in the nom.).

(*b*) Nor is the Gospel of the Hebrews wanting at other points in equally bold contradictions to the canonical gospels. Jesus is represented as having given his linen garment to the servant of the high priest. This (apart from what we read in the Gospel of Peter; see below, § 5 *b*) is the only appearance, anywhere recorded, of Jesus to a non-believer. What enormous importance would it not possess, were it only historical! How could the evangelists, and Paul, possibly have suffered it to escape them? It is, however, only too easily conceivable that they knew nothing at all about it.

In order to reach James it was first necessary for Jesus, according to our fragment, *to walk*; but it was not so in the case of the servant of the high priest, who must, accordingly, be thought of as having been in the immediate neighbourhood of the sepulchre. What was he doing there? The most likely conjecture will be that he was taking part in the watching of the sepulchre. This, however, means yet another step beyond the already unhistorical canonical account (below, § 20), in so far as according to Mt. 27 62 66 the chief priests and Pharisees took part only in the sealing of the stone at the door of the sepulchre, and has its parallel in the part taken by the presbyters in the watching of the sepulchre according to the Gospel of Peter (38), which, as regards this part of the narrative, goes still another step farther than the canonical account (see below, § 5 *a*). It has *further to be remarked that the linen cloth was the only clothing* the body had when it was laid in the tomb (§ 2 *b*); Jn. 19 40 20 5-7, which speaks of several cloths, is plainly not taken into account in the gospel of the Hebrews. This being so it would have been too great an offence against decorum that Jesus should have given this garment to the servant of the high priest. It will therefore be necessary to suppose that he had already assumed another form. In that case also, however, the handing over of the garment to the servant makes an advance upon the canonical account. The synoptists, in reporting the resurrection, make no mention of the cloth at all, and in Jn. the clothes are all found lying in the sepulchre, which at all events better accords with the reserve with which the mystery of the resurrection is treated than would be the case if we were asked to believe that Jesus had brought the cloth with him from the sepulchre as a trophy and deposited it as an ultimate proof of his resurrection. Lastly, it has to be remembered how violently the gospel of the Hebrews, although in agreement with Paul (1 Cor. 15 7) as regards an appearance to James, also conflicts with that apostle in so far *as it makes out this appearance to have been the first*; also how natural it was that precisely in a gospel for Hebrews James, the head of the church at Jerusalem, should be glorified by means of some such narrative as this.

(*c*) In Ignatius (*ad Smyrn.* 3 2) we meet with the following passage:—'and when he came to those about Peter he said to them, Take, handle me and see that I am not a demon without a body. And straightway they touched him and believed' (*καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν, ἔφη αὐτοῖς· λάβετε ψηλαφήσατέ με καὶ ἴδετε ὅτι οὐκ εἰμὶ δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον. καὶ εὐθὺς αὐτοῦ ἥψαντο καὶ ἐπίστευσαν*). Eusebius (*HE* iii. 36 11) confesses that he does not know where Ignatius can have taken this from. Jerome (*Vir. ill.* 16), on the other hand, informs us that it comes from the Gospel of the Hebrews (*only he wrongly names the Epistle of* Ignatius to Polycarp, not that to the Smyrnæans).

Brandt (390-395; see below, § 39) plausibly conjectures that the quotation belongs to the passage, quoted above under *a*, marked by Jerome by the words 'again after a little' ('rursus post paululum'): Jesus appeared to James, then went with him to Peter and his companions, permitted himself to be touched there, and ordered food to be brought, and so forth. We hear of the invitation to touch him in Lk. 24 39, and that passage, not Jn. 20 27, must be the one in view since nothing is said about Thomas, and on the other hand 'bodiless dæmon' (*δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*) agrees with the 'spirit' (*πνεῦμα*) of Lk. or with the 'appearance' (*φάντασμα*, *v.* 37) which is the reading of D and of Marcion,—of Marcion because in point of fact he really regarded the risen Jesus as a spirit (*πνεῦμα*). This second fragment, accordingly, conveys nothing new. Lk. may unhesitatingly be regarded as its source. See, further, below, § 9 *a*.

In the fragment of the Gospel of Peter discovered in

[1] On the simple statement, 'he appeared to James,' 1 Cor. 15 7, see § 11 *c*.

1892 various scholars, and particularly Harnack, have discerned a maximum of really ancient matter ('a first-class source').[1] It is to be observed, however, that, (*a*) as regards the watch set on the sepulchre, the Peter fragment goes still further beyond the canonical account than the Gospel to the Hebrews does (see § 4 *b*).

5. Gospel of Peter.

Not only do the elders of the Jews keep watch along with the Roman soldiers; the writer also is able to give the name of the officer in command of the guard (Petronius) and to inform his readers that the stone at the door of the sepulchre was sealed with seven seals, and that a booth was erected for the use of the guard. What is still more surprising, the soldiers report the occurrence of the resurrection not to the chief priests but to Pilate,—precisely the person from whom, according to Mt. 28 14, all knowledge of the fact ought if possible to have been withheld,—and it is Pilate who, at the request of the Jews, enjoins silence on the soldiers (28-49).

(*b*) The actual resurrection of Jesus, which in the canonical accounts is, with noticeable reserve, always only indicated as having occurred already, never described, is here represented as having occurred before the very eyes of the Roman and Jewish watchers, and, indeed, in a way which can only be described as grotesque (35-44).

During the night the heavens open, two men (youths) come down in dazzling splendour, the stone rolls away of its own accord, the two youths enter the sepulchre, three men re-emerge, two of them supporting the third, the heads of the two reach to the sky, that of the third goes beyond it (cp Wisd. 18 16); a cross follows them, and to the question heard from heaven 'Hast thou preached to the dead?' it answers 'Yea'; the heavens open once more, a man comes down and enters the sepulchre (this is the angel whom the women see there next morning). This, however, is not all; in *v.* 19 after the cry of Jesus 'My Strength, my Strength, thou hast abandoned me' (ἡ δύναμίς μου, ἡ δύναμίς μου, κατέλειψάς με—thus, in all probability, by way of toning down the expression of God-forsakenness) we find the words 'and when he had spoken he was taken up' (καὶ εἰπὼν ἀνελήφθη), which can hardly be understood otherwise than as meaning a taking up into heaven.[2] This last, therefore, is twice related in our fragment; for that Jesus goes into heaven along with the two angels is made clear by the word of the angel to the women (*v.* 56): 'he is risen and has gone thither whence he was sent' (ἀνέστη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἐκεῖ ὅθεν ἀπεστάλη).

(*c*) The account of what Mary Magdalene and 'her friends' found at the sepulchre (50-57) is essentially in agreement with what we read in Mk. So, also, the statement that they flee filled with fear, without our being told that they related to any one what had occurred. On the closing day of the paschal festival 'the twelve disciples' are still weeping and mourning in Jerusalem (58 *f.*).

(*d*) On this closing day the disciples betake themselves each to his home, that is to say, to Galilee. For in *v.* 60 the narrative proceeds: 'but I, Simon Peter, and Andrew . . . went (to fish) to the sea, and with us were Levi the son of Alphæus whom the Lord . . .' (here the fragment breaks off). Plainly the continuation related an appearance of Jesus by the sea of Galilee, such as we meet with in Jn. 21. Yet in Jn. it is precisely Andrew and Levi who are not mentioned.[3]

(*e*) The element here that admits of being regarded as especially old is that the first appearance of Jesus occurs in Galilee and to Peter. Hardly, however, to Peter alone as is stated by Paul (1 Cor. 15 5) and Lk. (24 34). Furthermore, it might seem to be original here that the first appearance does not occur until more than eight days after the death of Jesus. Such, however, cannot be regarded with certainty as the meaning of the fragment.

Unquestionably the writer is in error if he thinks that on the last day of the paschal festival many pilgrims, and also the apostles, set out for their homes; for this day fell in that year on a Sabbath, and even if, that had not been so, it had the validity of a Sabbath and thus precluded the possibility of travelling. Another evidence of ignorance or carelessness in matters of chronology is seen in *v.* 27, where, after describing the burial of Jesus, Peter goes on to say: 'we fasted and sat mourning and weeping day and night (νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας) until the Sabbath,' although the writer, according to *v.* 30, rightly dates the death of Jesus on the evening of Friday. If this be so, it is not impossible that he may have regarded the paschal festival as one not of eight days' duration, but of only two. The Sabbath is rightly regarded by him as the first day of the feast; in *v.* 50 he mentions the Sunday (κυριακή) as the day on which the women visited the sepulchre; and immediately after the words 'the women fled full of fear,' he proceeds in *v.* 58 to add: 'and it was the last of the days of unleavened bread' (ἦν δὲ τελευταία ἡμέρα τῶν ἀζύμων). Although the possibility is not excluded that these words transplant us to a later date, it still remains the most natural interpretation of the form of expression to suppose the meaning to be: 'but at that time (when the women fled) it was the last of the days,' etc. Thus it is impossible at least to be quite certain that an interval of more than eight days between the resurrection and the first appearance of Jesus is intended. Besides, as we shall afterwards discover (see below, § 22 *d*), it has not the smallest inherent probability.

(*f*) On the whole, then, what we have to say with regard to the gospel of Peter must be that, inasmuch as the greater part of its contents is of a legendary character, we cannot rely upon anything we find in it merely because it is found in the gospel of Peter. If the reader by any chance finds any statements contained in it to be credible, he does so on grounds of inherent probability alone, and must ask, almost in astonishment, how by any possibility a statement of such a kind could have found its way hither. Moreover, the data which come most nearly under this category are already known to us from canonical sources:—such as that the resurrection and the ascension were but one and the same act (§ 16 *e*), that the disciples received from the women no word as to the state of the sepulchre, and that the first appearance of the risen Jesus was in Galilee (Mk. 16 7 *f.* Mt. 28 7 16 *f.*). The sole statement worthy of credence met with in the gospel of Peter and nowhere else is that found in *v.* 27—that the disciples fasted (cp § 36 *a*). In Peter, however, we can have no certainty that the author is drawing upon authentic tradition; he may very easily have drawn upon his own imagination for this realistic touch.

There remains yet one other extant account of the resurrection by a writer who in like manner did not feel himself bound to follow the canonical accounts; it occurs in a Coptic book of anti-Gnostic tendency, found at Akhmîm in Egypt, and described by Carl Schmidt (*SBAW*, 1895, pp. 705-711); the conversation of the risen Jesus with his disciples contained in it has been reproduced and discussed by Harnack (*Theol. Studien für B. Weiss*, 1897, pp. 1-8), who dates it somewhere between 150 and 180 A.D.

6. Coptic resurrection narrative.

The contents are as follows:—Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene wish to anoint the body of Jesus, but find the sepulchre empty. Jesus appears to them and says: 'I am he whom ye seek,' and bids that one of them go to their brethren and say 'Come, the Master is risen.' Martha does so, but meets with no credence, and Mary, whom Jesus sends after Martha has reported her failure, has no better success. Finally Jesus himself goes along with the women, calls the disciples out, and, as

[1] *Bruchstücke des Evang. u. der Apokalypse des Petrus*(2), 1893; *ACL* ii. (=*Chronol.*) 1 624.

[2] Cp Acts 1 11 Mk. 16 19. Ss also, which in Mk. 15 37 Lk. 23 46 rightly says '(Jesus) expired (or, ended),' has in Mt. 27 50 'his spirit went up'; and Origen (*Comm. in Mt. series* [Lat.], ed. de la Rue, 3 928 *b*, § 140) 'statim ut clamavit ad patrem receptus est.'

[3] As regards Levi, Resch (*TU* x. 8 829-832 x. 4 196) tries to controvert this, maintaining Levi's identity with Matthew (Mk. 2 14 ‖ Mt. 9 9), whom in turn, on account of the like meaning of the two names, he identifies with Nathanael who appears in Jn. 21 2. Of these two identifications, however, even that of Levi with Matthew is questioned, and complete identity in the meanings of two names can never be held to prove the identity of the bearers. Cp PHILIP, col. 3701, n. 1; NATHANAEL. The attempt may be made, without such identifications of different names, to maintain the identity of the fact recorded in the Gospel of Peter with that recorded in Jn.; this may be done by pointing to the possibility that Andrew and Levi may be intended by the two unnamed disciples in Jn. 21 2. It is an attempt which would to a certain extent be plausible but only if a fact might really be assumed which both writers wish to describe. But Jn. 21 1-14 is open to the suspicion of being, not a description of a fact, but rather the clothing of an idea; and we may suspect, in particular, that the two unnamed disciples were added only in order to gain the complete number 'seven' (below, § 29 *c*; SIMON PETER, § 22 *c*). Therefore, to identify with the account in the Gospel of Peter (to which Gospel the idea intended in Jn. was presumably quite foreign), the identification being based on so slender a foundation, would be very imprudent.

they still continue to be in doubt, bids Peter, Thomas, and Andrew touch his hands, his side, and his feet respectively, citing also Wisd. 18 17. Then they confess their sins, especially their unbelief.

This narrative contains much that is new, but nothing that could claim greater credibility than the canonical gospels. An appearance of Jesus occurs at the sepulchre, not, however, to one woman or two, as in Jn. and Mt. respectively, but to three; so also the unbelief of the disciples dwelt on in Lk. 24 11 37 (41) reappears in intensified form, and in addition to Thomas two other disciples are bidden touch the wounds of Jesus.

Other isolated details also, differing from those commonly current, have come down to us from a time, presumably, in which older traditions still continued to produce after-effects.

7. Isolated extra-canonical details.

(*a*) Cod. Bobbiensis (k) has this interpolation before Mk. 16 4 (see *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, 2 22): 'Suddenly, however, at the third hour, darkness came on by day throughout the whole world and angels came down from heaven and will rise (read: and rising) in the brightness of the living God went up with him, and forthwith it was light' ('subito autem ad horam tertiam tenebræ diei factæ sunt per totum orbem terræ et descenderunt de cœlis angeli et surgent (read: surgentes) in claritate vivi dei simul ascenderunt cum eo et continuo lux facta est'). This about the angels agrees with the Gospel of Peter (see above, § 5 *b*), except that there the event occurs during the night, whilst in cod. k we are bidden think of it as preceded by an eclipse and therefore as happening by day—at the third hour, in other words at 9 A.M.

It is, however, hard to believe that the interpolator actually supposed that the women took some three hours (from sunrise) to consider who should roll away the stone (16 2). Perhaps the time datum is the result of a confusion. This would be all the easier because a darkness is elsewhere reported as having occurred at the crucifixion—although, to be sure, in the afternoon from twelve till three (so also in Gospel of Peter, 15, 22).

If we leave the darkness out of account and understand the third hour according to Roman and modern reckoning as three o'clock in the morning, then the final clause 'continuo lux facta est' agrees with both texts of the *Anaphora Pilati* (A, 9 = B, 8, in Tischendorf's *Evang. Apocr.*(2) 440, 447), according to which at this hour the sun rose, manifestly to mark the time of the resurrection.[1] So also agrees Lagarde's reconstruction of the *Didaskalia*, 5 14, which Resch (*TU* x. 3 756) quotes from Bunsen's *Analecta Antenicæna*, 2 313: that Jesus slept throughout the Sabbath and for three hours over and above. One has only to reckon the day in Roman fashion from midnight to midnight.

(*b*) In the *Didaskalia* (extant in Syriac), which came into existence in the third century, based upon older sources, we read (ed. Lagarde, 88 *f.*, according to Resch, *TU* x. 3 761) that 'during the night before the dawn of the first day of the week Jesus appeared to Mary Magdalene and Mary the daughter of James, and in the morning of the first day of the week he entered the house of Levi, and then he appeared also to us; moreover he said to us while he was instructing us: Wherefore do ye fast on my account in these days?' and so on. Mention is made of Levi in the Gospel of Peter also (above, § 5 *d*), but in a wholly different connection. The fasting is also mentioned there (§ 5 [*f*]). The second Mary is called the daughter (not the mother) of James in Ss also.

(*c*) According to K, Syr.cur Syr.hieros, Vg. etc., in Lk. 24 43 Jesus gives what is left from what he ate (*i.e.*, according to TR and AV, fish and an honeycomb) to the disciples.

(*d*) In Tatian's *Diatessaron* Capernaum is named in Mt. 28 16 instead of the mountain in Galilee. In the scene by the open sepulchre which Tatian gives after Jn. Mary is named without any addition, and Ephrem in his commentary understands this of Mary the mother of Jesus. This is indicated also by the fact that previously she has been entrusted by the crucified Jesus in the words of Jn. 19 26 *f.* to the beloved disciple. Nevertheless there may be a confusion here, as the Diatessaron elsewhere undoubtedly makes use of the canonical gospels.

(*e*) A Christian section of the *Ascensio Jesaiæ* (3 13-4 18; see SIMON PETER, § 27) presents a variation on the Gospel of Peter. Upon [the watch of] those who watched the sepulchre follows 'the descent of the angel of the church which is in heaven' (3 15: *ἡ κατάβασις τοῦ ἀγγέλου τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ*), and 'the angel of the Holy Spirit [Gabriel?], and Michael the chief of the holy angels on the third day will open the sepulchre and the Beloved sitting on their shoulders will come forth' (3 16 *f.*: *ὁ ἄγγελος τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ Μιχαὴλ ἄρχων τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀνοίξουσιν τὸ μνημονεῖον καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς καθίσας ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους αὐτῶν ἐξελεύσεται*).

(*f*) From a still later date we have a recent notice of an apocryphal work, in a Georgian translation, belonging according to Harnack to the fifth or the sixth century; it relates to Joseph of Arimathæa, and we are told that its hero is expressly spoken of as the first to whom Jesus appeared. He had been thrown into prison by the Jews for having begged the body of Jesus (*SBAW*, 1901, pp. 920-931, and, more fully, von Dobschütz in *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 23 1-27 [1902]).

In any event all these notices serve to show how busily and in how reckless a manner the accounts of the resurrection of Jesus continued to be handed on.

8. Mk. 16 9-20.

The shorter conclusion of Mk. (that headed Ἄλλως by WH) contents itself with simply saying the opposite of the statement (that the women said nothing to anyone of what they had seen and heard at the grave) in 16 8; but the longer conclusion gives a variety of details.

(*a*) A brief summary of its most important points has been given already (see GOSPELS, § 138 *g*); but it will be necessary to examine more closely some of the current views respecting it.

Rohrbach (see below, § 39), in his hypothesis based upon certain indications of Harnack, gives his adhesion to the opinion of Conybeare (*Expos.* 1893 *b*, pp. 241-254), that Mk. 16 9-20 is the work of the presbyter Aristion. We shall discuss this thesis in the form in which it has been adopted by Harnack (*ACL* ii. [= *Chron.*] 1 695-700). In order to displace the genuine conclusion of Mk. (see below, § 9) in favour of another which should be more in agreement with the other three gospels, and at the same time be the work of an authoritative person, the presbyters of the Johannine circle in Asia Minor who brought together the four gospels into a unity took a memorandum by the presbyter Aristion who, according to Papias, had been a personal disciple of Jesus (JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 4).

(*b*) Harnack and Rohrbach, in order to maintain the literary independence of Aristion, find it necessary to deny that Mk. 16 9-20 is a mere excerpt from the canonical gospels and other writings. In this, however, they cannot but fail. The borrowing, indeed, is not made word for word; in point of fact, however, even the smallest departure from the sources admits of explanation on grounds that are obvious. Verse 9 is compounded from Jn. 20 1 11-17 and Lk. 8 2; *vv.* 10 *f.* from Jn. 20 18 and Lk. 24 10 *f.*; *v.* 12 reproduces Lk. 24 13-32 and *v.* 13*a* Lk. 24 33 35. That the eleven did not believe the disciples from Emmaus (*v.* 13*b*) directly contradicts Lk. 24 34 it is true; but this is easily explicable from the view of the author that unbelief was the invariable effect of the accounts as to appearances of the risen Jesus—a view which (*v.* 14) he expressly puts into the mouth of Jesus himself. Thus it is by no means necessary to postulate an independent source; all that is needed is unity in the fundamental conception of the matter.

(*c*) Zahn (*Einl.* § 52 = 2 227-240) derives *vv.* 14-18 from Aristion, but declines to do so alike in the case of *vv.* 9-13 and in that of 19 *f.* In 14-18 he finds not mere compilation but actual narrative, and that without dependence on the canonical gospels. In reality, however, *v.* 14 simply carries further what is found in Lk. 24 25 38 Jn. 20 27; *v.* 15 is an adaptation of Mt. 28 19 to Pauline and Catholic phraseology ('world' [*κόσμος*], 'preach the gospel' [*κηρύσσειν τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*], 'creature' [*κτίσις*]), and if baptism in the name of the Trinity is

[1] Apart from this reference we leave the *Anaph. Pil.* out of consideration as being a late and highly legendary work.

RESURRECTION- AND ASCENSION-NARRATIVES

TABULAR VIEW OF LEADING PARTICULARS

		Paul	Mk.	Mt.	Lk.	Jn.	Mk. xvi. 9-20	Gosp. Heb.	Gosp. Pet.	Copt.	Did
At Sepulchre	Watch	..	..	soldiers	..	..	..	soldiers (and servant of priest?)	soldiers and presbyters	..	..
	Jesus comes forth	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	in the night; with 2 angels; stone removes itself	..	..
	Time when women come	..	after sunrise	evening before	before sunrise	before sunrise	(in the morning)	..	in the morning	..	night fore
	Stone when women come	..	already removed	is removed by angel: earthquake	already removed	already removed	..	..	already removed	(already removed)	..
	Angels when women come	..	1	1	2	2	..	..	1	..	..
	Women	..	3: Mary Magd.; M. (m.) of James (the less and Joses); Salome	2: Mary Magd.; M. mother of James and Joses	M. Magd.; Joanna; M. of James; and others	M. Magd.;	..	..	M. Magd. and her companions	Mary, Martha, M. Magd.	..
	Men	..	..	the watchers	(Peter?)	she tells Peter and the beloved disciple	..	..	the watchers	..	..
	In sepulchre	..	the angel	..	nothing	*a* the cloths *b* the angels	..	..	the angel	nothing	..
	See Jesus at sepulchre	..	..	the 2 women; touch Jesus' feet	..	M. Magd.; does not touch J.	..	..	the watchers	the 3 women	..
	See Jesus (at sepulchre?)	..	..	..	..	..	M. Magd.	the servant; receives Jesus' garment	..	..	M. M Mary daug of Ja
	Angel's charge	..	to send disciples to Galilee	to send disciples to Galilee	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Jesus' charge	..	..	ditto	..	to announce ascension	..	..	..	..	..
Women's Report: to whom		..	not made ..	(the disciples)	the 11 and others	*a* see above *b* the (11) disciples	the disciples	..	(not made) ..	the disciples twice	..
result		..	..	journey to Galilee	unbelief	..	unbelief	..	..	unbelief	..
Other Appearances of Jesus to		Peter	Peter?	..	Peter	..	..	James; bread for him	..	..	Le
		..	..	..	2 at Emmaus; supper	..	2 (at Emmaus)	..	..	..	
		the twelve	the (11) disciples?	the 11 disciples; some doubt; missionary command; 'I am with you alway'	the 11, with others; they doubt; Jesus touched; eats [var.: with discc.]; missionary command; Holy Spirit promised	the (10) disciples; closed doors; J. shows his wounds; (missionary command); Holy Spirit given	the 11; missionary command	Peter with others; Jesus touched	Peter, Andrew, Levi (& others?)	the (11) disciples; Jesus touched	the (1 disci
		over 500	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		James	..	..	..	..	..	(James, see above)	..	-	..
		all the apostles	..	..	..	the 11 disciples; closed doors; J. touched	..	..	..	..	..
		..	..	..	..	7 disciples; bread and fish for them	..	..	..	..	..
Place of Appearances		..	(Galilee)	Galilee	Jerusalem	*a* Jerusalem; lastly *b* Sea of Gal.	(Jerusalem?)	(Jerusalem?)	Sea of Gal.	(Jerusalem?)	..
Ascension		(at the resurrection)	..	..	first evening Acts: after 40 days	first morning	at a meal (on the 1st evening?)	..	*a* at death *b* at the resurrection	..	..

not mentioned that becomes very intelligible after Conybeare's demonstration (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 275-288; cp *Hibb. Journ.* 1, p. 96 *ff.*) that even Eusebius down to 325 A.D. read nothing as to this in Mt. (cp MINISTRY, § 5 *c*). Verse 16 is the most elaborated dogmatic of the apostolic and post-apostolic time (Acts 16 31; MINISTRY, § 26). The casting-out of devils in *v.* 17 rests on Mk. 6 7 13 Mt. 10 1 Lk. 9 1 10 17, the speaking with new tongues (*i.e.*, languages of foreign peoples) on Acts 2 1-13 (cp SPIRITUAL GIFTS, § 10); 'they shall take up serpents' (*v.* 18) is borrowed partly from Acts 28 3-6 and partly from the express promise of Jesus in Lk. 10 19; the gift of healing of diseases by laying-on of hands from Acts 28 8. Without limitation to the method by imposition of hands such a gift is already bestowed upon the apostles in Mt. 10 1 Lk. 9 1, and is exercised by them in Mk. 6 13 Lk. 9 6.

The drinking of deadly poison with impunity is the only thing for which we have to look outside of the NT canon; but here it is not Aristion that we encounter but the daughters of Philip, from whom Papias claims to have heard of such a thing in the case of Justus Barsabas (cp PHILIP, § 4 *a*). To say the least, then, *vv.* 17 *f.* are quite as much a mere cataloguing abstract as *vv.* 9-13 are. Nor is the situation changed by the addition after *v.* 14 which Jerome quotes in one place from Greek MSS: 'And they apologised saying: this age of iniquity and unbelief is under Satan, who by [his] impure spirits does not suffer the true virtue of God to be apprehended; wherefore now reveal thy justice' (et illi satisfaciebant [made amends, here meaning: apologised] dicentes: saeculum istud iniquitatis et incredulitatis sub Satana est, qui non sinit per immundos spiritus veram dei apprehendi virtutem; idcirco jam nunc revela justitiam tuam).[1] It is very easily explained as being a gloss.[2]

(*d*) The conclusion of Mk. betrays no acquaintance with Jn. 21 or the Gospel of Peter; on the other hand we cannot say with confidence that the author had occasion to use them even had he known them. In the Gospel of Peter (27) the disciples are spoken of as in Mk. 16 10 as 'mourning and weeping' (πενθοῦντες καὶ κλαίοντες). But this collocation of words is quite current (Lk. 6 25 Jas. 4 9 Rev. 18 11 15 19), and the idea conveyed was an obvious one both from the situation itself and also as fulfilment of the prophecy in Jn. 16 20, and thus is no proof of literary dependence.

(*e*) There is thus no particular reason why we should assign to a personal disciple of Jesus such as Aristion the authorship of so meagre an excerpt as Mk. 16 9-20 from which absolutely nothing new is to be learned.

A marginal gloss—comparatively late it may be—in an Oxford MS. of Rufinus speaks of the story about Justus Barsabas in Eus. *HE* iii. 39 9 (see above, *c*) as a communication from Aristion (*Expos.* 1893, *b*, p. 246). Should this happen to rest upon older tradition, it conceivably may have been what furnished the occasion for attributing to Aristion first the allusion to the same thing in Mk. 16 18 and afterwards erroneously the whole passage *vv.* 9-20.

(*f*) Neither is there much greater probability in the conjecture of Resch (*TU* x. 2 450-456) that in Conybeare's Armenian Manuscript by the presbyter Ariston is meant the Jewish Christian Ariston of Pella in Peræa, to whom the Dialogue between Jason and Papiscus is attributed. There is absolutely nothing specifically Jewish-Christian in the conclusion of Mk. (see above, *b*, *c*). The other part of Resch's hypothesis—that it was this Ariston who at the same time gathered together the four gospels into one whole—is quite inadmissible. Resch is able to make out a Jewish-Christian character for this grouping only insomuch as Mt. is assigned the first place.

Even apart, however, from the question about Ariston and Aristion the attempt to bring into close connection the composition of Mk. 16 9-20 and the grouping of the four gospels as sole canonical sources for the life of Jesus must be given up.

If, however, there be even merely an element of truth in the theory that the genuine conclusion of Mk. was removed on account of its inconsistency with the other gospels, we are led to the conjecture that what it stated must have been all the more original in proportion as the others are recent.

9. Lost conclusion of Mk.

(*a*) Harnack and Rohrbach suppose that the lost conclusion was what lay at the foundation of the Gospel of Peter and Jn. 21.

What is said, they think, was to the effect that as the women said nothing about what had occurred at the sepulchre (16 8) the disciples went to Galilee—not at the command of Jesus but (as in the Gospel of Peter) of their own motion and in deep depression. Here Jesus appeared to a group of them by the lake as they were fishing (so far the Gospel of Peter) and rehabilitated Peter who had been overwhelmed with a sense of his guilt in denying Jesus (cp Jn. 21 15-17). The saying of Jesus, on the other hand, about the beloved disciple (20-24) is an addition of the author of Jn. 21. Apart from that saying Jn. 21 describes the first appearance of the risen Jesus, which is given as the third appearance (21 14) only in order to bring Lk. and Jn. into agreement. Rohrbach seeks to discover in the genuine conclusion of Mk. also an appearance of Jesus to the eleven, and brings into connection with this the fragment in Ignatius spoken of above (§ 4 *c*) which Rohrbach would fain detach from the Gospel of the Hebrews and claim for the genuine conclusion of Mk.

(*b*) Of such hypotheses we may admit everything that can be based upon Mk. 16 7. Even if the women, as we read in *v.* 8, kept silence as to the injunction of the angel, it still remains the fact that, according to the view of the author, it was the divine will that 'the disciples and Peter' should go to Galilee and there see the risen Jesus. That the disciples should have fulfilled this injunction without being acquainted with it is explained in the Gospel of Peter by the fact that the festival had come to an end; according to GOSPELS, § 138 *a*, there is a quite different explanation. In any case it is clear that it cannot have been Mk.'s intention to close his gospel at 16 8; he must have treated also the Galilæan events for which he had prepared his readers. From the remarkable order 'his disciples and Peter' we must not conclude that an appearance to the disciples was first related and then one to Peter; for it is not said that his disciples and Peter will see him, but '*Tell* his disciples and Peter.' All we can conjecture with any confidence is that Peter in some way or other played a special part in the lost narrative.

(*c*) What we find in Harnack and Rohrbach going beyond this is quite untenable. That the Gospel of Peter and Jn. 21 have no common source, results at the outset from the fact that the names of the apostles on the shore of the lake are not the same (cp § 5 *d*, *n.*) That Jn. 21 originally was a description of the first appearance of the risen Jesus, is in itself not impossible; but there is nothing that directly indicates it.

The reserve of the disciples, in particular (21 12), in virtue of which none of them durst ask the Lord who he was, would be appropriate, not only at the first, but at any appearance. In the consummately delicate manner in which it is referred to in *vv.* 15-17, Peter's denial could have been alluded to at any other appearance besides the first, if the situation presented occasion for it; and a rehabilitation of Peter which one cannot help expecting at the first appearance, need not have carried with it, in the first instance, more than his restoration to grace, not his investiture with the office of leader of the church (cp § 37 *c*). This installation of Peter, however, is explained much more readily by reference to a later ecclesiastical situation. The Fourth Gospel at its first publication had met with opposition, and in the circles in which it had arisen it was perceived that it would fail to meet with ecclesiastical recognition if the great prominence given to the beloved disciple and the comparative depreciation of Peter, which run through the entire book (see SIMON PETER, § 22), were to be continued. It was determined, therefore, to recognise in an appendix the authority of Peter to some extent (MINISTRY, § 36 *a*). If this be so, however, the words about the abiding importance of the beloved disciple (21 20-24), as also about the death of Peter (21 18 *f.*), which would certainly be inappropriate at a first appearance, will be integral parts, not merely inorganically attached additions. Yet once more, the thought that Jesus instituted a substitute for the Last Supper (in 21 13 the reminiscence of this is quite manifest) is not appropriate to a first appearance of Jesus, but must be regarded as the result of after reflection (see § 29 *c*).

(*d*) Harnack and Rohrbach become very specially involved in obscurities when they maintain that the

[1] Jer. *contr. Pelag.* 2 15; ed. Vallarsi, 2 758 *f.* Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 2 935-938; *Einl.* § 52, n. 7) defends the reading 'sub Satana . . . qui' given above; the usual reading is 'substantia . . . quæ.'

[2] Van Kasteren (*Rev. bibl. internat.*, 1902, pp. 240-255) seeks to defend the authenticity of this appendix. He maintains, besides, that the whole passage (16 9-20) has been used in Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 25 2, and even in Heb. 1 1-4 2 3-5. These arguments are missing in Burgon, *Last Twelve Verses of Mk.* (1871), and rightly. They rest only on vague resemblances which would be quite as capable of supporting the posteriority as the priority of Mk. 16 9-20, if they necessarily implied literary acquaintance.

genuine conclusion of Mk. with its first appearance of Jesus was at the same time in agreement with the account in 1 Cor. 15 5, and with that in Lk. 24 34, according to which Jesus appeared to Peter. The expression of Paul, and in like manner that of Lk., unquestionably mean: to Peter alone. That, however, is exactly what Jn. 21 does not say, nor yet in all probability did the Gospel of Peter.

In Jn. 21 7 not only is Peter not the only one to recognise Jesus; he is not even the first; the first is the beloved disciple. Rohrbach has recourse to the conjecture that, in the genuine conclusion of Mk., at the decisive scene, the recognition of Jesus and the word of restitution, the other disciples apart from Peter were either, like the disciples at Emmaus whose 'eyes were holden' (Lk. 24 16), prevented by divine arrangement from recognising Jesus, or were not present at all, and that this scene was followed by another separate appearance to the eleven (above, *a*). Harnack, to judge by his silence, does not accept this, but in doing so leaves it all the more unclear how far the appearance to several disciples is to be held the same as an appearance to Peter (alone).

(*e*) If such an appearance cannot be assumed to have been contained in the lost conclusion of Mk. with certainty, the attempt must also be abandoned to invest the passage with the nimbus which would attach to it if it had really contained the full narrative of what Paul and Lk. (24 34) dismiss with a single word as the earliest of the occurrences after the resurrection of Jesus. The lost conclusion in question may have been relatively more original than the canonical and extra-canonical accounts which have come down to us; but we cannot safely venture to regard it as having been absolutely the first.

10. 1 Cor. 15 1-11 in itself considered.

If now it has been made out that the extra-canonical accounts contain nothing of any consequence which goes beyond the canonical—except (ultimately) the existence of an interval of more than eight days between the resurrection of Jesus and his first appearance (§ 5 *e*)—and that the canonical gospels are at irreconcilable variance with each other, we have finally to turn to the narrative of Paul. It has fared badly. Reimarus and Lessing completely ignored it. The entire body of conservative theology denies it any decisive importance, and the most advanced critical theology in rejecting all the Pauline epistles of course rejects this also. It is very striking to observe, however, how slight are the objections that can be brought against it. Let us take, in the first place, those which are urged against the account in itself considered.

(*a*) Steck (*Galater-br.*, 1888, pp. 180-191) finds at the very outset that the word 'make known' (γνωρίζω: 1 Cor. 15 1) shows the writer to have been aware that he was making a statement which, at the time of his making it (according to Steck, in the 2nd cent.), was new. The answer is simple; a writer can surely quite easily say of a thing already known 'I make known unto you,' if he wishes to call attention to it as something very weighty, or desires gently to reproach or rebuke his readers for not having kept it in mind. The remark holds good here as well as in 12 3 Gal. 1 11.

(*b*) According to 15 11 what precedes is given out alike by Paul and by the original apostles. Steck holds it to be artificially composed to suit such a purpose; the twelve would represent the narrower circle of disciples destined for the mission to the Jews; the 500 that wider circle, hinted at in Lk. 10 1, for the mission to the Gentiles. In this case, however, we are constrained to ask why the author, who according to Steck had full scope for his fancy, should have chosen the number 500, not 70? And why does he cite James (surely a Jewish Christian!) after, not before, the alleged representatives of the Gentile mission, and afterwards, over and above, 'all the apostles,' whom no one can assert to have belonged distinctly to the Jewish-Christian or to the Gentile-Christian circle?

(*c*) Whether the original apostles included in their preaching also this, that Jesus had appeared to Paul, may be regarded as questionable in view of their strained relations with Paul. At an earlier date, however, when the churches of Judæa glorified God in Paul (Gal. 1 23 *f.*) they certainly proclaimed it, since the conversion of this most zealous opponent of Christianity cannot but have seemed to them to be the greatest triumph of the new religion. Accordingly, Paul might very well assume that they were still doing so. Yet it must not by any means be positively affirmed that he says so; for from 1 Cor. 15 6 onwards the verbs no longer depend, as in *vv.* 3-5, on 'how that' (ὅτι); the sentences are all independent propositions. Otherwise we should be compelled to go so far as to say that Paul describes the contents of *v.* 8 also—that is, the appearance of Jesus to himself—as something which according to *v.* 3 he has received (παρέλαβον). Steck does not shrink from drawing this inference. In doing so, however, he does the writer an injustice. For when the writer wrote *v.* 3, his intention was to set forth what he had received; but he was surely not thereby precluded from adding something of the same kind with regard to himself, of which the readers would be able to see for themselves that he had not 'received' it. In like manner also he must not be debarred from saying in *v.* 11, by way of *résumé*, that he and the original apostles preach in the manner stated in the preceding context, although certainly *v.* 9 *f.*, perhaps also *v.* 8, do not form part of the preaching of the original apostles.

(*d*) Van Manen (*Paulus*, 3, 1896, pp. 67-71) finds 15 1-11 out of agreement with *vv.* 12-58; for in the former passage the hope of a future resurrection of the body is made to depend upon the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, whilst in the latter it is held upon quite different grounds into which this fact does not enter. It must be noted, however, that if a thing rests upon more grounds than one, it is quite fitting that these should be set forth separately. Besides, in point of fact, the resurrection of Jesus is returned to in *v.* 20 as having a bearing upon the argument.

(*e*) Another point made by Van Manen is that 'was seen' (ὤφθη) is repeated in *v.* 6, but not in *v.* 5 *b*. That, however, really proves nothing against either the genuineness or the unity of the section. The addition in *v.* 6 'of whom the greater part remain until now, but some are fallen asleep' is found by Van Manen too copious in style after the curt expressions in *vv.* 3-5; and, moreover, he considers it to be brought in too late, since, if such an observation were to be made with reference to the 500, it ought also to have been mentioned with regard to the 12, whether they were still alive or not. But here again it may be replied that the Corinthians either knew or could have informed themselves as to the twelve, whilst the case was different with the 500. As for 'all the apostles' (τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν) in *v.* 7, to which Van Manen takes particular exception on the ground that they are identical with the 'Peter and the twelve' in *v.* 5, our reply must simply be that this is not the case; see MINISTRY, § 17.

(*f*) Paul's designation of himself (15 9) as the least of the apostles, is regarded by Van Manen as not in agreement with his claim to apostolic rank and authority (1 1 4 16 9 1 *f.* 11 16). Yet a solution of the apparent contradiction can be found in 15 10: 'not I, but the grace of God.' Besides, the slight against Paul would be unintelligible on the part of an admirer of his in the second century; it is intelligible only in the mouth of Paul himself, who elsewhere also shows himself as ready to humble himself in the sight of God as he is disinclined to do so before men.

(*g*) A further argument of Van Manen (p. 126) is that in 15 8-10 the life of the apostle is looked back upon as already completed. Yet Paul might also look back upon his life so far as completed and say quite fairly, as he does say: 'I laboured more abundantly than they all.'

(*h*) In particular, no difficulty ought to be caused by the words: 'last of all he appeared to me also.' Paul could quite well have been aware that since the appearance of Jesus made to himself, no other had been reported. But of those which he himself, according to 2 Cor. 12 1-4 4 6, afterwards lived to experience, none approached to that of Damascus in fundamental importance; thus he had all the more occasion to close his series with it, because his first vision of the risen Jesus may itself have occurred a considerable time after the other appearances (§ 36 [*f*]), and importance attached to the number of distinct persons who had seen visions, rather than to the number of visions such persons had had.

For the rest, Brandt (414 *f.*) gives up as un-Pauline only one expression: 'as unto the one born out of due season' (ὡσπερεὶ τῷ ἐκτρώματι), which he considers to have been borrowed by a glossator from the Valentinian gnosis (cp Straatman, *Krit. Stud. over 1 Cor.*, vol. 2, Groningen, 1865, pp. 196-204). Yet no stringent necessity for this is apparent. It is true that the expression (ἔκτρωμα) does not literally fit Paul, for it denotes an early birth, whereas he could more appropriately have been called a late birth. There is some difficulty, therefore, in supposing that Paul himself can have actually chosen this expression. To meet this difficulty we may perhaps suppose that Paul is taking up a phrase which had been used against him by way of reproach, because after all it has some applicability to his case. This theory would also best explain the definite article (before ἐκτρώματι), which is reproduced neither in AV nor in RV ('one born').

11. 1 Cor. 15 1-11 older than the Gospels.

That 1 Cor. 15 1-11 is dependent on the Gospels has been pronounced impossible even by Steck, since it contains appearances of Jesus which are not found there. It is only the earlier date of 1 Cor. that Steck disputes.

(*a*) Steck regards it as certainly historical that the

first news of the resurrection of Jesus was brought by the women. In the omission of this point from 1 Cor. he finds an artificial touch; the more naive representation is that of the Gospels.

Even if it be granted for the moment that the narrative about the women at the sepulchre is historical, the attitude of conservative theology itself shows that the priority of the gospels by no means follows, for that theology attributes to the historical Paul, who wrote his epistles before the gospels were composed, a deliberate silence about the women. If, however, the genuineness of the Pauline epistles cannot be effectively disputed from this point of view, the question whether Paul did not wish to say anything about the women, or whether he did not know about them, remains quite open (cp § 15).

(*b*) Steck conjectures further that matters in which 1 Cor. partially agrees with the Gospels, had been drawn by both from a common source. Thus the appearance to the 500 is perhaps a modification of the original account of what happened at Pentecost. The two accounts are, however, totally different. Steck resorts to his conjecture, only because he finds the application of the vision-hypothesis to the case of 500 men at once too difficult. As to this see, however, § 36*e*.

(*c*) The appearance to James in 1 Cor. is considered by Steck to be derived from the source of the Gospel to the Hebrews, or from that Gospel itself. Here, however, the question arises: Which is the more original? The bare statement 'he appeared to James,' or the incredible fable discussed above (§ 4*a*, *b*)? In fact the question comes up in a still more general form: Which is the more original—the bare narrative of Paul as a whole, or that of the Gospels? In itself considered, a narrative so brief as that given in 1 Cor. 15 could, doubtless, be regarded as a later excerpt, as we have shown to be the case with Mk. 16 9-20 (§ 8*b*, *c*). But the distinction in the Mk. appendix is just this, that the excerpt is characterised, not by its bareness, but by its embodying the most legendary features. Its freedom from such features will always speak in favour of the priority of 1 Cor. 15, so long as the spuriousness of the entire epistle remains unproven. As to this last cp GALATIANS, §§ 1-9. Indeed, were one compelled to give up the genuineness of the epistle as a whole, it would still be necessary to affirm with Brandt (415) that the high antiquity of 15 1-11 (before the Gospels had arisen) stands fast quite apart from the question of its belonging to 1 Cor. Nor is the question why the Gospels, if they are later, have passed over so much that is given in 1 Cor. 15 unanswerable (see § 23 *e*).

If we may venture to assume the priority of the Pauline account to that of the Gospels, the main question will be whether or no Paul omitted any accounts of the resurrection of Jesus which were known to him.

12. Completeness of 1 Cor. 15 1-11.

Did we not possess the Gospels, the idea that he has done so would never have occurred to any one. For Paul nothing less than the truth of Christianity rested upon the actuality of the resurrection of Jesus (1 Cor. 15 14 *f.* 17-19). Paul himself had once found it impossible to believe; he knew, therefore, how strong was the inclination to disbelief. All the more carefully, therefore, must he have sought to inform himself of everything that could be said in its support. During his fifteen days' visit to Peter and James (Gal. 1 18 *f.*), he had the best opportunity to perfect his knowledge on the subject in the most authentic manner. In Corinth the future resurrection and, along with it, as a logical consequence according to the argument of Paul (1 Cor. 15 12 16), also the resurrection of Jesus was disputed, and the entire basis of the Christian church called in question. In 15 12-58 Paul presents every possible argument wherewith to confute the deniers of the resurrection; is it in these circumstances conceivable that he could have passed over any proofs of the resurrection of Jesus, whilst yet holding that resurrection to be the first and most important fact wherewith to silence his opponents? But indeed his very manner of expressing himself excludes this in the most decisive manner. By his careful enumeration with 'then . . . next . . . next . . . then . . . lastly' (εἶτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . ἔπειτα . . . εἶτα . . . ἔσχατον; 15 5-8) he guarantees not only chronological order but also completeness.

The only point which one can venture along with Brandt (415) to leave open, is whether Paul here is only repeating a fixed number of appearances which according to 15 11 he was in the habit of bringing forward everywhere, in agreement with the original apostles, in his preaching of the resurrection of Jesus.

13. 1 Cor. 15: number of appearances.

Now it is not inconceivable that from such an enumeration this or that appearance to inconspicuous persons, which seemed not to be attested with absolute certainty, or not to be of sufficient importance, may have been excluded, just as we find that of those received by Paul himself, only the first is related (§ 10 *h*). This concession, however, in no way alters the significance for Gospel criticism of the Pauline account; for to this category of accounts which Paul might conceivably in certain circumstances very well have omitted, that to the two disciples at Emmaus—a singularly characteristic narrative—assuredly does not belong; and still less do the other gospel narratives which all of them speak of appearances of Jesus to the most prominent persons known to ancient Christianity, and in circumstances of the most significant kind.

It is not to be denied that Paul only enumerates the appearances of Jesus; he does not describe them. It will therefore be illegitimate to argue from his silence that he rejects or knows nothing of any special circumstances which may have been connected with this or that appearance.

14. 1 Cor. 15: Jesus eating and being touched?

Still, it does not by any means follow that we are at liberty to regard such important facts as that Jesus ate, or permitted himself to be touched, as matters which Paul knew but passed over. They are of such fundamental importance, and go so far beyond the mere fact of his having been seen, that Paul, had he known them, could not but have mentioned them, unless he deliberately chose to let slip the most important proofs for his contention.

It is a great mistake to reply that Paul knew that Jesus had eaten and been touched, but passed over both as being inconsistent with his doctrine that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God (1 Cor. 15 50). When this is said, it is rightly presupposed indeed that Paul regarded the risen Christ as being already exalted to heaven (cp § 16 *e*). This doctrine, however, is one which Paul first elaborated for himself as a Christian; as a Jew he knew no other conception of the resurrection than that which thought of all forms of life in the future world as exactly reproducing those of the present (cp § 17 *c*). If, accordingly, he had heard from eyewitnesses that Jesus had eaten and been touched, this would have fitted in most excellently with the idea of the resurrection which he entertained at the time of his conversion, and he would have had no occasion to construct another in an opposite sense. 1 Cor. 15 50 accordingly does not prove that Paul knew that Jesus had eaten and been touched, but was silent because he did not like to think this true; it shows, on the contrary, that he had never heard anything of the kind.

That Paul knew of the empty sepulchre, also, can be maintained only in conjunction with the assumption that for particular reasons he kept silence regarding it.[1]

15. 1 Cor. 15 and the empty sepulchre.

(*a*) Most perverse of all would it be to seek for such reasons in 1 Cor. 14 34. Even on the assumption that *vv.* 33*b*-35 are genuine (which, in view of the inconsistency with 11 5 13 and the introduction of 14 34 *f.* after 14 40 in DEFG, etc., is very questionable) the words are directed only against the intervention of women in the meeting of the congregation and merely on grounds of decorum; by no means against the testimony of women as to a matter

[1] It is quite illegitimate to find a testimony to the empty sepulchre in Paul's 'that he hath been raised' (ὅτι ἐγήγερται: 1 Cor. 15 4) on the special ground that he connects the 'that he was seen' (ὅτι ὤφθη) by means of 'and' (καί) and thereby seems to indicate that he knows of an independent evidence of the resurrection of Jesus apart from the fact of his having been seen. If he really knew of any such evidence it was his interest to mention it. If, however, the only evidence he had was the fact that Jesus had been seen he still was under necessity, from his own point of view, to regard the being raised up as a separate fact. He would have said less than he believed himself entitled to say had he omitted this.

of fact, least of all a fact of such importance and one with regard to which they alone were in a position to give evidence.

(*b*) Not less wide of the mark is the other explanation of Paul's silence upon the empty sepulchre, that the idea of a reanimation of the dead body did not fit in with his theology. If it were indeed the fact that his theology was opposed to this, it is nevertheless true that this theology of his came into being only after his conversion to Christianity. When he first came to know of Jesus as risen he was still a Jew and therefore conceived of resurrection at all in no other way than as reanimation of the body (§ 17 *e*). Since, as soon as he had become a believer, he certainly held what had been imparted to him about Jesus to be a divine arrangement, he had no occasion whatever to alter his conception. Thus nothing then prevented him from believing that the grave was found empty—on the supposition that this was reported to him. And even in the wording of 1 Cor. there was no hindrance to his so believing.

That Jesus was buried and that 'he has been raised' (1 Cor. 15 4) cannot be affirmed by any one who has not the reanimation of the body in mind. It is correct to say that Paul has abandoned the Jewish conception in so far as he figures to himself the body of Jesus as being like the dead at the Last Day, who 'shall be raised incorruptible,' and like the bodies of those who shall then be alive and who 'shall be changed' (1 Cor. 15 42-52). The risen Jesus therefore was incapable of eating or of being touched (see §§ 14, 17 *e*); on the other hand, if he was to rise from the dead his body must needs come forth from the grave, otherwise the idea of resurrection would be abandoned. This is the case in 2 Cor. 5 1-8, according to which every individual immediately on his death passes into a state of glory with Christ; but it is not yet so in 1 Cor.

(*c*) Relatively the most reasonable suggestion is that Paul is silent regarding the empty sepulchre (though acquainted with the fact) because he fears that an appeal to the testimony of women will produce an unfavourable impression. This, however, is to misjudge Paul. If he knew and believed what was reported about the empty grave he must of course have regarded the participation of the women as a divine appointment; and just as he refused to be ashamed of the gospel although aware that in so many quarters it was regarded as mere foolishness (Rom. 1 16 1 Cor. 1 23) so also he would have refused to be ashamed of an appointment of God whereby women were made the chief witnesses to the truth of the resurrection.

Before proceeding to draw our final conclusions, however, from 1 Cor. 15, it will be convenient that we should examine the accounts of the ascension.

16. Ascension.

(*a*) The view which is found in all books of doctrine and which underlies the observance of the ecclesiastical feast of the ascension, that Jesus was taken up into heaven forty days after his resurrection, rests solely upon Acts 1 3 9 (13 31 is not so exact), and thus on a datum which did not become known to the compiler of Acts till late in life.

We conjecture it to have been first made plain to the writer of Acts by the consideration that the disciples seemed still to be in need of much instruction at the hands of Jesus. The suggestion that the number forty is not to be taken literally becomes all the more natural in proportion to the lateness of its appearing. Moses passes forty days on Mount Sinai with God when receiving the law (Ex. 34 28); according to 4 Esd. 14 23 36 42-49 Ezra spends forty days in dictating afresh the OT (which had been lost in the destruction of Jerusalem in 586) and seventy books of prophecy, and is thereafter taken up into heaven.[1]

(*b*) In his gospel the author of Acts has assigned the ascension to a time late in the evening of the day of the resurrection (Lk. 24 13 29 33 36 50 *f.*).

Brandt (375-377) thinks Lk. cannot really have intended to represent Jesus as having ascended at night and therefore supposes the scene with the disciples at Emmaus not to have been introduced by the author until after 24 36-53 (appearance to the disciples, and ascension) had been written. If Brandt is right we may suppose Lk. thought of the ascension as having occurred some hours earlier. The words 'and was carried up into heaven' (καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: *v.* 51) are wanting, it is true, in ℵ*D and some Old Latin MSS. But even if the shorter form should be the more original, the words 'he parted from them' (διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν), which all authorities have (D ἀπέστη), would convey the same sense. Without some definite departure of Jesus it would be incomprehensible how the disciples should have been limited, as we read in *v.* 52 *f.*, to praising God in the temple without having further intercourse with Jesus. It is highly probable that the words 'and was carried up into heaven' (καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) were struck out at a very early period by a reader who wished to remove the discrepancy with Acts 1 3-9.[1]

(*c*) In any case the dating of the ascension as having happened late on the day of the resurrection is confirmed by Barn. 15 9: 'We keep holy the eighth day (*i.e.*, Sunday) . . . in which also Jesus rose from the dead and, after appearing, went up to heaven' (ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν τὴν ὀγδόην . . . ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἀνέστη ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ φανερωθεὶς ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς), as also by Mk. 16 9-20, where the order of the events in Lk. clearly lies at the foundation; in all probability also by Jn. 20 17 22, according to which on the morning of the resurrection Jesus is not yet ascended and in the evening already imparts the Holy Spirit to the disciples.

According to 7 39 the Holy Spirit first comes into being after Jesus has been glorified, in other words after his exaltation to heaven where he is encompassed by glory (δόξα). That Jesus does not suffer himself to be touched in 20 17 is not formally contradicted by what is said of the evening of the same day (in 20 20 he only shows the disciples his wounds); the contradiction does not emerge till eight days afterwards (20 27). On the other hand it perfectly fits in with the theory of 7 39 that the Holy Spirit is called (EV) another comforter (ἄλλος παράκλητος: 14 16) who cannot come until after Jesus has gone away (Jesus must thus be thought of as the first παράκλητος and in point of fact is called παράκλητος in 1 Jn. 2 1, although there he is thought of as exalted) and that Jesus will send him forth from the father, that is, from heaven (15 26); cp further 16 7.

(*d*) The Fourth Gospel is distinguished from Lk., Barn., and Mk. 16 9-20 by this, that it represents Jesus as still continuing to appear on earth after he has ascended.

When Jesus foretells his coming again in Jn. 14 18 it is clear from the connection with *vv.* 16 *f.* that he means the coming of the Holy Spirit, with whom, in fact, according to 7 39, 2 Cor. 3 17 he is identical. On the other hand, the manner in which the same thought is expressed in 16 16 19 ('a little while . . . and ye shall see me') speaks strongly for the view that the appearances of the risen Jesus are intended; so also perhaps in 14 19 21, whilst 14 28 16 22 admit both interpretations and perhaps ought to receive both.

(*e*) The original conception of the ascension has been preserved in this, that the appearances of the risen Jesus occur after he has been received up into heaven; resurrection and ascension are a single act, Jesus is taken up directly from the grave, or from the underworld, into heaven.[2] Any direct proof for this, it is true, can hardly be adduced apart from the Gospel of Peter (above, § 5 *b*); the proof lies in the silence of the NT writers as to a special act of ascension. In particular, it ought (if known) to have been definitely mentioned in 1 Cor. 15 4-8, since, in point of fact, according to Lk., the appearances to Peter and the apostles, etc. were made before the ascension, whilst those to Paul on the other hand undoubtedly occurred after that event; and yet Paul uses with reference to them all the same word 'was seen' (ὤφθη, on which see below, § 17 *a*).

[1] According to the Valentinians and Ophites (*ap.* Iren. i. 1 5 [3 2] 28 7 [30 14]) Jesus remained on earth for eighteen months after his resurrection; so also *Asc. Isa.* 9 16 in the Ethiopic text (545 days); according to *Pistis Sophia*, 1, eleven years.

[1] On the apologetic side there is often an inclination to make use of the well-known fact that the ancients were in the habit of employing for their literary work ready-made papyrus rolls of a fixed length, within the limits of which they were wont to confine themselves. It is suggested that Lk., through failure of his space, may have found himself compelled to report the ascension so very briefly and inexactly, that it was possible for the impression to arise that he meant to assign it to the resurrection day, whereas in reality he meant to place it forty days later, and already had the intention of setting this forth more precisely in his later work. It may suffice, in answer to this, to say that Lk. must have perceived that the paper was coming to an end long before the last moment, and cannot have been forced, by any such discovery, into giving an account of the events which was not in accordance with his knowledge.

[2] The descent into the underworld is originally merely another expression for his death and burial. Whether a preaching of Jesus in the underworld is connected with this (so MINISTRY, § 26) is for our present purpose indifferent.

So, also, Rom. 8 34, Eph. 1 20 (and with reference to the followers of Jesus Eph. 2 5 *f.*) place the sitting at the right hand of God immediately after the resurrection, Heb. 1 3 10 12 12 2 immediately after the death of Jesus; Eph. 4 9 *f.* places over against the descent (*καταβῆναι*) into Hades only the ascent (*ἀναβῆναι*) that raises Jesus above all heavens. So also the 'who brought up' (*ἀναγαγών*) of Heb. 13 20 means direct translation from Hades to Heaven if at least by *ἐν αἵματι* we are to understand 'with blood,' which according to 4 14 6 20 8 2 9 12 Jesus must offer in the heavenly sanctuary. 1 Pet. 3 19 22 too, and indeed also Acts 2 32-35 Rev. 1 18, admit this sense without violence, and equally little is the reader compelled by the expression 'goes before you into Galilee' (*προάγει ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*), Mk. 16 7 = Mt. 28 7, to assume that Jesus made the journey from the sepulchre to Galilee by way of earth; the purpose of the expression is simply to convey that Jesus expects his disciples in Galilee in order that he may appear to them there, and this he can very well have done from heaven. For Mt. this interpretation is directly indicated by the writer's closing his book without any ascension; he must have thought of it as inseparably connected with the resurrection. Another consideration pointing in the same direction rests on the fact that in 28 18 Jesus is already able to say that all authority has been given him in heaven and on earth. As regards Mk. we can say nothing positive with reference to this point; there is, however, not the least probability that his lost conclusion differed from Mt. in this respect. In Clem. Rom., Hermas, Polycarp, Ignatius we still find no mention of an ascension, nor yet is it spoken of in the *Didachè* (this last, it ought to be added, indeed, does not even mention the resurrection). Justin, Irenæus, and Tertullian continue to regard both events as two parts of one act (see Von Schubert, *Comp. des pseudopetrin. Evangelien-fragments*, 1893, 136-138); the Apology of Aristides (Syriac in Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, i. 1 4 *l.* 7 *f.*; Greek, *ibid.* 110 *l.* 20 *f.* [chap. 15], German in Raabe, *TU* ix. 1 3, § 2, end) says similarly that after three days he rose again and was taken up into heaven.[1]

II.—Determination of Outward Facts.

17. Real nature of the appearances.

The original conception of the ascension as set forth in the preceding section will supply us directly with some guidance when we proceed to the task of disentangling the real historical facts regarding the resurrection from the multitude of the accounts which have come down to us.

(*a*) As we do so we must in the first instance take Paul's account as our guide. That account is fitted to throw light upon the nature of the appearances made not only to Paul himself but also to others, for he would not have employed the same word 'was seen' (*ὤφθη*) if anything had been known to him by which the appearance made to himself was distinguished from those which others had received.

(*b*) Appearances of the risen Jesus did actually occur; that is to say, the followers of Jesus really had the impression of having seen him. The historian who will have it that the alleged appearances are due merely to legend or to invention must deny not only the genuineness of the Pauline Epistles but also the historicity of Jesus altogether. The great difference between the attestation of the nativity narratives and that of those of the resurrection lies in the fact that the earliest accounts of the resurrection arose simultaneously with the occurrences to which they relate.

(*c*) The idea held regarding the occurrences was that Jesus made his appearances from heaven (§ 16, *e*). He thus had the nature of a heavenly being. Broadly speaking, the angels were the most familiar type of this order of being—the angels who can show themselves anywhere and again disappear.

(*d*) It was thought, as matter of course, that after each appearance Jesus returned into heaven. So regarded, each appearance ended with an ascension.

[1] The order in 1 Tim. 3 16 where 'was received up in glory' (*ἀνελήφθη ἐν δόξῃ*) comes after 'was preached to the nations, was believed on in the world' (*ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν, ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ*), accords with no known or conceivable position of the ascension. May we hazard the conjecture that the author perhaps placed it at the close of his enumeration simply in order to close with a concrete fact rather than a somewhat vague and indeterminate proposition, and so make a better ending for his poetical piece, and that in doing so he followed perhaps some such train of ideas as that in Mk. 16 15 *f.* 19, only giving it a somewhat different turn: the command of Jesus that his disciples should preach him and believe in him was fulfilled and he was raised up to heaven?

Precisely for this reason, however, it is not permissible to suppose that any single ascension once and for all was ever observed; on such a supposition Jesus would still have remained a denizen of earth after the appearances preceding the final one.

(*e*) That the risen Jesus ate or was touched was never observed. Not only does Paul say nothing of any such occurrence; the thing would also be contrary to the nature of a being appearing from heaven. Flesh and bones, which are attributed to Jesus in Lk. 24 39, assuredly he had not; he really made his appearances, although it is expressly denied in the verse just cited, as spirit (*πνεῦμα*) in the sense in which the angels are spirits (*πνεύματα*: Heb. 1 14). On this point the Jewish Christians most certainly agreed with Paul (§ 15 *b*) so far as the person of Jesus was concerned.

It is indeed the case that in Jewish-Christian circles there was current a conception of a resurrection with a new earthly body, in accordance with which Jesus was taken to be the risen Baptist, or Elijah (Mk. 6 14-16). This, however, was not the only conception by which Christians were influenced. On the contrary, from Jesus himself they had received the idea that in the resurrection men shall be as the angels of God (Mk. 12 25 and ||). And if there was any case in which more than in another they had occasion to apply this exalted conception, it would be in that of the body of their risen Lord. They knew indeed his prediction that one day he would come again on the clouds of heaven (Gospels, § 145 [*f*]). For them also, as for Paul (1 Cor. 15 20), Jesus was the first-fruits of them that sleep; with his resurrection, accordingly, a new era began. Not only so; it is extremely probable that the 'similitudes' of the Book of Enoch (chaps. 37-71; cp Apocalyptic, § 30) are pre-Christian: and there an existence in heaven is attributed to the Messiah and Dan. 7 13 explained as referring to him.[1] The original apostles may very well have had knowledge of this, even without having ever read the book. There is, therefore, not the slightest difficulty in attributing to them the conception of the resurrection body of Jesus which Paul himself had and imputed to them. It is only with regard to the future resurrection of all mankind that Paul parts company with them, in so far as he thinks of the resurrection body of believers as being as heavenly and free from flesh and blood as was the resurrection body of Jesus (1 Cor. 15 44-53), a consequence drawn neither by the Jewish Christians nor yet by the later Gentile Christians who taught the resurrection of the flesh (*symbolum Romanum*, see Ministry, § 27, n., and, later, *symbolum apostolicum*; Hermas, *Sim.* v. 7 2; Justin, *Dial.* 80, end; 2 Clem. Rom. 9 1 14 5, etc., and already 1 Clem. 26 3). That the Pharisaic, and accordingly also the primitive Christian, expectation looked for a reanimation of the body appears in such passages as 2 Macc. 7 10 *f.* 14 46 Mt. 27 52 Acts 2 31 Rev. 20 13. Josephus also states this correctly in *Ant.* xviii. 1 3, § 14, *BJ* iii. 8 5, § 374; it is only in *BJ* ii. 8 14, § 163, that by the expression 'remove into another body' (*μεταβαίνειν εἰς ἕτερον σῶμα*) he has Hellenised the conception and thereby misled his readers.

(*f*) On the other hand, it is fully to be believed that men had the impression that they saw in full reality (below, § 34 *b*, *c*, *d*) the wounds which Jesus had received on the cross, or perhaps even perceived that he showed them. The form which men beheld must of course show the most complete resemblance to that which Jesus bore upon earth, and to this, after the crucifixion, the wounds (not, however, the wound in the side, the spear-thrust being unhistorical, see John, Son of Zebedee, § 23 *d*) necessarily belonged. As the form of the risen Jesus at the same time appeared in heavenly splendour and created the certainty that Jesus had vanquished death and laid aside everything that was earthly, there remains a possibility that in the case of many to whom he appeared attention was not fixed upon his wounds. It is particularly easy to suppose this in the case of Paul.

(*g*) From the nature of the appearances as described, it is further quite possible that they occurred even when the witnesses found themselves, as in Jn. 20 19 26, shut in with closed doors, or that, as we read in Mk. 16 14 19, Jesus was taken up into heaven direct from the apartment. Even if one entertains doubts as to whether the authors cited had enough certain information to enable them to say that this actually was so in the cases which they give, it still has to be acknowledged that the statement is not inconsistent with the nature of the appearances.

On the other hand, there is to be drawn from the

[1] Muirhead, *Times of Christ* (1898), pp. 140-150; Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1898, pp. 255-257; 1901, p. 339 *f.*

various accounts one deduction which goes very deep: no words were heard from the risen Jesus.

18. No words heard.

(*a*) At first sight the hearing of words might appear not to be excluded by the simple 'was seen' (ὤφθη) of Paul. It is to be noted, however, that where Paul speaks of having received messages from heaven, he expressly specifies 'revelations' (ἀποκαλύψεις) as well as 'visions' (ὀπτασίαι: 2 Cor. 12 1-4), and where the distinction is employed it is clear that spoken words come under the former not the latter category.

(*b*) As against this, appeal will doubtless be made to the reports in Acts as to the appearances of Jesus to Paul on the journey to Damascus. Not successfully, however; they contradict one another so violently (see ACTS, § 2) that it is difficult to imagine how it could ever have been possible for an author to take them up into his book in their present forms, not to speak of the impossibility of accepting them in points where they are unsupported by the epistles of Paul. In these epistles, there is not the slightest countenance for the belief that Paul heard words, although he had the strongest motives for referring to them had he been in a position to do so. It is on the appearance on the journey to Damascus that he bases his claim to have been called to the apostolate by Jesus himself. The claim was hotly denied by his opponents: it was to his interest, therefore, to bring forward everything that could validly be adduced in its support. In pressing it (1 Cor. 9 1, 'Am I not an apostle?') he assuredly would not have stopped short at the question, 'Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?' had he been in a position to go on and ask, 'Has he not himself named me his apostle?' with such words engraven on his memory as those we read in Acts 9 6 22 10 or (above all) 26 16-18. The analogy of the angelic appearances cited above (§ 17 *c*) thus no longer holds good. Words are heard from angels; no words were heard from Jesus.

(*c*) What holds good of the appearance to Paul is true also (see § 17 *a*) of the others of which we read. If, too, we apply a searching examination to the words which have been reported, it is precisely the most characteristic of them that we shall find ourselves most irresistibly constrained to abandon. The request for food and the invitation to touch the wounds of the crucified Jesus (Lk. 24 39 41 Jn. 20 27) are, as we have seen in § 17 *e*, inadmissible. So also, as has been seen in § 16 *e*, the saying, I am not yet ascended unto the Father (20 17). The power to forgive sins or to declare them unforgiven (20 23) belongs to God alone, and cannot be handed over by Jesus to his disciples (see MINISTRY, § 4). The doctrine that the passion of Jesus was necessary in virtue of a divine appointment is invariably brought forward by Paul as the gospel that had been made manifest to himself alone and must be laboriously maintained in the face of its gainsayers; how triumphantly would he not have been able to meet them had he only heard the least suggestion that the men of the primitive church had heard the same doctrine from the mouth of Jesus himself in the manner recorded in Lk. 24 25-27 44-46! Once more, how could the original apostles have been able to call themselves disciples of Jesus if, after having been sent out by him as missionaries to the Gentiles (Lk. 22 47 *f.* Mk. 16 16 and the canonical text of Mt. 28 19), they actually made it a stipulation at the council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2 9) that their activity was to be confined within the limits of Israel? As for the text of Mt. 28 19 on baptism and the trinitarian formula, see MINISTRY, § 5 *e*, cp *Hibb. Journ.*, Oct. 1902, pp. 102-108; and on Jn. 21 15-22 see above, § 9 *c*.

19. Galilee the scene of the first appearances.

An equally important point is that the first appearances happened in Galilee. The most convincing reasons for this conclusion have already been summarised under GOSPELS (§ 138 *a*). (*a*) In addition to what is said there special emphasis may be laid on the fact that there is no gospel in which appearances to men (not women) are reported as having been made both in Galilee and in Jerusalem; for Jn. 21 is an appendix by another hand.

It is only Mt. that, besides the appearance to the disciples in Galilee, knows of that made to the women on the return from the sepulchre (28 9 *f.*); this, however, will be regarded by very many as unhistorical, being absent from Mk. (which nevertheless is in this section so closely followed by Mt.) and containing nothing more than a repetition of the injunction already given by the angel to the women, to bid the disciples repair to Galilee. In any case the appearance comes from a separate source. If we leave Mt. 28 9 *f.* out of account it becomes perfectly clear that no one gospel from the first reported appearances of the risen Jesus in Galilee as well as in Jerusalem. The gospels in fact fall exactly into two classes: Mk., Mt. and the Gospel of Peter are for Galilee; Lk., Jn., and Mk. 16 9-20 for Jerusalem, and the Gospel of the Hebrews also does not indicate in any way that it looks for James and Peter and Peter's companions elsewhere than in the place where it finds the servant of the high priest (see above, § 4 *a*, *b*), viz., in Jerusalem. It is only afterwards that the writer of Jn. 21 sees fit to change this 'either, or' into a 'both, and'; so also Mt., but without admitting an appearance to any male disciples in Jerusalem.

If, however, Galilee and Jerusalem were at first mutually exclusive, both cannot rest upon equally valid tradition; there must have been some reason why the one locality was changed for the other.

(*b*) Such a reason for transferring the appearances from Galilee to Jerusalem has been indicated in GOSPELS (§ 138 *a*). Its force becomes all the greater when it is realised how small has been the success of even the most distinguished critics in attempting to make out the opposite.

All that Loofs (see below, § 39) has to say is (p. 25), 'Those narrators who represent the whole life of Jesus, with the exception of the last eight days, as having been passed in Galilee, may have transferred to Galilee also the appearances of the risen Jesus, with regard to which they were very defectively informed; they may have done so all the more easily because the first persons of whom they had occasion to speak in connection with the resurrection were women from Galilee.' The question at once presents itself: What has the circumstance that they belonged to Galilee to do with the present matter? They were in point of fact in Jerusalem. What is the relevancy of the observation that the activity of Jesus, apart from the last eight days, had been wholly in Galilee? His grave at any rate was in Jerusalem, and his disciples were also there, according to the testimony of Mk., Mt., and the Gospel of Peter, at least. That the present writer holds the statement as to the presence of the disciples at Jerusalem to be unhistorical does not affect the argument; for the point is that Loofs regards precisely that statement as historical. It is all the more necessary to ask: How does Loofs know that Mk. and Mt. were very defectively informed with regard to the appearances of the risen Jesus?

If this was indeed so, if Mk. and Mt. had to fall back on their own powers of conjecture, where else were they to look for appearances if not in Jerusalem where the grave, the women, and the disciples were? Thus the tradition which induced them to place the appearances in Galilee must have been one of very great stability.

B. Weiss (to pass over other names), in the interests of the Jerusalem tradition, doubts the historicity of the statement that the women received from the angel the injunction to bid the disciples proceed to Galilee, especially as this injunction is merely a reminiscence of Jesus words in Gethsemane, that after he rose from the dead he would go before the disciples to Galilee (Mk. 14 28). So *Leben Jesu*(2) 2 590 (ET 3 393). On p. 596 (ET 399 *f.*), however, Weiss says that that command of the angel to the women (to direct the disciples to go to Galilee) is only a reminiscence of the command of the same character which the risen Jesus himself lays upon Mary Magdalene, according to Mt. 28 9 *f.* (where, according to Weiss, only the second Mary is erroneously conjoined with Mary Magdalene rightly mentioned by the eye-witness John [20 1 *f.* 11-18]). Thus what Weiss holds to be an error (the command to bid the disciples go to Galilee) must be held (if the Jerusalem tradition is to be maintained) to have got itself clothed in a very remarkable form: not only as an angelic word (Mt. 28 7 Mk. 16 7) but also as a word of the risen Lord himself (Mt. 28 10), in the account of an appearance that is guaranteed by an eye-witness.

(*c*) In reality the error lies in quite another direction: in making Jesus appear at the sepulchre to the women, or Mary Magdalene, as the case may be. On the account in Mt. see above (*a*). That of Jn., however, is open to just as serious objections, for its chief saying, 'I am not yet ascended unto the Father,' rests on a theory of the nature of the Holy Ghost that is peculiar to the Fourth Gospel (§ 16, *c*). If, however, Jn.'s

account can lay no claim to authenticity we may be all the surer that it is a transformation of the account of Mt. Of its being so there are, moreover, several indications. In Jn., as in Mt., one of Jesus' sayings is only a repetition of a word of the angels: 'Woman, why weepest thou?' A reminiscence of the fact that when the women met Jesus they had in Mt. already retired from the sepulchre may perhaps be recognised in 'she turned herself back' (ἐστράφη εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω) in Jn. 20 14. Only one woman appearing at the grave in Jn. is perhaps to be explained by the observation that the recognition-scene becomes more dramatic when Jesus has no need to utter more than a single word: 'Mary.' Cp. further, § 25, *c*.

(*d*) In 1 Cor. 15 Paul mentions no place. The enumeration he gives would not preclude the reader from supposing that the various appearances had occurred in quite different places—for example, most of them in Galilee, even if that to James were to be thought of as having been made in Jerusalem. It is, however, quite improbable that James was in Jerusalem again so soon (see MINISTRY, § 21 *d*), or that he should have experienced the appearance of the risen Jesus at so late a time that it might nevertheless be supposed that James had already removed to Jerusalem (see below, § 36 [*f*]).

The sealing and watching of the sepulchre (Mt. 27 62-66 28 4 11-15) is now very generally given up even by those scholars who still hold by the resurrection narratives as a whole.

20. Watch at sepulchre unhistorical.

(*a*) As already pointed out above (§ 2 *a*), in Mk. it is not only, as in Lk. and Jn., absent; it is absolutely excluded by the women's question: they have no apprehensions about the watch, only about the stone. (*b*) Again, it is exceedingly improbable that the Jews remembered any prophecy of Jesus that he was to rise again in three days (Mt. 27 63). According to the Gospels Jesus made prophecies of the kind only to the innermost circle of his disciples (Mk. 8 27 31 9 30 *f.* 10 32-34 and ||). Indeed in Mk. and Lk. not even the women remember the prophecy, otherwise they would not have set out to anoint the body. (*c*) Again, the explanation which the high priests and elders suggest, according to Mt. 28 13, is untenable; for if the soldiers were asleep at the time they could not testify that the disciples stole the body. (*d*) Not less unlikely is the supposition that the Jewish authorities actually believed the account of the soldiers regarding the fact of the resurrection of Jesus. Surely the consequence must have been, as with Paul at a later date, their conversion to the faith of Jesus. If, on the other hand, they remained unmoved, they must also have believed that, however perplexing it might at first sight appear, the affair was capable of explanation otherwise than by the resurrection of Jesus, and must have moved Pilate to institute a strict inquiry into the conduct of the soldiers, rather than have sought to bribe the soldiers. (*e*) Above all, the soldiers could not have accepted a bribe, least of all if they had nothing better to say by way of ostensible defence than that they had fallen asleep. For this the penalty was death. According to Acts 12 19 we actually find Agrippa I. putting to death the soldiers who had allowed Peter to escape from prison, and this is conclusive as to the nature of military responsibilities, even if in point of fact the liberation of Peter was brought about through no fault of his keepers (cp SIMON PETER, § 3, *e*). Roman soldiers knew only too well the strictness with which discipline was administered, and the promise of the Jewish authorities to obtain immunity for them from Pilate, if needful (Mt. 28 14), would have made no impression on them. (*f*) The best criticism on this whole feature of the narrative is the simple fact that the Gospel of Peter, which unquestionably is later than Mt., avoids it altogether and concludes quite differently (above, § 5 *a*).

That Jesus was buried in a usual way, not—as is conjectured by Volkmar (*Religion Jesu*, 77 *f.* 257-259 [1857], *Die Evangelien* [1870] = *Marcus u. die Synopse* [1876], 603) on the basis of Is. 53 9 22 16-18 Rev. 11 8 *f.*—left unburied, or at most cast into a hole and covered with some earth, is established by 1 Cor. 15 4 (cp Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 3 525-527, ET 6 271-274).

21. Empty sepulchre unhistorical.

But the accounts of the empty sepulchre are none of them admissible. As to this the leading points have already been summarised in GOSPELS (§ 138 *e*). Some further considerations may be added.

(*a*) The three points from which we have to start are the silence of Paul (as of the entire NT apart from the Gospels; see, especially, Acts 2 29-32)—a silence which would be wholly inexplicable were the story true (§ 15); next, the statement in Mk. 16 8 that the women said nothing of their experiences at the sepulchre—a statement which has to be understood in the sense that Mk. was the first to be in a position to publish the facts; in other words, that the whole story is a very late production; lastly, if (as we have seen) the first appearances of Jesus were in Galilee, the tidings of them must have arrived at Jerusalem much too late to allow of examination of the sepulchre with any satisfactory results. If a body had been found it would have been too far advanced in decay to allow of identification; if there were none, this could be accounted for very easily without postulating a resurrection.

(*b*) The attempt to explain the evangelical reports without assuming a resurrection is, however, the line taken by very many theologians also who hold by what is said as to the empty sepulchre and yet assume no miracle. In the first place they postulate a removal of the body by persons whose action had no connection with the question of a resurrection.

On account of the approach of the Sabbath (they hold) the body had in any case to be laid in some grave or other, even perhaps without leave asked of the owner. It was, therefore, necessary that it should be removed afterwards to a more suitable place; or the owner himself may have removed it. A reminiscence of this is even discovered in Jn. 20 15. Or, if the sepulchre belonged to Joseph of Arimathæa, even he may not have desired to have the body of a stranger permanently occupying a place in the sepulchre of his family. On all these assumptions what strikes one is the promptitude with which the transference must have been made. To do so on the Sabbath before sundown was unlawful; yet very early next morning the transference had already been effected (according to Mt. even immediately after the sundown which marked the close of the Sabbath; see, however, § 2 *d*).

(*c*) Others suggest that the enemies of the Christians had removed the body of Jesus in order that it might not receive the veneration of his followers. The surprising thing in this would be, not so much that such a policy would have given the greatest possible, though unintentional, impetus to such veneration, as rather this, that such action would presuppose a disposition to worship the dead body for which it would be difficult to find a precedent among the Jews, for whom any contact with a corpse meant defilement.

(*d*) For a long time the favourite view was that the disciples themselves actually had done what, according to Mt. 27 64, the Jewish authorities were apprehensive they might do, and, according to 28 13 15, imputed to them falsely, namely, that they had stolen the body in order that they might afterwards proclaim that Jesus had risen.

Renan (*Apôtres*, 42 *f.*, ET 69 *f.*), without expressly stating this purpose of the disciples, is inclined to attribute a share in the removal of the body to Mary Magdalene (whose predisposition to mental malady [Lk. 8 2] he accentuates), because only a woman's hand would have left the clothes in such order as is described in Jn. 20 7. That a theft of this kind would have had the effect of convincing gainsayers of the resurrection of Jesus is not very easy to believe. On the other hand, it could in certain circumstances have made some impression on followers of Jesus.

The question forces itself, however: Who was there to set the plan on foot? The disciples were utterly cast down; to all probable seeming, in fact, they were not even in Jerusalem at all (GOSPELS, § 138 *a*). The

theory thus breaks down at the outset, and it seems superfluous to ask whether the disciples would have ventured to act in a sense contrary to the ordinance of God who had suffered their master to die.

(*e*) We mention, lastly, yet another theory, which is most clearly a mere refuge of despair—the theory, namely, that the earthquake (mentioned only in Mt. 28 2) opened a chasm immediately under the sepulchre, into which the body of Jesus disappeared.

Not only this, however, but also all the other hypotheses mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, become superfluous on the adoption of the view that the statements about the empty sepulchre are unhistorical.

22. The third day.

As soon as his approaching death came to be foreseen by Jesus, he must have looked forward also to its annulment, unless, indeed, he at the same time had abandoned the belief that he was the Messiah ordained by God to establish the divine kingdom upon earth. (*a*) As is said elsewhere (GOSPELS, § 145 [*f*]), it is not probable that Jesus foretold simply his resurrection; that took him into heaven, whereas the work of the Messiah lay upon earth. The most important prediction accordingly was that of his coming again from heaven. The time fixed by him is variously stated in the Gospels as being at the end of the then living generation (Mt. 16 27 *f.*), after a probably shorter interval (10 23), and in the immediate future (ἀπ' ἄρτι, Mt. 26 64). The most certain conclusion that can be deduced from this variation clearly is that Jesus never gave any precise date, and this for the reason that he himself (see Mk. 13 32 = Mt. 24 36) did not know it; yet it is also very possible that he used the expression 'in' or 'after' 'three days' as a conventional designation for a very short interval (Lk. 13 32 Mk. 14 58 15 29 and parallels, on which cp MINISTRY, § 2 *a*).

(*b*) As soon as the question came to be one not of his coming again from heaven, but of his rising again from the dead, the expression 'after three days,' in itself a very indefinite one, came to have a more exact meaning. The Jewish belief was that the soul lingered for three days only, near the body it had left, in the hope of returning to it; after that the body became so changed that a reanimation was no longer possible (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 20 *a*; and Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, 2 324 *f.*). It was only natural that in thinking of the resurrection of Jesus this limit should be kept in mind (Mk. 8 31 9 31 10 34 and ∥; Lk. 24 7 21 46). If it is somewhat difficult to believe that Jesus uttered these prophecies so early (especially in connection with Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi; see GOSPELS, § 145 *e*), and with such exactitude of detail, it must nevertheless be recognised that he may very well, at one time or another, have expressed himself in some such sense.

(*c*) The OT texts that have special relevance in this connection are 2 K. 20 5 and Hos. 6 2 (in both of which the interval of three days is brought into connection with a revivification, if not after death, at least after a sickness or time of weakness); and Jonah 2 1 [1 17] also—the three days' sojourn of the prophet in the belly of the whale—is in Mt. 12 40, albeit in a very inappropriate and interrupting way (see GOSPELS, § 140 *a*), interpreted with reference to the period during which Jesus was to remain in the grave. Paul expressly refers to the Scriptures in 1 Cor. 15 4. A forsaking 'for a small moment' is spoken of also in Is. 54 7.

(*d*) In this way it became possible for the resurrection of Jesus, if expected at all, to be expected exactly after three days. The expectation, however, would hardly have had any result if those who had expected had not also had the consciousness of having seen him. In itself considered it was not absolutely imperative that the first appearances should coincide with the precise time of the expected resurrection. But if they had occurred much later the belief that the resurrection actually had happened precisely three days after death could hardly have been held very firmly. As, however, we find it in point of fact held with equal firmness by Paul (1 Cor. 15 4) and by the evangelists, the balance of probabilities favours the view that the first appearances happened on the same day or only a little later.

With this it fits in very well if we suppose that the disciples shortly after the arrest of Jesus, and Peter shortly after his denial, had already set out for Galilee, so that they might arrive there on the third day (cp Jos. *Vit.* 52, § 269). This is, moreover, the reason why the Gospel of Peter, in spite of all appearance, has no probability in its favour if it really means to convey that the disciples did not set out on their return journey to Galilee until the eighth or rather the ninth day after the death of Jesus, and that thus at least eleven days elapsed before the first appearance of the risen Jesus was experienced (see above, § 5 *e*).

(*e*) According to the Gospels Jesus remained under the power of death not for about seventy-two hours but only for somewhere between twenty-six and thirty-six hours. These, however, in fact, according to Jewish reckoning, are distributed between Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. In two of the OT passages referred to above—2 K. 20 5 and Hos 6 2—we read not 'after three days,' but 'on the third day.' Thus the Gospel tradition literally satisfies the expression.

It must have appeared fitting that the rising of Jesus should occur at as early a moment as possible after the third day had begun. From the same sense of fitness the visit of the women, once it was accepted as a fact, was naturally assigned to the early morning hours. Where Mk. has 'after three days' (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας; 8 31 9 31 10 34), the parallel passages consistently have 'on the third day' (τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ: Mt. 16 21 17 23 20 19 Lk. 9 22 18 33 as also 24 7 46, cp also 24 21 Acts 10 40). The latter expression in Mt. and Lk. may possibly be dependent on the account of the course of events as given by themselves, and thus Mk.'s phrase might seem to have been the original one. Yet we must not imagine that the two phrases were for the evangelists really incompatible. Matthew himself says in one place (27 63 *f.*) that Jesus foretold his resurrection 'after three days' (μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας) and represents the Jews as basing upon this their petition to Pilate that the sepulchre may be guarded 'till the third day' (ἕως τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας). Were this to be taken literally it would have no sense, for in that case no watch would have been asked for precisely the fourth day, which was the critical one. From this it follows also that we are not compelled to regard Mt. 12 40 (see above, *c*) as genuine for the reason that, according to the report in the Gospels, the time of the fulfilment was shorter than that appointed in Jesus' prophecy. Jn. 2 19-21 says: ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις.

As for the number of the appearances, Paul knows of more than we find in any one Gospel—viz., five, over and above that made to himself.

(*a*) It is not possible, however, to identify each of even the few Gospel accounts with one of Paul's.

23. Number of appearances.

Let one example suffice in illustration of the kind of violence in dealing with texts required in order to effect identifications. Resch (*TU* v. 4 421-426, x. 2 381-389, x. 3 768-782 790-814 824-827) identifies the appearance to Peter with that to the unnamed disciple at Emmaus (see above, § 2 *q*), that to the Twelve with Lk. 24 36-49 and Jn. 20 19-24 (above, § 2 *r*), that to the Five Hundred with Lk. 24 50 *f.*, where, nevertheless, 'them' (αὐτούς) denotes precisely the same persons as we find in 24 33 36. That to James he identifies with that to Thomas and the other disciples in Jn. 20 26-29. This James he holds to be identical with James the son of Alphæus, who may (Resch says) have been named Thomas—*i.e.*, twin—because his brother Judas of James is called Twin in Syriac tradition (Lips. *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* i. 20 227, ii. 2 154 173 *f.*). Finally, the appearance to 'all the apostles' is, according to Resch, that mentioned in Mt. 28 16-20 and Acts 1 4-12.

(*b*) If one addresses oneself to the problems without harmonistic prepossessions, the safest criteria for identifying an event of which there are two accounts will be the presence of characteristic details and (next in importance) exact time-data. Unfortunately Paul supplies us with no details, and dates are gained only indirectly, so far as they can be deduced from the order in which he mentions the events. The number of persons said to have been involved in a historical event is a secure criterion of its identity only if the number is small. As soon as it becomes considerable, an error within moderate limits is not wholly inconceivable.

(*c*) On these principles the only identification that admits of being made without question is that of the appearance to Peter in 1 Cor. 15 5 with the appearance mentioned in Lk. 24 34. Next in Paul's account comes an appearance to the Twelve. A similar appearance is recorded by Mt. as the only one he knows. In Lk. the only appearance to the Eleven (with others) is in 24 33 36-51; Jn. 20 19-24 contains the first appearance to ten apostles; but we must identify the two on account of their exactly similar date (§ 2 *r*). Cp also the almost identical words in Lk. 24 36, 'stood in the midst of them' (ἔστη ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν) and Jn. 20 19, 'stood in the midst' (ἔστη εἰς τὸ μέσον). The diversity of the special features mentioned by Lk. and Jn. may be ignored all the more readily if we find ourselves able to regard them merely as unhistorical embellishments. Both date (evening of the resurrection day), however, and place (Jerusalem) are quite irreconcilable with those in Mt. Nevertheless it will remain open to us to recognise as kernel common to all three accounts that after the appearance to Peter there was another to the Eleven. Here also belongs the second fragment of the Gospel of the Hebrews (above, § 4 *c*). This, however, is the only one of Resch's identifications that can stand scrutiny, and even so Mt. must be left out.

(*d*) The appearance to the 500 has no parallels (the proposed parallel referred to in § 11 *b* cannot be accepted), that to James only in the Gospel of the Hebrews (above, § 4 *a*, *b*). As parallel to that to 'all the apostles' on the other hand we must not adduce Acts 1 4-12. The event related there is, in the intention of the author, not the sequel to the only appearance in the Third Gospel (24 33 36-51) to about the same number of persons; it aims at correcting that part (24 44-51) of the earlier narrative which ends with the Ascension. Jn. 20 26-29 admits of being cited in this connection merely as being the only repetition to be met with in any gospel, of an appearance to a company of disciples approximating this number. Since, however, this company is in Jn. supplemented only by Thomas and in Paul by quite different persons, we have no assurance that even so much as a reminiscence of one and the same occurrence underlies the two accounts. On the other hand, in Paul the appearance of the risen Jesus at the sepulchre to the two Marys (Mt.), or to Mary Magdalene alone (Jn.), is unmentioned, as also that to the two disciples at Emmaus and that reported in Jn. 21, which has some resemblance to what we find in the Gospel of Peter (above, § 5 *d*).

(*e*) It has already been shown at some length (§§ 15, 18 *c*) that Paul would certainly not have omitted to mention at least the appearances at the sepulchre and at Emmaus had he been aware of them. To meet this difficulty, and establish the priority of the Gospel narratives to Paul, the counter question has been asked: How could the evangelists possibly have allowed so much that is found in Paul to escape them, if they had been acquainted with his narrative or even with the tradition which underlies it? This question, however, is easily answered. For a writer who could report an instance in which Jesus had partaken of food (Lk.), or in which his wounds had been touched (Lk., Jn.), or who could speak of the empty sepulchre as all four evangelists do, or of appearances of the risen Jesus close to the sepulchre (Mt., Jn.)—for such a writer and for his readers an accumulation of instances in which Jesus had merely been seen no longer possessed any very great interest; and a case even in which he had appeared to five hundred brethren at once would, at the time when the Gospels were written, hardly have been considered so important as an appearance to the apostles, whose place in the reverence of the faithful had already come to be very exalted (see MINISTRY, § 34). Even the instance in which Jesus had been merely seen (though) by Peter is only touched on by Lk. (24 34), not described, plainly because the narrative alongside of the others would be too devoid of colour.

24. Influence of tendency on Gospels.

To this want of interest in mere visual appearances of the risen Jesus we can add, however, in the case of the evangelists a positive interest, that of serving definite purposes by their narratives. (*a*) It makes for confirmation of what has been laid down in preceding sections (§§ 17-22) as to the elements in the accounts of the resurrection which alone can be recognised as historical, if we are in a position to show that everything in the accounts which goes beyond such indubitably historical elements is a product of tendencies which by an inherent necessity could not fail to lead to a shaping of the accounts in the form in which they now lie before us, even where there is no substratum of actual fact. In so far as these tendencies give us the right to pronounce unhistorical everything that can be explained by their means, in the absence of sufficient testimony to historical fact, they may be appropriately considered now in the course of the investigation as to objective facts in the resurrection-narratives on which we are at present engaged. It will appear that at all points the reference to tendencies supplies an adequate explanation of all the statements which we have been unable to accept as historical.

(*b*) As regards the nature of these tendencies:—some are directly apologetical, having for their object to preclude the possibility of certain definite objections against the actuality of the resurrection. Others are apologetical indirectly, their aim being to round off the picture by supplying gaps so that no questions may remain open. Lastly, some have in view the needs of the church itself, tracing back, as they do, to the risen Jesus certain instructions which were not found in the reports of the period of his earthly ministry (§ 28), or seeking to compensate for the want of that direct assurance of the continued life of Jesus which later generations were no longer able to command (§ 29).

(*c*) That the evangelical narratives as a whole are in many ways influenced by tendency has been shown in GOSPELS, §§ 108-114 and JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 17, 20 *c*, 23, 35 *h*, and elsewhere. How close at hand apologetic interests were where the story of the resurrection was concerned is seen even in the fact that the entire statement of Paul is made with an apologetic view—only, in his case there is no justification for the conjecture that the contents of his statement were altered by this consideration (§§ 10 *f*.). In the Gospels, on the other hand, we have at least one point in which this is particularly clear, and recognised even by very conservative theologians.

In Mt. 28 15 it is expressly said that the report of the theft of the body by the disciples was current among the Jews in the writer's time. The writer traces it back to the false testimony of the guard at the sepulchre procured by bribery on the part of the Jewish authorities. If we find ourselves unable to regard this bribery, or indeed any part of the story as to the watch set over the sepulchre, as historical, we are shut up to supposing that the allegations arose from the desire (or tendency) to make the story of the theft of the body by the disciples seem untenable.

(*d*) It must at the same time be expressly emphasised that we are by no means compelled to think of this tendency as operative in such a manner that an author would produce from his own brain a quite new narrative in the apologetic direction. Precisely the same result—namely, the complete unhistoricity and the 'tendency' character of a narrative—emerges if we assume that the narrative has grown up only bit by bit, by the co-operation of several, and has reached its present form under the influence of naive and artless presuppositions and pardonable misunderstandings, in some such manner as we have sought to render probable elsewhere for a series of narratives found in the Fourth Gospel (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 35, *a*-*f*). A special reason for making the same attempt in the case of the resurrection is found in the character of the accounts themselves. If they were pure inventions it would be very difficult to

understand why, for example, of the disciples at Emmaus one is nameless, and of those in Jn. 21 two are unnamed, or why the appearances to Peter as being the first, or that to the 500 as being the most imposing, should not have received detailed adornment. Cp, further, §§ 19*c*, 25*c*.

(*e*) To help us to realise how such a narrative could come into existence by successive steps, let us take the example referred to above—that of the watch set on the sepulchre.

A Christian who found himself confronted for the first time with the assertion that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus naturally opposed it to the utmost. As, however, at the same time (as we must suppose, if we believe the narrative of Mt. to be unhistorical) he found himself unable to adduce any counter-evidence, he would be constrained to have recourse to conjectures, and to say something like this: 'The Jews, we may be quite certain, saw to the watching of the sepulchre; they could very well have known that Jesus had predicted his rising again for the third day.' A somewhat careless Christian by-stander received the impression that in these suggestions what he was listening to was not mere conjecture but statement of fact, and circulated it among his friends as such; that it was unhesitatingly believed by Christians is not astonishing. Next, let us suppose, another propounded the question: Did then the men of the guard actually see what happened at the resurrection of Jesus? Again the answer could only be a conjecture; but just as certainly it must have run as follows: 'Unquestionably; for they were continuously at the sepulchre, and Roman soldiers never sleep on guard.' As, further, at the time we are at present supposing, the statement that the women had found the stone rolled away had long been current, conjecture as to what the guards had observed before the arrival of the women could hardly have been other than to the effect that there had been an earthquake and that an angel had come down from heaven and rolled away the stone. That this conjecture also should have been taken up as a statement of fact is easy to suppose. Lastly, a listener perhaps would ask: 'Why then did not the soldiers tell what had happened, and why have we been left in ignorance of this until now?' Once more the answer—a conjecture merely, yet ready to be accepted as a fact—was at hand: The Jewish authorities will doubtless have bribed them to suppress the truth and to spread instead of it the rumour that the disciples had stolen the body.

Without pursuing this line of explanation further in details, let us now endeavour to see what were the conscious or unconscious apologetic tendencies at work which could have given rise to the unhistorical elements in the gospel narratives.

25. Effect of tendency: (*a*) on accounts of sepulchre.

(*a*) If Jesus was risen, his grave must have been empty. If this was disputed, the Christians asserted it as a fact, and that with the very best intention of affirming what was true. Therefore, no hesitation was felt in further declaring that (according to all reasonable conjecture) the women who had witnessed Jesus' death had wished to anoint his body and thus had come to know of the emptiness of the grave. In the fact that according to Mk. and Mt. this was not alleged regarding the male disciples we can see still a true recollection that those disciples were by that time no longer in Jerusalem (see GOSPELS, § 138 *a*); this feature was not first added by our canonical evangelists Mk. and Mt., for they already presuppose the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem.

(*b*) Why then should not these disciples themselves have gone to the sepulchre? In an earlier phase of the narratives it was, no doubt, borne in mind that these disciples, if in Jerusalem at all, had to remain in concealment, and even a writing so late as the Gospel of Peter (26) knew that very well. Lk., however (24 24), ignores it. His statement that 'certain' (τινές) disciples went to the sepulchre is still very vague. But Jn. forthwith lays hold of it and definitely names Peter and the beloved disciple, and reports upon their rivalry in a manner that betrays a conscious tendency much more strongly than most of the other narratives (cp SIMON PETER, § 22*b*).

(*c*) The most obvious conjecture must necessarily have been that Jesus was seen immediately at the sepulchre itself. Here also may be distinguished two stages. The earlier is the account of Mt.; Jn. recasts it (§ 19*c*). If Jn. had been a free inventor it would be hard to say why he does not assign the appearance of Jesus at the sepulchre to Peter and the beloved disciple, both of whom nevertheless he represents as examining the sepulchre. Since he names only a woman as receiving the appearance he shows himself bound by the representation which we now find in Mt., in spite of all the comparative freedom with which he departs from it. So also the Coptic account, and the *Didaskalia* (above, §§ 6, 7 *b*).

(*d*) In all the reports hitherto mentioned, however, Jesus was seen only after, not during, his resurrection. The possibility of filling up this blank was offered by the story of the guard at the sepulchre, which on its own merits has already been discussed (above, § 24 *e*). It could in point of fact fill the blank in an (apologetically) extremely effective way, inasmuch as it was by unbelievers that the actual fact of the resurrection was observed.

The timidity which restrained the other writers from touching upon this incident continued to be still operative with Mt. in so far that he does not say that the person of Jesus was actually seen, and adds that the watchers became as dead men (28 4). The Gospel of Peter has completely overcome this timidity; the watchers observe accurately each of the successive phases of the resurrection and see Jesus himself as he emerges from the tomb. The codex Bobbiensis (above, § 7 *a*) relates this simply as a fact without mention of the witnesses. The statement of the Gospel of the Hebrews—that Jesus gave the linen shroud to the servant of the high-priest—stands upon the same plane.

As long as there was still current knowledge that the first appearances of the risen Jesus were in Galilee, the fact could be reconciled with the presence of the disciples in Jerusalem on the morning of the resurrection only (*a*) on the assumption that they were then directed to go to Galilee.

26. (*b*) On question: Galilee or Jerusalem.

The natural media for conveying such a communication must have seemed to be the angels at the sepulchre in the first instance, and after them the women. So Mk. and Mt. So far as Mt. is concerned this direction to be given to the disciples was perhaps the reason, or a reason in addition to that suggested in § 2 *d*, why the women should be made to go to the grave so early as on the evening ending the Sabbath, so that the disciples might still in the course of the night have time to set out and if possible obtain a sight of Jesus within three days after his crucifixion.

(*b*) Yet such a combination as this was altogether too strange. Why should Jesus not have appeared forthwith in Jerusalem to the disciples? Accordingly Lk. and Jn. simply suppressed the direction to go to Galilee, finding themselves unable to accept it, and transferred the appearances to Jerusalem. Or, it was not our canonical evangelists who did both things at one and the same time, but there had sprung up, irrespective of Mk. and Mt., the feeling that Jesus must in any case have already appeared to the disciples in Jerusalem; it presented itself to Lk. and Jn. with a certain degree of authority, and these writers had not now any occasion to invent but simply to choose what seemed to them the more probable representation, and then, when in the preparation of their respective books they reached the order to go to Galilee, merely to pass over it or get round it (§ 2 *k*), as no longer compatible with the new view.

As against all assurances that the risen Jesus had been seen, it was always possible to raise the objection that what was seen had been merely 'a vision' (φάντασμα).

27. (*c*) On sensible reality of appearances.

One good way of meeting this objection was (*a*) the assurance that the eye-witnesses had assured themselves of the contrary with all the more care and circumspection because they themselves had at first shared this doubt. It is thus that we are to explain the care with which the disbelief of the disciples is accentuated.

So in Mt. 28 17 ('but some doubted,' οἱ δὲ ἐδίστασαν)[1] Lk.

[1] Should Brandt (355-357) be right in his conjecture that these three words are a gloss, because, in the words immediately

24 11 37 41—in *vv.* 37 41 we have a doubt that is hardly intelligible in the present connection, since all those present have already in *v.* 34 confessed their faith in the resurrection of Jesus (an unevenness that would be removed by the hypothesis of Brandt spoken of in § 16 *b*)—also with special emphasis in Jn. 20 25 Mk. 16 11 13 *f.* and in the Coptic account. The counterpart, a specially strong faith, is shown by James, in the Gospel of the Hebrews, in his oath that he would fast until Jesus had risen again.

(*b*) If then it was held important to be able to overcome doubts, it was always possible to produce some impression if assurance could be given that Jesus had been not only seen but also heard. As to the substance of what he said something will be found in the next section (§ 28); for the present, all that comes into consideration is the simple fact of speech. For narrators who had never themselves witnessed an appearance of Jesus it was an exceedingly natural thing to assume that Jesus had been not only seen but also heard, and it was equally easy for their hearers to take their conjecture for fact. At the same time, since it was not impossible also to hear words, as Paul reports himself to have done (2 Cor. 12 4), without the experience being more than an ecstasy, some yet stronger proof of objectivity still remained necessary.

(*c*) In § 17 [*f*] stress has already been laid on the fact that in the bodily figure of Jesus which was seen the marks of the wounds were also included; nay more, that spectators even perhaps believed themselves to see that he was showing them. Still, a real guarantee of the actuality of his return to this earth had not been received until the wounds had been touched.

Whilst, however, there is between such an 'actual' seeing and actual touching a distinction so great that it can hardly be exaggerated, it is one which is capable of being almost entirely overlooked by people who neither themselves had witnessed an appearance of Jesus nor were familiar with the principles of psychology; and thus it would not be impossible for them, without any consciousness of inaccuracy, still less of deliberate perversion of the truth, to change the statement which eye-witnesses had actually made as to having seen the wounds into the different statement that Jesus had invited the disciples to touch them. So Lk. 24 39 Jn. 20 27; also the Coptic account and the second fragment of the Gospel of the Hebrews (§ 4 *c*), in the last-cited case with the express addition that the disciples availed themselves of the invitation. In a naive way a touching of Jesus by the women is mentioned in Mt. 28 9.

(*d*) Lk. goes yet another step further in his statement (24 42 *f.*) that Jesus asked for food, and partook of it in the presence of the disciples. This is in *v.* 41 expressly characterised as a still stronger proof of the reality of his resurrection than the fact that he had been touched. Here, accordingly, the popular conceptions as to the nature of the resurrection body underlying Mk. 6 14-16, which in the earliest period were not applied to Jesus (§ 17 *e*), gain influence. Jn. does not follow Lk. in this; he declines to represent the risen Jesus in so strongly and frankly sensuous a manner.[1] Yet even Lk.'s representation is surpassed by the extra-canonical addition to Lk. 24 43 (§ 7 *c*) that Jesus gave to his disciples the remainder of the food of which he had been partaking. An eating in their presence here becomes an eating with them, which according to Acts 10 41 was, in fact, continually happening.[2]

(*e*) It becomes now quite easy to understand how, once narrators had ceased to shrink from such representations, the reporter passed over that particular touch in the accounts actually proceeding from eye-witnesses according to which Jesus had vanished after each appearance, and how instead of this it was unsuspectingly taken for granted that Jesus had still remained upon earth and had dealings with his disciples in every respect as a man. In the earliest stage of this way of representing matters, such a condition of things was held to have lasted for only one day; but afterwards the time was extended to forty days (§ 16 *a*, *b*).

That this second view was not met with in tradition from the beginning, but owes its existence to a transformation of the earlier view, is absolutely certain unless we assign Acts to another than the author of the Third Gospel. The cause of the transformation is very apparent; the disciples were, during all the lifetime of Jesus, very weakly, and at the end still needed much instruction 'concerning the kingdom of God' (περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ Θεοῦ: Acts 1 3).

(*f*) The idea of a continuous presence of Jesus upon earth, if only for a single day, necessarily carried with it the consequence that this condition terminated in an ascension.

No one needed to invent the idea; every account of eye-witnesses had closed with the more or less definite statement that Jesus had again disappeared, and disappeared into heaven (§ 17 *d*). At the same time the tendency to adorn a plain story shows itself at work with sufficient clearness if we compare the simple 'he parted from them and was carried up into heaven' (διέστη ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἀνεφέρετο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν) of Lk. 24 51, or even Mk. 16 19, with the circumstantial account given in Acts 1 9-11. The original limitation of the period during which appearances of Jesus occurred to a single day will have co-operated along with the other causes mentioned in § 23 *e* to bring about the exclusion by Lk. of the appearance to the 500, that to James, and that to 'all the apostles.'

The belief once created that Jesus in his various appearances had also spoken, the door lay wide open for all kinds of conjecture as to what he had said.

28. (*d*) On words reported.

(*a*) In this region the most obvious conjecture was that Jesus uttered words leading up to, or explaining, the alleged facts which we have already considered.

Thus it fits the situation equally that in Mt. 28 10 Jesus repeats to the women the injunction of the angels to bid the disciples repair to Galilee, and that in Lk. 24 49 and Acts 1 4, on the other hand, he bids them remain in Jerusalem, whilst in Jn. 20 17 he merely sends them word that he is ascending to heaven, and for this reason does not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him. It is still in accordance with the same principle that he is represented as at a later date making the request that his disciples should touch him, and asking the disciples whether they have anything to eat (§ 27 *c*, *d*).

(*b*) Other words of Jesus apply to situations which we have not yet discussed. Thus, in Lk. 24 38 and in the *Didaskalia* (§ 7 *b*), as well as in the speech to James in the Gospel of the Hebrews, the purpose is to prepare the way for a joyful frame of heart and mind. The words in Jn. 20 19 26, 'Peace be unto you,' as also those to Saul, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?' (Acts 9 4, etc.), are singularly well chosen.

(*c*) What must have presented itself as the main object must have been that of instructing the disciples, before the final departure of Jesus, in everything which was still necessary for their future tasks.

To this category of instruction belongs the repeated insistence upon the uncertainty of the time of the end of the world (Acts 1 7; cp Mk. 13 32), but very specially, as new matter, the proof that the passion of Jesus had been appointed by God and foretold by the prophets (Lk. 24 25-27 44-46). If Jesus in this manner established a correct understanding of events that were past, it was natural, indeed inevitable, to think that, over and above this, he had given all the new directions for the future which were in point of fact followed in the church and therefore could not but have proceeded from its founder. Thus (it was held) it must necessarily have been Jesus who told the disciples that 'all authority had been given unto him in heaven and on earth,' and that he was with them alway, even unto the end of the world (Mt. 28 18 20); he it was who must have instituted the mission to the Gentiles (Mt. 28 19 *f.* Lk. 24 47 Mk. 16 15), as also baptism (Mk. 16 16, and the canonical text of Mt. 28 19; but cp § 8 *c*), and he too it must have been who promised the power of performing miracles (Mk. 16 17 *f.*), yet also demanded a faith that believed without having seen (Jn. 20 29),—this in view of the fact that he knew of, and was able to foretell, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Lk. 24 49 Acts 1 4 *f.* 8), if he did not himself impart the Spirit as in Jn. 20 22.

(*d*) This leads us to the significance which the words of the risen Jesus have, especially for the apostles; for it is only to them that in Jn. the Spirit is imparted, as also the power to forgive or to retain sins (20 23) or, indeed, a formal mission of any kind (20 21). We find,

following, Jesus passes over the doubt of these disciples without remark, the insertion would still show that a reader of the oldest period found it fitting to presuppose doubts on the part of some of the disciples.

[1] The question in Jn. 21 5, quite on a level with Lk. 24 41 ('aught to eat?'), has a quite different significance; in Jn. Jesus does not intend to eat, but to give them to eat. Neither also does Lk. 24 30 *f.* (the scene at Emmaus) imply a representation of Jesus as eating. See § 29, *b*.

[2] The rendering of συναλιζόμενος in EV^mg. of Acts 1 4 'eating with them' is, however, very doubtful (EV 'being assembled together with them').

further, that in the missionary precept the disciples come first into account, just as in Acts (especially 26 16-18) it is Paul who does so. Jn. 21 15-23 has to do entirely with fixing the relative rank in the regard of the church between Peter on the one hand and the beloved disciple on the other (§ 9 *c*); similarly 20 3-10 (cp SIMON PETER, § 22 *b*). The gospel tradition has therefore made use of its accounts of the resurrection of Jesus in a very decided manner for the purpose of carrying back to Jesus the high esteem in which the apostles were held at a later time.

With other reasons (§§ 23 *e* 27 [*f*]) the purpose just referred to may have co-operated to bring it about that the evangelists recorded almost exclusively only appearances to apostles and pass over in silence those to the 500 and to James,—indeed, that Mt. contents himself with recording no more than one appearance altogether, an appearance in which B. Weiss even discerns a free fusion of all that Mt. knew by tradition regarding the appearances of Jesus.

29. (*e*) On a substitute for vision of risen Jesus. At last, however, the emphasis that had been laid on the literal historical fact of the resurrection of Jesus gave place to something different. (*a*) However firmly established the resurrection might seem to be historically, however little open to any shadow of doubt in the minds of the faithful, its value for them was nevertheless small: it was nothing more than an event of past time. What faith demands is something present, something now and always capable of being experienced afresh. The demand for a faith that could believe without having seen (Jn. 20 27 29 1 Pet. 1 8) was hard to satisfy. Thus there came to be felt a need for such a turn being given to the resurrection-narrative as should make the continued life of Jesus capable of being experienced anew at all times (Mt. 28 20: 'I am with you alway'), and thus the historical statements as to his long-past appearances—accounts which had been elaborated with such care—in great measure lost their importance.

(*b*) Towards this result Paul had already contributed. The risen Christ is for him identical with the Holy Spirit (2 Cor. 3 17 Rom. 8 9-11, and often). The fourth evangelist followed him in this (§ 16 *c*; JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 26 *c*). Therefore in the Fourth Gospel the risen Jesus having ascended to heaven bestows the Holy Spirit already on the very day of the resurrection. Only to the disciples, indeed, in 20 22, but according to 7 38 *f.* expressly to all believers; and therefore it is not open to doubt that 16 7 13-15 14 18 28 15 26, etc., are also to be interpreted in the latter sense. As Holy Spirit Jesus is always present.

(*c*) A somewhat more sensible substitute for vision of the risen Jesus is the observance of the ordinance of the Supper. This is the true meaning of the deeply significant narrative of the disciples at Emmaus (cp CLEOPAS).

The wish of Christianity—'abide with us'—did not admit of being fulfilled in a literal sense; but in every act of communion 'he went in to abide with them' (Lk. 24 29). Not with flesh and bones as in the case of the primitive disciples (24 39), but 'in another form' (ἐν ἑτέρᾳ μορφῇ: Mk. 16 12); and whilst the result of all that could be told about the empty grave was 'him they saw not,' he is now presently recognised 'in the breaking of the bread' (Lk. 24 24 30 *f.* 34). It is plain that the knowledge ascribed to the two disciples, so skilfully embodied in this narrative, could not have been drawn by them from the events described by Lk. even if they had literally happened to them on the resurrection day; it is naturally the product of a long growth, and that too in Gentile-Christian circles in which the corporeal element in Jesus was neither so familiar nor so important as in the primitive-apostolical. It is clearly a reminiscence of a celebration of the Lord's Supper that we have also in Jn. 21 13 and in the giving of the bread to James in the Gospel of the Hebrews; only, in Jn. it has its prototype in the feeding of the five thousand with loaves and fishes (6 9 11 = 21 9), which, however, in turn bears the most express marks of being but a clothing of the Supper (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 20 *c*, 23 *e*). The number 'seven' as applied to the disciples corresponds to the number of baskets which in the second 'feeding' in the Synoptists (Mk. 8 8 = Mt. 15 37) were filled with the fragments that remained over; whilst in Jn. 6 13, in agreement with the first 'feeding' in the Synoptists (Mk. 6 43 = Mt. 14 20 = Lk. 9 17), twelve baskets are filled, corresponding to the number 'twelve' as applied to the disciples. The mysterious character of the presence of the risen Jesus at the Supper appears at Emmaus in his disappearance when the two disciples recognised him (Lk. 24 31), at the Sea of Galilee in no one's asking him who he was (Jn. 21 12).

III. EXPLANATION OF THE FACTS.

30. Nature of Jesus' resurrection-body. The last problem still demanding solution, is how to explain the only fact that has emerged in the course of our examination—the fact that Jesus was seen, as we read in 1 Cor. 15 5-8. Any attempted explanation presupposes an insight into subjective experience that perhaps can never be completely attained. It demands, therefore, the greatest caution. It cannot, however, be left unattempted.

(*a*) The investigator who holds himself bound to accept and make intelligible as literal fact everything recorded in the resurrection narratives, even of the canonical gospels merely, cannot fulfil his task on any other condition than that he assumes a revivification of the buried body of Jesus to a new period of earthly life, hardly less earthly than when Jesus was taken for Elijah or the Baptist risen from the dead (Mk. 6 14-16 8 28 and ||, cp 9 11-13 Mt. 11 14). It only remains to be stipulated that he who does so shall fully realise that what he is assuming is a miracle in the fullest sense of the word. Many theologians are strangely wanting in clearness as to this. Even, however, after one has clearly understood what he is accepting, it is impossible to stop here; for such a view does justice only to one side—the physical and sensuous—of the resurrection-narratives; not to the other, according to which Jesus was nevertheless exalted to heaven, a thing impossible for flesh and blood (1 Cor. 15 50).

(*b*) In order to do justice to this second side also, recourse is often had to the theory of a gradual sublimation or spiritualisation of the resurrection-body of Jesus —at first wholly material—whereby it was gradually made fit for its ascension. Again, what has to be insisted on is that the miracle is not hereby diminished; on the contrary, to the original miracle of the revivification of the material body is added a second—that of the spiritualisation of the material body. The thing, however, is also quite inconceivable; how is one to represent to oneself the stages of the transition?

A body which is already capable of making its way through closed doors must surely have ceased to be tangible (Jn. 20 26 *f.*). Moreover, such a view is in direct contradiction to what we find in NT, not only in 1 Cor. 15 50-53 but also in the gospels; for the touching there referred to and (in Lk. 24 39-43) the eating happen precisely at the last appearance of Jesus which is immediately followed by the ascension; and the precept not to touch is placed in Jn. (20 17) at an earlier point. So, also, we read that Jesus is immediately recognised in his later appearances, but precisely in the earlier ones not (Lk. 24 16 Jn. 20 14).

(*c*) If we decide to confine ourselves to the task of explaining what we take to be the simple fact according to 1 Cor. 15, we must not suffer ourselves to forget that Paul thinks of the future resurrection-body of man—which he regards as heavenly and pneumatic—as conformed to the pattern of the resurrection-body of Jesus (so 1 Cor. 15 45-49).[1] Jesus' body also, then, in his view must have been heavenly and pneumatic; and as Paul in 1 Cor. has not yet given up the revivification of the buried body (§ 15 *b*), he must have thought of the pneumatic attributes possessed by it as having arisen through metamorphosis, such as, according to 1 Cor. 15 51-53, is to happen also to the bodies of those men and women who shall still be alive at the last day. According to what we have seen in § 17 *e* the original apostles also agree in this. Thus the explanation of the facts which proceeds on the belief of the apostles that a body of Jesus was really seen must think of that body as heavenly and pneumatic; not, however, in such a sense that it was given to Jesus at his resurrection as a new

[1] In *v.* 49 the future—'we shall bear' (φορέσομεν)—is to be read. An exhortation, 'let us bear' (φορέσωμεν; so Ti. WH), is meaningless, for the resurrection-body is obtained without our co-operation. The confusion of ο and ω with copyists is very common; see Gal. 6 10 12 1 Jn. 5 20 Rom. 5 1 14 9, etc.

body whilst the old body remained in the grave, but in the sense that it came into existence through a change wrought on the buried body. On this explanation the resurrection has as much an entirely miraculous character as it has on either of the other two theories already considered.

In order to escape so far as may be from miracle of the character described in the preceding section, and, generally, to be rid of the question of the corporeity of the risen Jesus, recourse is often had to the view that it was only the spirit of Jesus that rose and appeared to his followers. Here opinion is divided as to whether such a thing is possible without a miracle or not. Any one who holds appearances of the spirits of the departed to be possible in the natural order will be able to dispense with assuming a miracle here. The majority, however, maintain the negative. Moreover, such persons declare that the appearances of Jesus to his disciples differ considerably from the manner in which the spiritualism of the present day holds appearances of spirits to occur. They find themselves compelled accordingly, if it was merely the spirit of Jesus that was alive and manifested itself, to postulate a miracle whereby it was made visible.

31. Resurrection of the Spirit only.

It is to be observed, moreover, that this view—that only the spirit lives on—is in no respect different from the doctrine of the immortality of the soul except in this, that in the particular case in question the continuance of the life of the spirit begins only on the third day after death. This, however, is a collocation of quite heterogeneous ideas. The essence of the doctrine of immortality lies in this, that the life of the soul is never interrupted, and thus there can be no thought at all of revivification after remaining for a time in a state of death. Revivification can occur only in the case of a subject that is capable of dying—in other words, in a body. This is a Jewish idea, that of immortality is Greek. The latter is adopted in the Book of Wisdom, and Paul comes near it in 2 Cor. 5 1-8 (§ 15 *b*); for the original apostles it is from the outset excluded (§ 17 *e*).

It is discovered to be necessary, accordingly, to go a step farther. The belief that the risen Jesus actually did appear is frankly given up.

32. Objective visions.

(*a*) The disciples, we are told, saw nothing real: neither the body of Jesus, clothed with earthly or heavenly attributes, nor the spirit of Jesus whether in true spirit form or in some kind of acquired visibility. What they believed they saw was in reality only a visionary image, without any real appearance of Jesus; but this visionary image was produced in their souls immediately by God in order that they might be assured that Jesus was risen. For this reason the vision is called objective.

(*b*) The belief is entertained that by this method of regarding the matter the assumption of a miracle is made superfluous; all that is postulated is merely a Divine act of revelation. Keim has invented for this view, which he also supports, the phrase: telegram from heaven. This act of revelation itself, however, is nothing less than a miracle. Were it not miraculous the visionary image of the risen Jesus in the minds of the disciples could only have its origin in their own subjective condition. This is exactly what is denied and must be denied; otherwise the disciples must be taken to have had their faith in the resurrection within themselves and needed no divine revelation of it. The subjective condition of the disciples must on this view be represented as one of the greatest prostration, which could be changed into its opposite only by a revelation really coming from God.

(*c*) It has to be remarked, further, that according to this view Jesus' continued existence must be regarded as miraculous in the full sense. If the presupposition were that his soul was immortal like the soul of any other man, his continued life would be a matter of course and did not require to be made known by a special revelation. But what is aimed at in putting forward this view is much rather to establish the complete difference between Jesus and all other men which has been from the first claimed for him by the assertion of his resurrection, but yet to be able to dispense with miracle. This can never succeed.

If a really non-miraculous explanation is desired, then apart from subjective visions (of which more hereafter) two possibilities present themselves.

33. Non-miraculous explanations (excluding visions).

(*a*) The hypothesis that Jesus was only apparently dead found many supporters in the days of rationalism, and it has also been espoused by a writer so modern as Hase (*Gesch. Jesu*, 1876, § 112).

That crucified persons taken down from the cross while still in life have been able to recover is testified by Herodotus (7 194) and Josephus (*Vit.* 75 end, § 420 *f.*). In a case of seeming death indeed it is hardly credible, and to call to one's aid the wonderful power of healing which Jesus exercised on behalf of other persons is in this connection quite fantastic. More than this: had Jesus presented himself merely as one who had all but died on the cross his appearance would have produced the impression of weakness and helplessness, not that of a conqueror of death and the grave, which nevertheless was the character he required to present if he was to inspire his followers to a world-conquering faith. Finally, what could they say, if he nevertheless in the end died after all? To escape the force of this question the assumption was that he had withdrawn himself into solitude, perhaps into some cave in order that his death might not become known. It is obvious that the theory of a seeming death is not enough; it is necessary to assume also various machinations, whether on the part of Jesus himself or on the part of his disciples, whether at the time of his leaving the sepulchre or with a view to covering the worst signs of weakness before he presented himself to larger circles of his followers. In this aspect the present hypothesis approximates—

(*b*) The hypothesis that, although Jesus did not recover, the disciples spread abroad, and found credence for, the rumour that he was alive. Apart from all other difficulties, such a hypothesis is from the outset untenable for two reasons: not only would the disciples immediately after the death have been unable to summon courage for so gigantic a task as the theory implies, but also at a later date they would not have had courage in persecution to surrender their lives for such a faith.

Thus subjective visions are all that remain now to be dealt with. Let us endeavour first of all to determine their nature in general so far as this is practicable, without a too minute discussion of the conditions implied in the NT narratives and statements.

34. Nature of subjective vision.

(*a*) In contradistinction from the so-called objective vision (see § 32 *a*), the image that is seen in the subjective vision is a product of the mental condition of the seer. The presupposition is, accordingly, that he is not only in a high degree of psychical excitement which is capable of producing in him the belief that he is seeing something which in point of fact has no objective existence, but also that all the elements which are requisite for the formation of a visionary image, whether it be views or ideas, are previously present in his mind and have engaged its activities. That in these circumstances the seer should behold an image for which there is no corresponding reality, can be spoken of as something abnormal only in so far as the occurrence is on the whole a rare one; as soon as a high degree of mental excitement is given, the existence of visions is by the laws of psychology just as intelligible and natural as, in a lower degree of mental excitement, is the occurrence of minor disturbances of sense perceptions, such as the hearing of noises and the like.

(*b*) The view that a subjective vision could never have led the disciples to the belief that Jesus was alive because they were able to distinguish a vision from a real experience is quite a mistake.[1] It is not in the least necessary that we should raise the question whether they were always able to do so; let it be at once

[1] On this point Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu* 1 422-440) is particularly instructive.

assumed that they could. The distinction is not unknown in the NT; see, for example, Acts 12 9; indeed we may lay it down that 'was seen' (ὤφθη) with the single exception of Acts 7 26 always stands for another kind of seeing than that of ordinary sense-perception (*e.g.*, Lk. 1 11 9 31 22 43 Acts 2 3 7 2 30 35 9 17 13 31 16 9 26 16 [1 Tim. 3 16?] Rev. 11 19 12 1 3). Nay, this is our warrant for calling in visions to our aid in explaining the appearances of Jesus. All that we have gained by this concession, however, is merely that the seers distinguished once and again the condition in which they were: whether ecstatic or normal; it by no means follows as matter of course that they held the thing seen in vision to be unreal, and only what they saw when in their ordinary condition to be real. How otherwise could the very conception of such a thing as an objective vision be possible?

(*c*) On the contrary, it pertains precisely to the subjective vision that the seer, if he is not a person thoroughly instructed in psychology and the natural sciences, is compelled to hold what he sees in his vision for real as long as it does not bring before him something which to his conception is impossible. Wherein otherwise would consist the delusion, which nevertheless every one knows to be connected with subjective vision, if not in this, that the visionary seeks for the cause of what he has seen in the external world, not in his own mental condition? And indeed the visionaries of the Bible had more extended powers than modern visionaries have for taking a visionary image as an objective reality; for, if they were unable to attribute to the image they saw any ordinary mundane reality because it was contrary to their ideas of mundane things, they could always attribute to it a heavenly reality, and it was only if it was contrary to their conception of things heavenly that they came to recognise it as a product of their own fantasy.

(*d*) We have therefore to distinguish between three experiences which were regarded as possible by the disciples and their contemporaries: (1) the seeing of an earthly person by the use of the ordinary organs of sight: (2) the seeing of a person in a real yet heavenly corporeity, not by the bodily eyes but in a vision (ὀπτασία: Lk. 1 22 24 23 Acts 26 19 2 Cor. 12 1; or ὅρασις: Acts 2 17 Rev. 9 17; or ὅραμα: Acts 9 10 12 10 3 17 19 11 5 16 9 *f.* 18 9), in a state of ecstasy (ἔκστασις: Acts 10 10 11 5 22 17), or, it may be, outside of the seer's own body (2 Cor. 12 2 *f.*); (3) the production of a false image on the mind without any corresponding outward reality. The first of these possibilities (ordinary seeing) is contemplated only by those evangelists who speak of Jesus as eating and as being touched, and who never themselves had been present at appearances of the risen Jesus. The second possibility (visionary seeing of a heavenly corporeity) is what the witnesses of such appearances intended and what Paul indicates by the word 'was seen' (ὤφθη). With the third possibility (false image) it has this in common that in both the condition of the participants is visionary; with the first (ordinary seeing), that the participants hold what they see to be absolutely real and to have an existence external to themselves (but not with a mundane reality).

(*e*) It was the mistake of many critics to assume that by the use of 'was seen' (ὤφθη) the purely subjective origin of what had been seen was conceded by Paul himself. The same error, however, is almost entirely shared also by apologists such as Beyschlag when they suppose that the participants, if they had held their condition to be that of visionaries, would at the same time have perceived the unreality of what they saw. This hypothetically enunciated statement of the apologists is distinguished from the categorical assertion of the critics in only one point: the apologists will have it that the participant need not necessarily attribute the origin of what he sees to the state of his own mind, but can attribute it to God—yet without the result that, in the latter case, in his view the thing seen becomes invested with reality.

Thus Beyschlag (as above, 432-435) is of opinion that Acts 16 9 does not make Paul believe that in reality a man of Macedonia stood before him, nor 10 10-16 make Peter think that in reality a sheet containing real animals was let down from heaven—not only not in mundane actuality but also not even in heavenly actuality; on the contrary, in each case neither had taken in more than this, that God was seeking to give them to understand something by means of sensible images. This way of looking at matters is utterly inconsistent with the beliefs of that time. If it is God who sends the Macedonian or the sheet containing the beasts, as a matter of course it is believed that these things are sent really (possessing of course not mundane but heavenly actuality); for where it is presupposed that God can if he chooses send them really, it would be quite unaccountable to believe that he has nevertheless not done so. That the sending is not done for its own sake merely, but has for its purpose to incite Paul or Peter to a particular course of action, is indeed true; but this does not by any means divest the thing which God has sent of its reality. Beyschlag makes it seem as if this were so merely by a reference to Acts 12 9: 'he knew not that it was true which was done by the angel, but thought he saw a vision.' It is correct to say that the same word (ὅραμα) is employed here as is used in 16 9 *f.* 10 17 19 11 5, and that Peter regards this vision (ὅραμα) as something unreal. Here however the distinction drawn in a preceding paragraph (above, *c*) falls to be applied: that a Macedonian or a sheet containing beasts endowed with a heavenly corporeality could be sent by God was regarded by Paul and by Peter respectively as thoroughly possible; on the other hand, in 12 9 it is presupposed that the liberation of Peter when it was 'not true but a vision' would have been regarded by him as impossible. In like manner, if 'vision' (ὅρασις) in Tobit 12 19 means something opposed to reality, a mere appearance (φάντασμα), that meaning is secured only by the antithesis in the sentence. The angel Raphael, who has accompanied Tobias, says here by way of after-explanation of what his real nature was: 'I have neither eaten nor drunken, but ye saw only an appearance.' The identity of the word (ὅραμα or ὅρασις) thus by no means proves identity of judgment upon the matter here in question, namely the reality or unreality of what has been seen.

(*f*) Equally mistaken would it be to maintain that visions are throughout the whole OT and NT regarded as an inferior form of divine revelation. Beyschlag deduces this from a single text (Nu. 12 6-8): to a prophet I reveal myself by visions or dreams, but with Moses I speak face to face. Not only is the dream placed upon a level with the vision, an equality of which there can be no thought in connection with the appearances of the risen Jesus, but also in antithesis to both is placed God's direct speaking, which undoubtedly makes known the will of God more plainly than a visual image can, the interpretation of which rests with the seer. In the case of the resurrection of Jesus, however, the situation is exactly reversed. If God had announced to the disciples by spoken words that Jesus was alive, even if they fully believed these words to have been received immediately from God, the announcement would not have been for them so clear and impressive as when they were themselves permitted to look upon the form of Jesus as of one who was alive.

(*g*) After what has been said in three preceding paragraphs (*c*, *d*, *e*) the decisive question comes to be: what sort of appearances of a person risen from the dead were regarded by the disciples as possible?

To this the answer must at once be: Not incorporeal appearances; for the idea of the immortality of the soul alone was utterly strange to them (§ 17 *e*). Next, we must say: they looked for a general resurrection of the terrestrial body to a terrestrial life on the last day; but in exceptional cases they regarded it as happening even in the present (Mk. 6 14-16; cp § 17 *e*). And as they would have felt no difficulty in regarding Jesus as an exceptional instance of this last description, they would have regarded an appearance of Jesus in this form (with a terrestrial body) as a real one. This case, however, does not come into consideration; for such an appearance of Jesus does not come within the range of what is historically authenticated.

What is alone authenticated is the appearance of Jesus in heavenly corporeality; but of that it has been shown in § 17 *e* that it corresponded with the conceptions of Paul and likewise with those of the original apostles.

(*h*) The resultant conclusion then must be that when the disciples experienced an appearance of Jesus in heavenly corporeality they were under compulsion to regard it as objectively real, and therefore to believe that Jesus was risen because they had actually seen him.

Consequently, this belief of theirs does not prove that what they saw was objectively real: it can equally well have been merely an image begotten of their own mental condition.

Having now, we believe, shown in a general way the possibility that the things related concerning the risen Jesus may rest upon subjective visions, what next remains for us to inquire is whether such visions have any probability in view of the known situation of the disciples. This question admits of an affirmative answer, very particularly in the case of Paul.

35. Situation of Paul.

It will ever remain the lasting merit of Holsten that he has carried out this research on all sides with the most penetrating analysis. The view he arrived at holds its ground alike in presence of conservative theology and in presence of the deniers of the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles, who find the change from Pharisee to apostle of Jesus freed from the law too sudden. An energetic nature could only pass from the one extreme to the other, and could not possibly hold a mediating position.[1]

(*a*) Paul persecuted the Christians as blasphemers, because they proclaimed as the Messiah one who by the judgment of God (Dt. 21 23, cp Gal. 3 13) had been plainly marked as a criminal. (*b*) If, in defending their position, they quoted passages of the OT which in their view treated of the Messiah, Paul could not gainsay this application in a general way; all that he denied was the applicability of the passages to one who had been crucified. (*c*) From their appeals to the appearances of Jesus, Paul certainly had come to know quite well the form in which they would have it that they had seen him. (*d*) Apart from this blasphemy of theirs Paul cannot but have recognised their honesty, seriousness, and blamelessness of moral character. What if they should be in the right? We may be certain that, when he entered their houses and haled them before the judgment-seat, there were not wanting heart-rending scenes, which in the case of a man not wholly hardened could not fail to raise ever anew the recurring question whether it was really at the behest of God that he had to show all this cruelty. He repressed his scruples; yet the goad had entered his soul.

(*e*) In his own inner life he had no satisfaction. Whatever may have been the zeal with which he followed the precepts of the fathers (Gal. 1 14), unlike the great mass of morally laxer Pharisees his contemporaries, he perceived the impossibility of fulfilling the whole of the law's requirements. And, not being able to fulfil them, he was accursed (Gal. 3 10), and all men were in the same condemnation with himself. In Rom. 7 7-25 he has impressively described this condition. (*f*) And yet God in the OT had promised a time of salvation, and it was inconceivable that he should not hold to his word. But how could he, if the universal fulfilment of the law—which was so clearly impossible—were held to be the indispensable condition?

(*g*) Here of necessity must have come about in the mind of Paul a combination of these two lines of thought which had hitherto remained apart. What if the Christians were right in their assertion that the Crucified One really was the Messiah, through whom it was God's will to bring salvation to the world without insisting on the fulfilment of the entire law? In that case the persecution of the Christians was indeed a crime; but Paul, and with him all mankind, was nevertheless delivered from the anguish of soul caused by daily transgression of the law; mercy, no longer wrath, was what he might expect from God. (*h*) And indeed, this being so, it could only have been through the death of Jesus that God had willed to procure salvation for men. For Saul, the Pharisee, could never get away from the thought that some kind of propitiation had to be made for the sins of men, before God could bring in his grace. Perhaps the Christians had even already begun to quote in support of their view Is. 53, which Paul in all probability has in his mind when, in 1 Cor. 15 3, he says that he has received by tradition the doctrine that Christ, according to the Scriptures, had been delivered as a propitiation for our sins.

(*i*) Whether, however, all this, which in one respect promised blessedness, but in another threatened him with divine punishment as a persecutor of the Christians, was really true or not, turned for Paul upon the answer to the question, whether in actuality Jesus was risen. For, in addition to the doctrine of propitiation, Saul the Pharisee was indissolubly wedded to the thought that 'every one that hangeth on a tree' is accursed, unless God himself has unmistakably pronounced otherwise—viz. that this proposition has no application to Jesus, who did not die the death of a criminal, but the death of a divine offering for sin. Such a divine declaration was involved, according to the Christians, in the resurrection of Jesus.

(*k*) It will not be necessary to dwell upon the deeply agitating effect which such doubts must have produced in Paul's inmost soul; the vividness with which the living figure so often described to him by Christians must, time and again, have stood before him, only to be banished as often by the opposition of his intellect; until finally, only too easily, there came a time when the image of fancy refused any longer to yield to the effort of thought. All that need be pointed out further is that on his own testimony, as well as on that of Acts, Paul was very prone to visions and other ecstatic conditions (2 Cor. 12 1-4 1 Cor. 14 18 Acts 9 12 16 9 18 9 22 17 27 23). That he does not place what he had experienced at Damascus on a level with those visions of his, but speaks of it as the last appearance of the risen Jesus (1 Cor. 15 8), is intelligible enough if he was not aware of any further appearances having been made to other persons (see § 10 *h*); but it in no way shows that in the journey to Damascus what befell was not a vision, but an actual meeting with the risen Jesus. The possibility, indeed the probability, of a vision here has been pointed out; it is for each reader to choose between this and a miracle.

(*l*) Let it be clearly understood, however, that we do not here employ the word 'was seen' (ὤφθη) as evidence that Paul himself concedes the subjective origin of the image which he saw. (To the contrary, see § 34 *b*, *c*.) Neither do we make use of the expression in Gal. 1 16, where Paul speaks of God as having revealed his son 'in me' (ἐν ἐμοί), to prove that Paul regarded the occurrence at Damascus as one that had taken place solely within himself. The words 'I have seen' (ἑόρακα) and 'was seen' (ὤφθη) in 1 Cor. 9 1 15 8 are decisive against this, for by them the apostle means to say that he has really seen (although not in earthly but in heavenly corporeality) the risen Jesus as appearing to him *ab extra*. Yet so far as Gal. 1 15 *f*. is concerned, neither is it probable that 'to reveal' (ἀποκαλύψαι) denotes a subsequent inward illumination of Paul, since 'but when' (ὅτε δέ) and 'straightway' (εὐθέως) mark the time which followed immediately upon that of 'the Jews' religion' (Ἰουδαϊσμός) (1 13 *f*.). 'In me' (ἐν ἐμοί), in spite of the reference of 'to reveal' (ἀποκαλύψαι) to the event on the road to Damascus, may mean 'within me,' in so far as the appearance produced effects upon the spiritual life of the apostle; but it can easily mean also 'upon me'—*i.e.*, by changing the persecutor into a believer (not, however, 'through the success of my missionary labours,' which did not occur till later).

The situation of the earliest disciples very readily suggests the same explanation of the facts. (*a*) The mental struggle between despair and hope—the disaster involved in the death of Jesus, and the hope they still somehow clung to, that the kingdom of God might still be established by Jesus—can hardly have been less than had been the struggle in the mind of Paul. Perhaps there was in their case the additional circumstance that they were fasting, a condition highly favourable to the seeing of visions. Yet such a conjecture

36. Of earliest disciples.

[1] Holsten, *ZWT*, 1861, pp. 223-284; *Zum Evang. des Paulus u. des Petrus*, 1-237 (1868); Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, 1873, (2) 1890, Einl. On the other side: Beyschlag, *St. Kr.*, 1864, pp. 197-264; 1870, pp. 7-50, 189-263. Specially interesting is Scholz (*Deutsch-Evangel. Blätter*, 1881, pp. 816-841), who recognises the whole psychological preparation for the conversion, and then brings in the supernatural fact of the risen Jesus, which his previous representation has enabled him to dispense with.

is by no means indispensable, and we need not lay stress on the indication as to this given in the Gospel of Peter and in the *Didaskalia* (above, §§ 5 [*f*], 7 *b*). All these psychological elements, however, will be more fully considered later (§ 37).

(*b*) On the other hand, we are unable to attach weight to the view that the disciples were gradually led by a study of the OT to a conviction that Jesus was alive, and that thus in the end they came to have visions in which they beheld his form.

Visions do not arise by processes so gradual or so placid. It is certainly correct to suppose that certain passages of the OT must have had an influence on the thoughts of the disciples in those critical days; but not that they were then discovered for the first time as a result of study. Rather must they have been long familiar, when suddenly, under the impression made by the death of Jesus, they acquire a new and decisive significance as convincing the bereaved ones that the continued life of Jesus was made assured by the word of God.

(*c*) From our list of such passages must be excluded many which are frequently quoted as belonging to it; for example, Is. 25 8 Ps. 133 1 3 Ezek. 18 5-9, Ps. 2 7 (although it appears to be cited in Acts 13 33 in this sense), and, in particular, Ps. 16 10, although this is cited in Acts 2 27 31 13 35. What is said in the Hebrew text is that God will not suffer his pious worshipper to die (cp *v.* 9). When 𝔊 by a false etymology (שׁחת = 'to destroy,' instead of שׁוּחַ = 'to sink') renders *šaḥath*, which, as the parallelism conclusively shows, means 'grave,' by 'destruction' (διαφθορά), the mistranslation is innocuous as long as this word is taken to mean 'death,' as the translators certainly took it; it becomes misleading only on the Christian interpretation which understands the bodily corruption that follows death. Passages of the OT from which the disciples could really have drawn their conviction as to the resurrection of Jesus are Ex. 3 6 (see its employment by Jesus himself in Mk. 12 26 *f.*) Is. 53 9 *f.* Hos. 6 2 2 K. 20 5, perhaps also Ps. 118 17 Job 19 25-27, but very specially Ps. 86 13 110 1 (cp Brandt, 498-504). It must always be borne in mind, it is hardly necessary to say, that they did not interpret such passages in a critical manner and with reference to the context, but simply as they seemed to present to them a consoling thought.

(*d*) No weight can be given to the objection that the image of the risen Jesus which presented itself to the disciples cannot have been subjective because at first they did not recognise it. That they failed to do so is stated only in passages which must be regarded as unhistorical (Lk. 24 16 Jn. 20 14); in Lk. 24 37 41 it is not even said that he was not recognised.

(*e*) Another objection, that though perhaps the subjective explanation might be admissible in the case of a single individual, it wholly fails in the case of appearances to several, not to speak of the case of 500 at once, appears at first sight to have great weight. As against this it is worth mentioning that one of the most recent upholders of an objective resurrection of Jesus, Steude (*St. Kr.* 1887, pp. 273-275), quite gives up this argument. In point of fact there is ample evidence to prove that visions have been seen by many, in the cases of Thomas of Canterbury, Savonarola, the Spanish general Pacchi, several crusaders—days and even months after their death—and similar occurrences also in the cases of 800 French soldiers, the Camisards in 1686-1707, the followers of the Roman Catholic priest Pöschl in Upper Austria in 1812-1818, the 'Preaching-sickness' and 'Reading-sickness' in Sweden in 1841-1854, and so forth.[1] That in circumstances of general excitement and highly strung expectation visions are contagious, and that others easily perceive that which at first had been seen by only one, is, in view of the accumulated evidence, a fact not to be denied.

(*f*) The attempt has been made to argue from this, on the contrary, that subjective visions cannot be thought of as explaining the recorded facts of the resurrection, inasmuch as in that case we should be entitled to expect very many more recorded visions than are enumerated by Paul. That, however, would depend on the amount of predisposition to visions. It is very easily conceivable that this may very rapidly have diminished when, by means of a moderate number of reported appearances, the conviction had become established that Jesus had risen. On this account it is also best to presume that the first five appearances followed one another very quickly. All the more confidently in that case could Paul speak of that which he had himself received as being the last of all (§ 10 *h*).

The consideration which above all others causes the most serious misgivings, is the state of deep depression in which the disciples were left by the death of Jesus. Is it conceivable that in such circumstances subjective visions should have come to them?

37. Situation of Peter.

(*a*) This question, however, is essentially simplified by what has been pointed out above (§ 36 *e*), if we suppose in addition that it was Peter alone who received the first vision. Could he but once find himself able to say that he had seen Jesus, the others no longer needed to be able to raise themselves out of their state of prostration by their own strength; what had happened to Peter supplied what was wanting in this respect. The question thus narrows itself to this: Is the possibility of a subjective vision excluded in the case even of Peter?

(*b*) Undoubtedly an unusually strong faith was needed, if in Peter the thought that Jesus, notwithstanding his death, was still alive, was to become so powerful that at last it could take the form of a vision. All the requisite conditions, however, were present. We do not at all lay weight upon the consideration, that with the return to Galilee the reminiscences of Jesus associated with those localities would again take the upper hand over the impression which his death had made; for indeed this impression was indelible. But alongside of this impression there would also be recollections of the predictions of Jesus. We do not refer here primarily to the predictions of his resurrection (see § 22 *a*); those referring to his coming again from heaven to set up the kingdom of God upon earth—predictions which are certainly quite historical (see GOSPELS, § 145 [*f*])—are much more important. They also, it is true, might seem to have been decisively falsified by the death of Jesus; for with Peter also it was an infallible word of God, that every one that hangs on a tree is cursed (Dt. 21 23; cp Gal. 3 13). Precisely here, however, there is a difference between the cases of the two apostles: Paul could apply this thesis to Jesus in cold blood, because he had never personally known him (2 Cor. 5 16, when rightly interpreted); Peter could not—he owed too much to him. To speak more exactly, the reason why Peter, even after the crucifixion, did not cease wholly to have faith in the prediction of Jesus, lay partly in the deep impression of his utter trustworthiness which he had left upon his disciple, and partly also in the religious inheritance which Peter felt he owed him, in the ineradicable conviction of the truth of his cause. From this conviction of the truth of Jesus' cause the conviction of his continued personal life was inseparable in the thought of that age. In this sense Renan's saying (*Apôtres*, 44, ET 70) is true: 'ce qui a resuscité Jésus, c'est l'amour.'

(*c*) There is yet another point, which for the most part is utterly overlooked in this connection. We do not mean the lively temperament of Peter; for whether that made him specially susceptible to visions cannot be said. We refer to the fact that Peter had denied his

[1] E. A. Abbott, *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, 1898; Hase, *Gesch. Jesu*, 1876, pp. 595 *f.*, and *Neue Propheten*, 333 = (2) 2 99 *f.*; Reuter, *Alexander der Dritte*, 3 110-112, 772-774 (1864); Scholten, *Evang. nach Joh.* (Germ.), 329 *f.* (1867); Renan, *Apôtres*, 16 *f.* 22 (ET 51 *f.* 55); Keim, *Gesch Jesu von Nazara*, 3 589-592 (1872), ET 6, 348 *ff.*); Perty, *Mystische Erscheinungen*(2) 1 130-133 (1872); E. Stein, *Psychische Contagion*, 21 *f.* (Erlangen, 1877); Hohnbaum, *Psychische Gesundheit*, 38-41 (1845); Leubuscher, *Wahnsinn in den 4 letzten Jahrhunderten*, 222-249 (1848); Ideler, *Theorie des religiösen Wahnsinns* (1848-1850); Emminghaus, *Allgem. Psychopathologie*, §§ 33 *f.* 37 *f.* 96, 113, 186 (1878), with the literature there referred to; *Allgem. Ztschr. für Psychiatrie*, 1849, pp. 253-261; 1854, pp. 115-125; 1856, pp. 546-604; 1860, pp. 565-719; Wiedemann, *Die relig. Bewegung in Oberoesterreich u. Salzburg beim Beginn des* 19 *Jahrh.* (1890); *Die Secte der Pöschlianer in Oberöstreich in dem Jahre* 1817 (no place on title-page, 1819); Misson, *Théâtre Sacré des Cevennes*, London, 1707; Blanc, *Inspiration des Camisards*, Paris, 1859.

Lord. Even if the circumstance, mentioned only in Lk. (22 61), that after his denial his eye met that of his master, be hardly historical (cp SIMON PETER, § 19 *d*), there still remains a delicate suggestion of what must most infallibly have happened; the form of him whom Peter had denied must have come up before him with ever renewed vividness, however he may have struggled to escape it. Though at first he may have said to himself that this was a mere creation of his fancy, it is certainly not too bold a conjecture that a moment came when he believed he saw his Lord bodily present before him, whether it was that the eye was turned upon him with reproach and rebuke, or whether it was that it already assured him of that forgiveness, for which beyond all doubt he had been praying with all the energy of his soul.

(*d*) If this be sound, we shall find in the denial of Peter an occasion for the occurrence of a vision as direct as we have found the persecution of the Christians by Paul to have been. If we will, we shall be able to discern in these acts of hostility against Jesus or his followers an arrangement in the providence of God, whereby chosen vessels were prepared for the furtherance of Christianity. In any case this deed of Peter, that he held fast his faith in the imperishability of the cause of Jesus and therefore also of the person of Jesus, will remain the greatest of his life, greater still than his confession at Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 8 29 and ||), and would make to be true those two words even though in the mouth of Jesus they be not historical: 'thou art Peter (*i.e.*, a rock) and upon this rock will I build my church' (Mt. 16 18, cp MINISTRY, § 4 *f.*), and 'Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren' (Lk. 22 32, cp SIMON PETER, § 15 *b*).

For all that has been said in the foregoing paragraphs the most that can be claimed is that it proves the possibility—the probability if you will—of the explanation from subjective visions. From the very nature of the case it would not be possible to prove more, for the visionary character of the appearances could not be established for us by the visionaries themselves—on the contrary, everything constrained them to regard what they had seen as objective and real—nor yet by the reporters, who simply repeated what the visionaries had related to them. Only scientifically trained reporters could have assured us on the point, and such reporters did not then exist. Let it be expressly observed, however, that in the vision-hypothesis it is only the judgment of the visionaries as to the objective reality of what they had seen that is set aside; every other biblical statement of fact, unless we have been compelled to set it aside as inconsistent with some other biblical statement, remains unaffected. The hypothesis, furthermore, attributes no want of uprightness either to the visionary or to the reporter. The error which it points out affects merely the husk—namely that the risen Jesus was seen in objective reality, but not the kernel of the matter, that Jesus lives in the spiritual sense; thus it is an error, only in the same relative sense as is the dogma that the Bible is inspired in every letter (a dogma without the temporary ascendancy of which the church of to-day would hardly have existed), or in the same sense in which the anthropomorphic view of God's being and his relation to nature which possesses every child is an error—an error but for which the number of grown-up persons of unshaken religious conviction would indeed be small.

38. Conclusion on vision-hypothesis.

Reverting now once more to § 1 and the ideas on account of which it is held that the belief in a literal resurrection cannot be given up, we remark that the doctrine of the government of the church by Christ is one that can give place without any religious loss to that of the leading of the church by the spirit of Christ, or, if it is desired to put it in a more personal form, that of the government of the church by God. That the cause of Jesus did not die with him on the cross we are assured by history, even if his resurrection did not occur as a literal fact. It is undeniable that the church was founded, not directly upon the fact of the resurrection of Jesus, but upon the belief in his resurrection; and this faith worked with equal power whether the resurrection was an actual fact or not. The view of Paul that, apart from the literal truth of the resurrection of Jesus, there is no forgiveness of sins, has as its necessary presupposition the dogma, not of Paul the Christian but of Paul the Pharisee, that every crucified person without exception is accursed of God; as soon as the possibility of a miscarriage of justice either in the synedrium or at Pilate's judgment seat is conceded, this view *eo ipso* falls to the ground. Finally, the view that unless Jesus actually rose again the hope of the final resurrection of the dead is vain would be a sound one if this hope had consisted in the expectation that all men were to rise three days after their respective deaths. In its actual form, as hope of the resurrection at the last day, it would come to be denied, in so far as an event happening in the case of Jesus is concerned, only if Jesus himself were to continue in the state of death at the last day. In so far, however, as the idea of the immortality of the soul takes the place of the hope of a final resurrection—as in modern times is very extensively the case—it ceases to be a matter of fundamental importance whether Jesus rose again on the third day, or not; for immortality consists only in a continued existence of the soul, and that from the moment of the death of the body onwards, and is just as incapable of being confirmed or made known by a resurrection of the body as of being called in question by the absence of a resurrection. If immortality could thus be confirmed or made known, that must have been possible on the first and the second day after death, for immortality was then present. For that time, however, resurrection is excluded by presupposition.

39. Literature.

Prins, *De realiteit van's Heeren opstanding*, 1861, and (against Prins) Straatman, *De realiteit van's Heeren opstanding . . . en hare verdedigers*, 1862; Paul, *ZWT*, 1863, 182-209, 279-311; 1864, 82-95, 396-408 and (against Paul) Strauss, *ibid.* 1863, 386-400; Gebhardt, *Die Auferstehung Christi und ihre neuesten Gegner*, 1864; Steude, *Die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1888, and with more scientific thoroughness in *St. Kr.*, 1887, 203-295 (see above, § 36 *e*); Rohrbach, *Der Schluss des Marcusevangeliums*, 1894, and *Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu*, 1898; Eck, 'Bedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu für die Urgemeinde u. für uns' in *Hefte zur Christlichen Welt*, No. 32, 1898; Loofs, 'Die Auferstehungsberichte u. ihr Werth,' *ibid.* No. 33, 1898; Brückner, 'Die Berichte über die Auferstehung Jesu' in *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1899, 41-47, 96-110, 153-160. Amongst the writings on the life of Jesus see Strauss, Keim, Weiss, Beyschlag (vol. i.) and, quite specially, Brandt, *Evang. Gesch.*, 1893, 305-446, 490-517.

[The bulk of English work upon this subject (of which the more useful or significant portions are indicated in the subjoined paragraphs by an asterisk) falls into one or other of two classes: (*a*) one dealing primarily with historical and theological appreciations of the fact or truth in question; (*b*) the other sensitive, in the first instance, to the features of the record and the historical evidence. Owing to the backwardness and inefficiency of English criticism upon the synoptic question, and the consequent paucity of scientific work upon Mt. and Lk. especially (upon Lk. 24 note the strangely parallel story in Plutarch: *Vit. Rom.* 28), the latter class of writings is as yet inadequately represented, being conspicuous for open-mindedness (in its better representatives) rather than for thoroughness, and more successful in criticising the weak points of opposing theories than in constructing a satisfactory and tenable hypothesis which might do justice to the complex of facts under review. Cp Froude's *Short Studies*, 1 229 *f.*

(*a*) The conservative side is represented by a long series of writings, whose weakness consists mainly in the preponderance of the dogmatic over the historical element or in literalism. Of these the following are the more salient:—F. D. Maurice's *Theol. Essays* (8); Westcott's *Introd. to Study of Gospels* ((6) 1881), 333-341; *The Gosp. of the Resurr.*, *The Historic Faith* (chap. 6), and *The Revelation of the Risen Lord*; *Milligan's exhaustive and theological *The Resurr. of our Lord* ((4) 1894), and *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*, 1892; *M'Cheyne Edgar's vigorous *Gosp. of the Risen Saviour*, 1892, pp. 21-135; C. A. Row's *The Jesus of the Evangelists*, 1868, pp. 262 *f.* (critique of mythical theories); J. Kennedy's survey in *The Resurr. of our Lord an historical fact, with examination of naturalistic hypotheses*, 1881;

Latham's curious volume *The Risen Master*, 1900; and Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*, 1893, Lect. 6, n. C. Similarly, but with special bearing upon the narratives as part of the biography of Jesus:—*Fairbairn's *Studies in the Life of Christ*, 1881, chap. 18; G. H. Gilbert's *Students' Life of Jesus*, 1898, pp. 385-405; besides the Lives of Christ by Farrar, Edersheim, and S. J. Andrews (ed. 1892, pp. 589 *f.*). The subject is competently handled also, though from a more strictly philosophical and doctrinal standpoint, by *Newman Smyth (*Old Faiths in New Light*, chap. 8); *D. W. Forrest (*The Christ of Hist. and Experience*, 1897, Lect. 4 critique of vision-hypothesis); R. H. Hutton (*Theol. Essays*,(3) 1888, pp. 131 *f.*); E. Griffith-Jones (*The Ascent through Christ*,(4) 1900, pp. 337-359); H. G. Weston (*Biblioth. Sacra*, 1900, pp. 356-362) and L. S. Potwin (*ibid.* 1890, pp. 177-190); also by *Denney (*The Death of Christ*, 1902, pp. 66 *f.* 76 *f.* 121-123).

At the opposite pole of radical criticism, the most noteworthy works along this line are *R. W. Macan's *The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, the contributions of Dr. E. A. Abbott (cp *Philochristus*, *Onesimus*, and *Through Nature to Christ*, 1877, chap. 21), and Martineau's *Seat of Authority in Religion* ((2), 1890), 363 *f.*, 481 *f.*, 632 *f.* besides the writings to be cited below.

(*b*) Examinations of early Christian evidence, and particularly of the gospel narratives (with that of the ascension, Acts 1 1-11), from a fairly free but reverent standpoint may be found in A. B. Bruce's *Expos. Gk. Test.* vol. i. ((2), 1901), 330 *f.*, 643 *f.*; G. L. Cary's scholarly *Synoptic Gosp.* (Internat. Handbks. to NT, vol. i., 1900), §§ 198-202; J. Estlin Carpenter's *First Three Gosp.* ((2), 1890), 319 *f.*, 268 *f.*; A. C. McGiffert's *Apost. Age*, 1897, pp. 36-44, 55 *f.*, and J. V. Bartlet's *Apost. Age*, 1900, pp. 1-10; see, further, Blair's *Apost. Gosp.* (372-385) on the conclusion of Mk., with the editions by Swete and Allan Menzies, Moffatt's *Hist. New Testament* ((2), 1901), pp. 550-553 (on Mk. 16 9-20), 647-649 (on Mt. and Lk.), 694-696 (on Jn. 20-21), and A. Réville's article in *New World*, 1894, pp. 498-527. The distinctive aim of such contributions is to investigate not simply the verbal contents of the narratives in question, but also their mental and religious presuppositions; to get behind the stories into the world of their first hearers, with their beliefs and hopes. Extreme forms of this critical hypothesis are variously represented in such works as *W. Mackintosh's *Nat. Hist. of the Christian Religion*, 1894, pp. 257-328 (mythical theory), **Supernatural Religion*, 3, 1877, p. 398 *f.* (in which, as in the following book, the problem is handled drastically, but uncritically isolated), *The Four Gosp. as Historical Records*, 1895, pp. 451, and O. Cone, *The Gosp. and its Earliest Interpretations*, 1893, pp. 124 *f.*, 200 *f.*, none of which, however, can be pronounced entirely satisfactory, either in method or in results. See further S. Davidson's *NT Introd.*(3) (1894) 2 367 *f.* The opposite side is pleasantly but ineffectively advocated by writers like Purves (*Christianity in Apostolic Age*, 1900, 9-15) and Sanday (Hastings' *DB* 2 638-643), while it is defended with a really critical grasp of the problem and its bearings by *Swete (*Apostles' Creed*, 1894, p. 64 *f.*), *A. B. Bruce (*Apologetics*, 1892, pp. 383-397), Schaff (*Hist. of Church*, 1 172-186). *Denney (art. 'Ascension' in Hastings' *DB* 1 161-162), and *Prof. S. McComb (*Expos.*(6) 4 350-363, a critique of ET of Harnack's *Wesen*); see also *Knowling: *The Witness of the Epistles*, 1892, pp. 365-396, 397-414 (ascension); A. Hovey (*Amer. Journ. Theol.*, 1900, pp. 536-554, a critique of Stapfer); W. F. Adeney (*Expos.*(4) 8 137-146, a critique of Weizsäcker); N. J. D. White ('Appearances of Risen Lord to Individuals,' *Expos.*(6) 10 66-74), and E. R. Bernard ('The Value of the Ascension,' *Exp. T*, 1900-1901, pp. 152-155, and in Hastings' *DB* 4 234). Despite exaggerated statements upon both sides, recent English discussions display a growing sense that there is a serious problem to be faced in the condition of the historical records, and that exegesis has a vivid if subsidiary part to play in its solution. This is a sign of health, if only that the demands of the public are becoming more exigent; but no advance can be looked for until English students are furnished with a scientific equipment in the shape of thoroughly critical editions of the gospels, as well as with monographs combining historical judgment and sound scholarship with some philosophic and religious appreciation of the subject.—J. Mo.] P. W. S.

REU (רְעוּ; ραγαυ), b. Peleg, a name occurring in the genealogical table connecting Shem and Abraham (Gen. 11 18-21 [P], 1 Ch. 1 25; cp Lk. 3 35, AV Ragau). An Aramæan tribe bearing the name *Ru'ua* appear in S. Babylonia in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. (Schr. *KGF* 105 *ff.*; *KAT*(2) 117; Del. *Par.* 238 *ff.*); but their identification with Reu is denied by Schr. (*loc. cit.*). The name, in common with the others in the same list, is probably Mesopotamian, and we may possibly find a trace of it in ܓܒܪܥܘ, one of the kings of Edessa, which is doubtless for 'man of Re'u,' a formation parallel to the Heb. גַּבְרִיאֵל (cp Duval, 'Hist. d'Édesse,' *Journ. Asiat.*, 1891, 18 126). Re'u may have been an old Mesopotamian god (Mez, *Gesch. der Stadt Ḥarrān*, 23). Cp REUBEN, §§ 9 iii., 10. F. B.

REUBEN

Mention (§ 1).	Other stories (§ 6).
A lost tribe (§ 2).	Name (§§ 7-9).
First-born (§ 3).	Meaning of stories (§ 10).
Bilhah, Bohan (§ 4).	Genealogies (§§ 11-13).
'Altar' story (§ 5).	Lists of cities (§ 14).

1. Mention. Reuben[1] is repeatedly mentioned in the Hexateuch as a branch of Israel. It is often associated with Gad, and is known to each of the documents underlying the Hexateuch. The reader naturally infers that the writers of those documents had knowledge of such a community. He may indeed think it prudent to test the legitimacy of that inference, when he misses references elsewhere in the Hebrew writings. Still, the *argumentum e silentio* must be used with great care.[2] The facts seem to be these. Outside of the fixed tribal lists (in Chron., Ezek., and, in the NT, in Rev.) and the Chronicler's genealogies,[3] Reuben is known, apart from an at best anachronistic gloss in 2 K. 10 33 (descriptive of the district harassed by Hazael), through the mention in the enumeration in Judg. 5 (*v.* 15 *f.*). That chapter contains very old material and few will question its authority even when it stands alone. Only, however, if we are sure that the passage says what the poet meant it to say. That, however, does not appear to have been questioned, so far as the mention of Reuben is concerned.[4] Discussion has been confined to the question, where the mention appearing after 15*a* and again, in a slightly variant form, after 16*a* really belongs. Still, is not the simplest explanation of the double occurrence, that the clause is really a gloss? Other difficulties would thus be removed. It always seemed strange that so remote a community as the traditional Reuben should be mentioned by name.[5] To speak of Gilead in general, on the other hand, without naming tribes, would be natural. Later, Gilead[6] would be taken to mean Gad, whilst Machir was perhaps referred to 'half-Manasseh,' and so a reference of some kind or other would be made on the margin to Reuben. If it be thought that probability is in favour of the reference in Judg. 5 being contemporary evidence,[7] the problem before us is to determine where Reuben lived and to explain the fact that in historical times Reuben had no significance. If the other view is taken, the problem is to account for the references in the Hexateuch.

A survey of the references (in the Hexateuch) to Reuben suggests that the solid element in them all is

2. A lost tribe. the belief that there once was an important community called Reuben and that for some reason it had lost its place; it was a sort of 'Ād or Thamūd. It is usually supposed that tradition preserved the memory of a more or less definite geographical district occupied by Reubenites. It may have done so. The evidences of such a tradition, however, are far from copious. Most of what we are told about a territory of Reuben is in D (Dt. 3 12 16 4 43 Josh. 13 8-12) and P (much of Nu. 32 Josh. 13 15-23 20 8 21 36 *f.*) and cannot safely be used for the present purpose (see § 14). There seems to be only one passage (Nu. 32

1 On the name see below: on the form, § 8; on OT explanations, § 7; on real meaning, § 9.

2 Special caution is needed in regard to questions bearing on the tribes.

3 On the statements in 1 Ch. 5 see § 13. On 1 Ch. 11 42 see § 13 (end).

4 Winckler has suggested that 'Asher' is not a tribe name but a pronoun (אֲשֶׁר), and that 'Dan' was not mentioned originally (*GI* 2 134, no. 26 *f.*).

5 Of course Reuben may have been settled in West Palestine at the time referred to (see next note); but the pastoral character assigned to the tribe in the clause probably shows that its author thought of the East (cp GAD, § 11, first small type par.).

6 Steuernagel suggests (*Einwanderung*, 20) that the mention of Gilead, not Reuben, in *v.* 17*a* may be because Reuben was still seated in W. Palestine (see below, § 10).

7 It would not decide the question where Reuben lived (see preceding two notes).

37 *f.*) which can perhaps be attributed to J (see, however, *Oxf. Hex.*). All it has to say is that certain six (Moabite) towns were, in the Mosaic age (?) 'built' by the sons of Reuben (see below, § 14). The absence of any reference to a people called Reuben in the Mesha inscription although it mentions three of the six towns and refers to 'the men of Gad' as having 'dwelt in the land of 'Aṭāroth from of old (מעלם)' seems to require us to suppose that the statement of J, if not unhistorical, rests on a memory of days long gone. That there was a firm belief in an ancient Reuben is, indeed, clear. The point is that it need not imply a knowledge of where it had been settled. In Gen. 35 21 *f.* J seems to connect Reuben with West Palestine (see § 4), and even in P there seems to be a trace of a belief of the same kind (Josh. 15 6 18 1 *f.* § 4), which may be represented in the strange story of the 'altar' (§ 5), and in the idea that Reuben crossed into West Palestine to help the other tribes to effect a settlement (cp GAD, col. 1585).

3. First-born.

Whatever was thought of the place where Reuben had lived, a great deal of interest was felt in his fate (cp § 10). Reuben is everywhere the first-born (see end of §). In E indeed there was perhaps an interval of considerable length between him and Leah's other sons: Naphtali seems to be for E Jacob's third son (cp NAPHTALI, § 2). Whether this was so in the original J we cannot say: it would account for Reuben's being the finder of the *dūdā'īm* (*ib.*),[1] which E does not mention. In J as we have it, however, Reuben has three own brothers when he finds the *dūdā'īm* which lead to the birth of Joseph[2] (cp ZEBULUN). The only tale E has to tell about Reuben is of how he tried to deliver Joseph[3] (Gen. 37 22 29), and reminded his brothers of the fact (42 22; see below, § 10, end), and how he offered his own two sons (cp § 11) as a pledge of the safe return of Benjamin. The most significant point in all this is that Reuben was the first-born. On that point there seems to be complete agreement. The problem is discussed in 1 Ch. 5 1 *f.* The view of the writer of that passage is that Reuben forfeited his right (as first-born) to the special blessing, which fell to Joseph, who thus became two tribes, although his rival Judah[4] ultimately outdid him.[5]

The rest of the points may belong to the decking out of the story (see, however, below, § 10, end).

4. Bilhah, Bohan.

Not so in the case of what J has to tell us in Gen. 35 22. No doubt the story was once told with more detail[6] (*Test. Reub.* 3, and *Jubilees*, § 33, show how it could be done).[7] This story seems to be J's explanation of how Reuben lost his rank. What Jacob did when he heard[8] of

[1] According to Stucken ('Ruben im Jakobssegen' in *MVG* for 1902, 4 46-72, which appeared after this article was in type) the finding of the *dūdā'īm* was ascribed to Reuben as a patriarchal eponym on a level with Jacob. Later syncretism made him Jacob's son.

[2] Steuernagel suggests (*Einwanderung*, 17) that in the original story what Reuben did was not to make over the *dūdā'īm* to Leah but to use them to win the favour of Rachel, or rather Bilhah, whence Bohan (cp NAPHTALI, § 1 *f.*). This is very ingenious, but does not explain the obvious relation of the *dūdā'īm* to Issachar and Joseph. According to Stucken (see preceding note) Reuben's incest was with Leah herself, who may at one time have been called Bilhah.

[3] It is probable that in Gen. 37 21 (J) 'Reuben' is redactional for Judah. See next note.

[4] In the Joseph story the leader is Judah in J, Reuben in E (cp preceding footnote); cp Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 34.

[5] According to Guthe, *GVI* 42, Reuben's hegemony belonged to the time preceding the settlement of the Rachel tribes (cp RACHEL, § 1 *b*). Those tribes which acknowledged his leadership were called Leah; the later (Rachel) tribes acknowledged the hegemony of Joseph.

[6] Against the suggestion of Dillmann and Stade (*GVI* 1 151) that the story implies more primitive morals in the half-nomad Reubenites, see Holzinger, *ad loc.*

[7] Later writers refused to believe the story (cp the case of SIMEON [§ 9 *i*, end; see also § 4]). In Targum (Ps.-Jon. *ad loc.*), Midrash (*Gen. rabba* 98 *f.*), Talmud (*Shabb.* 55 *b*), and Bk. of Jashar, Reuben only disturbed a couch (cp Charles, *Jubilees*, § 33, n. 2 and § 33 1 *b*).

[8] Through angels, according to *Test. Reub.*

Reuben's deed has been suppressed by R.[1] It can be inferred, however, from the 'Blessing of Jacob': [2]

> Reuben! thou wast my first-born
> My might and the first-fruits of my manhood;
> Exceeding in impetuosity,[3] exceeding in passion!
> Foaming like water . . .[4]
> For thou didst ascend thy father's couch.
> Then did I curse the bed[5] he ascended.[6]

Even without Gunkel's emendation of the last line it is plain that the sequel to Gen. 35 22 was a father's curse,[7] which brought doom on the tribe (cp BLESSINGS AND CURSINGS). The effect becomes still more clear in the 'Blessing of Moses':

> Let Reuben live (on), let him not die (out)!
> Still, let him[8] become a (mere) handful of men![9]

The story of Bohan the son of Reuben may have been connected with the same legend (cp NAPHTALI, col. 3330 foot). We ought perhaps, however, to *translate* the word 'bohan.' The landmark would then be the thumb-stone[10] of the son (or sons [𝔊BL in Josh. 18 17]) of Reuben. The suggestion made elsewhere (col. 535 n. 4), however, is perhaps better: the suggestion, namely, that there is a slight corruption of the text, and that we ought to read: stone of the sons of Reuben (אבן בני ראובן: reading בני for בהן בן, as בהן might be a transposed בני = בנה).

5. Josh. 22 'altar.'

The reading of 𝔊BL in Josh. 18 17 would support this view. In its favour is the ease with which it could be brought into connection with a story which is otherwise perplexing. The stone (or was it really a group of stones?) in question was near 'Gelīlōth' (Josh. 18 17: see GILGAL, § 6 *b*). Now it was at the 'Gelīlōth' of the Jordan that, we are told, there was erected a sacred object to which was given a name that has been lost (see ED, GALEED, 2). The present text of Josh. 22 leaves it uncertain on which side of Jordan the sacred erection stood, and it ascribes the building to Reuben and Gad (and half Manasseh!). Perhaps Gad is an addition[11] connected with the view that the stone was east of the Jordan. No doubt the object was not an 'altar,' but a maṣṣēbāh or a circle of stones (see GILGAL, § 1), and the story[12] may be connected in some way with an attempt to account for the loss of Reuben's status.[13]

The suggestion just made gains, perhaps, in plausibility from the fact that in E, and probably J, there is another story that may have served the same purpose (next §).

6. Other stories.

In the older parts of Nu. 16 the leaders of Reuben (see below, § 10) dare to challenge the authority of Moses and thus bring divine judgment on themselves. It is even possible that there was still another story of the same kind (see below, § 10 [1]). These stories, as they attribute to

[1] According to Stucken (above, col. 4089, n. 1) various analogies suggest that Israel castrated Reuben for his crime ('eye for eye, etc.'), 53.

[2] On this passage see n. 5.

[3] Read perhaps שְׂאֵת with Gunkel.

[4] MT אַל תּוֹתַר, obscure; see Stucken, *MVG*, 1902, p. 171.

[5] Read perhaps קִלַּלְתִּי יְצוּעַ with Gunkel. For some interesting suggestions as to the original purport of the passage see Stucken (as in col. 4089, n. 1), 46-52.

[6] According to *Jubilees*, § 33 7 9, and *Test. Reub.*, Bilhah became taboo to Jacob henceforth.

[7] Gunkel compares *Iliad*, 9 447 *ff.* (Amyntor's curse [455 *f.*] on his son Phoinix for a deed similar to Reuben's).

[8] On the reference of this to Simeon in 𝔊AL see SIMEON, § 3.

[9] Cp Ball, *PSBA* 18 122 (1895): מתי מספר.

[10] In Assyrian there is no conscious metaphor in the use of *abānu* in this way.

[11] Cp *OS* 246 61 *f.* Γελειλώθ. τόπος παρὰ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἔνθα θυσιαστήριον ἔστησαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ῥουβίν.

[12] On the geographical import of this and the preceding story see § 10.

[13] Does the story in Josh. 22 contain a reference to the name Reuben: see *v.* 28 רְאוּ אֶת־תַּבְנִית מִזְבַּח יהוה (rĕū . . . [ta]bn[ith]) and *v.* 10 ויבנו מזבח גדול . . . למראה ([wayyi]bnū . . . [lema]r'ē)?

Reuben an importance which there is nothing in history to suggest, may be due to a tradition of conflict between some representative Israelitish clan and a Reubenite community. On the other hand, they may be simply popular or other stories designed to explain the supposed collapse of a Reuben people.

The real cause of Reuben's disappearance may have been the inroad of Moab, which was perhaps not so early as to prevent a vague memory of what had preceded from surviving (see GAD, § 11, col. 1585, mid. and cp MOAB, § 14, col. 3174, foot). On the other hand, there is the possibility that Reuben's abode was not really in the east. We have found several hints of a belief that Reuben had been west of the Jordan (see further, below, § 10), to which we shall return (§ 10) in the light of the considerations suggested by a study of Reuben's name.

The meaning of the name Reuben is not apparent. There seem to be traces of more than one explanation.

7. OT explanations of name. i. J (Gen. 29 32*a*) takes it to mean 'Yahwè looks at my affliction' and finds in it a reference to what Leah had had to bear as the hated wife (שְׂנוּאָה; *v.* 33: see Gunkel *ad loc.*). ii. E (Gen. 29 32*b*), on the other hand, sees a reference to some point in the conduct of Jacob: 'my husband will . . . me.'

MT reads 'will *love* me'; but it is difficult to believe that this is sound. The versions, indeed, agree (ἀγαπήσει, *amabit*; *nerḥam* [Pesh.]) with MT; but so slight a change would make the word chime with Reuben (יאהבני : ראובן) that it is natural to suppose that it must have done so.[1] Gunkel suggests as the original a word cognate with the Aramaic אורב, 'to praise.' The Reubenites are in the traditions so hard to distinguish from the Gadites that E may well have connected with the name Reuben a wish like that expressed in Dt. 33 20 (מַרְחִיב גָּד) with regard to Gad: 'he will make me spread forth'; or, since the subject is 'husband' not 'Yahwè,' might we give the word its Arabic meaning and render 'welcome me'?[2]

iii. Josephus explains Roubel, Ρουβηλος (*Ant.* i. 19 7), his form of the name (see § 8), by saying that Leah felt she had experienced the mercy of God (διότι κατ' ἔλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο).[3]

It is not certain what the last consonant of the name is.

8. Form of name. The traditional forms are רְאוּבֵן; ρουβην [BADEFL], -βειν [Gen. 42 22 37 E], -βιμ [L in 2 K. 10 33 Ch.; E in Gen. 30 14], ρουβιν 1 Ch. 5 1 3 [L], Joseph. -βηλος, 4 7 3, § 166 var. ρουβιμ; Syr. *rūbīl*; Vg. *Ruben*; gentilic **Reubenite** רְאוּבֵנִי, in 𝔊 not usually distinguished from the 'personal' form, but 1 Ch. 11 42 ρουβηνι [L], 26 32 ρουβην[ε]ι [BA], Josh. 22 1 ρουβηνῖται [A]; Josephus, οἱ ρουβηνιται, ἡ ρουβηλις φυλή.

The explanations adduced already (§ 7) imply that the final consonant was early pronounced as *n*; but Hos. 4 15 5 8 10 5 make it probable that in the case of Bethel the *n* which has established itself in the modern local pronunciation (*Beitīn*) took the place of *l* early.[4]

The real origin of the name is unknown. i. On the view that the final letter was *n*, Baethgen (*Beitr.* 59, 1888) connects with the Arabic Ru'ba = Rubat-is (*CIL* 8 2415), comparing the ending ēn in Yardēn (EV 'Jordan'), and so, before him, Land (*De Gids*, Oct. 1871, p. 21) who is reminded of Arab. *ra'ab*. The inscription, Glaser 302, from Hadaḳān, speaks of a tribe בני[5] ראבן (*CIS* 4 no. 37, *l.* 5), sons of R'bn',[6] vowels unknown. The comparison

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[1] On the other hand, we must remember that the old etymologists were easily content (cp Gunkel).

[2] The most obvious derivation 'Behold! a son' is passed over: names with imperatives (Olshaus. *Lehrb.* 613), common in Assyrian, were probably not in use among the Hebrews (cp Gray, *HPN* 65 *f.*). Gesen. thought of רְאוּי in the sense of 'provided.' The *Glossæ Colbertinæ* gives Ρουβην, ὁρῶν υἱός (Lag. *OS*(2)).

[3] Did he think of רְאוּי בְּאֵל (בְּ of agent: cp Targ. Jon. גְּלֵי קֳדָם־יי עוּלְבּוֹנִי), or possibly רַחוּם אֵל?

[4] Cp Barth, *Etym. Stud.*, § 19.

[5] Cp ראבם, *ZDMG* 26 425 *TSBA* 6 199.

[6] A name occurring several times in the Turin papyrus as borne by kings of the thirteenth Egyptian dynasty, a resemblance

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of the ēn in Yardēn is not necessary. Reuben might be a name on the analogy of SIMEON (§ 8 i.), GIDEON, etc.

Reuben would then be a case of the kind referred to by Barth, *NB*, p. xxix, n. 1, in which the termination instead of preserving its old vowel *ā* (as in *šulḥān*; not šulḥōn, to avoid concurrence of 'rounded' vowels) changed it to *ē*[1] (cp לוּלֵא instead of לוּלֹא, for earlier לוּלָא).

ii. Some also of the explanations assuming the last consonant to be l take the name to be simple. Ball derives it from the root r'b[2] which in Arabic means to repair,[3] comparing the noun ra'ūb which is applied metaphorically (Zamaḫšarī, *Asās* acc. to Lane, but not in Cairo ed.) to describe one as a rectifier of affairs.[4]

Lagarde suggested (*OS*(2) 367 *f.*) that Reuben, or rather Re'ôbēn, is to be identified with *Ra'ābil* shortened from *Ra'ābīl*, plural of Ri'bāl, a lion (or wolf).[5] According to the *Tāj el-'Arūs* the *rayābīl* of the Arabs were those 'who used to go on hostile expeditions upon their feet [and alone].'

According to Ibn Sīda the Andalusian (*Moḥkam*[6]) 'some say that ri'bāl means also one who is the only offspring of his mother[7] [*i.e.* opp. of twin: el-Bustāni].'[8] Another suggested origin is 'Jerahmeel' (JUDAH, § 3); cp REU [see *Crit. Bib.*].

iii. Others hold the name to be compound. (*a*) The first element is taken by older writers to be rĕ'ū in the sense of 'face' (Kohler, *Der Segen Jacobs*, 27 [1867]; Kue. *Th. T* 5 291 [1871]), or *rĕ'ū* in the sense of 'flock' (Redslob, *Die ATlichen Namen*, etc., 86 [1846]); by later writers to be rĕ'ū[9] in the sense of 'friend' (Kerber, *Die Rel.-gesch. Bedeutung der Heb.-Eigennamen des AT*, 70) or rather as a divine name[10] (see below, § 10). (*b*) The second half was identified by Nestle (*Israel. Eigennamen*, 1876) with Bin (= Bir, Bur), by others (Redslob, 1846; Köhler, 1867; Kue., 1871; Houtsma, 1876; Wi., *GI* 1 120 n. 2) with Bel.

The theory that Reubel contains the names Reu and Bel seems to merit consideration. A parallel formation[11] is the name Reu-el.[12] When one remembers the peculiar mystification that has occurred in connection with the names Hobal ‖ Jethro ‖ Reuel one is led to ask, May not there be some connection between Reu-el and Reu-bel?[13] There is, in fact, notwithstanding the difference in the tone of the narratives, a strange parallelism between the critical attitude adopted towards Moses by Reu-bel in the earlier story in Nu. 16 and that adopted by Moses'

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to which has been noticed (*e.g.*, by C. Niebuhr, *Ebr. Zeitgesch.* 250 [1894], and, without approval, by Ball, *SBOT* [1896]), cannot plausibly be connected with Reuben: it is of course a personal name, and is doubtless to be read Wbn-rē' ('rising of Rē''), not Ra-uben.

[1] After this article was finished the writer noticed that Barth himself makes this very suggestion (*NB* 320, end of long note) with the same examples.

[2] Cp the personal name ראבאל in the inscription from Sūd, Hal. 353, *l.* 1.

[3] The advent of Reuben was to reconcile Jacob to Leah.

[4] It is to *ra'b*, not, as Ball seems to imply, to *ra'ūb*, that the metaphorical meaning of 'big, bulky, portly, or corpulent chief' is assigned in the *Ḳāmūs* and the *Tāj el-'Arūs*.

[5] He compares Aroer, plural of 'Ar'ār (cp above, col. 317, n. 1).

[6] Quoted by Lane, *ad voc.*

[7] *man taliduhu ummuhu waḥdahu.*

[8] Reuben was the first-born of Leah. Rebecca had twins.

[9] On the softening of gutturals when *r* or *l* occurs in the same word see Wi. *AOF* 1 287, *GI* 1 210 n. 4, 120, n. 2.

[10] Cp Duval, *Rev. As.* 8th Ser. 18 126 [1891]; A. Mez, *Gesch. d. Stadt Ḥarrân* 23 [1892]. Cp the male proper name Ra-'-u in one of the tablets containing deeds of sale, barter, and lease with Phœnician dockets in 3 R. 46 14 d (no. 8, *l.* 11). Ru-'-a is the name of an Aramaic tribe mentioned in the clay tablet inscription of Tiglath-pileser III. 2 R. 67 7, Ru-'-u-a a tribe mentioned twice in Sennacherib's clay prism 1 R. 37 44 41 36.

[11] Reu-bel and Reu-el were cited as similar tribe-names by Houtsma, 'Israël en Qain,' *Th. T* 10 92 *f.* (1876). Cp Skipwith, *JQR* 11 247, 251 [1899].

[12] Cp Jehi-el in 1 Ch. 27 32 = 2 S. 23 8 Ish [read yēš?: Marquart, *JQR* 14 344 n. 1] -baal.

[13] The root יתר (Jethro) occurs thrice in the 'blessing' of Reuben in Gen. 49 3 *f.*

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ḥôthēn (חתן; see JETHRO, second paragraph) in Ex. 18: 'What is this thing that thou doest to the people? Why sittest thou thyself alone, and all the people stand about thee from morning unto evening? . . . The thing that thou doest is not good' (Ex. 18_{14} $_{17}$).

Whatever be thought of the particular parallelism just referred to and its bearing on the question of the name Reuben, it is surely suggestive in regard to the general Reuben-problem that we should have a community of no historical importance, but held to be the first-born of Israel, into connection with which it is possible to bring a whole series of stories[1] differing altogether in details, but coinciding in the fundamental point of setting Reuben in some form in opposition to the recognised representatives of Israel:—

1. the criticism of Reuel (Ex. 18)
2. the discontent of the sons of Reubel (Nu. 16)
3. the stone[s] erected by Reubel (Josh. 22): cp stone of Bohan
4. the ambition[2] of Reubel (Gen. 35_{22})
5. the sacrilegious greed of Achar (Achan), if he was really a Reubenite (see below, § 12)
6. the disagreement between Reuben and the other sons of Israel (at Dothan?),[3] Gen. 42_{22} [E] ['ye would not listen'].[4]

We may even find a seventh story when we proceed to consider the Reubenite genealogy § (11).

These stories seem to imply a widespread conviction of the occurrence at some time of a grave event or series of events.[5] Such convictions are often due to actual reminiscence of fact. It is possible even to go further and reconstruct a history thus:—

The Nu. 16 story (on the details see DATHAN) implies, for example, that Reuben disagreed with its associates at Kadesh and led its party northwards into Palestine. The attribution of Hezron and Carmi clans both to Reuben and to Judah (see § 12) means that Reuben settled W. of Jericho in contact with Judah. The Bilhah story (§ 5) means that the Jacob-Rachel tribe spread southwards and had friendly relations with Reuben, but as Benjamin branched off, absorbing such elements as Bilhah had left (see NAPHTALI, § 1) when it migrated northwards, the relations of Reuben towards Bilhah became less friendly, which brought on Reuben a curse. The 'altar' story (Josh. 22) means that the Josephites of Shechem took umbrage at the southern Josephites (half Manasseh) for having a common sanctuary with the Reubenites, and this anger was afterwards supposed to have been against Reuben. The Dathan and Abiram story means that the Reubenites on their part rebelled against certain pretensions of the south-Josephite priests. Finally, Reuben crossed Jordan and penetrated as a wedge into Gadite territory.[6] 1 Ch. 2_{21-23} means that the Reubenite clan Hezron subsequently united with Gileadite clans to produce Segub the father of Jair (cp MANASSEH, 1 § 9, last small type).

The arguments for this reconstruction are set forth with skill by Steuernagel (*Einwanderung*). The result is *a priori* plausible. Is there adequate warrant, however, for so high an estimate of the historical character of the legends (cp B. Luther, *ZATW* 19_{1} *ff.* [1901]; Wi. *OLZ* 2_{117} *ff.*, *KAT*(3) 213, etc.)? The questions involved are far-reaching and intricate, and are better treated comprehensively than in relation to one particular tribe (see TRIBES, and cp NAPHTALI, § 1, begin.). Here we may be content with the general conclusion that a Reuben of some importance was believed to have flourished some time, and the judgment that the belief was probably justified.[1]

It must be remembered that if Reuben really lived east of the Jordan there may have been many traditions which failed to find a place in the literature of Western Palestine (cp GAD, § 11). On the other hand, it will not be surprising if additional reasons should be found for connecting Reuben with the southern tribes (cp SIMEON, § 8 ii.).

11. Genealogies. Reuben was believed to have had two sons. In the Joseph story indeed he had *only* two ('my two sons' Gen. 42_{37} [E]); and even there it is the death of the two sons that is thought of. In Nu. 16 two sons of Reuben are buried alive (16_{31} $_{33a}$, J; $_{32a}$ $_{33b}$, E). They are called Dathan[2] and Abiram[3] (cp Ps. 106_{17} Dt. 11_{6}). Dathan is a strange name[4] (reminding one of Dothan, the scene of Reuben's argument: see above, § 10, 6); but Abiram we know as a first-born son who was said to have been buried (alive?) in the foundation of a city. He is said to have been a son of HIEL [*q.v.*] ב׳ האלי, whereas in Nu. 16 Abiram is a son of Eliab אליב; but these (ב׳ האלי and ב׳ אליאב) are not impossible variants. Abiram's brother is called Segub in MT of 1 K. 16_{34}; but in 1 Ch. 2_{21} *f.* the clan called Segub ben Hezron in MT is in 𝔊B called Serug, which is in Gen. 11_{20} a son of Reu (see below, § 12, end). The mention of Hezron brings us to the stock genealogy of Reuben: Gen. 46_{9} = Nu. 26_{6} = Ex. 6_{14} = 1 Ch. 5_{3}.

12. In P. In it there is, at least at first sight, no trace of the famous two sons. In their stead we find four names: Hanoch, Pallu, Hezron, and Carmi. The first appears as a Midianite clan in Gen. 25_{4} (cp GAD, § 11, last small type paragraph), the second (φαλλους generally; Jos. φαλ[α]ους) appears in Nu. 16_{1} as Peleth (φαλεθ [BAF]), which suggests the Negeb (see PELETH); but 𝔊L gives φαλεκ—*i.e.*, Peleg.[5] The third and fourth (Hezron and Carmi) appear also, as has been mentioned (§ 10), in a genealogy of Judah. In the case of Hezron that seems certain; although whether the inferences that have been drawn from it are warranted is at least doubtful (cp MANASSEH, § 9, last small type, and above, § 10, end). The case of Carmi is less secure. In 1 Ch. 4_{1} Carmi may be a mistake for Caleb (We. Benz. *ad loc.*), and 26 *f.*, or at least 2_{7}, is surely an interpolation. 2_{7} might just as well stand after 5_{3}. On the other hand, in Josh. 7, although *v.* 1 may not be original, it is difficult to account for Carmi in *v.* 18 unless there was known to be a Carmi in Judah, or the story was originally told of Reuben, not Judah, as Steuernagel suggests (*Einwanderung*, p. 19 [e]).

As we have seen, Dt. 11_{5} mentions a 'son' of Reuben of the name of Eliab, who in Nu. 26_{8}[6] is introduced into the genealogy as a son of Pallu.

[1] The fate of 'Ād and Thamūd seems to have appealed to the imagination of Mohammed. They are referred to in the Ḳorān, together or apart, some twenty-one times. Cp the NT references to Sodom.

[2] Cp the cases of Abner, Absalom, and Adonijah.

[3] Steuernagel supposes that some actual conflict between Joseph and the Leah tribes occurred in the neighbourhood of Dothan (*Einwanderung*, 97). If so, possibly Reuben sided with Joseph.

[4] It seems to be only a further illustration of the extraordinary confusion in the stories about Reuben that in the earlier reference, which appears also to be in E, the brothers *did* listen (Gen. 37_{22} *f.*).

[5] Stucken (above, col. 4089, n. 1) finds a mythological reference in the Reuben saying in Gen. 49_{3}. Reuben (‖ Adam ‖ Behemoth) was a being who once had world power but lost it. He compares the description of Behemoth in Job 40_{16} (p. 51), and connects him with the sign Aquarius (p. 69). Otherwise Wi. *GI* 2_{59}.

[6] On the question when this might have occurred see the suggestion of Steuernagel (*Einwanderung*, 20) that it may be connected with 1 Ch. 5_{10} (the Hagrites, temp. Saul).

[1] On the possibility of a connection between the Leah tribes and the Ḥabiri see NAPHTALI, § 3 (sec. par.), SIMEON, § 6 ii. ZEBULUN.

[2] Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7 3, § 166) reads δαθαμ[ου].

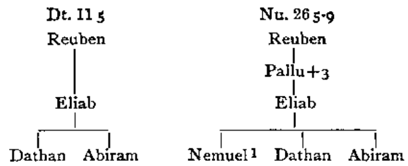
[3] Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 7 3, § 166) adds Pallu [φαλαους].

[4] *Da-at-nu* is a synonym of *ḳarradu*, 'strong' (Del. *Ass. HWB* 596 *a*, no. 36), and *di-ta-nu* is 'ein[starkes] Thier.' Shalmaneser's Black obelisk (*l.* 161) mentions receiving tribute from a certain Da-ta-na, of Ḫubuškia (towards Urmia).

[5] The passage in Judg. 5 referred to above (§ 1) accentuates a strange parallelism between the Reubenites of the genealogies and the Semites of Gen. 11_{10}:—

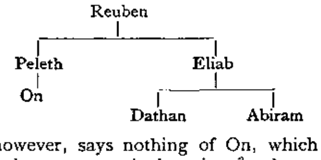
Gen. 11	Reuben	Judg. 5
Eber (עבר)		עבר (*v.* 17)
Peleg (פלג)	φαλεκ	פלגות (*v.* 15 *b*, 16*b*)
Reu (רעו)	Reu-bel	Reu-bel
Serug (שרוג)	Serug b. Hezron (above, § 11)	שרקות (*v.* 16*a*)
Abram	Abiram (above, § 11)	

[6] NEMUEL (*q.v.*), who appears in Nu. 26_{9}† as a third son (the eldest) of Eliab, may come by mistake from *v.* 12, where he is the eldest son of *Simeon*.



This (with omission of Nemuel[1]) seems to be the scheme followed in Nu. 16 1, as we have it.[2] It appears indeed to be complicated by Eliab and Peleth (for Pallu) being treated as unconnected, and Peleth being given a son ON [*q.v.*]; and this has been supposed to represent the version of J (*e.g.*, *Oxf. Hex.*).

Nu. 16 1 [as in MT]



Josephus, however, says nothing of On, which may in Nu. 16 1 be due to a marginal variant[3]: the variant represented by 𝕲 which reads as usual Abir*on* for Abir*am* (see, however, ON).

The Chronicler has attached to the Reubenite genealogy two appendices, one tracing the pedigree of a certain BEERAH to an otherwise unknown Joel[4] (1 Ch. 5 4-6), the other perhaps a variant form of the same list (*v.* 7 *f.*): thus

13. In 1 Chron.

v. 4 Joel	*v.* 8 Joel
Shemaiah	*v.* 8 Shema
Gog (גוג)	*v.* 8 Azaz (עזז)
Shimei	
v. 5 Micah	
Reaiah	
Baal (בעל)	*v.* 8 Bela (בלע)
v. 6 Beerah	*v.* 7 [Ze]chariah
	v. 7 Jeiel

There is nothing to show what led the Chronicler to connect these lists with Reuben (cp Gray, *HPN* 257 *f.*), unless it be the reference to Tiglath-pileser (cp 2 K. 15 29) and the geographical references in *v.* 9 *f.*

With Shemaiah, Shimei, Shema, and Zechariah may be compared Shammua ben Zaccur, the name given to the Reubenite 'spy' (Nu. 13 4), and Eliezer ben Zichri, David's ruler (*nāgīd*) over the Reubenites (1 Ch. 27 16). On the natural omission of a representative of Reuben from the list of dividers of western Palestine, cp GAD, 1 § 13 (last sentence). On the list containing Adina[5] ben Shiza[6] (1 Ch. 11 42) see Gray, *HPN* 229 *f.*, and cp DAVID, § 11 (a) ii.

Whether or not there was also a theory of a tribe Reuben which entered Palestine by way of the Negeb, the prevailing theory of the present Hexateuch and related passages was that Reuben arrived in E. Palestine from abroad, in close connection with Gad (*q.v.*, § 11). The questions bearing on the real character,[7] origin, and history of the population of E. Palestine are best considered elsewhere (GAD, §§ 1-4). All that is necessary here is to supplement what is said there (GAD, § 12) with regard to the geographical details given, in indifference to each other, by the various Hexateuch writers.

14. Geographical details.

Of the nine towns asked for by Gad and Reuben in Nu. 32 3 we are told in 32 37 *f.* that the men of Reuben [re]built the last five: HESHBON, ELEALEH, SIBMAH (called Sebam in *v.* 3), NEBO, and BEON, with the addition of KIRIATHAIM.[1] As noticed above (§ 2), all these six towns are Moabite in Is. 15, Jer. 48.

This list is, however, ignored by P in his enumeration (Josh. 20 8; cp Dt. 4 43, given by Moses) of the 'cities of refuge' and (Josh. 21 36 *f.* = 1 Ch. 6 78 *f.* [63 *f.*]) the 'levitical' [Merari] cities 'of the tribe of Reuben' (ממטה ר׳): BEZER (city of refuge; Bozrah in Jer. 48 24), JAHAZ (Jahzah in Jer. 48 21), KEDEMOTH[2] (perhaps for Kiriathaim [קדמות for קריתם] mentioned in Jer. 48 23), and MEPHAATH (Jer. 48 21); but he confines himself to cities assigned to Moab in Jer. 48.

In Josh. 13 15-23 P endeavours to define the territory of Reuben.

He gives him, besides the levitical cities just mentioned (Jahaz, Mephaath, Kedemoth = Kiriathaim ?), *two* cities said in Nu. 32 34-36 to have been built by *Gad* (Aroer, Dibon), one assigned to Gad in Josh. 21 39, 1 Ch. 6 81 [66] (Heshbon), four assigned elsewhere to Moab (MEDEBA, BAMOTH-BAAL, BETH-BAAL-MEON, BETH-JESHIMOTH), and the following three: ZERETH-SHAHAR (only here), ASHDOTH-PISGAH (also Dt.), and BETH-PEOR (the burial-place of Moses, and scene of the Dt. discourses), but only one of the cities said in Nu. 32 37 *f.* to have been built by Reuben (Sibmah).

The contradictions make it impossible to construct a map. In general terms, however, what is claimed for Reuben lies within what is claimed for GAD (*q.v.* § 3). See the map in Stade, *GVI* 1, facing p. 149. Cp Steuernagel, *Einwanderung*, 19 (*f.*). H. W. H.

REUEL (רְעוּאֵל; ραγουηλ [BADEL]). 1. The personification of a clan in Edomite and Arabian territory, which, according to Winckler (*GI* 1 210), derived its name from a divine name Re'u (= ראי in אל ראי, Gen. 16 13 and ראו in ראובל, Reubel[3] [true form of ראובן, Reuben ?]). This explanation, however, is incomplete; both אל ראי and ראובל are, judging from numerous analogies in badly transmitted names, corruptions of ירחמאל (Jeraḥme'el), and the same origin naturally suggests itself for רעואל (Re'u'el). See, however, NAMES, § 47, and cp REUBEN, § 9. In the genealogical system Reuel is both a son of Esau by Basemath (Gen. 36 4 10 13 17 1 Ch. 1 35 37) and the father of Moses' father-in-law Hobab, Nu. 10 29 [J], where 'Midianite' should perhaps be 'Kenite'[4] (Judg. 1 16 4 11). In Ex. 2 18 (𝕲^{AL} ιοθορ), 'Reuel' their father is puzzling. On the principles of literary analysis of documents we assume that Reuel is a harmonistic insertion, Reuel being here represented by the redactor (R) as father of Zipporah, in order that HOBAB [*q.v.*] and JETHRO [*q.v.*] may both be brothers-in-law. For consistency's sake the insertion ought also to have been made in *v.* 16, where originally Hobab (J's name for the father-in-law of Moses) must have stood.[5]

2. Father of ELIASAPH, a Gadite chief (Nu. 2 14 [P]). In Nu. 1 14 also, 𝕲 has *ραγουηλ* where MT has דְּעוּאֵל (DEUEL); so too in 7 42 47 10 20.

3. A Benjamite (1 Ch. 9 8). T. K. C.

REUMAH (רְאוּמָה; ρεηρα [A], -μα [*D*L]), the concubine of NAHOR (*q.v.*); Gen. 22 24.

REVELATION, BOOK OF. See APOCALYPSE.

REZEPH (רֶצֶף; in Ki. ραφεις [BL], ραφες [B^{ab}], -εθ [A], in Is. ραφεθ [BQ$^{mg.}$], -εις [A], -ες [ℵQ*]), mentioned by Assyrian envoys (temp. Hezekiah) among other places destroyed by Sennacherib's predecessors, (2 K. 19 12 Is. 37 12). It is usually identified with the (*mât*) *Raṣappa* repeatedly mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions (cp Del. *Par.* 297, Schr. *KAT*$^{(2)}$ 327), and the name has been found in the Amarna Tablets (B 10), in a letter from Tarḫundarauš Arṣapi to Amenḥotep III. of Egypt. With this place we may identify

1 See n. 6 on previous column.
2 Cp Graf, *Die Geschichtlichen Bücher*, 89 n.
3 'and *-on*'—that is to say, 'otherwise Abir*on*.' Read: Dathan and Abiram, the sons of Eliab [and *-on*], the son of Paleth—Pallu, the son[s] of Reuben.
4 Kittel (*SBOT* [Heb.], 1895) follows Syr. and Arab. in reading Carmi; but that may be an emendation (so Benzinger, *KHC, ad loc.*).
5 Perhaps late, cp ADIN; but cp also Jehoaddan.
6 Probably corrupt (𝕲^{A} σεχα). See SHIZA.
7 Compare col. 4089 n. 6.

1 Perhaps the lists did not originally agree. Kiriathaim having in *v.* 37 the place occupied in *v.* 3 by Sebam, Sibma is in *v.* 38 simply added at the end of the list.
2 Elsewhere only in Dt. 2 26, where it may be a corruption of Kadesh: see KEDEMOTH.
3 Houtsma (*Theol. Tijdschr.* 10 92) also compares Reubel. Hommel, however, reports a S. Arabian personal name רְצַאֵל.
4 So Bu., comm. on Judg. 1 16 *f.*, who assumes the harmonising of an editor.
5 In Gen. 25 3 𝕲^{AE} one of the sons of Dedan is called Reuel. 𝕲^{D} has *ραγου[ηλ]*.

the ρησαφα of Ptol. (5 15), and the mod. Ruṣâfa, 3½ m. SW. of Sura on the Euphrates, on the road leading to Palmyra. We have no independent notice of the destruction of Reṣeph, and this, together with certain other suspicious phenomena, has led the present writer to the supposition that, as most probably in many other passages, the editor has been busy in reconstructing the geographical and historical background; *i.e.*, that 'Gozan' has been put for 'Cushan' (the N. Arabian Cush), 'Reṣeph' for 'Ṣarephath,' 'Telassar' for 'Tel-asshur' or 'Tel-ashḥur' (cp ASHHUR), 'Arpad' for 'Ephrath.' Of the other names, 'Haran' (cp 1 Ch. 2 46), 'Eden,' 'Hamath' (probably a *popular* distortion of 'Maacath') need not be corrupt; they are good N. Arabian border-names, familiar by tradition to Judahite writers. SEPHARVAIM [*q.v.*] is made up of Sephar (= Zarephath) and a fragment of 'and Jerahmeel'; 'Hena' and 'Ivvah' also probably represent the *place-name* 'Jerahmeel,' unless Ivvah has been miswritten for אַיֵּה; cp 𝔊ᴸ, 2 K. 18 34, καὶ ποῦ (אַיֵּה) εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ τῆς χώρας Σαμαρείας; μὴ ἐξείλαντο τὴν Σαμ. ἐκ χειρός μου; see SEPHARVAIM, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

The ironical remarks of Winckler (*A T Unt.* 40) and Benzinger (*Kön.* 182) on the archæological learning of the late author of 2 K. 19 12 *f.*, which was, however, thrown away on the hearers of the supposed speech of the Assyrian envoys to Hezekiah, are natural enough, if the accuracy of MT may be assumed. It is probable, however, that even at a late date the people of Judah would be able to appreciate historical references bearing on places much nearer to them than Gozan, and Rezeph, and a Mesopotamian Tel-asshur. T. K. C.

REZIA, RV **Rizia** (רִֽצְיָא, § 28; 'Yahwè is gracious' for רְצָיָה, or from some ethnic; ραс[є]ιa [BAL]), in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 39.

REZIN (רְצִין; ρaaccωn, ρacєin [B in Is. 7], ρaccωn [B in Is. 8], ρacin [Aq., Sym., Th. in Qᵐᵍ· in Is. 8]; Ass. *Ra-ṣun-nu*). If we take the MT as it stands, it is evident that Rezin, king of Aram-damascus, in alliance with Pekah of Israel, endeavoured to overthrow Ahaz, king of Judah, and to enthrone ben-Tāb'ēl, a creature of their own, in his stead. To escape from this danger, they applied for help to the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser (2 K. 16 5 7 *ff.* Is. 7 1).

To the present writer, however, it appears that there has been another of those confusions which have made it so difficult to retrace the true course of the history of Israel (see TABEAL). The Aram of which Rezin was king was possibly not the northern but a southern country of that name (see *Crit. Bib.*). Critics have duly noticed that Is. 7 1 is really no part of the biography of Isaiah, but borrowed from 2 K. 16 5, and have conjectured that the original opening of chap. 7 had become illegible (see *Intr. Is.* 31). It is possible, however, that it was omitted because it contained some definite historical statements respecting the invaders which the redactor, from his imperfect historical knowledge, could not understand. It is not even certain that the king who is mentioned in the second place was really Pekah, king of Israel. The present writer sees some reason to think that both kings were N. Arabians, and that the second king was confounded with Pekah, partly from a partial resemblance of the names and partly because the traditional father of each of them was called 'Remaliah,' which is a corrupt form of 'Jerahmeel' (Che.). It was, however, certainly to Tiglath-pileser (not to be confounded with PUL [*q.v.*]) that Rezin applied for help. In Is. 8 4 we should probably read, 'The riches of Cusham and the spoil of Shimron shall be carried away before the king of Assyria.' In 2 K. 16 6 there is no sufficient cause for emending 'Aram' into 'Edom.' It was a matter of great importance to the southern 'Arammites' to obtain command of a harbour. Hiram, king of Misrim (see SOLOMON, § 3 *b*), was content to leave Ezion-geber nominally in the hands of Solomon; but Rezin was not inclined to put any trust in the Judahites.

See DAMASCUS, § 10, ISRAEL, § 32, and cp REZON. T. K. C.

REZIN (רְצִין; ρacωn [BA], -aacc· [L]), the name of a post-exilic family of Nethinim, and therefore (see NETHINIM), according to Cheyne's theory, N. Arabian (cp such names as Shamlai [Ishmael], Giddel [the southern Gilead], Reaiah [Jerahmeel]); Ezra 2 48 = Neh. 7 50 (ρaєcωn [א], ρaacωn [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 31 (δaιcan [B], δєcan [A], ρacωn [L], DAISAN, EV).

REZON (רְזוֹן, 'prince?' cp Sab. רזן, רזון, רזן and רזן, 'ruler' [PRINCE, 13]; We. *Heid.*(2) 59, n. 1, would connect the name with the Ar. deity *Ruḍā* in such Palmyrene compound names as תימרצו [servant of R.]; but may it not be miswritten for רצין?), the founder of a dynasty at Damascus, and a contemporary of Solomon (1 K. 11 23, єcρωм [B], om. A, cp HEZION; *razon* [Vg.]). Who Rezon was, is by no means clear from our text (cp DAMASCUS, § 7). Most regard him as a northern Aramæan.

Rezon is called, however, son of Eliada, which is a Hebrew name, and Winckler's way of accounting for this (see ELIADA, 3) is improbable. Treating the subject in connection with ZOBAH, *q.v.*], we may venture to conjecture that he was probably a N. Arabian, and that his father's name, like 'Jedi'a'el' is a modification of 'Jerahme'el.' It was from the king not of Zobah but of Miṣṣur (Muṣri) that Rezon fled, and the capital of the realm which he founded was not Damascus, but Cusham (cp PROPHET, § 37). We may presume that he was an ally of Hadad, who was also an 'adversary' to Solomon, and appears to have been king, not of Edom, but of Aram—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel. The geographical boundaries of these neighbouring kingdoms we cannot determine; but they were close to the Negeb, which Solomon (see SOLOMON, § 7) appears to have succeeded in retaining. Probably they were both vassals of the natural overlord of that region—the king of Miṣṣur, whose daughter became Solomon's wife. Cp, however, Winckler, *GI* 2 272, *KAT*(3) 240. T. K. C.

REGIUM (ρнгιon, Acts 28 13). A town on the Italian coast, at the southern entrance of the straits of *Messina* (mod. *Reggio*).

The name (= 'breach') was generally supposed to bear reference to the idea that earthquakes or the long-continued action of the sea had broken asunder or breached the land-bridge between Italy and Sicily (Strabo, 258; Diod. Sic. 4 85). The Latin form of the name, Regium, gave rise to an absurd alternative derivation (Strabo, *l.c.*).

The town was an offshoot of the Chalcidians settled on the other side of the strait, in Messana (for a sketch of its early history, see Strabo, 257 *f.*). Its position on the strait made it very important, for the direct distance to Messana is only about six geographical miles, and under Anaxilas (about 494 B.C.) the two cities were united under one sceptre. Although the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius I. totally destroyed the town, so important a site could not long lie desolate, and it was repeopled by his son and successor. During the Hannibalic war Rhegium remained loyal to Rome and materially contributed to Hannibal's ultimate defeat by cutting off his communications with Africa. After the Social war it became a Roman municipium like the other Greek cities of southern Italy. During the war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius (38-36 B.C.), Rhegium was often the headquarters of Octavian's forces (Dio Cass. 48 14); and, by way of reward, its population was increased by the addition of a body of time-expired marines (Strabo, 259), and it assumed the name *Rhegium Julium* (Orell. *Inscr.* 3838). About Paul's time it was a populous and prosperous place, still preserving many traces of its Hellenic origin (Strabo, 253). It continued to exist as a considerable city throughout the period of the empire (Plin. 36). It was the terminus of the road which ran from Capua to the straits (the *Via Popilia*, made in 134 B.C.).

The ship in which Paul sailed had some difficulty in reaching Rhegium from Syracuse (Acts 28 13, περιελθόντες,[1] 'by tacking'; AV 'we fetched a compass,' RV, 'made a circuit'), as the wind did not lie favourably. At Rhegium she remained one day waiting for a wind for the narrow passage through which for want of sea-room a large ship could not easily work by tacking.[2] The run with the S. wind northwards to Puteoli (about 180 m. distant) would take about twenty-six hours (cp *v.* 13, δευτεραῖοι ἤλθομεν).

With the stages of Paul's journey as given here we may compare that of Titus, afterwards Emperor, in 70 A.D. (Suet.

[1] So to be read in preference to περιελόντες WH, 'casting loose.'

[2] For the difficulties of the straits, see Thuc. 4 24, ῥοώδης οὖσα εἰκότως χαλεπὴ ἐνομίσθη; Paus. v. 25 2, ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἡ κατὰ τοῦτον θάλασσα τὸν πορθμὸν θαλάσσης χειμεριωτάτη πάσης, where also he gives the explanation of this characteristic.

Tit. 5, 'Quare festinans in Italiam, cum Regium, dein Puteolos oneraria nave appulisset, Roman inde contendit').

W. J. W.

RHESA (ΡΗϹΑ, Ti.WH), a name in the genealogy of Jesus; Lk. 3 27. See GENEALOGIES ii., § 3.

RHINOCEROT (Is. 34 7, AVmg.). See UNICORN.

RHODA (ΡΟΔΗ, Ti.WH), the name[1] of the maid (ΠΑΙΔΙϹΚΗ) who answered the door when Peter knocked, Acts 12 13†. In one of the lists of 'the seventy' it is stated that Mark had a sister called Rhoda (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.*, Ergänzungsheft, 22).

RHODES (ΡΟΔΟϹ), a large and important island, lying in the south-eastern Ægean (the part called the Carpathian Sea), about 12 m. distant from the coast of Asia Minor; mentioned only incidentally in the NT (Acts 21 1). After leaving Cos, the ship in which Paul voyaged to Palestine from Macedonia touched at Rhodes, which was apparently her last port of call before Patara, where Paul transhipped. The same name was applied both to the island and its capital; but probably the latter is meant in this place. It stood at the northern extremity of the island, where a long point runs out towards Caria. The city possessed two chief harbours, both on the eastern side of the promontory. The foundation of the city of Rhodes (408 B.C.) was due to the joint action of the ancient Rhodian towns of Lindos, Ialysos, and Camiros (Diod. Sic. 13 75). 'The forces which, outwardly at least, had hitherto been divided, were now concentrated, and the good effects of this concentration for the island, as well as for Greece in general, were soon to appear' (Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 484).

The great political importance of the new city gradually asserted itself during the fourth century, and by Alexander's time it had become the first naval power in the Ægean, and a decisive factor (Diod. Sic. 20 81, *περιμάχητος τοῖς δυνάσταις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἦν, ἑκάστου σπεύδοντος εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φιλίαν προσλαμβάνεσθαι*). So great was the reputation of the city that Alexander chose it as the place of deposit of his will. The commercial importance of the place is indicated by the fact of the introduction of a new (Rhodian) standard of coinage; Rhodian coins are remarkable for their beauty (see on this Holm, *op. cit.* 3 49, and Head, *Hist. Numm.*, *s.v.*).

The commercial relations of Rhodes were principally with Egypt, but in fact the central position of the island in the mid-stream of maritime traffic between the E. and the W. assured her prosperity, and this, combined with good government at home and a wise foreign policy, lifted her to a position analogous to that of Venice in later times. The Rhodian harbours seemed to have been designed by Nature to attract the ships of Ionia, Caria, Egypt, Cyprus, and Phœnicia (Aristeid. *Rhod.* 341); and the consistent policy of neutrality, broken only by vigorous and decisive action when the peace and freedom of the seas were endangered, attracted foreign merchants, among whom, we may be sure, those of Jewish nationality were conspicuous (1 Macc. 15 23); young men were regularly sent to Rhodes to learn business (Plaut. *Merc.*, prol. 11). Rhodes did in the E. what Rome did in the W. in keeping the seas clear of pirates (Strabo, 652, *τὰ λῃστήρια καθεῖλε*; cp Pol. 4 19). Her maritime law was largely adopted by the Romans (cp *Pand.* xiv. 29); and the principle of 'general average,' for example, is Rhodian in origin, with probably much else in modern naval law that cannot now be traced.

Rhodes is connected with two passages in the life of Herod the Great. When on his way to Italy he contributed liberally towards the restorations rendered necessary to repair the ravages of Cassius in 42 B.C. (App. *BC* 4 72; Plut. *Brut.* 30). It was at Rhodes also that after the battle of Actium (31 B.C.) he had the meeting with Augustus upon which so much depended for him (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 6 6). It was in Rhodes that Antiochus VII. Sidetes (king of Syria, 138-128 B.C.), son of Demetrius I., heard of the imprisonment of his brother (Demetrius II.), and 'sent letters from *the isles of the sea* unto Simon the priest and governor of the Jews,' as told in 1 Macc. 15 1 *f.* (cp App. *Syr.* 68).

The Rhodians gained a privileged position as allies of Rome in the Macedonian and Mithridatic wars, but were deprived of their political freedom by Claudius (44 A.D.) for the crucifixion of Roman citizens (Dio Cass. lx. 24 4). In 56 A.D. this was restored to them (Tac. *Ann.* 12 58: 'reddita Rhodiis libertas, adempta sæpe aut firmata, prout bellis externis meruerant aut domi seditione deliquerant'). The island was finally reduced to a province (*i.e.*, made part of the province of Asia) by Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 8). Its great importance in the early Empire was gained through its schools of rhetoric, as that of Athens through her schools of philosophy.

Literature.—C. Newton, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant*, vol. 1; C. Torr, *Rhodes in Ancient Times* (Camb. 1885); Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 483 *f.* (the best short account in English); Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. 15; Ross, *Reisen u. Studien auf den gr. Inseln*, 3 70 *f.* On Rhodian art, see Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 2 468 *f.* Ancient authority, Strabo, p. 652 *f.*

W. J. W.

RHODOCUS (ΡΟΔΟΚΟϹ [AV]), a Jew who betrayed the plans of Judas the Maccabee to Antiochus Eupator (2 Macc. 13 21). On the discovery of his treachery he was imprisoned.

RHODUS (1 Macc. 15 23), RV RHODES.

RIBAI (רִיבַי), the father of ITTAI (*q.v.*) (2 S. 23 29, ΡΕΙΒΑ [B], ΕΡΙΒΑ [L] om. A; 1 Ch. 11 31, ΡΕΒΙΕ [B], ΡΑΒΕΙΑΙ [ℵ], ΡΗΒΑΙ [A], ΡΙΒΑΙ [L]). Comparing 𝔊L in 2 S. we may with Marquart (*Fund.* 20) restore יריבי; see JERIBAI.

RIBBAND (פְּתִיל), used in Nu. 15 38 AV of the 'cord' (so RV) of blue worn upon the FRINGES [*q.v.*].

For other usages of the Heb. *pāthīl* see BRACELETS, 2, CORD, RING.

RIBLAH (רִבְלָה; oftenest ΔΕΒΛΑΘΑ [BℵAFQΓL], and always 'Diblath' in Pesh.; on Nu. 34 11 see below). A city in the territory of Hamath (2 K. 23 33, *αβλαα* [B], *δεβλαα* [A];[1] 25 6 *ιερδεβλαθαν* [B], *εις δεβλαθα* [AL]; *v.* 21 *ρεβλαθα* [B]; Jer. 39 5, *ρ.* [Theod.; 𝔊 om.] and *v.* 6 *δ.* [Theod.; 𝔊 om.]; 52 9 *δεβαθα* [ℵ*]; 52 10 *δεβ . . θα* [Γ]). It is hardly possible in our brief space to give the reader a just idea of the new problems connected with the name of Riblah.

Whether the foreign king who dethroned Jehoahaz was really Necho, king of Egypt, has become rather uncertain (see ZEDEKIAH). For מִצְרַיִם, Mizraim (*i.e.*, Egypt), we should perhaps in 2 K. 23 34, as in so many other passages, read מִצְרִים, Mizrim; cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*. It was possibly, or even probably, a N. Arabian king called Pir'u, not an Egyptian Pharaoh, who brought the kingdom of Judah into vassalage. If so 'Riblah' may be a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel.' It is not less possible or probable that in the other passages where רבלה occurs 'Riblah' should be emended into 'Jerahmeel.' The accounts of geographical boundaries of Canaan in the OT have been, it would seem, systematically corrected, in good faith, but in complete misapprehension of the documents.

If we assume, however, provisionally, the data of the traditional text, how shall we explain them? In this case, 'Riblah' will be represented by the poor village of Ribleh, on the E. bank of the *Nahr el-'Āṣī* (Orontes), 35 m. NE. of Baalbec. It was here that Necho put Jehoahaz in chains (2 K. 23 33) and NEBUCHADREZZAR (*q.v.*) some twenty years later made his headquarters when he came to quell the Palestinian revolt.[2] Here Zedekiah saw his sons slain (2 K. 25 6 = Jer. 39 5 *f.* = 52 9 *f.*), and certain officers and people from Jerusalem were put to death (2 K. 25 20 *f.* = Jer.

[1] Another form of the name in classical literature is Rhodos (*ῥόδος*, fem.). It was borne by a daughter of Poseidon, and by one of the Danaids (see Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr.*, *s.v.*).

[1] *δεβλαθα* is identified by a scholiast on 2 K. 25 20 in cod. 243 with Daphne the suburb of Antioch in Syria; cp Jerome on Nu. 34 11.

[2] An inscription of Nebuchadrezzar found in the Wādy Brissa (on the E. of Lebanon) refers to the devastation wrought among the cedars of Lebanon by a foreign foe, and the flight of the inhabitants. Nebuchadrezzar's (second) visit to Riblah in 586, if historical, was to repair the damage done and to encourage the population of Lebanon which probably resisted the 'foreign foe' and suffered accordingly. The 'foreign foe' must have been Necho (Wi. *AOF* 504 *ff.*). This, however, must be accepted with some critical reserve.

52 26 *f.*). The occurrences of Riblah recognised by EV need some revision; the name should certainly be inserted in Ezek. 6 14, where Riblah (misread in MT as DIBLAH: AV 'Diblath'), as a boundary, takes the place of the more usual 'Hamath,' and it should as certainly be omitted in Nu. 34 11. Here, as most scholars suppose, the ideal eastern frontier of Canaan is described. The border, we are told, is to go down 'from Shepham HRBLH on the E. of Ain.' If we put aside the prejudice produced by the pointing (הָרִבְלָה), it seems probable that 'to Harbel' (הַרְבֵּלָה) is the meaning intended, and not 'to Riblah.' The right vocalisation was still known to the 𝔊 translator (ἀπὸ σεπφαμ αρβηλα; see SHEPHAM), and also to Jerome and Eusebius, who speak (*OS*, 86 6 214 172 232 54) of Arbela or αβηλα as a point on the eastern confines of Canaan. The *Speaker's Comm.* finds Harbel (more strictly הרבל) in the Har-baal-hermon of Judg. 3 3, and supposes the border to pass by the southern end of Mt. Hermon near the two best-known sources of the Jordan. If the current theory of the reference may provisionally be accepted, let us rather say that Harbel was synonymous with Har-baal-gad, since 'Baal-gad at the foot of Mt. Hermon' occurs in the parallel passage Josh. 13 5 instead of the Har-baal-hermon of Judg. 3 3. This view is at any rate more plausible than van Kasteren's identification of Hariblah with Halibnah, between the *Yarmūk* and the *Wādy Samak* (*Rev. bibl.*, 1895, p. 33). One of the spurs of the *Jebel esh-Shēkh* (Mt. Hermon) is in fact called Jebel Arbel.[1] But it is much to be feared that the identification is illusory. T. K. C.

RIDDLE occurs nine times in EV (Judg. 14 12-19, προβλημα; Ezek. 17 2, διηγημα) and twice in EVmg. (Prov. 1 6, αινιγμα; Hab. 2 6, προβλημα) as the rendering of Heb. חִידָה, *ḥīdāh.*

The word חירה, usually explained as 'something twisted or knotty,' but more probably (see Lag. *Griech. Uebersetz. der Prov.* 73) 'something shut up' (cp Aram. אחד, and Bibl.-Aram. אחירה), occurs seventeen times in MT and and once in Heb. Ecclus. 47 17; in 1 K. 10 1 2 Ch. 9 1 it is rendered 'hard question' (αἴνιγμα); in Ps. 49 5 [4] 78 3 [2] 'dark saying' (πρόβλημα); in Prov. 1 6 'dark saying' (αἴνιγμα); in Hab. 2 6 'proverb' (πρόβλημα); in Nu. 12 8 'dark speech' (αἴνιγμα); in Dan. 8 23 'dark sentence' (αἴνιγμα, πρόβλημα [Th.]) and in Ecclus. 47 17 'parable' (παραβολή); αἴνιγμα also occurs in Wisd. 8 8 ('dark saying'), Ecclus. 39 3 (AV 'dark parables,' RV 'dark sayings of parables'), 47 15 (EV 'dark parables,' RVmg. 'parables of riddles,' Heb. differs).

Thanks to its frequent parallelism with the word *māšāl* (see PROVERB), *ḥīdāh* has acquired a considerable range of meaning. Thus it denotes (1) a riddle as we understand the word—*e.g.* that propounded by Samson to the Philistines, Judg. 14 12 *ff.*, or those with which the Queen of Sheba is said to have proved Solomon, 1 K. 10 1 2 Ch. 9 1; (2) a sententious maxim (Prov. 30 15 *f.*, etc.) still affecting to preserve the form of a riddle but wanting its essentials—viz., the adequate characterisation of the object, and the pause before reply. Even the riddle form may be dispensed with, *ḥīdāh*, as in Prov. 1 6, denoting simply any sententious maxim, or as in Ps. 49 5 (where, however, there are textual difficulties) the statement of a moral problem. (3) A parable—as in Ezek. 17 3-10, though the passage is not pure parable, but partakes of the characteristics of riddle and allegory as well. On account of the allusive and figurative character of many of the satirical lays of popular history (*e.g.*, Nu. 21 27 *ff.* 1 S. 18 7, cp POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 iii.), the term *ḥīdāh* is not inappropriately used to designate them in Hab. 2 6, but its use in Ps. 78 2 is probably only due to the poet's needing a parallel to מָשָׁל. (4) Lastly, *ḥīdāh* is used quite generally to denote any unusual or difficult and perhaps esoteric mode of expression, Nu. 12 8 Dan. 8 23.

Bochart has discoursed learnedly of the use of the riddle by the Hebrews at feasts,[1] and we could easily believe that if our sources of information were not so narrow, we should find that the Israelites had some resemblance in this department to the Arabs, with whom there was almost a separate branch of enigmatic literature, with many subdivisions. Still, we have only one example of the riddle in the OT—the famous one of Samson (Judg. 14 14—'a very bad riddle,' G. F. Moore); of those referred to in 1 K. 10 1 3 the narrator has favoured us with no specimen; nor did Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 5 3) find in the Phœnician history of Dius any details of the riddles said to have been sent by Solomon to Hiram of Tyre, and by Hiram to Solomon (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5 3 [§ 149]). The information in post-biblical writings like the Midrash Mishlē or the 2nd Targum to Esther is certainly more curious than valuable.

In the NT 'riddle' occurs once, 1 Cor. 13 12, where, to some scholars, the combination of δι' ἐσόπτρου and ἐν αἰνίγματι appears difficult.

'Ἐν αἰν. (to which Origen, *c. Cels.* 7 50 and elsewhere, and the MSS LP prefix καὶ [in Orig. καὶ αἰνίγματος]) may no doubt be illustrated by Nu. 12 8 (𝔊), ἐν εἴδει καὶ οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων, which may perhaps have been explained 'in a well-defined form and not in indistinct blurred outlines' (for this use of αἴνιγμα see Origen on Jn. 1 9).

We do not want the additional phrase ἐν αἰνίγματι, which appears somewhat to mar the antithesis; what we look for is rather 'for now we see with the help of a mirror, but then face to face.' Preuschen would therefore omit ἐν αἰνίγματι as due to a later hand (*ZNTW*, 1900, p. 180 *f.*, cp MIRROR).

RIE occurs twice in AV (Ex. 9 32 Is. 28 25) as the rendering of כֻּסֶּמֶת, for which RV has rightly 'spelt.' See FITCHES. N. M.

RIGHT, RIGHTEOUSNESS. The Hebrew words for righteousness are *ṣédeḳ*, *ṣĕdāḳāh* (צֶדֶק, צְדָקָה), connected with which we have the adjective *ṣaddīḳ* (צַדִּיק) 'righteous,' and the verb *ṣādaḳ* (צָדַק) to be in the right—in Hiphil and Pi'el, to declare a person in the right. Probably the most original form of the root appears in the noun *ṣédeḳ*, from which the verb, appearing first in the Hiph. form, is a denominative. It is not easy to fix precisely the primary meaning of the root. Gesenius takes it to be 'straight'; Ryssel, with less reason, 'hard.' In any case the earliest sense which can be traced in actual use appears to be conformity to a recognised norm or standard.

1. Heb. terms.

Thus Beiḍāwi on Sur. 2 21 (quoted by Kautzsch) rightly explains the corresponding form in Arabic, viz. *ṣadḳ* as *muṭābiḳ*—*i.e.*, 'congruent,' so that things as unlike as a javelin and a date may each be described as sādiḳ, if they are as they should be. Nothing fresh can be learned from the Syriac usage, which simply repeats with less fulness that of the Hebrew and New Hebrew. 𝔊 has used great freedom in translating *ṣédeḳ* and its derivatives. δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦν are their commonest renderings; but we also find, *e.g.*, *ṣĕdāḳāh* represented by δικαίωμα, ἐλεημοσύνη (9 times), ἔλεος (3 times), and even by εὐφροσύνη (Is. 61 10), *ṣaddīḳ*, by ἀληθής, εὐσεβής, πιστός. On the other hand δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, δικαιοῦν stand in 𝔊 for many Hebrew words unconnected etymologically with the root צדק—*e.g.*, for פְּתִי, שָׁלֵם, נָדִיב, נָקִיא, יָשָׁר, טָהוֹר, חֶסֶד, אֱמֶת, etc.

It will be well before examining the history of the words in the OT, to mention two facts which should be borne in mind throughout, in tracing the idea of righteousness as the Hebrews understood it. In the first place, *ṣédeḳ* and its derivatives seldom occur in the older documents. They are pretty common in the literary prophets; they are exceedingly frequent in the wisdom literature and in the Psalms. Next, the meaning of these words becomes gradually wider, and assumes a more strictly ethical and religious signification. We may compare the use of δικαιοσύνη which is unknown to Homer and Hesiod, and also the expansion of meaning

[1] So Furrer in Riehm's *HWB*; cp Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 15 1, pp. 159, 183. In *ZDPV* 5 29 a different, and less plausible, identification was proposed (with *'Arbīn*, 5 kil. NE. of Damascus).

[1] *Hieroz.* 383 *f.*, ed. Rosenmüller. Cp Wünsche, 'Die Räthselweisheit bei den Hebräern,' *JPT*, 1883, and cp for examples Krafft, *Jüdische Sagen und Dichtungen.*

RIGHT, RIGHTEOUSNESS

in δίκη, δίκαιος from 'custom,' 'observant of recognised usage,'[1] till they stood for absolute justice and the man of ideal virtue. Similar analogies obviously appear in the Latin *justus*, and in our own terms 'right,' 'righteous,' etc.

It is doubtful whether real instances of the primitive use—viz., agreement with a physical norm—still survive in Hebrew. Lev. 19 36 Ezek. 45 10, 'exact balances,' 'exact weights,' etc., are commonly quoted as cases in point.

2. Development of meaning.

The passages, however, are late, and as the contrasted notion of iniquity occurs in the immediate context, it is by no means clear that we should not translate 'righteous balances,' etc. Similarly 'paths of *ṣédeḳ*' in Ps. 23 3 may mean 'paths of righteousness,' not simply 'straight paths.' Still less can Joel 2 23 be alleged as an example of *ṣĕdāḳāh* in its original—*i.e.*, physical—signification, for the translation given by Kautzsch 'early rain in full measure' is more than doubtful. We may perhaps acquiesce in the translation 'early rain for your justification'—*i.e.*, in proof that Yahwè has once more graciously accepted his people (so Wellh., Nowack, and Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.* 419 *ff.*).

Passing from the idea of conformity to a physical standard, we have to note the use of the plu. *ṣĕdāḳōth* (צדקות) in the earliest fragment of Hebrew literature—viz., the so-called 'Song of Deborah.' There the poet describes the valiant deeds of the Hebrews as due to the help which Yahwè gave, and might as the tribal God be fairly expected to give, his people. This seems to be his conception of *ṣĕdāḳōth*. It involves little or no ethical element. Yahwè acted in accordance with the natural bond between his worshippers and himself, and the plural form indicates the various occasions on which he did so.

To the same class we may perhaps refer Dt. 33 21, where God is said to have wrought the *ṣĕdāḳāh* of Yahwè, because he was the instrument of the divine purpose by repelling the foes of Israel. In the same poem (the 'Blessing of Moses,' Dt. 33 19) Zebulun calls the tribes to some sacred mountain that they may offer 'sacrifices of *ṣédeḳ*,' and this may mean no more than sacrifices offered duly—*i.e.*, according to the recognised form, and as a natural return for benefits conferred. Here, if this interpretation be sound, the ethical element is not wholly absent; but it is still faint and rudimentary.[2]

We have to deal next with the many cases in which the legal signification predominates. In the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. 23 7) we read, 'Thou shalt not put to death him who is innocent and *ṣaddīḳ*,' where clearly the legislator is not thinking of virtuous character, but of innocence from the charge brought before the court. This restricted use always continued long after the deeper and more universal meaning had become familiar.

3. Legal or forensic sense.

Isaiah, for example (5 23) speaks of צדקת צדיק—*i.e.*, the plea of a man who has a good case—and in Prov. 18 17 we are told that the first comer is right (צדיק)—*i.e.*, seems to be right in his contention till his opponent appears and puts him to the proof. See also Dt. 25 1 Prov. 17 15 18 5 24 24. Here it is necessary to note the significant fact that no feminine form of צדיק is found anywhere in the OT: indeed the use of the verb צדקה in Gen. 38 26 (the only occurrence of Ḳal in the Hexateuch) may fairly be accepted as proof that the adjective had no feminine form. This may be naturally accounted for on the ground that צדיק meant originally 'right in law,' and that a woman was not a 'person' with legal rights.

In early literature the use of the verb is almost wholly confined to the Hiphil, and the meaning of the verb corresponds to that of the adjective. In other words, the Hiphil verb means to decide in favour of a litigant, by declaring him to be in the right. So, for example,

[1] It is always assumed that the standard is external and recognised as correct. Thus, *e.g.*, Homer speaks of Autolycus as 'good' (ἐσθλόν, *Od.* 19 394), adding that he excelled all men 'in knavery and the oath.' He would not have called him δίκαιον. So now we might perhaps speak of 'a good thief,' but not of a just one.

[2] The use of ἔοικε, ἐοικώς in Homer is similar.

in Ex. 23 7 (𝔊) after a warning against oppression of the poor by corrupt administration of justice, the general principle is enunciated, 'for thou shalt not decide in favour of a malefactor.' A slightly different shade of meaning is given to the verb in Absalom's exclamation (2 S. 15 4), 'O that they would make me a judge in the land: then if any man came to me with a plea and a case, I would help him to his right' (והצדקתיו).[1]

By an easy transition the idea of legal right is extended to that of being in the right on some particular occasion without any implication as to general moral character. No more is implied in Judah's admission (Gen. 36 26), 'She' (Tamar) 'is more in the right than I (צדקה ממני),' or perhaps 'She has acted within her rights and can maintain her case against me.' (For this use of מן, cp Job 32 2.) Further, *ṣādaḳ* is used of one who is justified in his statement. This meaning is evident in Job 33 12 where, after quoting Job's words, Elihu says, 'Lo! in this [statement] thou art not justified: I will answer thee.' In the same way the adjective is employed, Is. 41 26, 'Who announced this from the beginning that we might know it . . . and say "Right"'—*i.e.*, 'he is right'? not, 'It is true,' for the Hebrew adjective is never used of things. Examples of this meaning in noun, adjective, and verb are numerous. See for use of the noun (*ṣédeḳ*) Is. 59 4 Ps. 52 5 [3] Prov. 8 8 16 13, of the verb in Hiph. Job 27 5 and in Hithpa. (perhaps), Gen. 44 16. In Arab. the use of the root for 'truth-speaking,' 'sincere,' is much more advanced and definite.

We may now turn to the idea of righteousness properly so called, of righteousness in its ethical signification; and here the investigation has its starting-point in the early literary prophets. In the reign of Jeroboam II. a capitalist class had arisen: the old tribal justice, depending on the bond of clan and still well-maintained among the Arabs of the desert, was well-nigh gone in Israel (see GOVERNMENT, § 12 *ff.*; LAW AND JUSTICE, § 2). Hence the passionate cry of Amos for national righteousness, for justice in the gates—*i.e.*, for right institutions rightly administered. He reiterates his protest that external ritual is of no avail without justice, 'Take away from me' (Yahwè speaks) 'the tumult of thy songs, the music of thy lutes I will not hear. But let justice roll in like a river and righteousness like a perennial stream' (5 23). True, Amos also uses the adjective *ṣaddīḳ* in the old legal sense (2 6 5 12), and he has the administration of justice constantly in view. In his view, however, legal justice springs from the essential nature of God, who demands righteousness, not ritual worship from his people. The demand is made to the nation as a whole. Unless it is satisfied, Israel must perish utterly and there is no room left for difference in the fate of the righteous and the unrighteous individual. Hosea also insists on national righteousness; but his conception of it is at once wider and deeper than that of his predecessor. It is wider, for righteousness, as Hosea understood it, is more than bare justice. It includes *ḥésed*—*i.e.*, merciful consideration for others.[2] It is deeper, for Hosea saw that outward amendment could not be permanent without a radical change of mind. 'Sow to yourselves in righteousness: reap according to lovingkindness: *break up for yourselves fallow ground*: for it is time to seek Yahwè, that the fruit of righteousness may come to you' (10 12, cp 𝔊). It is not enough to sow good seed: the ground must first be cleared and broken up: in short, the Israelites must become new men, and Yahwè's will must rule their lives. Yahwè will accept no superficial conversion (6 1-4): the only remedy is a new birth by which Israel becomes a new creature (13 13).

4. Ethical sense in prophets.

Isaiah develops the principles of Amos and Hosea. His moral code is much the same. 'Seek out justice: set right the violent man: do justice to the orphan: plead for the widow' (1 16 *f.* 5 7 10 2). He, no less than Hosea, makes religion a

5. Isaiah.

[1] So δικαιοῦν in classical Greek means to give a man his due, but always in a bad sense, viz., to condemn. It is only in 𝔊 and NT that it means 'to declare righteous.'

[2] Cp τὸ ἐπιεικές, which corrects the defects of law, and is, therefore, δίκαιον καί τινος βέλτιον δικαίου, Arist. *Eth. Nicom.* 5 8.

matter of the heart (29 13). Righteousness is the inexorable rule by which Yahwè governs the world (28 17), and wickedness by its own nature blasts the evildoer (9 17 [18]). Because of Israel's sin the nation as a whole is doomed hopelessly (6 13*a*). Still, those who believe in Yahwè as the eternal principle of righteousness can stand fast in the crash of ruin all around them (7 9). Meanwhile the prophet was educating a band of disciples (8 16) who were to be the germ of a 'remnant that was to be converted,' and in one of his latest prophecies (1 21-26) he passes from an ideal picture of Jerusalem in Davidic days (the idealisation of the past separates him in a very marked manner from Hosea) and expresses the great hope of better times to come. Judgment will have done its cleansing work: once more judges will give impartial decisions and Jerusalem shall be known as 'the fortress of righteousness, the faithful city.'

A century later Jeremiah maintained the same conception of righteousness. In 22 3 he gives what almost

6. Jeremiah. amounts to a definition of righteousness: it consists negatively in abstinence from murder and oppression of the widows and orphans, positively in securing justice for those who were powerless to help themselves. The same thought appears in other passages—*e.g.*, in chap. 7, though the word 'righteousness' is not actually used. We must not, however, forget that Jeremiah held fast to his belief in righteousness at the cost of a personal struggle more searching and severe than that which any of his precursors had to face. It was his hard fate to learn that even a law like that of Deuteronomy, embodying as it did the best results of prophetic teaching, could not of itself change the hearts of the very men who in form, and as they believed, sincerely, complied with its requirements. Moreover, Jeremiah had to contend with the organised priesthood of Jerusalem, after the priests of the high places had been removed and when those of the central shrine claimed, on grounds which Jeremiah could not altogether gainsay, a divine sanction for their authority. Moreover his sensitive nature was exposed to continual suffering from the enmity of his contemporaries and from the national ruin which he saw first in spiritual vision and then with the bodily eye. Because of all this, Jeremiah's faith in the divine righteousness had to draw its strength from the very doubt which threatened to destroy it. 'Thou art in the right (*ṣaddiḳ*) O Yahwè, when I contend with thee: yet would I reason the cause with thee: why does the way of the wicked prosper?' (12 1). He knows well that the best law may be perverted by the 'lying pen of the scribes' (8 8) and that Yahwè is 'a righteous judge (*šōphēṭ ṣédeḳ*) proving reins and heart' (11 20). More explicitly than any earlier prophet he fuses morality and religion into one by reducing all duty to the one supreme duty of knowing Yahwè's will as revealed in his government of the world.

'Thus saith Yahwè, Let not a wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let a hero glory in his valour, let not a rich man glory in his wealth. But in this let him that glories glory, that he has understanding and knows me, [knows] that I am Yahwè, who do lovingkindness, judgment, and righteousness on the earth: for in these things do I take pleasure; it is the oracle of Yahwè (9 22*f.* [23*f.*]).' Whereas Isaiah had seen that the people's heart was not in their worship, Jeremiah recognised the radical evil that the heart of man is weak and cannot be trusted (17 9), and he saw the hope of spiritual religion, not in amendment on man's part, but in the grace of Yahwè who would write his law in their hearts (31 33).

Finally, the expectation of a Messianic king, or line of Messianic kings, appears probably for the first time in Jeremiah. Yahwè will raise from the family of David 'a righteous branch.' He is to execute true justice and is to be called 'Yahwè is our righteousness' (23 5*f.*). The context interprets this name of the Messiah. By restoring Israel to its own land Yahwè the judge of all is to vindicate the just cause of his people against the heathen. 'In his (*i.e.*, the Messiah's) days Judah will be saved' (from heathen bondage) 'and Israel will dwell in security.' The history of the world is the judgment of the world. Here, however, the idea of righteousness is modified by fresh associations, and with the consequent change in the application of the word we shall have to deal presently.

We have already given from the earlier documents of the Hexateuch instances which illustrate the more

7. *Ṣédeḳ* synonym of morality. restricted and primitive use of the root צדק. We also meet there, as might have been expected, with the prophetic use in which it is co-extensive with moral excellence. Yahwè, *e.g.*, declares that he has seen how righteous Noah is (Gen. 7 1, J): he knows that Abraham will teach his descendants 'to do judgment and righteousness' (Gen. 18 19, a late stratum of JE). Only one passage in the Hexateuch calls for special notice here, both from its intrinsic interest and from the famous argument drawn from it by Paul. The words in Gen. 15 6 (J?) are 'Abraham trusted in Yahwè and he reckoned it to him as righteousness.' Paul identifies the faith of Abraham with justifying faith as he himself understood it. It would be an anachronism to suppose that the writer of the words in Genesis had risen to an idea of this kind, nor is any such exegesis supported by the context. Abraham believed, not in God's pardoning grace, but in Yahwè's fidelity to his promise. In fact Abraham's faith or trust is precisely what faith as Paul conceives it is not, an 'opus per se dignum.' See FAITH, § 1.

From the ethical we may now pass to the theocratic sense of *ṣĕdāḳāh* and the cognate words. We have

8. Theocratic sense. already had a glimpse of this meaning in the Messianic passage quoted from Jeremiah. It became prevalent from the time of Habakkuk. It must be remembered that Habakkuk, like Jeremiah, lived after Josiah's reform, but does not, like Jeremiah, attribute the partial failure of that reform to the depravity of the Judæan people. On the contrary, he believed that the obstacle to strict legal observance lay in the oppression of Judah by the Babylonians (1 4); for it was very hard to believe in Yahwè or his law while the Babylonian oppressor had it all his own way. The people of Judah were at least better than their oppressors; hence to Habakkuk 'the righteous' is the constant description of the Judæans, whilst 'the wicked' stands for the heathen conqueror. This terminology was adopted by subsequent writers, as may be seen from Is. 26 10 Ps. 96 17 10 2 *ff.* In the end, as Habakkuk holds, Yahwè will vindicate the cause of his people, and 'the righteous man'—*i.e.*, the man of Judah, is to live by fidelity to his God and confidence in the ultimate victory of the good cause. Here we have the outline of the picture which the Second Isaiah (*i.e.*, Is. 40-55) fills in with completer detail and added shades of meaning.[1] Whereas the earlier prophets threatened, the unknown prophet of the Exile makes it his chief endeavour to comfort Israel. No doubt the nation has sinned; but it has also been punished enough, and more than enough, and now the day of its deliverance is at hand. 'For the sake of his own faithfulness (*ṣédeḳ*) Yahwè has been pleased to give great and glorious revelation' of his character (42 21).[2] He is a 'truth-speaking' God (*ṣaddiḳ*, 45 21). He has stirred up Cyrus 'in righteousness' (45 13), *i.e.*, as Yahwè ought to do, and therefore must do; he has supported him with 'his trusty right hand' ('right hand of *ṣédeḳ*,' 41 10). By a glorious restoration Yahwè 'justifies' Israel—*i.e.*, decides in its favour (50 8). Hence in a multitude of cases *ṣédeḳ* and *ṣĕdāḳāh* mean triumph (so the verb 45 25: cp νικᾶν in Rom. 12 21) 'victory' (41 2 46 12), 'redress' (51 8),

[1] We may perhaps compare καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, *optimates*, *prud-hommes*, *gute Männer*, used of the aristocracy without any ethical meaning. Of course the ethical words never lost their ethical sense so utterly.

[2] There is, however, some doubt both as to the reference in this passage, and as to its authenticity. See Marti, *ad loc.*

'salvation' (46 13). It is significant that when *ṣĕdāḳāh* retains its older and ethical force, it is used of a righteousness which comes as a divine grace being 'rained down from above' (45 8). In the Second Isaiah, however, this purely ethical sense is rare, occurring only two or three times out of some twenty-five in which the Hebrew root is used.

The Second Isaiah, as we have seen, assumed that the sufferings inflicted by Babylon had sufficed to purify Israel, and hailed with joy the restoration of a righteous people. However, in the preceding generation Ezekiel had given expression to a very different view. In the latter period of his work he was a pastor of souls, a preacher addressing individuals rather than a prophet with a message to the nation. Naturally, then, he insists on individual righteousness. Each man is to be tried on his own merits; however righteous he may be, he can secure the due reward for himself and only for himself. Nay, even with the individual Yahwè deals according to his present actions, admitting no appeal to the righteousness of the past, and on the other hand forgiving iniquity in case of repentance and amendment (Ezek. 18 1 14 14 *f.* 33 12 *f.*). His ideal of righteousness in the individual conforms on the whole to the prophetic standard of individual righteousness, though it includes a larger amount of ritual observance (see esp. 18 6-8). Now, after the restoration, the view of the Second Isaiah proved untenable. The restoration itself lacked the external glory of which he had fondly dreamt, and the exile had failed to produce that righteousness of the whole nation which was still the cherished aim of religious reformers in the Jewish Church. How was it to be accomplished? Finally and completely by the judgment of the last days, which is to fall on unfaithful Jews as well as the heathen. This is the favourite theme of Apocalyptic writers (see esp. Is. 10 22 which is a late insertion: Mal. 3 3 Zech. 9 9 12 6 13 9—Joel and Daniel *passim*). Meanwhile the wisdom literature taught with Ezekiel that God here and now, though not immediately, recompenses the righteous and the wicked according to their deserts, a dogma constantly reiterated in Proverbs and Psalms. Here and there a distinction is made between the 'weightier matters of the law' and such as are merely ritual, since Yahwè loves 'righteousness and judgment' more than 'sacrifice' (Prov. 21 3, cp, *e.g.*, Ps. 50). But more and more the 'righteous man' is one who studies and practises the whole law (Ps. 1 5). The righteous are really one with the *ḥăsīdīm*: these are to be found as a rule among the poor and afflicted Israelites (Zech. 9 9 Ps. 56-59), and possibly the author of Ps. 94, when he speaks (*v.* 15) of legal administration returning to 'righteousness,' may be looking forward to the triumph of the Pharisaic over the Sadducean party. Naturally those who made so much of the law laid great stress on deeds of mercy. But *ṣĕdāḳāh* nowhere admits, as in Mishnic Hebrew, of the rendering 'alms,' though such passages as Ps. 112 9 Dan. 4 24 [27] are not far removed from this later use.[1]

9. Individual righteousness.

We have already, in discussing the various senses of *ṣĕdāḳāh*, etc., answered by implication the question, How is a man justified or accepted as righteous before God? Something, however, has to be added here on the justification of sinners, the change from divine condemnation to divine favour. As we have seen, the ancient Hebrew believed that God's wrath could be appeased by sacrifice (1 S. 26 19 3 14), whereas the earliest of the literary prophets insisted that national amendment was the only way of escape from national chastisement. The idea that sin was a debt incurred and that payment was still due, however sincere the conversion might be, is altogether strange to Amos and his successors. 'Cease to do evil, learn to do well,' is the remedy which Isaiah proposes; nor does he doubt its efficacy: 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land' (Is. 1 16-19). Ezekiel, in a passage quoted above, proposes the same rule to the individual, and combats the delusion that the merits of persons exceptionally righteous could atone for the sins of their neighbours[1] (see also Jer. 15 1 31 29, and for an opposite view Gen. 18 17 *f.*). On the whole this principle ruled in later Israel. To keep the law is righteousness (Dt. 6 25), and the man or church that does so receives *ṣĕdāḳāh*—*i.e.*, a favourable sentence 'from the God who comes to his help' (Ps. 24 5). It is true that neither the individual Jew nor the Jewish church could always appeal with confidence to that perfect observance of the law which justified in the sight of God. On the contrary, the Psalms abound in acknowledgments of guilt (*e.g.*, Pss. 38 4-6 40 13 69 6 [5]), and the chief motive of religion was to secure divine pardon: 'There is forgiveness with thee that thou mayest be feared' (Ps. 130 4). We must not, however, identify such misgivings with the reproach of conscience, with the sense of sin as Christians understand it. The Jews believed that God was offended with them because he withheld the rewards of righteousness and dealt with them as he deals with the wicked, they believed restoration to prosperity was the sure sign of pardon and of grace, a state of mind which finds its classical expression in Ps. 32. But was there no way of restoration except perfect righteousness, or, failing that, supplication to the divine mercy (as in Dan. 9 20)? On this point the later teaching of the OT is not consistent.

10. 'Righteousness' of sinners.

The Priestly Code limits the efficacy of the sin-offering which was introduced after the exile to venial or involuntary transgression (Nu. 15 27-31), and the mention of sacrifice in the Book of Proverbs (15 8 16 6 21 3 27) is at least in harmony with this principle. Still, even the Priestly Code had to mitigate the strictness of its theory. On the day of Atonement the high priest laid the sins of Israel on the head of the goat which was sent into the desert (Lev. 16 20-22); the *āshām* atoned for perjury and embezzlement (Lev. 5 21 *f.* [6 2 *f.*] Nu. 5 5 *f.*) when preceded by restitution to the person wronged, and incense could appease Yahwè when provoked by the rebellion of his people (Nu. 17 11 *f.* [16 46 *f.*]). At a still later period it was thought that the merits of the Patriarchs atoned for the sins of Israel (see Weber, *Altsyn. Theol.* 280 *f.*; and the essay on the 'Merits of the Fathers' in Sanday and Headlam's *Commentary on Romans*), and we may perhaps find the germ of this dogma in the atoning efficacy which the OT attributes to the prayers of holy men (Ex. 32 7 *f.* 31 *f.* Nu. 14 11 *f.* 16 22 17 10 Jos. 7 6 *f.* Jer. 7 16 11 14 15 1 Job 5 1 33 23) and of angels (Zech. 1 12 Job 5 1 33 23). Very naturally the doctrine that the merits of the Fathers availed for the justification of Israel culminated in the belief that the guilt of Israel was purged by the vicarious sufferings of righteous men. This no doubt was the teaching of the Rabbis. According to them, Isaac made propitiation for Israel by the willing oblation of his own life. God smote Ezekiel that Israel might go free, and martyrdom made propitiation for sin as efficaciously as the day of Atonement.[2] The OT, however, lends no real support to such a theory of justification by vicarious sacrifice. The famous passage (Is. 52 13-53 12) which describes the sufferings of Yahwè's servant is treated elsewhere (SERVANT OF THE LORD). In spite of the corruption of the text, the general sense seems to be clear.[3]

11. Atonement and propitiation.

1 In Mt. 6 1, δικαιοσύνην is certainly the true reading, and that of TR ἐλεημοσύνην is a gloss. Whether the gloss is correct is another question. Weiss, *ad loc.*, answers this question in the affirmative; Holtzmann, *NTl. Theol.* 2 135, in the negative.

1 Almsdeeds also were regarded as a powerful means of atonement for past sins.

2 Reff. in Holtzmann, *NTl. Theol.* 1 65 *f.*

3 Verses 10 *f.* are, as they stand, quite out of place, since the context requires a reference to the resurrection, not the death of the servant. See Che. *Intr. to Is.* 305, n. 1, and Duhm and Marti, *ad loc.* [also SERVANT OF THE LORD, §§ 4 (4) 5 (4)].

Israel, the servant of Yahwè, does indeed suffer for the 'peace' and 'healing' of the nations. This, however, takes place because of the effect produced on the minds of the heathen, not because of the effect produced on the mind of God. At first the heathen regard Israel as afflicted by an angry God: they shrink from him as men shrink from a leper. But God reverses the tragic doom of his people and raises up the nation to new life. Then the heathen understand the divine purpose. They recall the meekness with which Israel endured its punishment. They acknowledge their own sinfulness and come to the knowledge of the true God who has scattered Israel abroad for a season that he may make it the light of nations and show his irresistible power in its glorious restoration.

The words δίκαιος, δικαιοσύνη, which scarcely occur in the Fourth Gospel, are exceedingly common in Mt. and Lk., and serve to express the most striking and characteristic features of Jesus' teaching. Jesus required from his disciples a righteousness better than that of the Scribes and Pharisees, and told them that otherwise they could not enter the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt. 5 20). Generally, it may be said that Jesus restored the prophetic ideal of righteousness, at the same time deepening and extending it. The popular doctrine understood, by righteousness, not so much an honest and upright life as scrupulous attention to moral and ceremonial rules, conduct legally correct. These rules were contained in the written and oral law; Jesus declared that the traditions of the elders nullified the central purpose of the law (Mk. 7 1-13), or at best were matters of indifference (*ib.*). Moreover, he not only distinguished between the more important and less important precepts of the Mosaic law (Mt. 23 23); he also criticised the law itself and set its most solemn commands aside.

12. Jesus' conception.

No less than this is implied in words such as these—'Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to divorce your wives' (Mt. 19 8 = Mk. 10 5); 'The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath' (Mk. 2 27); 'Nothing that goeth into a man from without can defile a man' (Mk. 7 15 = Mt. 15 17 *f.*; contrast Lev. 11 Deut. 14). Again, the righteousness which Jesus taught far transcended on its positive side that of the Mosaic law: among his disciples the *lex talionis* was to give place to a very different rule—viz., 'Do not resist evil' (Mt. 5 39)—and that is followed by a kindred command, 'Love your enemies' (Mt. 5 44).

More clearly and more consistently than any previous teacher, Jesus demanded a righteousness of the heart, and forbade malicious and impure thoughts as sternly as the deeds of murder and lust to which they naturally tend (Mt. 5 21-28). He went deeper still, and instead of reckoning the sum of good deeds, or even good thoughts, against the opposing sum of evil deeds and thoughts, he insisted upon righteousness of character, a righteousness which is not accidental but essential, a righteousness which is one and indivisible, various as its manifestations may be: 'A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt bring forth good fruit' (Mt. 7 18). No sacrifice was to be counted too severe when personal righteousness was in peril (Mt. 5 29) or the cause of righteousness to be advanced (Mt. 19 21 Mk. 10 21 Lk. 18 22). On the one hand, all was to be done with a single eye fixed upon God and his approval (Mt. 6 1 etc.); on the other hand, the service of God consisted in the service of man for God's sake. It is on duty to man that the 'Sermon on the Mount' dwells throughout, that practical love for man of which God himself is the supreme example, and hence an infinite vista opens up before the disciple, who can never feel that he has done enough since he is to be perfect as his Father in Heaven is perfect (Mt. 5 48). So, too, the Jewish notion of a contract with God who repays service done disappears in that relation of son to father which Jesus removed from the circumference and set in the centre of religion. True, God rewards those who do not reward themselves by ostentation and self-complacency. But the quality of reward is the same for all faithful service, long or short; it consists in admission to the kingdom in which the ideal of righteousness is realised (Mt. 20 1-16). As God bestows the powers to be used in his service, and has an absolute right to that service, no room is left for merit which does but claim its due: 'When ye shall have done all these things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants' (Lk. 17 10).

Jesus opened the Kingdom of Heaven to those who hungered and thirsted for righteousness such as this (Mt. 5 6). Whereas, however, prophets and apocalyptic writers had looked forward to a final separation of the righteous and the wicked, Jesus began his work by the great announcement that he came to call not the righteous, but sinners, to repentance (Mt. 9 13 = Mk. 2 17 = Lk. 5 32). He declared and pronounced the forgiveness of sins; he spoke of the joy in heaven over one sinner who repents; he taught men to believe in God by first teaching them to believe in himself. He invited men to believe in the good news (Mk. 1 15)—*i.e.*, to have faith or trust in God as their Father, and to make this trust the guiding principle of their lives.

It would be impossible within the limits of this article to discuss the righteousness of faith of which Paul speaks or the connection of Christ's death with justification. It may be well, however, to indicate in conclusion the various uses of δίκαιος and the cognate words in the NT apart from righteousness in the Pauline sense and that higher righteousness demanded by Jesus from his disciples of which we have said something already. The adjective δίκαιος, 'righteous,' is applied to God especially as judge of all (Rev. 16 5), or to Christ (2 Tim. 4 8 Jn. 17 25); to men as observant of the Jewish law (Mt. 1 19).[1] It also is equivalent to 'virtuous' in the widest sense (Mt. 5 45 9 13 = Mk. 6 20 = Lk. 5 32, etc.). Once Paul distinguishes the righteous man who fulfils all his obligations from the ἀγαθός whose character is more genial and attractive (Rom. 5 7). 'Righteous' is also a title given to men eminently righteous (Mt. 13 17 Mk. 2 17), and by pre-eminence to Jesus (Acts 3 14 7 52 22 14). It is predicated, as the corresponding Hebrew adjective never is, of things (Mt. 20 4 Lk. 12 57 Acts 4 19 Rom. 7 12 Col. 4 1 Phil. 4 8 etc.).

13. Use of δίκαιος.

The noun δικαιοσύνη means 'fair dealing' between man and man (passing into the wider sense of virtuous conduct; Acts 10 35 24 25 Rom. 6 13 14 17 1 Tim. 6 11 2 Tim. 2 22). Lk. uses it once only, viz., in 1 75 where it is parallel to 'holiness,' *i.e.*, piety. Acceptance of John's baptism is spoken of (Mt. 3 15) as included in the 'fulfilment of all righteousness'—*i.e.*, as conformable to the divine will which the Baptist announced. So, too, the Baptist is said to have come 'in the way of righteousness' (Mt. 21 32), because he preached that course of conduct which righteousness required. The verb δικαιῶ, 'justify,' in the NT always means to pronounce just, never, either in the NT or in profane writers, to make just (the apparent exception, Rev. 22 11, in the received text arises from a false reading). It is used of men who seek to prove themselves in the right (Lk. 10 29), or to win credit for righteousness with their fellow-men (Lk. 16 15). Men are justified before God when they obtain his approval (Lk. 18 14 Mt. 12 37 = Lk. 7 35). In this sense Jesus, after his resurrection, was 'justified in the Spirit' (1 Tim. 3 16) inasmuch as he received clear tokens of divine approval. As God justifies men, so men may justify God, by confessing his righteousness (Lk. 7 29 Ps. 51 6 [4] as quoted in Rom. 3 4; cp Mt. 11 19), an application of the verb which is found in the Psalms of Solomon (2 16 3 5).

14. Literature.

See Diestel, *JDT* 5 173 *f.*; Ortloph, 'Begriff von צדק,' *ZLT* 1860, p. 401 *f.*; Ryssel, *Synonyme des Wahren u. Guten in den sem. Sprachen* (1872); Kautzsch, *Derivate des Stammes* צדק, Tüb., 1881; Smend, *ATRel.*; W. R. Smith, *Proph.*(2), 389; Schwally, *Heil. Krieg im Alt. Israel;* Wildeboer, *ZATW* 22 (1902). This last accentuates the juristic element and even in so early a passage as Judg. 5 11 translates *ṣidkōth*, 'victories' [of Yahwè]. Wildeboer's comparison of the Syr. *zèkhā* to be pure, to conquer, *ḥāb* 'to be guilty,' 'to be defeated' is interesting and suggestive. W. E. A.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן; ΡΕΜΜΑΝ [BL] -Θ [A]). According to the traditional text, the name of a god worshipped at Damascus (2 K. 5 18); apparently it enters into the

[1] The passage is difficult; but it seems to mean that Joseph was too strict an observer to marry a woman who had proved unfaithful, and too kind to make a public example of her.

name TAB-RIMMON [*q.v.*], though, as we shall see, another view of the phrase in 1 K. 15 18 is at least equally possible.

A more correct pronunciation of the name of this god would be Rammān. Both name and cultus of this deity were, it is generally held, borrowed from Assyria, and certainly Rammān was the most prevalent name of the god of thunder and lightning (ideogram IM) who plays such an important part in the Babylonian Deluge-story, and is often represented as armed with the thunderbolt. The etymological meaning is 'the roarer' (*ramâmu* = 'to roar')—a name well suited to a thunder god. The W. Semites appear to have had another name for this god, viz., Addu or Daddu, and Oppert (*ZA* 9 310 *ff.* [1894]) supposes that Adad was the oldest name of the deity. There is thought to be a reminiscence of the identity of Addu (or Adad) and Rammān in the compound form Hadad-rimmon (MT's reading) in Zech. 12 11; the editor of Zechariah, however, will in this case be responsible for the strange form (but see *Crit. Bib.*). We often find Rammān associated with Šamaš (the sun-god), like whom he is (in an inscription of the Kassite period) called 'lord of justice.' The Massoretes may have confounded Rammān with *rimmōn* (see POMEGRANATE); though H. Derenbourg disputes the accuracy of this representation, Rimmon, according to him, being the divinised pomegranate (*Kohut Memorial Studies*, 120-125 [1897].

1. Rimmon = Ass. Ramman.

See especially Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Ass.*, 156-161; and *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Languages*, 12 159-162; also Schrader, 'Ramman-Rimmon,' *St. Kr.*, 1874, pp. 334 *ff.*; Sayce, 'the god Ramman,' *ZA* 2 331 *f.* [; Zimmern, *KAT*(3) 442-451].

According to Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros*, Text, 115) the confusion between the Hebrew word for 'pomegranate' (רִמּוֹן, *rimmōn*) and the name of the originally Assyrian god Rammān is older than MT, and goes back possibly to the time of Ezekiel (and earlier). In this connection he notes that pomegranates were attached to the vestments of the high-priest and to the columns of the temple at Jerusalem. On Carthaginian stelæ, moreover, we find the seated figure of the boy Adonis in the very place occupied elsewhere by the column surmounted by a pomegranate. Ohnefalsch-Richter thinks that it was 'an easy step' to identify this tree-god Tammuz, to whom the 'rimmōn' was sacred, with the storm-god Rammān, and to call him 'Rimmōn.'

According to Jensen, there is a cylinder in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg inscribed with two divine names, the one Rammânum, the other Ašratum. Taking this in connection with Assyrian texts which speak of the god Amurru (*i.e.*, the god of the land Amurru, the Amorite god) as the consort of Ašratu, he infers that the Amorite god referred to is Rammânu, *i.e.*, the storm-god, also called by the Assyrians 'the Lord of the Mountain,' = בעל לבנן, 'the Baal of Lebanon.' The 'land of Amurru' was in fact originally the land of the Lebanon or Antilibanus (cp Wi. *GI* 1 52).

The present writer, however (see *Crit. Bib.*), suspects much misunderstanding in the traditional text of the narratives of the kings of Aram, which is specially visible in names. 'Ben-hadad,' for instance, seems to be equivalent to Bir-dadda, and Hazael to Ḥaza'ilu, which are attested as N. Arabian royal names in Assyrian inscriptions (*KAT*(2), 148); 'Damascus' is constantly miswritten for 'Cusham'; and Rimmon, or rather Rammān, may be regarded as a popular corruption of that famous name 'Jeraḥmeel,' which was not only an ethnic name, but also in all probability the name of a god (see *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 17 30 *f.*). When, therefore, we read in 2 K. 5 18 of Naaman's accompanying his royal master to the house of Rimmon, this is meant (not of the storm-god, but) of the national god of Jeraḥmeel, who may possibly have been called Jarḥam or Yarḥam (*i.e.*, ירח, 'moon,' with the Arabic 'mimation'). It was not unnecessary to warn the Israelites that Naaman was only by a special indulgence allowed to do outward honour to Jarḥam or Jeraḥmeel, because there are several indications that the worship of Jeraḥmeel had made its way into Judah some time before the fall of the state. See, *e.g.*, Zeph. 1 5*b*, where we should very probably read, '(I will cut off) those that prostrate themselves before the moon, that swear by Jeraḥmeel.'[1] It now becomes doubtful whether 'son of Tab-rimmon' in 1 K. 15 18 is correct. The king to whom Asa sent may have been, not 'Ben-hadad, son of Tab-rimmon, son of Hezion, king of Syria, that dwelt at Damascus,' but 'Ben-hadad [= Bir-dadda], native of Beth-jeraḥmeel[2] (or Rabbath-jeraḥmeel?), king of Aram (= Jeraḥmeel), who dwelt at (or, in) Cusham.' It should also be noticed here that Elisha, who had such close relations with a king of Aram and his general, was, the present writer suspects, a prophet of the Negeb—*i.e.*, of a region which was originally Jeraḥmeelite. T. K. C.

2. Rimmon = Jeraḥmeel.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן—*i.e.*, pomegranate?—see NAMES, § 69; or from 'Jeraḥmeel'?—see RIMMON, i., § 2).

1. Josh. 15 32 19 7 [AV REMMON], 1 Ch. 4 32 Zech. 14 10. See EN-RIMMON, and cp AIN, 1.

2. The name of a rock where 600 fugitive Benjamites found shelter for four months (Judg. 20 47, הָרִמּוֹן, ρεμμων [BAL]). There was a village of this name 15 R. m. N. of Jerusalem (*OS* 146 5 287 98), identified by Robinson (2 113) with the mod. *Rammōn*, rather more than 3 m. E. of Bethel, 'on and around the summit of a conical chalky hill and visible in all directions.' This would be in the wilderness of Beth-aven (Josh. 18 12). Birch (*PEFQ*, 1879, p. 128) objects that there are only a few small caves at Rammōn, and refers to Consul Finn, who heard of a vast cavern in the Wādy es-Suweinīṭ capable of holding many hundred men. Canon Rawnsley in consequence visited the caverns in this Wādy, which he describes in *PEFQ*, 1879, pp. 118-126. Birch, following Ges. *Thes.* 1296, identifies the Rimmon of Judg. 20 47 with the Rimmon 'under' which Saul, with his 600 men, tarried (1 S. 14 2). The latter Rimmon was 'at the limit of Geba' (so read for Gibeah). See MIGRON.

3. 'Rimmon' (rather 'Rimmonah, 'רִמּוֹנָה), also appears in RV of Josh. 19 13 (E. boundary of Zebulun), where AV again [see 1] gives 'Remmon,' with the addition of '-methoar,' (RV 'which stretcheth') as if a compound name. The RV at any rate recognises that the name is not compound; it also does justice to the article in הַמְּתֹאָר (ρεμμωνα αμαθαρ αοζα [B]; ρεμμωναμ, μαθαριμ, αννουα [A]; επι αμαθαρι νουα [L]). We may render, with Dillmann and Kau. *HS*, 'and (their border) extends to Rimmonah (רִמּוֹנָה), and turns round (וְתָאַר) to Neah (?).' No doubt it is the **Rimmono** (רִמּוֹנוֹ, AV Rimmon), or rather **Rimmonah**, of 1 Ch. 6 62 [77], probably also the DIMNAH (דִּמְנָה) of Josh. 21 35, corresponding to the modern *Rummāneh* on the SE. edge of the plain of Baṭṭauf, 4 m. N. from Gath-hepher, and 7½ m. N. from Chisloth-tabor.

4. Possibly MADMENAH [*q.v.*] in Is. 10 31 should rather be 'Rimmonah.' T. K. C.

RIMMON (רִמּוֹן; ρεμμων [BAL], 'pomegranate' [so NAMES, § 69; Del. *Prol.* 205], or the Ass. divine name Rammān [Löhr, cp KISH?], or [Che.] a distortion of the ethnic Jeraḥmeel), a Beerothite, the father of RECHAB and BAANAH [*q.v.*] (2 S. 4 2 5 9). Note that 'Rechab' may be also from 'Jeraḥmeel,' and that, as the story of SAUL (*q.v.*) shows, there was a strong Jeraḥmeelite element in Benjamin (Che.).

RIMMONO (רִמּוֹנוֹ; την ρεμμων [BAL]; 1 Ch. 6 62 [77]). Rather Rimmonah. See RIMMON ii. 3.

RIMMON-PAREZ, RV **Rimmon-perez** (רִמֹּן פֶּרֶץ), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness, perhaps =

[1] G. A. Smith renders MT, so far as he thinks it possible, thus, 'and those who . . . swear by their Melech,' and in a note points out the disorder of the text. Wellh. reads, 'those who bow themselves to Yahwè and swear by Milcom.' But מלכם, like מֶלֶךְ, is very probably one of the current distortions of ירחמאל. See *Crit. Bib.*

[2] The much-disputed word חזיון is probably a corruption of ירחון, a variant to רמון, and nearer to the original form ירחמאל.

Zarephath-jerahmeel [Che.]; Nu. 33 19 *f.* (ρεμμων [ραμμων, or ραμμωθ] φαρες). See WANDERINGS, § 12.

RING. The signet ring was called in Hebrew *ḥōthām* (חותם) from its use (√ to seal), and *ṭabbá'ath* (טבעת) from its form (√ to sink, As. *ṭêbû*); also in Bibl. Aram. *'izḳa'* (עזקא) Dan. 6 18 [17], and in Targum for both *ḥōthām* and *ṭabbá'ath* (√ to cut, engrave).[1] See ENGRAVE. The seal was worn, as it is still by some Arabians, on a cord, *pāthīl* (see RIBBAND), round the neck, Gen. 38 18; later, on the right hand, Jer. 22 24. In Cant. 8 6 both customs seem combined, 'on thine arm, on thy heart.' The oldest form of signet worn by all Babylonians (Herod. 1 195) was the cylinder, a large hole being bored through the core to admit a soft woollen cord for suspension round wrist or neck.[2] The Egyptian scarabæus[3] had a smaller hole to admit a fine wire. When used, the seal was rolled over a piece of pipeclay which was laid on an object or attached by a ribbon to a document (King, *Antique Gems*, 1 40). It was from the Egyptian wire that the more convenient finger-ring was evolved. Such rings were among the ornaments worn by Hebrew women after the exile, Is. 3 21 (*vv.* 18-23 being an interpolation). The word *gālīl* 'ring' in Cant. 5 14 EV, for which RVmg. preferably suggests 'cylinder,' seems to be used as a simile of the fingers of the hand (BDB, Bu. *ad loc.*).

1. Signet.

The transference of Judah's signet to Tamar had no special significance—he simply gave her as a pledge an object which could obviously be identified with him.[4] On the signet was probably a precious stone, mostly the *šōham* (see ONYX), on which was engraved a figure or inscription, Ex. 28 11. Hence in an Oriental court the conveyance of the signet attested a royal message (1 K. 21 8), and in many lands was a mode of investing officers with power (Gen. 41 42 Esth. 3 10 1 Macc. 6 15 Jos. *Ant.* xx. 2 2). There is no indication that the wedding-ring was used in OT times; but in Egypt some such custom anciently prevailed. It should be added that a δακτύλιον was placed on the hand of the prodigal son on his restoration to his father's house (Lk. 15 22).

2. Ear-ring, nose-ring.

Nézem (נֶזֶם) conveys the meanings of both an ear-ring and a nose-ring, though usually the fuller form *nézem hā-āph* (נזם האף) is used for the nose-ring. In Judg. 8 24, however, where the singular is used, it is probable that *nézem* alone means nose-ring. The whole of this passage is, however, regarded as a late gloss by Wellhausen, Moore, Budde, and others. Neither nose-rings nor ear-rings were worn by males, though Pliny (*NH* 11 37 [50]) says that Oriental men wore them, and, if Judg. 8 24 be genuine Midianite soldiers did so.[5] The nose-ring was put through the nostril and hung over the mouth. Robertson Smith explains that all such ornaments were designed as amulets and protectors to the orifices, as well as for ornament (cp *RS*(2) 453, and n. 2). The ring put through the nose of beasts (*ḥāḥ*, 'hook') is sometimes associated with *nézem* (Ex. 35 22, AV 'bracelets,' RV 'brooches'); cp HOOK, 2.

Several forms of ear-ring are noticed in the OT. The *lĕḥāšīm* of Is. 3 20 were perhaps ear-rings (see AMULETS), to which some symbolic figure was attached. Other terms for ear-ring were derived from the shape. The *'āgīl* (עָגִיל) was round (Ezek. 16 12, cp Bertholet on Ezek. 1 7 Nu. 31 50). Another kind, *nĕṭīphōth* (נְטִיפוֹת), lit. drops (RV pendants, AV collar), were probably pearls (Abulwalid compares Arab. *naṭafat*, a small, clear pearl), or single beads or gems attached to the lobe of the ear (נטף, to drop), Judg. 8 26 (*στραγγαλὶς* [B], *ὁρμίσκοι ενφωθ* [AL]), Is. 3 19 (𝔊 *κάθεμα*?) worn by Midianite men and Israelite women.

The ancient versions gave other explanations; Tg. כליליא, diadems, chaplets. Some Jewish interpreters connected *nĕṭīphōth* with *naṭaph* (Ex. 30 34, see STACTE) and render capsules of sweet-smelling gum. See, further, ORNAMENTS, and the articles there referred to. I. A.

[1] *Ḥōthémeth*, Gen. 38 25† is fem. coll. = 'sealing apparatus.' Ball suggests reading החתמם or החתמת; Holzinger partly approves this suggestion.

[2] Illustrations in Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Ass.* 2, figs. 131 *ff.*

[3] The earliest dated Egyptian cylinder is as old as 3800 B.C. (Flinders Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, 1 55).

[4] Wellhausen (*Ar. Held.*(2), 164 *f.*) thinks that the *cord* from which the signet hung was also an amulet. This would account for the insistence on the transference of the *cord* in the narrative in Genesis.

[5] On these grounds Moore holds that ear-rings are probably meant. For the wearing of nose-rings by Indian boys in order to pass as girls and avert the evil-eye, see Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2 266.

RINGSTRAKED (עָקֹד) Gen. 30 35 *ff.*; see COLOURS, § 12.

RINNAH (רִנָּה, 'shouting??' § 74; ανα [B], ραννων [A], ρεννα [L]), son of the Judahite SHIMON (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 4 20.

RIPHATH (רִיפַת, Gen. 10 3 [P], ριφαθ [AEL] ερ. [*D*]; Ch. 1 6, דִּיפַת, DIPHATH [AVmg. and RV], ερειφαθ [B], ριφαε [A], ριφαθ [L]; in both places RIPHATH [Vg.], ܪܝܦܬ), one of the 'sons' of Gomer, Gen. 10 3 1 Ch. 1 6†. According to the theory which finds N. Arabian influence and interests pervading the earlier chapters of Genesis (see PARADISE, § 6), 'Gomer' represents 'Jerahmeel,' 'Ashkenaz' comes from 'Kenaz' (or Asshur-Kenaz), 'Riphath' from 'Zarephath.' The transformation has been systematic. On the time-honoured theory, however, which bases itself on MT, we must look far away from N. Arabia. Josephus thought of Paphlagonia; Bochart and Lagarde of the Bithynian river ῥῆβας and the distant ῥηβαντία on the Thracian Bosporus. But if TOGARMAH [*q.v.*] is really Tilgarimmu, on the border of Tabal, Riphath may be identified with Bit Burutaš (or Buritiš), a district—mentioned several times with Tabali (see Schr. *KGF* 176)—whose king was an ally of Urartu and Musku. The syllable -aš or -iš may be regarded as a suffix (so first Hal. *REJ*, 17 164). The transposition of *b* (or *p*) and *r* is no difficulty. The suggestion is plausible, if MT may safely be followed. T. K. C.

RISSAH (רִסָּה; λεσσα [B], ρ. [AF], Δρ. [L]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33 21 *f.* See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

RITHMAH (רִתְמָה named from the רֹתֶם or juniper tree, § 103; if we should not rather read Ramath, ραθαμα [BAF], ραμαθα [L]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 18 *f.*). See WANDERINGS.

RITUAL

[The facts and theories about Hebrew ritual are dealt with in many articles, among the most important of which are the following: SACRIFICE, TEMPLE (§§ 34 *ff.*), NATURE WORSHIP, ALTAR, MASSEBAH, TABERNACLE, ARK, DISPERSION, SYNAGOGUE. On the ritual of the nations contemporary with Israel the reader may consult ARAM, ASSYRIA, BABYLON, EGYPT, MOAB, AMMON, CANAAN, PHŒNICIA, HITTITES, SCYTHIANS, ZOROASTRIANISM, etc.

Of those nations, however, so great an influence on the civilisation of the whole of hither Asia was exercised by one, the Babylonian, that the facts about its ritual acquire special importance. On the other hand the amount of first-hand information on the subject is unique and, besides, not generally accessible. It is proposed, accordingly, to give here some account of the nature, and ceremonial institutions, of the Babylonian sacrificial ritual. In doing this the points in which it resembles, or differs from, the ritual of the OT will be indicated, and a brief comparison of the two systems given.]

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Assyrio-Babylonian Ritual.

A short account of Babylonian sacrifices has been already given in the Supplement to *Die Cultus-tafel von Sippar* (Joh. Jeremias, Leipsic, 25-32 [1889]). The question of how far this system is original and how far it is related to what we find elsewhere has received little or no attention. The treatment of such questions in the difficult sphere of religious institutions being always involved in uncertainty, it appears to be more than ever appropriate in regard to sacrifice, as an institution common to all peoples, to explain the same or similar ideas not as borrowed the one from the other, but as both drawn from the same source. In justification of the common designation Assyrio-Babylonian it is to be noted that, apart from a few modifications in their Pantheon, the religion of the Assyrians agrees throughout with that of the Babylonians. Of this agreement, which was maintained in spite of all political strifes, we have a historical attestation in the fact that Ašur-bāni-pal had the MSS of the Babylonian priestly schools collected, supplied with an Assyrian interlinear translation, and preserved in his state archives (see 4 R).[1]

1. Names for sacrifice.

Sacrifices were called *kirbannu* or *kurbannu* (more rarely *kurbânu*, *kitrubu*; in ordinary usage, 'backsheesh, alms.' A much commoner word is *niku*, 'to be bent, show reverence, offer homage' (cp for this meaning Del. *Assyr. HWB*), used of drink offerings (*Deluge*, 147; cp מְנַקִּית *patera*) and also of bloody sacrifices.

The root of *niḳu* is *naḳû* 'to be empty,' II. 1 'to pour out.' It was probably the pouring out of the blood that led to the transference of *niḳû* from its original application 'drink offering' to the meaning 'blood offering.' A rarer word than *niḳû* is *zibû* (*Khors.* 172), Heb. זֶבַח, *zĕbaḥ*. For 'drink offering' we find also the words *muḫḫuru*, *maḫḫûru* (in contracts), *ramku*. To *minḥāh* (מִנְחָה), 'food offering,' corresponds *šurḳînu* (Del. *HWB surḳînu*), a word formerly incorrectly rendered 'altar.' The regular stated offering (*tāmīd*, תָּמִיד) was called *sattuḳḳu* (*sattakam*, 'constant') or *ginû*, properly 'right.' Both words indicate the yearly, monthly, rarely (*Nabun.* 144_3) daily, contribution to the temple for the support of the sacrifice and the priests. A synonymous word is *guḳḳu* or *guḳḳânu*. The freewill offering, Heb. *nĕdābāh* (נְדָבָה), is called *nindabû* (*nidbu*).

For 'to sacrifice' the commonest word is *naḳû*.

For the sake of comparison the following may be mentioned from the many other expressions in use: *epêšu*, Heb. עָשָׂה לְ; *ṣabâtu*, Heb. לָקַח; *ṭabâḫu*, Heb. טָבַח; *riksa rakasu*, 'to prepare an offering.' Of special importance, moreover, are the expressions in purification texts: *ḳarâbu* (הִקְרִיב; often used of pouring water, occurring with בְּ [notwithstanding Del. *HWB*], in Rassam 2_{168}) and *kapâru* (K 3245, *pass.*) 'to wipe,' then 'to clear, purify,' a meaning that is important in its bearing on Heb. *kipper* (כִּפֶּר). Cp *IVR* 13_{51} 17_{33}; Zimmern, *Beiträge* 122_{26}. The offerer of the sacrifice is called *kâribu* or *bêl nikê* (cp Marseilles Sacrificial Table, בעל זבח).

2. Objects offered.

It should be specially noted that everything that the land produced was offered to the gods without distinction. Whilst in Israel it was only the produce of a people devoted to cattle-rearing and agriculture that was offered (cp Di. *Lev.*(2), 379)—and this was still further narrowed by the exclusion of fruit, honey, and all sweet or fermented preparations on the one hand, and of beasts of chase and fish on the other—in the fruitful lands between the two rivers every kind of produce was freely offered to the gods. Of vegetable products we find frequent mention of wine (*karānu*), must (*kurunnu*), date wine (*šikaru*, prepared from corn and dates or honey and dates, cp Neb. 1035, Nabun 6_{12}, 8_{71}; שֵׁכָר, cp Nu. 28_7), honey (*dišpu*, דְּבַשׁ), cream (*ḫimêtu*, חֶמְאָה), a mixture prepared from various ingredients and containing oil and fat (invariably written *GAR Ni-De-A*; probably mirsu is to be read; cp Nab. 9_{12}, Cyr. 327_6, Arab. *marīs*, 'date-stone'), the choice produce of the meadow (*sîmat appari*), garlic (? *šummu*, שׁוּם), first-fruits (*rêšêti*; רֵאשִׁית; *Sanh.* 16_1 *Kuj.* 1_9).[1] Food specially prepared for the gods was called *akal taknu* (4 R. 6_1, $62a$), with which should be compared the analogous expression לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת. Upon the table of the gods were laid 12, or 3 × 12, loaves of *AŠ-AN*, that is to say wheaten flour, as shewbread (cp Zimmern, *Beiträge* 98_{33} 104_{138}; *IVR* $55_{20}b$ $56_{23}a$; Craig, *Relig. Texts* 166; King, *Magic and Sorcery* 408); also *akal mutḳi*, that is to say, unleavened bread, is several times mentioned (cp Lev. 24_5). Special abundance and splendour characterised the vegetable offerings of the Neo-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian kings (cp Pognon, *Inscriptions de Wâdi Brissa*; *Neb. Grot.* 1_{16} *ff.*; *Neb. Grot.* 2_{26} *ff.*; *Neb. Grot.* 3_7 *ff.*; Schr. *KB* 2_{78}). They were in the form of the daily *sattukku*, the state sacrifice, a sort of representation of the whole agriculture of the land. Nebuchadrezzar lays on the table of Marduk and Sarpanit the choicest produce of the meadow, fruit, herbs, honey, cream, milk, oil, must, date-wine, wine from different vineyards. Still more abundant is the offering of Sargon (*KB* 2_{78}), a king who offers finally not to the gods but to himself. His splendid offering is a brilliant display of his royal wealth, at which even the gods must be amazed.

The commonest bloody sacrifice mentioned is that of the lamb (written *Lu niḳû* or *niḳu*).

The expression *Lu Nita*, often occurring in contracts, is to be read *kalûmu* or *šû* (שֶׂה) and to be rendered 'lamb, kid.' For 'goat' we find the words *buḫadu*, *šapparu* (in contracts), *urîzu az(ṣ) lu* 'an old mature lamb.' Of other quadrupeds we hear of sacrificial oxen (*gumaḫḫu* or *alap maḫḫu*), bullocks (*parru*, פַּר), gazelles (*ṣabîtu*), wild kine (*littu*, לְאָה). The following birds were used for sacrifice; doves, geese (*us-tur*), cocks (*kurkû*, 4 R $26_{47}b$; Talm. כּוּרְגְיָא), peacocks (*paspasu*), pheasants (? *pasnu*; *Nabun.* 672_1; Talm. פַּסְיוֹן). Fish (*nûnê*) are always mentioned along with 'birds of heaven' (*iṣṣûr šamê*).

For a bird sacrifice see Botta, *Nineveh*, pl. 110; for fish offerings see Menant 2_{53}.

3a. Age and other details.

No special prescriptions as to age are known. *Lu niḳū* probably always indicates, like γαλαθηνά (Herod. 1_{183}), the young sucking lamb. We know from the contracts that victims a year old were preferred, as in P in Leviticus (*apal* or *marat šatti*, like בֶּן שָׁנָה or בַּת שׁ׳; *cf Nabon.* 196_1 265_1 272_2 699_{15} 768_1). Mention is also made of victims of two, three (*Neb.* 399_1), and four years of age (*Cyr.* 117_4).

With regard to the condition of the animals the requirements were stricter: faultless growth (*tašriḫtu*), large size (*rabû*), fatness (*duššû*, *marû*), physical purity (*ebbu*, *ellu*; 'pure, shining'), and spotlessness (*šuklulu*; Herod. τὰ τέλεα τῶν προβάτων). Cp Zimmern, *Beiträge* 100_{72}. In divination, however, the use of unsound victims was permitted; in the prayers to the sun-god (ed. Knudtzon, 73) we often read: *izib ša kalumu ilûtika ša ana birî barû maṭû ḫaṭû*: 'Grant that the lamb of thy divinity, which is used for inspection, may be imperfect and unsound.' It is well known that in the Israelitish cultus, thank-offerings need not be faultless (Lev. 22_{23}).

The victim was as a rule a male, yet females also were used (*Sanh. Bav.* 33 *Cyr.* 117_4 *Cyr.* 247_1). It

[1] Abbreviations used in this article. K followed by a number = some one of the tablets of the Koyunjik collection in the Brit. Mus.; *Neb. Nabun. Cyr.* = *Babylonische Texte, Inschriften des Nebukadnezar, Nabuna'id, Cyrus*, published by T. N. Strassmaier (Leipsic, 1887); Menant, *PG* = *Les pierres gravées de la Haute Asie* (Paris, 1883).

[1] The incense (*ḳuṭru*, *ḳutrinnu*, קְטֹרֶת; formerly wrongly read *tarrinnu*, was made from precious herbs (*ša'iltu* שְׁחֵלֶת) and odoriferous woods.

was probably always female victims that were used in purification ceremonies: *šarat buḫatti lâ pitêtê*, 'the skin of a she-lamb still intact' (4 R 25 35*c*; cp 4 R 28 no. 3 11 5 R 51 51; *Nimr. Ep.* 44, 60). Compare with this the prescription of a she-goat one year old for the sin offering of the individual (Nu. 15 27).

The victim was probably seldom placed entire (*kālīl*, כליל) on the altar. To begin with, the remarkably small size of the altars that have been found shows that only certain parts of the victims were offered. The altar of Sargon's palace is 32 inches high; that from Nimrûd, actually only 22 inches.[1] That the flesh was boiled, as in Israel in early times, is shown by 5 R 61, 15, where the priest receives, along with other shares, a large pot of meat-broth (*diḳâr mê šêri*).

With regard to the details of sacrificial ritual and practice our sources tell us little; the sculptures represent as a rule only the preparatory steps (cp Menant 2 54; Layard, *Monum. of Nineveh* 2 24). The usual form of offering was burning by fire (*ana maḳlûti aḳlu*). We know nothing of special ceremonies performed with the blood in the Babylonian ritual, such as were usual in Israel and ancient Arabia (Wellh. *Ar. Heid.* 113). In a text published by Zimmern (*Beiträge*, 126), which describes the purification of the king's palace, the lintels of the palace are smeared with the blood of a lamb (*ina dâmi urizi šuatum*); compare for this interesting passage Ex. 12 7. It may be remarked in passing that we learn from 4 R 32 30 that there were three ways of preparing the victim: *šêr ša penti bašlu ša tumri*, 'baked, boiled, smoked flesh.' The offering consisting of vegetable food was probably consumed by the sacrificers. A drastic exposure of this *pia fraus* is given us in the apocryphal Bel and the Dragon.

3b. Parts of victim used.

The following parts are expressly mentioned in 2 R 44, 14-18*gh* 1-5*ef*: head (*ḳaḳḳadu*), neck (*kišadu*), flank (*pâtu*), breast (*irtu*), rib (*ṣilû*), loin (*sûnu*), tail (*zibbatu*), spine (*eṣên ṣêru*), heart (*libbu*), belly (*karšu*), intestines (*ḫašê*), kidney (*kalitu*), knuckles (*ḳursinnâtê*). In the contracts (cp especially the important texts, Strassm. Neb. 247 and 416; also Peiser, *Babylonische Verträge*, 107) many parts are mentioned that are still etymologically obscure (with two of them, *šêr gabbu* and *šêr ganni ṣili*, cp Talm. גּוּבְּנָא tail; and גַּנְיָא flank). Sacrificial flesh was probably not *taboo* as amongst the Israelites and the Phœnicians (Movers, *Phön.* 2 118); according to a late statement of the Epistle of Jeremiah (*v.* 28 [Baruch 6 28]) the Babylonian priests sold the sacrificial flesh, and their wives also cured it.

4. Time and place.

No definite prescriptions as to the times of sacrifice have reached us. The *Zakmuku* or New Year's feast, the *Akîtu* feast held in honour of Marduk (*Neb. Bors.* 4 8), were signalised by processions and sacrifices. Daily sacrifices are often mentioned (*Neb. Grot.* 1 16 2 26); an animal sacrifice, in *Tigl.-pil.* 7 10 (cp 1 S. 20 6). In the ritual tablet for the month Ulûlu (cp Lotz, *Historia Sabbati*, 1 50 *ff.*), published in 4 R 32 33, it is prescribed that the daily sacrifice, consisting of a *'ōlāh* and a *minḥāh*, should be offered once at each rising of the moon and appearance of the dawn, fourteen times by night and fourteen times by day (cp Ex. 29 38 Nu. 28 3). A morning offering is mentioned in the text published by Zimmern, *Beiträge* 100 69. Sacrifice as a free expression of prayer and dependence (thank-offerings, *tōdāh*, can hardly have been known to the Babylonians), as the highest product of the religious life, is not severely confined to definite times. On the contrary, every important event of life is celebrated by a spontaneous offering of sacrifices just as in ancient Israel. If the king of the Assyrians returns victorious from a military expedition, if in repairing a temple he finds an ancient foundation stone, if he dedicates his palace, if he consecrates his weapons for the fight (*kakkêia ullil*), if in hunting he secures his prey, if he formally commemorates his ancestors—in each and all of these cases he offers sacrifice to the gods. It is a relief amid the annals of cruelty and pride of Assyrian rulers when we read in their boastful accounts: *ana ilâni lu niḳê aḳḳi*, 'I presented to the gods an offering.' For innumerable instances of this kind we may refer generally to *KB*.

The ordinary place of sacrifice was the temple. Mountain and spring also were, in accordance with the universal Semitic ideas (cp Baudissin, *Studien*, 2 143), regarded as sacred spots, specially suited for sacrifices. After the flood Xisuthros offered his sacrifice 'on the top of the mountain' (*ina ziḳḳurat šadi*); and so Ašur-bani-pal (3 89) on the mountain Ḫalman, and Shalmanassar (*Co.* 103) at the source of the Euphrates.

5. Antiquity of sacrifice.

The origin of sacrifice lies, according to Babylonian ideas, beyond the limits of human history; it existed from the time when the world was made (*ultu ûm ṣât mâti*). Gods and genii are often represented as sacrificing (cp Menant, *PG* 2 37 51 53). Sin is called the founder of free-will offerings (*mukîn nindabê*; 4 R 9 33); Adar, the god of offerings and drink offerings (*ilu miḫri û ramkuti*; 2 R 7 35 2 R 67 67). As the formation of the earth was immediately followed by the institution of places of worship, so the newly created man was charged with religious duties towards the deity (Del. *Das bab. Weltschöpfungsepos*, 111). *Palâḫu damâḳû ullad niḳû balâtu ûtâr û taṣlîtu arni* . . . 'the fear of God brings grace, sacrifice enlarges life and prayer (frees from) sin.' After the deluge (147 *ff.*) Xisuthros sacrifices to the gods; 'then did I turn to the four winds, poured out a drink offering, offered a cereal offering on the top of the mountain; seven incense pans I set forth, and spread under them calamus, cedar wood, and *rig gir* (onycha?).' In the old Babylonian Nimrod-epos (44 60) we read in the account of the *Amores Veneris*: *taramîma amêl rê'a ša kanamma išpukakki umišamma uṭabbaḫakki unikêti*; 'thou hast loved the shepherd who continually brought drink offerings to thee, daily sacrificed kids to thee.'

The inscriptions of the old Babylonian king Gudea already contain notices about sacrifices. On the New Year festival (see Schr. *KB* 3 26 61) he offers to the goddess Ba'u amongst other things a cow, a sheep, six lambs, seven baskets of dates, a pot of cream, palm pith (?), fifteen chickens, fishes, cucumbers, as *sattukku* or regular sacrifice. A rich source of information upon the sacrificial arrangements in the later Babylonian period is to be found in the thousands of Babylonian contracts in which bills and receipts connected with temple revenues and dues, as well as lists relating to the regular sacrifices, bulk very largely.[1]

6. Performance.

Sacrifice was in the hands of the priestly caste, who were held in the highest esteem and enjoyed special privileges.[2] So great indeed was the esteem in which they were held in Babylonia in earlier times that even the king needed their mediation for sacrifice and prayer (cp Menant, *PG* 1 128 *f.*). In Assyria, however, the king reserves for himself the supreme priesthood, calling himself the exalted high-priest and sacrificing to the god with his own hand (Per.-Chip. *Assyria*, 41 [*Assyrie*, 455]; Menant, *PG* 2 164). Just as Ezekiel in his ordering of the priesthood assigns to the king in the public worship an independent and important position, so we repeatedly read in the liturgical tablets preserved in 4 R 32 33; *rê'u nišê rabâti nindabâšu ukân*; 'the shepherd of the great peoples shall bring his offering.' In the contracts there is frequent mention of the king's offering and of that of the crown prince (*ša apal šarri*); *Nabon.* 265 8 332 2

[1] Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 1 256 *f.*

[1] A good index to the relative texts is provided by H. L. Tallquist, *Die Sprache der Contracte Nabona'ids* (Helsingfors, 1890).

[2] Diodorus Siculus (2 29) has given us a vivid and adequate account of their functions.

594 20. As in Israel, the priests had assigned to them definite portions of the offerings. According to the ritual of the Sun-temple at Sippar the priests received the loins, the skin, the ribs, the sinews, the belly, the chitterling, the knuckles of all cattle and lambs that were offered, as well as a pot of sacrificial broth (5 R 61 col. 5). In the contracts minute details are met with as to priestly dues (Neb. 247, 416; Peiser, *Bab. Vertr.* 107). It is interesting to observe that in Babylonia as in Israel (see Lev. 21 16 *ff.*) rules were laid down respecting the freedom from bodily blemish that was required in priests. In a priestly catechism of Sippar (K. 2486+4364, published by Craig, *Religious Texts*, Leipsic, 1895) we read as follows:—

Ummânu mudû nâṣir pirišti ilâni rabûtê apilšu ša irammu ina tuppi û ḳân tuppi ina maḫar ilu Samaš û ilu Ramman utammašûma ušaḫḫasu ênuma apil amêl barû; and farther on: *amêl iššakku ša zarušu ellu û šû ina kitti û minûtišu šuklulu ana maḫar ilu Šamaš û ilu Ramman ašar birû û purûšê ṭeḫi abil amêl barê ša zarušu lâ ellu û šû ina kitti û minûti šu lâ šuklulu zaktu ênâ ḫipû sinnê nagpi ubânu ina šêpi . . . malê issubba ḫiṣgallu šupâkilu pilpilanu . . . lâ naṣir parṣê ša ilu Šamas û ilu Ramman.*

'A wise man who guards the secrets of the great gods shall cause his son whom he loves, with tablet and pen to take oath before Šamaš and Rammān, and the son of a magician shall teach him when to do so. A priest who is noble in descent, and whose clothing (?) and measurement (?) are perfect, shall present himself before Šamaš and Rammān in the place of augury and oracle. The son of a priest whose descent is not noble and who is not perfect in clothing (?) and in measure, who has squint (?) eyes, broken teeth, bruised thumbs, boils or swellings on his feet . . . shall not keep the temple of Šamaš and Rammān.'

Sacrifice rests ultimately on the idea that it gives pleasure to the deity (cp Di. *Lev.* 376). For Israel, the conception of sacrifice as a meal for Yahwè is reflected in such expressions as Gen. 8 21 Dt. 33 10 (לֶחֶם י׳). In the Babylonian records, the gods feast in heaven (4 R 19 59: *ilâni rabûti iṣṣinu kuṭrinnu akal šamê ellu kurunnu damga ša lâ ilpat ḳâti ikkalu;* 'the glorious gods smell the incense, noble food of heaven; pure wine, which no hand has touched, do they enjoy'); they eat the offering (4 R 17 56: *akalšu akul nigâšu muḫur;* 'eat his food, accept his sacrifice'); they inhale with physical delight the savour of the offering (*Deluge*, 151: *ilâni eṣinu erêša ilâni eṣinu erêša ṭâba kîma zumbê eli bêl niḳê iptaḫrû;* 'the gods scent the savour, the gods scent the sweet savour; like flies do they gather themselves together about the offerer'; cp the analogous expression רֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ, Gen. 8 21); the gods love the offering that man brings (*Asurn.* I 25: *nadan zêbišu ilâni rabûtê ša šamê û irṣitim iramu;* 'the glorious gods of heaven and earth love the gift of his sacrifice'). What is active in the offering is the voluntary surrender of a private possession (Tigl. 7 7: *ana biblat libbiia aḳḳi;* 'I sacrificed as my heart enjoined'). As a subject into the presence of his king, so does man come into the presence of his god with gift and tribute. In a text, printed in 4 R 20, which describes the solemn return of the god Marduk from Elam to Babylon and the sacrificial feast then celebrated in his honour, the imperial sacrifice is described in the following terms (rev. 22 *f.*): *šamû ḫêgallâšunu irṣitum ḫiṣibša tâmtum miḫirtašu šadû iribšu kitrubaššu šut lâ maḫrâ mala šunnâ lišânu kabitti bilatsunu nâšu ana bilbilum. Azlu ṭubbuḫu duššu alap maḫḫê zibu šurruḫu ṣêni ḳuṭrinnu armannu uštesṣi erêšê ṭâbu;* 'the heaven pours out its abundance, the earth its fulness, the sea its gifts, the mountains their produce; their incomparable offerings, everything that can be named, their heavy tribute do they bring to the lord of all; lambs are slaughtered, great oxen sacrificed in herds, the sacrifice is made rich, incense is prepared, a sweet smelling savour mounts up, delicious odour.' Probably the step from the conception of the offering as a gift and a meal of the deity to that of a finer and, so to speak, spiritual, apperception of that which was brought in sacrifice was made at a comparatively early period. So much is indicated by the fact that even from ancient times prayer was associated with sacrifice. In the pictorial representations of sacrificial scenes we constantly find him who prays in close association with him who offers. The gesture of prayer was threefold: *niš ḳâti, lapâtu ḳâti, labânu appi*—lifting up of the hands, folding of the hands, casting down of the countenance.

7. Fundamental idea.

The purpose of sacrifice is, invariably, to influence the deity in favour of the sacrificer. Man brings gifts to the gods in order that they may be moved thereby to reciprocity—to showing a favourable disposition in return.[1] When the kings Esarhaddon and Ašur-bani-pal were seriously menaced by the inroads of the Gimirri they multiplied their offerings and prayer (see Knudtzon, *l.c.*). In the liturgies of that period a standing expression is as follows:—*ina libbi kalumi anni izzizamma anna kêna šuknamma;* 'because of this lamb offered in sacrifice arise thou and establish faithfulness and mercy.'

8. Purpose.

So, in like manner, the gods are represented as rejoicing over the sacrificial gifts brought them by their human worshippers (K. 1547, rev. 11: *igdamrâ maššakkêia azlêia ina ṭub libbi ilâni igdamru;* 'accomplished are my cleansing sacrifices, to the gladdening of the hearts of the gods are my sacrifices of lambs accomplished'). The feature of joy and gladness which so markedly characterised the sacrificial meals of pre-exilic Israel (שָׂמַח לִפְנֵי י׳, Dt. 12 7; SACRIFICE, § 18) is by no means absent from the Babylonian functions. Thus in 3 R 66 62 we read (*akul akâlu šiti kurunnu ningutu šukun nu'id ilûti*) 'eat food, drink must, make music, honour my god'. Predominant, however, over this joyous note which finds such marked expression among the peoples of classical antiquity there is found in the Babylonian ritual a feature which is common to all Semitic religions—the element of propitiation. Here, of course, we must divest ourselves of all theological preconceptions, and put aside all such notions as that of an atoning efficacy attaching to the blood as the seat of life, or of a divine wrath that expends itself upon the sacrificial animal, or even of a *ratio vicaria*, when we speak of the idea of propitiation as underlying Babylonian sacrifices. The similarity of the words and forms does not necessarily involve similarity in the religious conception. The Babylonians possessed the same words for sin (*ḫiṭṭu*), grace (*annu*), propitiation (*pidu*) as the Hebrews had; but it is certain that they did not associate with the words the same thoughts. At the same time it is significant and by no means accidental—it has its roots firmly planted in the very nature of the religious ideas involved—that every offering offered with the object of averting evil of any kind whatsoever was associated with the notion of a propitiatory, cleansing, purifying efficacy. In a hymn to Šamaš we read (4 R 17 46: *amêlu apil ilišu ênun arnam emid mešritušu marṣiš ibšâ marṣiš ina murṣi ni'il ilu Šamaš ana niš kâtiia ḳûlamma akalšu akul nigâšu muḫurma ilam. Ilḳat ana idišu šukun ina kibitika ênissu lippaṭir aranšu linnasiḫ*), 'man, the son of his god—sin, transgression lies upon him. His physical strength is impaired, he languishes in disease. O Šamaš, behold the uplifting of my hands, eat his food, accept his sacrifice, O God. Take off his fetters. At thy command may his sins be taken away, his transgressions blotted out.' Other passages subjoined explain themselves. 4 R 54 47: *muḫur kadrašu liḳi pidêšu ina ḳakḳar šulmê maḫraka littallak;* 'accept the gift he brings, receive his ransom money (פִּדְיוֹן); let him walk before

[1] Cp King, *Babylon. Magic*, 17 28 (1896): *ašrukka ḳuṭrinnu irišu tabu kinis naplisannima šimi kaba-ai*, 'I present you with incense, agreeable vapour; look at me truly, hear my words.'

them on the ground of peace.' 4 R. 55, obv. 2$_{11}$; *niš ḳâtišu ilišu ana maḫâri u nindabêšu ana râmi ilânišu zênût ittišu ana šulmi*; 'whereby his god accepts the lifting up of his hands and takes pleasure in his free-will offerings, whereby the angry gods turn themselves propitiously towards him.' 4 R. 57$_{7}$ (*akâlê u napšaltum ša ina pânika kunnu lipsusu limnûa*): 'the food and the fatness which is spread out before thy face, may it take away mine evil.'[1] The following remarkable passage, from a hymn to Marduk, stands unfortunately alone (K. 246; cp 2 R. 18$_{53}$: *amêlu muttaliku ina nîḳ rêmê šulmê kima kê maššî limmaššiš*), 'May the man plagued with fever be purified like shining metal through a gracious peace offering.' In contracts the expression *alap tapṭîri*, 'redemption ox' (*Neb.* 132$_{12}$ 213$_{3}$) often occurs; cp with this Lev. 4$_{3}$ (פַּר לְחַטָּאת). The idea of atonement in the OT has found its classical expression in the *kappōreth* of P (see MERCY-SEAT, § 2).

In this connection it is important to observe that the root כפר is attested in Babylonia also, *kapâru* in the rituals meaning 'to cleanse,' 'to purify.' 4 R. 16$_{40}$: *amêlu muttaliku mâr ilišu kuppirma*; 'Cleanse (with the water of the oath) the man plagued with fever, the son of his god.' 4 R. 27$_{54}$: *akâla li'i ša amêli šuatu kuppirma*; 'cleanse the unclean foods' (of the same). In K. 3245 the precept frequently recurs *šarru tukappar*—'do thou, O king, purify,' as also the phrase *takpirtu* of the ceremony of purification (*kîma takpirâti tuḳtêttû*—'when thou hast accomplished the rites of purification'). Whilst the phrase already alluded to—*nîḳ šulmê* (corresponding to the Heb. *šélem*, which, as we see from 1 S. 13$_{9}$ 2 S. 24$_{25}$ Ezek. 45$_{17}$, denotes a purificatory offering: cp SACRIFICE, § 11)—is of only occasional occurrence, we frequently in contracts meet with the word *šalâmu*, *šalammu*, which in accordance with the primary meaning of the root *šalâmu* may be rendered 'turning towards' (on the part of the deity), and taken in the sense of a propitiatory sacrifice. Cp *Nabun.* 214$_{9}$ 362$_{3}$ 641$_{4}$ 767$_{2}$, *Cyr.* 229$_{3}$ with the *sattukku* named in *Nabun.* 799$_{15\,17}$.

A few words must be said on the subjects of human sacrifice, offerings to the dead, and sacrifices of chastity.[2]

9. Human sacrifice, etc. It is a remarkable circumstance that hitherto no authentic evidence for the burning of human sacrifices has been met with in any of the cuneiform inscriptions. It would be unwise, however, to base much upon the *argumentum e silentio* here, for reticence with reference to such a sad and repulsive practice is only what we should expect. The passage, so often quoted in 4 R. 26$_{6}$, where the priest is bidden to offer for the life of the sick man a kid (*urîšu*)—head, neck, breast of the one for head, neck, breast of the other—does not come into account here. The text is a description of a magical operation such as may be compared with that given in 2 K. 4$_{34}$. The Babylonian sculptures, on the other hand, supply traces of human sacrifices that are almost unmistakable (see Menant, *PG* 1$_{94}$ *f.* 97), though it is not impossible that the representations in question are intended to figure, not human sacrifices, but ceremonies connected with circumcision. In the wider sense of the term the Babylonian ban (see BAN) has to be regarded as of the nature of human sacrifice. That the same conception is not altogether absent from the Heb. *ḥêrem* (against Di. *Lev.* 377) is proved by Is. 34$_{6}$, where the destruction of Israel's enemies at Bozrah is treated as a זֶבַח לַי׳. Sennacherib (5$_{50}$) put to death the troops of Šuzub at the command of Ašur his lord. Shalmaneser (*Mo. Obv.* 17) burnt the young men and maidens in his band of captives. The ban pronounced by Ašur-bâni-pal (6$_{101}$) over his enemies extends also to the lower animals (cp Judg. 20$_{48}$). A sacrificial offering of prisoners (cp 1 S. 15$_{33}$) is thus recorded by Ašur-bâni-pal (4$_{70}$): 'the remainder of the people I put to death beside the great steer, where my grandfather Sennacherib had been murdered, making lamentation for him.' In 4 R. 63$_{40}$ Ištar figures as the bloodthirsty goddess who devours human flesh: *ištanatti dâmi nišbuti ša amêlûti šêr ša lâ akâli nêrpaddu ša lâ karâṣi*: 'she (the daughter of Anu) has drunk the satisfying blood of men, flesh that cannot be eaten, bones that cannot be gnawed.' The probability is that the Babylonians practised human sacrifice secretly without formally taking it up into the recognised worship. In the older period (of which we have a reminiscence in Gen. 22), as well as in times of religious declension (2 K. 17$_{31}$), the Israelites doubtless borrowed the practice of human sacrifice from the peoples in their immediate neighbourhood.

As for offerings to the dead, which indeed are forbidden in the OT as relics of heathenism (Dt. 26$_{14}$), but the practice of which was not unknown even at a late date (Jer. 16$_{7}$), evidence of their use among the Babylonians and Assyrians is of frequent occurrence (see A. Jeremias, *Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 53). The Descent of Ištar closes with the charge of the priest to the necromancer: 'if she vouchsafe not liberation to thee, then turn thy face towards her and pour out pure water with precious balsam before Tammuz the husband of her youth.' Ašur-bâni-pal (Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, 2$_{23}$) says: *adi kispi nâḳ mê ana êkimmê šarrâni alikût maḫri ša šubṭulu arkus*: 'for the lament of the pourer out of water on behalf of the spirits of my ancestors, the kings, I gave orders because it had been abolished.' In the burying-places of Sirghula and Elḫibba were discovered traces of offerings to the dead: calcined date stones, bones of oxen, sheep, birds. Representations of sacrifices to the dead are given in Perrot, *l.c.* 361, and Menant, *PG* 2$_{54}$. The dirge as a Babylonian institution is attested also by Ezek. 8$_{14}$. The sacrifice of chastity, mentioned by Herodotus (1$_{199}$), is bluntly described in the Epistle of Jeremiah (*v.* 43 [= Baruch 6$_{43}$]). Even in the Nimrod-epos, Ištar the goddess of love already appears (49$_{1}$) surrounded by a whole troop of attendants: *uptaḫḫir iltu Ištar kizirêti šamḫâti u ḫârimâti*: 'there assembled the goddess Ištar, the servants, harlots, and concubines.' In the period of religious decay the worship by such hieroduli became naturalised in Jerusalem (2 K. 23$_{7}$).

The subject of lustrations stands in close connection with that of sacrifice in the Hebrew Torah, and has a large place in the Babylonian ritual.

10. Lustrations. The texts relating to it are very difficult, especially because they are often written in pure ideograms. At the foundation of these purifications lies the conception that an unclean substance can be removed by a clean, and a clean be taken up by an unclean. That which is unclean has a contagious character, that which is clean has a sympathetic power. So 4 R. 16$_{2}$: *mê šunûti ana karpati têrma ana ribîti tubukma maruštu ša êmûḳi innaššaru ribîtu litbal ru'tum nadîtum ši kîma mê littabik kišpi ša ina ru'ti nadîti bullulu ana arkati litûru*: 'this water pour thou into a pot, then pour out in the street; let the street carry off the sickness which deprives of strength, and let the poison poured into it be washed away like the water, let the spell which has united itself with the poison poured in be averted.' The spell (from which the sickness proceeds) is transferred to the poison, the poison is absorbed by the water, the water is carried off by the street; thus the sufferer has a threefold guarantee that he will be healed of his sickness.

As ingredients were employed such things as from their external appearance or internal qualities were fitted to be symbols of purity. Water is mentioned with special frequency. In lustrations libations of water are offered to Šamaš. Marduk and Ea the gods of pure exorcism are honoured with libations and sacrifices in the house of sprinkling (*bît rimki*; 5 R. 50$_{51}$). In the temple was a laver (*agubbu*). In an oath formula (*Maqlu*. 34, 47) occurs this expression: *ana ilâni ša šamê mê anamdin kîma anâku ana kâšunu ulallukunûši attunu iâši ullilainni*: 'I offer water to the gods of heaven. As I perform your purification for you, so do ye cleanse me.' The waters of the Euphrates

[1] Cp King, *l.c.* 5 *f.* 76.
[2] On human sacrifice cp Lenormant, *Études accadiennes*, 3$_{112}$; Sayce, *TSBA* 4$_{25}$; Menant, *PG* 1$_{150}$.

and the Tigris were regarded as having special efficacy (*Nimr. Ep.* 49$_{19}$; Zimmern, *Šurpu*, 44$_{66}$, *ib.* $_{77}$); we have this interesting passage: 'By Marduk's command be the bowl with thy guilt, thy ban, taken away like the unclean water from thy body and thy hands and swallowed up by the earth.'

Besides water, frequent mention is made of honey (*dišpu*), wine (*karânu*), milk (*širbu*), cream (*ḫimêtu*); further, bright minerals such as salt (*ṭâbtu*), alum (*šikkatu*), alkali (? *uḫulu*); and, from the vegetable kingdom, corn (*upuntu*), the wood of various trees, such as cedar (*erinu*), cypress (*burâšu*), palm (*giš-šimarru*), calamus (*ḳânu ṭâbu*; cp קָנֶה הַטּוֹב), *rig-gir* (onycha?) all sorts of incense (*ḳuṭrinnu*, קְטֹרֶת).

As a clean place—*ašru ellu*, exactly corresponding to the מָקוֹם טָהוֹר of Nu. 19$_{9}$—the wilderness is frequently named.[1] 4 R. 8$_{43}$: *mamit ana ṣêri ašri elli lišeṣi*, 'let the ban depart to the wilderness, the clean place' (cp 4 R. 14$_{2}$), 4 R. 56$_{51}$: *ana pân namaššê ša ṣêri pâniki šukni*, 'to the beasts of the wilderness turn thy face.' It is on a similar conception of the wilderness as the clean place that the Israelite custom of sending the goat for Azazel into the wilderness on the day of Atonement appears to rest (but see AZAZEL). Of the other goat also which had to be burnt, Josephus remarks (*Ant.* iii. 10$_{3}$) that before the burning it had to be brought to a very clean place—(εἰς καθαρώτατον χωρίον).

Purity—physical cleanliness—is postulated in every sacrificial act, as in every exercise of religion (4 R. 23$_{16}$: *ḳâtâ ellêti iḳḳâ maḫḫarka*: 'with pure hands he sacrifices before thee.' 4 R. 19 no. 2: *ḳâtîka misi kâtika ubbib*, 'wash thy hand, purify thy hand.' *Maqlu* 108$_{69}$: *itturu šêru misâ kâtâ šêrumma šêru misâ kâtâ*, 'the morning dawn is past, I have washed my hands; the morning glow has shone, I have washed my hands'). All who were sick or who associated with those who were unclean became themselves unclean. (4 R. 62$_{64}$: *lâ ella lâ ellita ul itamar*, 'the unclean man, the unclean woman, shall he not look upon').

That contact with the dead defiled may be assumed as matter of course; of sexual defilement this is expressly stated by Herodotus (1 198); cp 4 R. 26 no. 5: *zinništu ša ḳâtâša lâ damḳa uštamḫir ardatu ša ḳâtâša lâ misâ ittaplas*: 'to a woman whose hand is not pure, he has joined himself; at a maid-servant whose hand is not washed, he has looked.'

Foods also were distinguished as clean and unclean. In the prayer addressed to the sun-god we often meet with such expressions as these: *mimma lu'u ikulu ištu ipšušu ulappitu ukabbisu*, 'if he perchance has eaten, drunken, anointed with, touched, or trodden on, aught that was unclean.' In the calendar given in 5 R. 48$_{49}$ occur food prohibitions. For the 9th of Iyyar fish is forbidden, for the 30th of Ab swine flesh (*šêr šaḫê*), for the 27th of Tišri swine flesh, beef (*šêr alpi*), for the 10th of Marḫesvan dates, for the 25th of Iyyar, 29th of Kisleu, and 6th of Ṭebet contact with women.

The Babylonian ritual of purification urgently needs systematic exhibition, especially on account of its close connection with OT views. Nowack (*HA* 275) remarks with truth that the biblical ideas of clean and unclean had their rise elsewhere than on the soil of Yahwism (cp Smend, *Rel.-gesch.* 334). In such a law of purification as that which we find in Lev. 14 unquestionably many pre-Israelitic representations are present. The cedar-wood mentioned in Lev. 14$_{4}$ is one of the cleansing media of the Babylonian ritual also (4 R. 16$_{32}$ 5 R. 51$_{15}$); the bird which in Lev. 14$_{7}$ is charged with carrying off the leprosy into space is often met with in Babylonian litanies (4 R. 4$_{26}$ 4 R. 59$_{2}$, rev. 14: 'I will rend asunder my wickedness, let the bird carry it away up to the sky'). The sevenfold sprinkling of the person to be cleansed (Lev. 14$_{7}$) recalls such passages as 4 R. 26$_{32}$: *adî sibišu zumur amêli šuatu pušušma*, 'seven times anoint the body of that man.' The besmearing with blood on the tip of the right ear, on the right thumb, on the great toe of the right foot, prescribed in Lev. 14$_{14}$ has its analogies in many magical texts (cp *ASKT* 91$_{52}$: *abna ella ina ḳuḳâni ša ênišu ina ubânišu ṣiḫirti ina šumêlišu šukun*, 'lay the shining stone on the lashes[?] of his eyes, on his little finger, on his left side'). An interesting parallel to the offering of purification prescribed for the poor, which follows the magical operation prescribed in Lev. 14$_{21}$, occurs in K. 8380. There the person to be purified is bidden take hold of the hands of the sacrificer who pours water upon the hand of the sufferer, lays incense upon the dish, and solemnly prepares the sacrificial meal. Then, further, we read: *šumma rubû šû tu kil iṣṣûru ana maḳlûte iḳalu šumma muškînu šu libbi šu'i iḳalu*, 'if he is a rich man he shall hand over a dove (?) to be burned, but if he is a pauper he shall cause the heart of a sheep to be burned.'

11. Summary.

i. *Points of resemblance.*—(*a*) A large number of expressions relating to sacrifice are common to both rituals—*e.g.*, *ḳurbannu* (קָרְבָּן), *zîbu* (זֶבַח), *šulmu* (שֶׁלֶם), *ḳarâbu* (הִקְרִיב), *ṭabâḫu* (טָבַח), *kapâru* (כִּפֶּר). (*b*) In bloody sacrifices, the same species of animals are employed (ox, sheep, goat). Animals of a year old are preferred, sacrifices of a more advanced age are rare. Female animals are in the one case used for purifications, in the other (Nu. 15$_{27}$) for sin offerings. The offering of defective animals was in the one case allowed for purposes of augury, in the other for free-will offerings (Lev. 22$_{23}$). Generally speaking, both rituals required that the victim should be without blemish. As in the Babylonian ritual the *sattukku*—*i.e.*, the regular and obligatory sacrifices—lies at the foundation of the worship, so also in P, and still more in Ezekiel, is the *tāmīd*, the regular daily offering, made statutory and the centre of the whole divine service. (*c*) As for unbloody sacrifices, among the Babylonians systematic use was made of various materials of which the employment in Israel was only exceptional, such as wine, water, oil. The incense offering (*ḳutrinnu*) was unknown to early Israel. All the more striking is the frequent and important place it takes in the ritual law of P which provides a special altar for the *ḳĕṭōreth*. Jeremiah (6$_{20}$) has a polemic against it as a modern and outlandish innovation. The unknown author of Is. 65$_{3}$ names Babylon as the land in which sacrifices are offered in gardens, and incense offered upon bricks (cp *Chors.* 172; *Sarg. Ann.* 434; 4 R. 49$_{53}$). The incense offering of post-exilic Israel may perhaps have been borrowed from the Babylonian ritual.

ii. *Points of difference.*—(*a*) In the vegetable offerings of the Hebrew Tōrāh only those products figure which represent a right of private ownership acquired by labour and trouble. Honey, cream, milk, fruit occur frequently as Babylonian offerings, but never amongst those of the OT. The wine libation is no longer an independent offering in P (SACRIFICE, § 35), Ezekiel prohibited it altogether—doubtless, however, only on account of abuses connected with it (1 S. 1$_{14}$). (*b*) As regards bloody sacrifices, offerings of fish and game were excluded from the Hebrew ritual. Both are inherently the property of Yahwè and thus not appropriate as sacrificial gifts. The fish offering, on the other hand, is frequently mentioned in Assyrian and late Babylonian inscriptions, and game offerings were in great favour. In *Tigl.-pil.* 7$_{4}$ *ff.* we read: 'herds of hinds, stags, chamois (?), wild goats, which I had taken in hunting in large numbers, I brought together like sheep, and the progeny that was born of them I offered as my heart bade me, along with pure sacrificial lambs, to the god Ašur.'

(*c*) As for the fundamental idea underlying sacrifice, the Hebrew sacrifice in its older form gave a special development to the conception of a sacral communion between God and the worshipper as represented in the

[1] The desert is perhaps regarded as pure because it receives unpurified and dead bodies without harm.

act of offering (cp Wellh. *Heid.* 114); the Babylonian cultus, on the other hand, affords no trace of this. All the more strongly is the idea of the purificatory and propitiatory character of sacrifice which comes into the foreground in P and Ezekiel conspicuous in the Babylonian cultus. Singular to say, however, that shows not the faintest trace of *āšām* (SACRIFICE, § 27), *ḥaṭṭāth* (SACRIFICE, § 28); we may assume that the sin and the trespass offering of the Hebrew Tōrāh, although all that we know of their technique is wholly of post-exilic date, were entirely of Israelite growth. J. J.

RIVAL (צָרָה), 1 S. 1 6 RV, AV ADVERSARY.

RIVER. For the rivers and streams mentioned in the EV, see, generally, GEOGRAPHY, § 5; PALESTINE, §§ 9, 13; EGYPT, § 6; ASSYRIA, § 4; MOAB, § 4 *f.*; also EUPHRATES, JORDAN, NILE, etc.

The regular word for river is 1. *nāhār* (נהר, N. Sem., Ar. *nahr* is probably a loan-word). See GEOGRAPHY, § 5, and cp ARAM-NAHARAIM. Other words occasionally so rendered are:—

2. *yĕ'ōr* (יאר; cp CANAL, GEOGRAPHY, § 5 [ii.]) used regularly of the NILE [*q.v.*] or of its arms, once of a mining-shaft (Job 28 10), and in Dan. 12 5-7 of the Tigris. The last mentioned unrestricted use of the word appears again in later Hebrew.

3. *náḥal* (נחל, N. Sem.) corresponds to the Ar. *wādy* or torrent-valley; see GEOGRAPHY, § 5 [iv.], and cp BROOK.

Two terms appear to designate primarily canals or conduits:—

4. *yūbal* (יוּבַל, √flow, run), Jer. 17 8† (ἰκμάς [BℵAQ]) of which *'ūbal* (א[ו]בל in Dan. 8 2 *f.* 6† (see ULAI) seems to be a mere phonetic variation. Cp the form *yabal** in plu. Is. 30 25 (EV 'streams'), 44 4 (EV 'watercourses').

5. *péleg* (פלג), Ps. 46 4 [5] 65 9 [10]. Cp *pĕlaggōth*, Job 20 17 EV 'river,' in Judg. 5 15 *f.*, RV 'watercourses' (so Moore; cp, however, Bu., Now.).

For the sake of completeness mention may here be made of:—

6. *'āphīḳ* (אפיק), see BROOK.

7. *'éšed* (אשד), Nu. 21 15, AV 'stream'; on the meaning see ASHDOTH-PISGAH.

8. *nōzĕlīm* (נזילם, lit. 'flowing'), Ps. 78 16 Cant. 4 15, 'streams.

RIVER OF EGYPT (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם). See EGYPT, BROOK OF.

RIVER OF THE WILDERNESS (נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה). See ARABAH, BROOK OF THE.

RIZIA (רִצְיָא), 1 Ch. 7 39 RV, AV REZIA.

RIZPAH (רִצְפָּה; § 71, 'pavement'; ρεсφα [BAL]), daughter of AIAH [*q.v.*], Saul's concubine, 2 S. 3 7 21 8 *ff.*, (ρεφφαθ [A in *v.* 8]). According to the existing tradition 'Ishbosheth' was angry with Abner for taking possesssion of his father's concubine, and Abner indignantly repelled the accusation (on 2 S. 3 8 see NABAL). Winckler, however, plausibly holds (*GI* 2 196) that the original tradition interpreted this fact differently, and that in reality Abner had dethroned 'Ishbosheth,' and signified his assumption of Saul's crown by taking possession of Saul's wife (cp 12 11 16 22). The pathetic story of Rizpah's conduct when her two sons ARMONI (see SAUL, § 6) and MEPHIBOSHETH [*q.v.*] and the five sons of Michal or rather MERAB [*q.v.*] had been put to death, to remove the blood-guiltiness of the land, is also, according to Winckler (*GI* 2 241), unhistorical; he suspects mythological affinities, and compares the myth of Niobe (Preller, *Griech. Myth.* 2 269). According to 2 S. 21 11 *ff.*, it was on hearing of the act of Rizpah, that David sent for the bones of Saul and Jonathan, that they might be buried together in the sepulchre of Kish at Zela, or rather Laish (= Shalishah). See ZELAH.

On the Rizpah-story see further *RS*(2) 419 *ff.*, and on the mode of execution (הוקע) see HANGING, 2 *b*; on the source of the narrative, see SAMUEL (BOOKS), §§ 4 *ff.*; We. *CH* 263; Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 257 *f.* T. K. C.

ROAST. See COOKING, § 6; SACRIFICE, § 6.

ROBE, the rendering suggests an outer garment of some richness, more elaborate and elegant than an ordinary mantle.

The word occurs most frequently as the rendering of *mĕ'īl* (see MANTLE, § 2 [6]), occasionally, too, of *addéreth*, Jon. 3 6, and (for MT *éder*) Mi. 2 8 (see *ib.* 5), and of *mahălāṣōth*, Is. 3 22 RV (see *ib.* 7), στολή, Lk. 15 22 20 46 Rev. 6 11 7 9 13 *f.* (see *ib.* 16), and χλαμύς, Mt. 27 28 (see *ib.* 20). It is applied to the more general terms *béged* (1 K. 22 10 30 ‖ 2 Ch. 18 9 29; see DRESS, § 1 [1]), and ἐσθής (Lk. 23 11, RV 'apparel'), and is once used to render *kuttōneth* (Is. 22 21), on which see TUNIC. See DRESS, MANTLE, and cp CLOTHING, GARMENT.

ROBOAM (Mt. 1 7), RV REHOBOAM.

ROCK. 1. צוּר, *ṣūr*. See NAMES OF GOD, § 15, and ZUR. [Under ZUR thirty-five places are cited where *ṣūr* seems to have become altogether a synonym for 'God.' In twenty-one of these 𝔊 (from a dread of materialism?) has θεός, in four βοηθός, in four φύλαξ; κύριος (Is. 17 10), δίκαιος (1 S. 2 2), κτίστης (2 S. 22 32), ἀντιλήμπτωρ (Ps. 89 27 [26]) each occur once; and in Dt. 32 37 Hab. 1 12 𝔊 shows a different text.]

2. סֶלַע, *séla'*. See SELA. [In 2 S. 22 2 Ps. 18 3 [2], 31 4 [3] 42 10 [9], *séla'* is a synomyn of *ṣūr*, and a divine title. König (*Stylistik*, 100) finds *séla'* once used of a heathen god, but סַלְעוֹ (EV 'his rock') in Is. 31 9, if correct, is parallel to שָׂרָיו (EV 'his princes'). See *Crit. Bib.*]

3. מָעוֹז, *mā'ōz* (Judg. 6 26 RV), cp FORTRESS; 4. חַלָּמִישׁ, *ḥallāmīš* (Job 28 9), cp FLINT; 5. כֵּף, *kēph* (Jer. 4 29 Job 30 6); cp CEPHAS, SIMON PETER.

ROCKBADGER (שָׁפָן, Lev. 11 5 RVmg.), EV CONEY.

ROD. Of the following words, the first three are also rendered 'staff'; see Is. 30 32 (the staff of judgment); Ps. 23 4 (שבט, ‖ משענה, see STAFF, 1); Gen. 32 10 (Jacob's staff); for a very special sense of מטה and שבט, see SCEPTRE.

1. מַטֶּה, *maṭṭeh* (√נטה, to stretch out): of the staff or wand of the traveller (Gen. 38 18 25, etc.), shepherd (Ex. 4 2, etc.), wonder-worker (Ex. 7 9 12, etc.), warrior (1 S. 14 27 43), task-master (Is. 9 3 [4], etc.), ruler (Jer. 48 17, etc.); an implement of punishment (Is. 30 31), used also in beating out black cummin (*ḳéṣah*, Is. 28 27). The 'rods' in Nu. 17 17 *ff.* [17 2 *ff.*] are apparently 'shafts,' *i.e.*, arrows or spears. *Maṭṭeh* is also rendered 'staff' (the staff of judgment), Is. 30 32. Cp the Ar. *nabût*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 147, 379.

2. שֵׁבֶט, *šēbeṭ*, cp Ass. *šabatu*, 'to beat' (whence *šibtu*, 'staff, as something to beat with, but also 'massacre,' Frd. Del.) (*a*) As an implement of punishment (Prov. 10 13 13 24); the bastinado as authorised by law is referred to in Dt. 25 1-3, and (probably) Dt. 22 18. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. In 𝔊 the verbs are μαστιγοῦν, παιδεύειν; ῥαβδίζειν is used only of threshing in agriculture. (*b*) As used for beating cummin (kammōn, Is. 28 27). (*c*) Of the shepherd's staff, or club-stick (Ar. *nabût*), Ps. 23 4 Lev. 27 32 Ezek. 20 37. (*d*) Of the ruler's staff; see SCEPTRE. (*e*) Of a weapon, in time of stress, 2 S. 23 21. Both *maṭṭeh* and *šēbeṭ* are used also metaphorically in the sense of 'tribe' (see TRIBE).

3. מַקֵּל, *maḳḳēl*, literally a shoot or wand (Jer. 1 11 Gen. 30 37, etc.); of traveller's staff, Gen. 32 11; of the shepherd's, 1 S. 17 40 43 Zech. 11 7 10 14; once perhaps of a crutch, see STAFF, 3. Used in rhabdomancy, Hos. 4 12 (see DIVINATION, § 2 [1]).

4. חֹטֶר, *ḥōṭer*, used only metaphorically (but as representing its literal sense of 'shoot,' 'scion' or 'twig'), Is. 11 1 Prov. 14 3†.

5. ῥάβδος, 1 Cor. 4 21 Heb. 9 4 Rev. 2 27 11 1 12 5 19 15, all, except 1 Cor. (*l.c.*) and Rev. 11 1, influenced by OT.

The 'beating with rods' (ῥαβδίζειν) in Acts 16 22 2 Cor. 11 25 is the Roman punishment inflicted by the lictors (EV 'serjeants,' ῥαβδοῦχοι: Acts 16 35 38).

RODANIM (רוֹדָנִים), 1 Ch. 1 7 AVmg., RV; AV DODANIM.

ROE. The rendering of: 1. *ṣĕbī*, צְבִי (Ar. *ẓaby*, Aram. *ṭabyā* [cp TABITHA], Ass. *ṣabītu*; δορκάς [BℵAL]) in EV of 1 Ch. 12 8, and 2 S. 2 18 ('wild roe,' lit. 'roe that is in the field,' cp RVmg.), and, with RVmg. 'gazelle,' in EV of Cant. 2 7 (𝔊 δυνάμεσιν) 9 and 17 (𝔊 δόρκωνι) 8 5 (𝔊 δυνάμεσιν) 8 14; AV only in Ecclus. 27 20 (RV 'gazelle'); also the rendering of the fem. form *ṣĕbiyyāh*, צְבִיָּה, in Cant. 4 5 7 3 [4] RV (RVmg. 'gazelle,' not in AV). When mentioned as an article of food *ṣĕbī* is rendered **Roebuck** (Dt. 12 15 22 14 5 15 22 1 K. 4 23 [5 3], AV; RV 'gazelle').

2. *ya'ălāh*, יַעֲלָה, Prov. 5 19, RV, DOE; cp GOAT, § 2.

3. *'ōpher*, עֹפֶר, Cant. 4 5 7 3 [4], AV 'young roe,' RV 'fawn,' see HART.

4. *yaḥmūr*, יַחְמוּר (lit. 'red'), Dt. 14 5 1 K. 4 23 [5 3]; AV FALLOW-DEER (βούβαλος [AL in Dt.]; B in Dt., and BAL in Ki. om.?).

Like the GAZELLE and HART, the roe is chiefly alluded to for its swiftness, and partly on account of its grace and beauty is a favourite image of female charms.[1] On the species in general see GOAT, § 2, and note that the name *yaḥmūr* (no. 4 above) is still used by the Arabs for the true *Cervus capreolus* (cp Dr. *Deut.*, *ad loc.* and see ANTELOPE). The *Capreolus capra*, with which the *yaḥmūr* has also been identified, is a small form found distributed over Europe and W. Asia, and still occurs in Palestine; specimens of it were seen by Tristram on Lebanon, and by Conder (*Tent-Work*, 91 [1887]) on Mt. Carmel. The fallow-deer (cp AV), *Cervus dama*, is a native of N. Africa and of the countries surrounding the Mediterranean, whence it has been introduced into many civilised countries. It occurs also in N. Palestine, but is said to be scarce. A nearly allied species, *C. mesopotamicus*, is found in parts of W. Persia. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

ROGELIM (רֹגְלִים; ρωγελ[λ]ειμ [BA], ρακαβειν [L]); the home of 'Barzillai the Gileadite' (2 S. 17 27 19 31). The existence of such a place is questionable. Probably the passages relative to Barzillai are based on an earlier passage respecting MEPHIBOSHETH [*q.v.* § 2] which had already become corrupt, and רגלים (Rogelim) is a corruption of בית גלים Beth-gallim, *i.e.*, Beth-gilgal (see GALLIM; SAUL, § 4).

The corruption arose from a scribe's *lapsus oculi*. In 2 S. 17 27 *f.* the true text probably ran (see 𝔊BAL and cp YARN) וּבַרְזִלַּי הַגִּלְעָדִי מִבֵּית־גַּלִּים מַקְרִיבִים עֲרָשׂוֹת וּמַרְבַדֵּי מִשְׁכָּב. But מקריבים was miswritten מרקבים; the consequence of which was that one scribe (followed by MT and 𝔊BA) wrote מרגלים, and another (followed by 𝔊L) wrote מרקבים, instead of מִבֵּית־גַּלִּים. The ἤνεγκαν of 𝔊BAL represents מקר[י]בים (cp Judg. 3 17 *f.*). 2 S. 19 31 was harmonised, as to the name of Barzillai's home, with 2 S. 17 27 in each of the texts. T. K. C.

ROHGAH (רוֹהֲגָה Kt. רָהְגָּה Ḳr.), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.* § 4 ii.). In 1 Ch. 7 34 "[Ahi] and Rohghah" becomes [αχι]ουια [B], [αχι]ουρα ουγα [A], [ηειγ] και ραγουε [L.]; but *roaga*; Pesh. om. passage); cp AHI, 2.

ROIMUS (ροειμου [B]), 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2, REHUM, 1.

ROLL. 1. מְגִלָּה, *mĕgillāh*; χαρτίον, χάρτης, κεφαλίς), Jer. 36 2, etc. See WRITING.

2. גִּלָּיוֹן, *gillāyōn*; for גּ׳ גָּדוֹל 𝔊 has τόμον καινοῦ μεγάλου [BℵQ] τόμον χάρτου κ. μ. [A]; RV 'tablet.' A tablet of wood or stone is probably meant. Is. 8 1†. For the gilyōnim of Is. 3 23 cp MIRROR, end.

3. סְפַר, *sᵉphar*, Ezra 6 1, RV 'archives.' See WRITING and cp HISTORICAL LITERATURE.

ROLLER (חִתּוּל; μαλαγμα [BAQΓ; cp Is. 1 6]), Ezek. 30 21, one of the few references to surgical practice in the EV (see MEDICINE). *Hittūl* from √entwine (used in Ezek. 16 4 of swaddling, cp derivative in Job 38 9) is properly a bandage (cp Toy's rendering in *SBOT*) rather than a poultice (as 𝔊).

ROMAMTI-EZER (רֹמַמְתִּי עֶזֶר, § 23, according to the Chronicler a son of Heman: 1 Ch. 25 4 31 ρωμεμθι ουιοι ωδ, ρομελχει [B, superscr. ωθ Ba.b], ρωμεμθι εζερ, ρωμεθ μιεζερ [A], ραμαθιεζερ [L], *romemthiezer* [Vg.]), but see HEMAN.

ROMANS (EPISTLE)

History of criticism (§§ 1-3).
What 'Romans' seems to be (§ 4).
Contents (§ 5)
Not a letter (§§ 6-8).
Structure (§§ 9-13).
Late date (§§ 14-18).
Conclusion (§ 19).
Author (§§ 20-22).
His date (§ 23).
Value of Work (§ 24).
Defenders of authenticity (§ 25).
Literature (§ 26).

Of Epistles to the Romans Old-Christian Literature is acquainted with two—that of Paul and that of Ignatius. As regards the latter, the reader is referred to what has been said under OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE (§ 28 *f.*). The 'Epistle of Paul to the Romans' has come down to us from antiquity not as a separate work but as one of the most distinguished members of a group—the 'epistles of Paul' (ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου)—in which its title in the shortest form, followed by Ti. WH among others (after ℵABC, etc.), is 'to Romans' (πρὸς Ῥωμαίους).

1. History of criticism; traditional view.

From the beginning (first by Marcion, about 140 A.D.) the work, as an integral part of the authoritative 'Apostle' (ὁ Ἀπόστολος, τὸ ἀποστολικόν)—*i.e.*, Paul (Παῦλος)—in other words as a canonical writing, was tacitly recognised as the work of the apostle Paul. This continued without a break till 1792. Justin took no notice of Paul; Irenæus and Tertullian—the latter with a scornful 'hæreticorum apostolus' on his lips—laboured to raise the 'apostle' in the estimation of the faithful (cp PAUL, § 48); but no one ever thought of doubting the genuineness of the letters attributed to the apostle—or of defending it. During the whole of that period the question did not so much as exist.

2. Theory of compositeness.

There is indeed a very old discussion—perhaps it had already arisen even in the second century—as to the existence of the epistle in two forms, a longer and a shorter, even after omission of the two last chapters (15, 16). Origen taxes Marcion with this last omission; but Origen's older contemporary Tertullian says nothing of that, though he several times reprimands the heretic for having tampered with the text of chaps. 1-14. The probability is that Tertullian had no acquaintance with chaps. 15 *f.* At any rate, he made no citation from them in his polemic against Marcion (*adv. Marc.* 5 13-14), although in its course he leaves none of the previous chapters (1-14) unreferred to and speaks of one expression—'tribunal Christi' (14 10)—as written 'in clausula' [epistulæ]; cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 101-118.

In recent times the tradition of the text as regards chaps. 15-16 has frequently come under discussion. The conclusion is not only that the chapters in question were unknown to Marcion and probably also to other ancient witnesses, including Irenæus and Cyprian, but also that there were in circulation at an early date MSS. in which the doxology Rom. 16 25-27 either occurred alone immediately after 14 23 or was entirely wanting (cp Ti.; Sanday-Headlam, *Comm.* (1895), 89 *f.*; S. Davidson, *Intr.*(3), 1894, 1 120-123).

To these facts were added, at a later date, considerations based on the contents of chaps. 15-16 tending to show that they hardly fitted in with chaps. 1-14. Semler (*Diss. de duplici appendice ep. Pauli ad Rom.* 1767; *Paraphrasis ep. ad Romanos*, 1769), soon afterwards supported by Eichhorn (*Einl. in das NT*), held chap. 15 *f.* to be by Paul but not to have originally belonged to the Epistle to the Romans. Baur (*Tüb. Ztschr.*, 1836, *Paulus*, 1845, cp *Paulus*(2), 1 [1866] 393-409), followed, in the main, among others by Schwegler (*Nachap. Zeitalter*), Zeller (*ACL*), S. Davidson (*Introd.*(3), 1894, 1 123-131), and controverted by Kling (*St.Kr.*, 1837), De Wette and others, maintained the piece to be spurious. Since Baur, many scholars have endeavoured to steer a middle course by seeking—in very divergent ways, it is true—for the close of the letter supposed lost, in chaps. 15, 16. So among others, Lucht (*Ueber die beiden letzten Kapp. des Römerbriefs*, 1871), Volkmar (*Römerbrief*, 1875), Scholten (*Th.T*, 1876), Bruckner (*Reihenfolge*, 1890), Baljon (*Gesch. v. d. Boeken des NVs.* 1901, p. 95-6). In these various attempts an important part was always played by the conjecture, first put forth by Schulz (*St.Kr.*, 1829), that in Rom. 16 1-20 what we really have is an epistle of Paul to the Ephesians.

In this direction—that of holding more Pauline epistles than one to have been incorporated with each other or amalgamated together to form the canonical epistle to the Romans—the way had already been led (leaving 15, 16 out of account) by Heumann in 1765.

He argued, according to Meyer (*Komm.*(3) [1859], etc.), for the 'strange hypothesis' that a new Epistle to the Romans begins at chap. 12, whilst chap. 16 contains two postscripts (*vv.* 1-24 and 25-27) to the first. Eichhorn (*Einl.*(2), 1827) guessed that Paul in reading over the epistle after it had been written

[1] If these animals were sacred to the goddess of love (see GAZELLE), another plausible origin of the reference might be sought for.

by an amanuensis made various additions with his own hand. C. H. Weisse (*Philos. Dogm.* 1855) held Rom. 9-11 to be a later insertion. He found moreover a number of minor insertions in the Epistle, and finally concluded that chaps. 9-10+16 1-16, 20*b*, probably had belonged originally to an Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians (cp his *Beitr. zur Kritik der paul. Br.* 1867, edited by Sulze). Laurent (*Neutest. Studien*, 1866) supposed Paul to have written with his own hand to his Epistle to the Romans a number of notes which subsequently by accident found their way into the text. Renan (*St. Paul*) was of opinion that Paul had published his Epistle to the Romans in several forms—*e.g.*, chaps. 1-11+15; chaps. 1-14+16 (part); out of these forms the epistle known to us ultimately grew. Straatman (*Th. T*, 1868, 38-57), controverted by Rovers (*ib.* 310-325), came to the conclusion that chaps. 12-14 do not fit in with what precedes; that these chapters along with chap. 16 belong to an Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians; and that the close of the Epistle to the Romans, properly so called, is found in chap. 15. Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristentums*, 1 16-30, 1893) contended, and at a later date (3 1-193, 1901) reaffirmed, though with some modifications of minor importance, that our Epistle to the Romans is the result of a fitting-together of two epistles written by Paul at separate times, one before and one after his visit to Rome, and addressed to the Christians there. The first and longer, a well rounded whole, consisted of 1 1-11 36, 15 8-33, 16 21-27; the second, partly worked into the first, has not reached us in its entirety; we recognise with certainty only the portions: 12 1-15 7 and 16 1-20.

Pierson-Naber (*Verisimilia*, 1886), controverted by Kuenen (*Th. T*, 1886, cp van Manen, *Bybladvan de Hervorming*, 1887, No. 4, and *Bibl. mod. Theol.* 1887), point to a number of joinings and sutures, traces of manipulation and compilation, in the traditional text of the Epistle to the Romans, with a view to proving its *lacera conditio*. Michelsen (*Th. T*, 1886-7) sought to distinguish in that text five or six editions of Paul's Epistle, in the course of which various far-reaching modifications may be supposed to have been made. Sulze (*Prot. Kirchenztg.* 1888, no. 42) pressed still further for the recognition of additions and insertions. Völter repeated his 'Votum, etc.' (recorded in *Th. T*, 1889) in a separate publication (*Die Komposition der paulin. Hauptbriefe*, 1, 1890), and sought to prove again that our canonical Epistle to the Romans is the fruit of repeated redaction and expansion of a genuine epistle of the apostle.

Thus, there has been no lack of effort on the part of scholars to satisfy themselves and each other of the composite character of the traditional text. Equally decided, however, at least with most of them, is the opinion that nevertheless the text is, for the most part, and in the main, from the hand of Paul. This conviction was for a long time tacitly assumed, rather than explicitly expressed. So even by Baur, Weisse, and Straatman, whilst it was brought to the foreground, with friendly yet polemical emphasis, as against the representatives of 'advanced criticism,' by Spitta. As regards the others mentioned above, most hesitation was to be noticed in Pierson-Naber, Michelsen, and Völter; but even these, one and all, continued to speak of an original letter, written by Paul to the Romans.

Not a few writers continued simply to maintain the *prima facie* character of the canonical epistle or, as occasion offered, to defend it in their notes and discussions, commentaries and introductions.

For details, *pro et contra*, and some guidance through the extensive literature, the student may consult Holtzmann, *Einl.*(3), 1892, 242-6; Sanday-Headlam, *Comm.* 1895, pp. 85-98; Zahn, *Einl.*(2), 1900, 1 268-299; for a more complete though not always accurate account of the doubts regarding the unity of the work, Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paulin. Briefe*, 1894, cp *Th. T*, 1895, 640 *ff.*

3. Pauline authorship questioned.

The first to break in all simplicity with the axiom of the genuineness of our canonical epistle to the Romans, though without saying so in so many words, was E. Evanson. He appended to *The Dissonance of the four generally received Evangelists*, 1792, some considerations against the justice of the received view which regarded Paul as author of the epistle—considerations based upon the contents themselves and a comparison between them and Acts (pp. 256-261). Controverted by Priestley and others, Evanson's arguments soon fell into oblivion.

Sixty years afterwards Bruno Bauer (*Kritik der paulin. Briefe*, 1852, 347-76) took up the work of Evanson, without, so far as appears, being acquainted with the writings of that scholar. He was not successful, however, in gaining a hearing—not at least until after he had repeated his doubts in more compendious form in his *Christus u. die Cæsaren* (1877, pp. 371-380).

Soon afterwards A. D. Loman ('Quæstiones paulinæ' in *Th. T*, 1882) developed the reasons which seemed to him to render necessary a revision of the criticism of the epistles of Paul which was then current. Without going into details as regarded Romans, he declared all the epistles to be the productions of a later time. Rud. Steck (*Der Galaterbrief nach seiner Echtheit untersucht, nebst kritischen Bemerkungen zu den paulinischen Hauptbriefen*, 1888) came to the same conclusion and took occasion to point out some peculiarities connected with the Epistle to the Romans. The same investigation was more fully carried out, and substantially with the same result, by W. C. van Manen (*Paulus II. De brief aan de Romeinen*, 1891; cp *Handleiding voor de Oudchr. letterkunde*, 1900, ch. 3, §§ 10-19), and Prof. W. B. Smith of Tulane University, Louisiana, has recently begun independently to follow the same path. The *Outlook* (New York) of Nov. 1900 contained a preliminary article by him, signed 'Clericus' (a misprint for 'Criticus'), and in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1901, a series of articles bearing the author's own name was begun—the first entitled 'Address and Destination of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' and the second 'Unto Romans: 15 and 16.'

The newer criticism has made itself heard and goes forward on its path in spite of much opposition and strife, applauded by some, rejected by many. For its character and aims see PAUL, §§ 34-36, and cp §§ 37-48. Its desire is to read 'the Epistle of Paul to the Romans' as well as the rest of the canonical books without any fear of the ban that lies upon aught that may perchance prove to be contrary to tradition, whether ecclesiastical or scientific; uninfluenced by any antecedent presumption as to the correctness of the current views as to contents, origin, or meaning of the text as it has come down to us, however highly esteemed be the quarter—Tübingen or any other—from which they have reached us; free, too, from the dominion of any conviction, received by faith merely, and held to be superior to any test of examination, as to the epistle being indubitably the work of Paul and of Paul alone. It seeks to read the epistle in the pure light of history, exactly as it appears after repeated examination has been made on every side, as it at last presents itself to the student who really wishes to take knowledge of the contents with as little prejudice as possible.

4. What 'Rom.' seems to be.

Coming before us, as it does, as a component part of the group known as 'the Epistles of Paul,' handed down from ancient times, Romans appears indeed to be neither more nor less than an epistle of the apostle, written probably at Corinth and addressed to the Christians at Rome, whom he hopes to visit ere long after having made a journey to Jerusalem. Both superscription and subscription, as well as tradition, indicate this, even if we leave out of account the words 'in Rome' (ἐν Ῥώμῃ) and 'to those in Rome' (τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ) which are wanting in some MSS in 1 7 15. We have only, in connection with the superscription and subscription, to look at the manner in which the epistle begins and ends (1 1-15 15 14-16 27), at the way in which the writer throughout addresses his readers as brethren (1 13 7 1 4 8 12 10 1 11 25 12 1 15 14 *f.* 30 16 17), stirs them up, admonishes them and discusses with them, as persons with whom he stands on a friendly footing, and has opened a correspondence on all sorts of subjects. The appearance of Tertius as amanuensis (16 22) need cause no surprise, it being assumed that perhaps Paul himself may not have been very ready with the pen.

5. Contents.

If we turn for a little from a consideration of the literary form to occupy ourselves more with the contents, the first thing that strikes us is the conspicuously methodical way in which the writer has set forth his material. After an address

and benediction (1 1-7), an introduction (1 8-15), and a statement of what he regards as the essential matter as regards the preaching of the gospel—a thing not to be ashamed of but to be everywhere preached as a power of God for the salvation of every believer whether Jew or Greek (1 16 *f.*)—come two great doctrinal sections followed by an ethical section. The first doctrinal section, 1 18-8 39, is devoted to the elucidation of the truth that the gospel is the means for the salvation of Jews and Greeks, because in it is revealed the righteousness of God from faith to faith; the other, 9-11, to an earnest discussion of what seems to be a complete rejection of the Jews by God; the third, the ethical section (12 1-15 13), to a setting forth of the conduct that befits the Christian both towards God and towards man in general, and towards the weak and their claims in particular.

In substance the doctrine is as follows. Sin has alienated all men, Jews and Gentiles alike, from God, so that neither our natural knowledge of God nor the law is able to help us (1 18-3 20). A new way of salvation is opened up, 'God's righteousness has been manifested' (*δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ πεφανέρωται*) for all men without distinction, by faith in relation to Jesus Christ (3 21-31). It is accordingly of no importance to be descended from Abraham according to the flesh; Abraham in the higher sense is the father of those who believe (4). Justified by faith, we have peace with God and the best hopes for the future (5). Let no one, however, suppose that the doctrine of grace, the persuasion that we are under grace, not under the law, will conduce to sin or bring the law into contempt. Such conclusions can and must be peremptorily set aside (6-7). The emancipated life of the Christian, free from the law of sin and death, is a glorious one (8). Israel, the ancient people of the promises with its great privileges, appears indeed to be rejected, yet will finally be gathered in (9-11). The life of Christians, in relation to God and man, must in every respect give evidence of complete renewal and absolute consecration (12 1-15 13). Finally, a closing word as to the apostle's vocation which he hopes to fulfil in Rome also; a commendation of Phœbe, greetings, exhortations, benedictions, and an ascription of praise to God (15 14-16 27).

6. Difficulties: not a letter; opening and close.

If, at a first inspection, the work presents itself to us as an epistle written by Paul to the Christians at Rome, on closer examination it becomes difficult to adhere to such a view. Difficulties arise on every side. To begin with—as regards the form that is assumed. We are acquainted with no letters of antiquity with any such exordium as this: 'Paul, bond-slave of Jesus Christ, called an apostle, separated unto the gospel of God . . . to all those who are in Rome . . . grace to you and peace from God our father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (*Παῦλος δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος ἀφωρισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ . . . πᾶσιν τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . . χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*); nor with any conclusion so high-sounding as the doxology of 16 25-27, or the prayer for the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ which is heard in 16 20 (or 16 24). In every other case the epistles of antiquity invariably begin plainly and simply.

Thus, for example, in the collection of Oxyrhynchus papyri (1 181) we have *Εἰρήνη Ταοννώφρει καὶ Φίλωνι εὐψυχεῖν* . . . and at the close *εὖ πράττετε*; or (1 183) *Χαιρέας Διονυσίωι τῶι κυρίωι ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν* and, at the close, *ἐρρῶσθαί σε εὔχομαι.*

Greetings are indeed conveyed both from and to various persons; but never are so many introduced as in Rom. 16 3-16, where in fact at the end *all* the churches salute. A letter-writer may, at the outset, seek to bring himself into closer relationship with his reader or to make himself known more exactly; but in the many examples of real letters that have come down to us from ancient times we nowhere find anything even approaching the amplitude of Rom. 1 2-6. Nor yet does any real letter, whether intended for few or for many, so far as we are in a position to judge, ever give us cause, because by its length or its elaborate method it resembles a treatise arranged in orderly sections, to regard it as a book, as our canonical epistle to the Romans does, with its great subdivisions (already taken account of under § 5).

We may, in truth, safely dispense with further comparison between our epistle and any real letters from ancient times, so impossible is it to regard it as an actual epistle, to whatever date, locality, or author we may assign it.

7. Style of address.

How could any one at the very beginning of a letter, in which, too, the first desire he writes to express is that of writing solemnly, earnestly, directly, allow himself to expatiate, as this writer does, in such a parenthesis? He speaks as a didactic expounder who, for the most part, directly and as concisely as possible, deals with a number of disputed points, with regard to which the reader may be supposed to be in doubt or uncertainty because in point of fact they have gained acceptance within certain circles. These expositions relate to nothing more or less than such points as the relation of the Pauline Gospel to the OT (*v.* 2), the descent of the Son of God from the house of David (*v.* 3), the evidence of the Messiahship of Jesus derived from his resurrection (*v.* 4), the origin and the legitimacy of the Pauline preaching (*v.* 5). At the same time the readers (who have not yet been named and are first addressed in *v.* 7) are assured that they belong to the Gentiles (*ἔθνη*), with reference to whom Paul has received his apostleship, although, according to 1 10-13, he has never as yet met them and consequently has not been the means of their conversion. All this within a single parenthesis. In such wise no letter was ever begun.

The writer addresses himself to 'all' the members of a wide circle—let us say in Rome; even if the words 'in Rome' (*ἐν Ῥώμῃ*) and 'those who are in Rome' (*τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ*, 1 7 15), according to some MS authorities, do not belong to the original text, their meaning is assured by the superscription 'to Romans' (*πρὸς Ῥωμαίους*; cp 15 22-29) and by the unvarying tradition as to the destination of the 'epistle.' The Paul whom we meet here addresses his discourse to a wide public, and utters in lofty tones such words as these: 'O, man, whoever thou be who judgest, etc.' (*ὦ ἄνθρωπε πᾶς ὁ κρίνων κ.τ.λ.*, 2 1), 'O, man, who judgest, etc.' (*ὦ ἄνθρωπε ὁ κρίνων κ.τ.λ.*, 2 3), 'If thou bearest the name of a Jew, etc.' (*εἰ δὲ σὺ Ἰουδαῖος ἐπονομάζῃ κ.τ.λ.*, 2 17), 'Nay but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?' (*ὦ ἄνθρωπε, μενοῦνγε σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ ἀνταποκρινόμενος τῷ θεῷ*, 9 20), 'But I speak to you that are Gentiles' (*ὑμῖν δὲ λέγω τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*, 11 13), 'I say . . . to every man that is among you, etc.' (*λέγω . . . παντὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.*, 12 3), 'Who art thou that judgest the servant of another?' (*σὺ τίς εἶ ὁ κρίνων ἀλλότριον οἰκέτην*, 14 4), 'But thou, why dost thou judge thy brother?' (*σὺ δὲ τί κρίνεις τὸν ἀδελφόν σου*, 14 10), 'For if because of meat thy brother is grieved, etc.' (*εἰ γὰρ διὰ βρῶμα ὁ ἀδελφός σου λυπεῖται κ.τ.λ.*, 14 15), etc. Often the argument proceeds uninterruptedly for a long time without any indication of the existence of a definite circle of persons to whom it is addressed. Yet, on the other hand also, the abstract argumentation gives place to direct address, the word of admonition or exhortation spoken to the brethren (*ἀδελφοί*), whether named or unnamed—the mention of whom, however, when it occurs, is a purely oratorical form and no natural expression of the existence of any special relation between the writer and his assumed readers. Of the passages coming within the scope of this remark (some of them, already noticed in § 4), none presents any peculiarity in this respect. On the contrary, every one of them produces uniformly the same impression; in this manner no real letter is ever written.

The last chapter has nothing of the character of a postscript to a letter already completed, although the letter appears to end with 15 30-33. Strange, in the sense of being not natural but artificial, is the appearance

in 16 22 of Tertius ('I, Tertius, who write the epistle': ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν), the secretary of Paul, who, however, seems himself to have had a hand in the letter, since we find him saying in 15 15, 'I wrote to you' (ἔγραψα ὑμῖν). Strange especially is Tertius's greeting of the readers in his own name, in the midst of the greetings which Paul seems to be transmitting through him, *vv.* 21 23.

The contents of the epistle, largely consisting of argument and discussions on doctrinal theses, differ as widely as possible from what one is wont to expect in a letter—so widely that many have long laboured at the task of making a suitable paraphrase of the 'text-book' while retaining their belief in its epistolary character. (See, for example, the specimen in Holtzmann, *Einl.*(3), 237; cp S. Davidson, *Intr.*(3), 1 113-116.)

In vain do we make the attempt in some degree to picture to ourselves what the relation was between the supposed author and his readers. Acts supplies no light. There we read that when Paul is approaching Rome the brethren go to meet him, not because they had previously had a letter from him, but because they have heard various things regarding his recent fortunes (28 14 *f.*). As for the Jews of the metropolis, they have heard nothing either good or bad concerning him (*v.* 21). Tradition, apart from the NT, has equally little to say about the epistle, whether as to its reception or as to what impression it may have made. The document itself says something, but only what adds to the confusion. The truth of the matter seems unattainable. Scholars lose themselves in most contradictory conjectures as to the occasion and purpose of the writing.

8. Supposed readers.

See, amongst others, Meyer-Weiss, *Komm.*(9), 1899, pp. 23-33; Holtzmann, *Einl.*(3), 236-241; Lipsius, *Comm.*(2), 1892, pp. 75-76; Sanday-Headlam, *Comm.*, 1895, chaps. 38-44; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 20-23.

Who the supposed readers of the epistle were can only be gathered from its contents. But these are so different in many aspects that it is possible to say with equal justice that the church in Rome was Jewish-Christian, Gentile-Christian, or a mixture of the two.

Cp the various conclusions in Meyer-Weiss, 19-22; Holtzmann, 232-236; Lipsius, 70-73; Steck, *Gal.* 359-363; Völter, *Th. T*, 1889, pp. 270-272, and *Komp.* 8 *f.*; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 23-25).

It may be added here that the work is throughout addressed to 'brethren' of all kinds, and sometimes it seems also to have been intended for Jews and Gentiles who stood in no connection whatever with Christianity. Did any one ever give to a particular letter an aim so general, without realising that his letter had ceased to be a letter at all in the natural meaning of the word, and had become what we are accustomed to call an open letter, an occasional writing, a book? Everything leads to the one conclusion; the epistolary form is not real, it is merely assumed; we have here to do, not with an actual letter of Paul to the Romans, but rather with a treatise, a book, that with the outward resemblance of a letter is nevertheless something quite different. Cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 1-3; OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 18 *f.*

The same conclusion results from a closer examination of the whole as it lies before us, whenever we direct our attention to the connection of its several parts. The relative unity of the book there is no reason for doubting. It is not, however, unity of the kind we are accustomed to expect in a book written after more or less careful preparation, in accordance with a more or less carefully considered and logically developed plan; not unity such as is the outcome of a free elaboration of the materials after these have been more or less diligently collected, and fully mastered by the writer. Least of all, a unity such as we look for in a letter, whether we think of it as written at one sitting or as written bit by bit and at intervals. It is rather a unity of such a sort as reminds us of that of a synoptical gospel, with regard to which no one doubts that it is the result of a characteristic process of redaction and remaniement, curtailment, correction, and supplementation by the help of older pieces drawn from other sources. It is such unity as we find in reading Acts, although we do not hesitate for a single moment to realise that Lk. has made an often very palpable use of written sources. There is unity of language and style, of thought, of feeling, of opinion; but at the same time there are, not seldom, great diversities in all these respects. The result, obviously, of the unmistakable circumstance that the writer of the canonical epistle has made continual and manifold use of words, forms of expression, arguments, derived from sources known to him, whether retained in his memory or lying before him in written form.

9. Kind of unity.

Proof of the justice of this view is supplied by the various attempts made by earlier and later exegetes to expound the epistle as a completely rounded whole—attempts in which it is found necessary at every turn to resort to the assumption of all sorts of conceivable and inconceivable figures and forms of speech, and thus conceal the existence of joints and sutures, hiatuses, and unintelligible transitions. More particularly is this seen in the scientific line taken by Heumann, Semler, Eichhorn, Weisse, Straatman, Völter, Michelsen, Spitta, and so many others (some of these names are enumerated in § 2), who have argued, and continue to argue, for the view that more than one epistle of Paul lies concealed in the apparently homogeneous canonical epistle, or for the view that there have been interpolations, more or less numerous, on an unusually large scale. In the last resort, on an (as far as possible) unprejudiced reading of the text which has come down to us—a reading no longer under the dominion of a foregone conclusion, to be maintained at all hazards, that here we have to do with the original work of the apostle Paul, sent by him to the church at Rome—we shall find that what lies before us is simply a writing from Christian antiquity presenting itself as such a work, which we must try to interpret as best we can.

10. Failures to find unity.

The traces of additions and redactions in the various sections and subsections of the epistle are innumerable. It would be superfluous, even if space allowed, to go through all the details on this head. A few examples may suffice.

11. Signs of compositeness.

Compared with the first part (1 18-8 39), the second (9-11), although now an integral portion of the work, betrays tokens of an originally different source. There is no inherent connection between them, although this can, if desired, be sought in the desire to set forth a wholly new doctrinal subject in a wholly new manner. In the second we no longer hear of the doctrine of justification by faith; the treatment of the subject enunciated in 1 16 *f.* is no longer continued. What takes its place is something quite different and wholly unconnected with it; a discussion, namely, of the doctrinal question, 'Why is it that the Gentiles are admitted and Israel excluded from salvation?' This discussion is directed not, like the contents of the first part, ostensibly to Christian Jews, but to Gentiles. There is nothing in the first part that anywhere suggests any such affection for Israel as is everywhere apparent throughout the second part, and especially in 9 1-3 10 1 11 1 25-36; nothing that comes into comparison with the solemn declaration of 9 1 in which the writer bears witness to his great sorrow and unceasing pain of heart concerning Israel. This exordium points to a quite different situation, in which 'Paul' requires to be cleared of the reproach of not concerning himself about God's ancient people. Hence the wish expressed by him that he might become anathema from Christ (ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ) for his brethren's sake, his kinsmen according to the flesh (συγγενεῖς κατὰ σάρκα, 9 3). Hence his zeal here and in 11 1 to declare himself an Israelite, of

the seed of Abraham, the tribe of Benjamin. Hence also the summing-up of the ancient privilege of Israel, 'whose is the adoption and the glory and the covenants' (9 4 *f.*), in comparison with which the simple statement that they were entrusted with the oracles of God (3 2) sinks into insignificance. In the first part a quite different tone is assumed towards the Jew (Ἰουδαῖος, 2 17), with whom the speaker appears to have nothing in common. There we find Jew and Greek placed exactly on an equality (1 16 2 9 *f.* 3 9); the idea of the Jews that as such they could have any advantage over the heathen is in set terms controverted (2 11-3 21), and it is declared that descent from Abraham, according to the flesh, is of no value (4). Here, on the other hand (9-11), we have earnest discussion of the question how it is possible to reconcile the actual position of Israel in comparison with the Gentile world with the divine purpose and the promise made to the fathers. Here, too, a high-pitched acknowledgment of the privileges of Israel, the one good olive-tree, the stem upon which the wild olive branches—the believing Gentiles—are grafted; Israel in the end is certain to be wholly saved, being, as touching the election, beloved for the fathers' sake (*κατὰ τὴν ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας*, 9 4 *f.* 31 10 2 11 7 17 *f.* 26 28). In the first part, a sharp repudiation of the law in respect of its powerlessness to work anything that is good (3 20 *f.* 27 4 15 6 14 7 5 *f.*, etc.); in the second a holding up of the giving of the law (*νομοθεσία*) as a precious gift (9 4). In the first part the earnest claim to justification by faith (5 1), to being under grace (6 14), to a walk in newness of spirit (7 6); in the second the assurance that 'if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved' (10 9).

Observe, again, the difference in respect of language. The words 'just,' 'justify,' 'be justified' (*δίκαιος, δικαιοῦν, δικαιοῦσθαι*), nowhere occur in chaps. 9-11, nor yet the expression 'both Jews and Greeks' (Ἰουδ. *τε καὶ* Ἑλλ.), except in 10 12 where apparently it is not original, or at least has no meaning after the words 'for there is no distinction' (*οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή*). The words 'Israelite' and 'Israel' are not met with in 1-8, whilst in 9-11 the first occurs thrice and the second eleven times. On the other hand, we have 'Jew' nine times in 1-3, but only twice in 9-11, and in both cases its occurrence seems probably due to the redactor. The 'adoption' (*υἱοθεσία*), which, according to 8 15 (cp Gal. 4 5 Eph. 1 5) is a privilege of all Christians, whether Jews or Greeks, recurs in 9 4 in connection with a supposed predestination of Israel as the son of God; the word is the same but it sounds quite differently. In 1-8 Christ is seven times called the son of God, and in 9-11 never. On the other hand, he is probably called God in 9 5 but nowhere in 1-8. Whilst in 1-8 we find no other form of the verb 'say' (*ἐρεῖν*) than 'shall we say' (*ἐροῦμεν*), in 9 19 *f.* 11 19 we also have 'thou wilt say' (*ἐρεῖς*) and 'shall the thing say?' (*ἐρεῖ*). If the occurrence of the expression 'what then shall we say' (*τί οὖν ἐροῦμεν*) in 9 14 30, as well as in 4 1 6 1 7 7 8 31, points to oneness of language, it has nevertheless to be noted that in 1-8 it never, as in 9 30, is followed by a question, but always by a categorical answer. A speaker who says that Israel 'following after a law of righteousness did not arrive at [that] law' (*διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης εἰς νόμον οὐκ ἔφθασεν*, 9 31) understands by 'law' (*νόμος*) something quite different, and at the same time is following a quite different use of language, from one who declares that the Jew sins 'under law' (*ἐννόμως* or *ἐν νόμῳ*); shall be judged 'by law' (*διὰ νόμου*, 2 12); doeth not 'the things of the law' (*τὰ τοῦ νόμου*, 2 14), is not justified 'by works of law' (*ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*), comes to knowledge of sin 'through law' (*διὰ νόμου*, 3 20) and lives 'under law' (*ὑπὸ νόμον*, 6 14). Only the latter is thinking of the Mosaic law, about which the former would not speak so depreciatingly. In chaps. 9-11, as Steck (*Gal.* 362) justly remarks, a much more superficial use is made of the proof from scripture, 'and the whole representation and language is somewhat less delicate.'

12. Third part. The third part of the epistle (12 1-15 13) seems to be closely connected with that which precedes. Observe the 'then' (*οὖν*: 12 1), and notice how the writer harks back to 9-11 in his declaration (15 8) that Christ has been made a minister of the circumcision with reference to the promise of God, and to 1 16 *f.* or 1 18-8 39 in the same declaration supplemented with the statement (15 9) that Christ appeared also that the Gentiles might glorify God for his mercy. But the connection when more closely examined will be found to be only mechanical. There is no real inward connection. No one expects a hortatory passage such as this after 11 33-36. Nor yet, where some would fain place it, after ch. 8 or ch. 6. The exhortations and instructions given in 12 1-15 13, however we put the different parts together, stand in no relation to the preceding argument; the same holds good of the exordium 12 1 *f.* Though usual, it is not correct to say that Paul first develops his doctrinal system 1 18-11 36, and then his ethical in 12 1-15 13; or even to say in the modified form of the statement that he follows up the doctrinal with an ethical section. Exhortations are not wanting in the first part, nor doctrines in the last. The truth is that in 1 18-11 36 the doctrinal element is prominent, just as the hortatory is in 12 1-15 13. In other words, the two pieces are of different character. They betray difference of origin. 12 1-15 13 is, originally, not a completion of 1-11, thought out and committed to writing by the same person, but rather—at least substantially—an independent composition, perhaps, it may be, as some have conjectured, brought hither from another context. It has more points of agreement with certain portions of the Epistles to the Corinthians than with Rom. 1-11. Compare, in general, the manner of writing and the nature of the subjects treated.

In detail, compare such expressions as 'beseech . . . by' (*παρακαλῶ . . . διά*), 12 1, with 1 Cor. 1 10 2 Cor. 10 1, whereas 'beseech' (*παρακαλεῖν*), however Pauline, is found neither in Rom. 1-11 nor in Gal.; the 'mercies' (*οἰκτιρμοί*) of God, 12 1, with the 'mercies' (*οἰκτιρμοί*) of the Father in 2 Cor. 1 3, but nowhere named in Rom. 1-11; 'this age' (*ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος*) 12 2, with 1 Cor. 1 20 2 6 8 3 18 2 Cor. 4 4, but not found in Rom. 1-11; the representation that the Christian can still be renewed by the renewing of the mind (*ἀνακαίνωσις τοῦ νοός*: 12 2) with the assurance that though the outer man perish, 'that which is within us is renewed day by day' (*ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν [ἄνθρωπος] ἀνακαινοῦται ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἡμέρᾳ*, 2 Cor. 4 16) whereas Rom. 1-11 knows nothing of this 'renewal,' and could hardly have introduced it alongside of its doctrine that the Christian is dead so far as sin is concerned (6 2) so that he now stands in the service of newness of spirit (7 6). Compare, again, the assurance that God gives to each a measure of faith (*ἑκάστῳ μέτρον πίστεως*: 12 3) with 'only, as the Lord has supplied to each' (*εἰ μὴ ἑκάστῳ ὡς μεμέρικεν*: 1 Cor. 7 14), 'according to the measure of the province (RVmg., or limit) which God apportioned to us as a measure' (*κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος, οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς μέτρου*: 2 Cor. 10 13), and the declaration that not every one receives faith through the spirit (1 Cor. 12 9), as also that there is a still more excellent way than that implied in the spiritual gifts of which faith is one,—namely, love (1 Cor. 12 31),—whereas not only are the words 'apportion' (*μερίζειν*) and 'measure' (*μέτρον*) unknown to Rom. 1-11, but so also is 'love' (*ἀγάπη*) in the sense of love to God and one's neighbour, and (equally so) a faith (*πίστις*) which is not regarded as the beginning of a new life, in comparison with which love is not required simply because that and everything else that is needed is already possessed where faith is; the distinction between various spiritual gifts (12 6-8) compared with 1 Cor. 12 4-11 and 28-30; the whole attitude towards self-exaltation (12 3-8) compared with 1 Cor. 4 6 *f.* and 12 12-30; the exhortations to the practice of love, zeal, and purity (12 9-21 and 13 8-14) compared with 1 Cor. 13; 14 1-20 39 15 58 5 11 6 9-11 16-20, where, amongst other things, the occurrence of 'cleave' (*κολλᾶσθαι*) in Rom. 12 9 and 1 Cor. 6 16 *f.*, though nowhere else to be found in the Pauline epistles, is to be noticed; the occurrence also of 'taking thought for things honourable in the sight of all men' (*προνοούμενοι καλὰ ἐνώπιον πάντων ἀνθρώπων*: Rom. 12 17) as compared with the only parallel expression 'for we take thought for things honourable, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men' (*προνοοῦμεν γὰρ καλὰ οὐ μόνον ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνώπιον ἀνθρώπων*: 2 Cor. 8 21; cp Prov. 3 4); *ὀφείλειν* 13 8 used several times also in 1 and 2 Cor. but never in Rom. 1-11; the special exhortations to subjection to authority and to

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due discharge of one's various obligations (13 1-7) indicative of a peaceful environment and hardly in keeping with the persecutions suggested by the closing verses of chap. 8, but on the other hand quite in accord with the special admonitions and exhortations of 1 Cor. 1 10 *ff.* 5 6 1-11 11 2-15, etc.; what is said in chap. 14 regarding the use of certain meats, the observance of sacred days, and the respect for the weak, with regard to which no word is found in 1-11, but which reminds us throughout of 1 Cor. 8-10, not only by reason of the similarity of such expressions as 'eat' (*ἐσθίειν*), 'food' (*βρῶμα*), 'cause to stumble' (*σκανδαλίζειν*), 'a stumbling-block to the brother' (*πρόσκομμα τῷ ἀδελφῷ*), 'not to eat flesh' (*μὴ φαγεῖν κρέα*), etc., but also very specially by reason of the agreement in the central thought that to the fully developed Christian all things are allowed, but that he must give no offence to the weak brother and therefore ought rather to act as if he were still in bondage to ancient customs and usages.

13. Chap. 15 *f.*

The conclusion of the canonical epistle 15 14-16 27 must be accepted, as such, notwithstanding the objections urged by Semler, and those who follow him, in rejecting chaps. 15 16 as not original constituents of the writing sent by Paul to the Romans. It nevertheless shows many evidences of compilation by the aid of various pieces at the redactor's disposal, a process to which reference has already so often been made that it seems superfluous to dwell long upon it now. Let the reader but observe the disconnected character of the five pieces of which ch. 16 consists, each of which either has no relation to the preceding, or is in contradiction with it. The recommendation of Phœbe *v.* 1 *f.* hangs in the air. The greetings of *vv.* 3-16 presuppose a previous residence of Paul at Rome and a circle of acquaintances formed there, notwithstanding the positive statements on the subject in 1 8-13 and 15 22 *f.* The warning against false teachers in *vv.* 17-20 finds no point of attachment in what precedes. The greetings of others in *vv.* 21-23 raise unanswered questions, not the least of these being those which arise in view of the existence of the already complete list in 3-16, and the mention of all the churches at the close. The detached character of the doxology in *vv.* 25-27 is shown by the fact that in many MSS it occurs after 14 23.

14. Improbability of traditional theory.

The examples cited, along with others which might be adduced (cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 34-101), show conclusively that the 'epistle' has been compiled with the help of previously existing documents. There are also other reasons, however, against accepting the voice of tradition regarding the origin of the work. Now and then the contents themselves reveal quite clearly that they cannot be from Paul (*ob.* 64 A.D.), so that we have no need to dwell upon the improbability of supposing that Paul, a tentmaker by calling and personally unknown to the Christians at Rome, addressed to that place an epistle so broad and so deep, written in so exalted and authoritative a tone; nor upon the question as to how it was possible that such an epistle should, so far as appears, have failed to make the slightest impression, whether good or bad, at the time, and was doomed to lie for more than half a century buried in the archives of the Christian church at Rome in impenetrable obscurity, until suddenly it re-emerged to light, honoured and quoted as an authority by—the gnostics! Evanson long ago (1792) pointed to the fact that the church addressed in it was apparently of long standing, and to the silent assumption in 11 12 15 21 *f.* that the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. was a thing of the past. As regards the first of these points, he compared what is said in Acts and called attention to the fact that nothing is there said of any project of Paul's to visit Rome before he had been compelled by Festus to make appeal to the emperor (25 10-12), nor yet anything about an Epistle to the Romans or about any Christian community of any kind met there by the apostle (28 11-31). Yet even if we leave Acts out of account as being incomplete and not in all respects wholly trustworthy, what the epistle itself says and assumes with regard to the Christian church at Rome is assuredly a good deal more than, in all probability, could have been alleged about it at so early a date as 59 A.D., the year in which it is usually held to have been written by Paul.

15. Reflection of later age.

The faith of the Roman Church is supposed to be known 'throughout the whole world'; and Paul is filled with desire to make its acquaintance in order that so he may be refreshed (1 8 12). The faith of both rests on the same foundation. The Christians of Rome are Pauline Christians.

Like him they are justified by faith (5 1); reconciled with God (5 11); free from the dominion of sin and now in the uninterrupted service of God (8 18-22); no longer under the law but under grace, so that they now live in newness of spirit and not in oldness of the letter (6 15 7 6). They are well acquainted with Paulinism. They know it as a definite form of doctrine and have fully and freely given their assent to it—'Ye were servants of sin but ye became obedient from the heart to that form of teaching whereunto ye were delivered' (*ἦτε δοῦλοι τῆς ἁμαρτίας, ὑπηκούσατε δὲ ἐκ καρδίας εἰς ὃν παρεδόθητε τύπον διδαχῆς*: 6 17). It is possible to speak to them without any fear of misunderstanding, about 'faith' (*πίστις*) and 'grace' (*χάρις*), 'righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνη*) and 'love' (*ἀγάπη*), 'believing' (*πιστεύειν*) and 'being justified' (*δικαιοῦσθαι*), 'being justified by faith' (*δικαιοῦσθαι ἐκ πίστεως*) and 'by works of law' (*ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*), 'sinning without law' (*ἁμαρτάνειν ἀνόμως*) and 'under law' (*ἐννόμως* or *ἐν νόμῳ*), 'being delivered up' (*παραδοθῆναι*) and 'dying for men' (*ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπων*), 'redemption' (*ἀπολύτρωσις*), 'being baptized into Christ' (*βαπτισθῆναι εἰς Χριστόν*), 'being crucified with [Christ]' (*συσταυροῦσθαι [Χριστῷ]*); 'living after the flesh' (*ζῆν κατὰ σάρκα*), 'after the spirit' (*κατὰ πνεῦμα*), 'to God' (*τῷ Θεῷ*), 'in Christ' (*ἐν Χριστῷ*); to use such expressions as: 'for there is no distinction' (*οὐ γάρ ἐστιν διαστολή*: 3 22); 'but where there is no law neither is there transgression' (*οὗ δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν νόμος οὐδὲ παράβασις*: 4 15); 'but where sin abounded, grace abounded more exceedingly' (*οὗ δὲ ἐπλεόνασεν ἡ ἁμαρτία, ὑπερεπερίσσευσεν ἡ χάρις*: 5 20); 'to be under law,' 'under grace' (*εἶναι ὑπὸ νόμον, ὑπὸ χάριν*: 6 14); 'spirit of adoption,' 'Abba, Father' (*πνεῦμα υἱοθεσίας, Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ*: 8 15); to throw out such questions as these: Whether or not there be with respect to Jews and Greeks 'respect of persons with God' (*προσωπολημψία παρὰ Θεῷ* 2 11)? Has the Jew as such any advantage over the Greek, when both have sinned (3 9-20)? In how far does any importance at all still attach to circumcision (2 25-29)? What value has the law (2 12-29 3 19-22 27-31 7 1-6)? Does faith ever make it void (3 31)? In what sense may we pride ourselves on having Abraham to our father (4)? Must we not think that the doctrine of grace leads to continuance in sin (6 1)? Is not the conviction that we are not under the law but under grace, conducive to sin (6 15)? Can the law be held responsible for sin because by means of the law we were brought to the knowledge of sin (7 7)?

All this is unthinkable at so early a date as the year 59 A.D. There is, moreover, the one great simple fact which overrides these considerations, and thrusts them, so to speak, into the background—this, namely, that the Paulinism with which we are made acquainted in the Pauline Epistles, and particularly in that to the Romans, is of more recent date than the historical Paul.

16. A developed faith.

Compared with what the first disciples of Jesus believed and professed, it is not merely a remarkable divergence; it is in point of fact a new and higher development from the first Christianity. It presupposes, to speak with Loman, 'a richly developed stage of theological thought.' It has learned to break with Judaism and to regard the standpoint of the law as once for all past and done with, substituting in its place that of grace as the alone true and valid one. The new life 'under grace' stands in sharp antithesis to the old one 'under the law' (6 14). It knows, and it is, a new divine revelation; it has a theology, a christology, and a soteriology, which bear witness to a more advanced thinking and to a deeper experience of life than could possibly have been looked for within the first few years after the crucifixion. It is a remarkable forward step, a rich and far-reaching reform of the most ancient type of Christianity; now, a man does not become at one and the same moment the adherent of a new religion and its great reformer. All attempts to escape the difficulty so far as Paul is concerned break down in presence of the obvious meaning of Gal. 1 11-23; as was shown years ago by Blom against Straatman (*Th. T*, 1875, 1-44). It is of no avail continually to hark back to the

possibility—which, in fact, no one denies—of a development in Paul's mind during the years that elapsed between his conversion and the writing of his epistles. The Paulinism of the epistles in question is, on their own showing, in its main features at least (with which we are here concerned) as old as the Christian life of Paul; but such a Paulinism is even for thoughtful believers in the supernatural inconceivable as having come into existence immediately after Paul had become a Christian. Let the student read and ponder the sketch of Paulinism given by van Manen in *Paulus*, 2 126-140, cp 211-217; and in PAUL, § 40.

17. Kinship with gnosis.

The kinship of Paulinism (especially in the form in which it occurs in the Epistle to the Romans) with gnosis, which has been recognised and remarked both by older and by younger critics—amongst others by Basilides, Marcion, Valentinus, Irenæus, Tertullian, Holsten, Hilgenfeld, Scholten, Heinrici, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, Harnack (cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 154-166)—leads also to the same conclusion: that Paul cannot have written this epistle. As to the precise date at which (Christian) gnosis first made its appearance there may be some measure of uncertainty: whether in the last years of Trajan (*ob.* 117 A.D.), as is commonly supposed, or perhaps some decades earlier; in no event can the date be carried back very far, and certainly not so far back as to within a few years of the death of Jesus. With regard to this it is not legitimate to argue, with Baljon (*Gesch.* 77), that in the Pauline gnosis 'no doctrine of a demiurge, no theory of æons is found.' It is years since Harnack (*DG*(2) 1 196-7) rightly showed that the essence of the matter is not to be looked for in such details as these.

18. Other signs of later age.

In addition to the assumed acquaintance (already remarked on) of the readers of the epistle with the Pauline gospel, there are other peculiarities that indicate the church addressed as one of long standing. It is acquainted with various types of doctrine (6 17). It can look back upon its conversion as an event that had taken place a considerable time ago (13 11). It has need of being stirred up to a renewal of its mind (12 2) and of many other exhortations (12-14). It has in its midst high-minded persons whose thoughts exalt themselves above the measure of faith given them (12 3). It does not seem superfluous to remind them that each belongs to the other as members of one body endowed with differing gifts. There are prophets, ministers, teachers, exhorters, givers, rulers, and those who show mercy, and it appears to be necessary that each should be reminded of what he ought to do or how he ought to behave. The prophet must keep within the limits of the faith that has been received, and be careful to speak according to the proportion of that faith (κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως, 12 6); the minister, the teacher, and the exhorter must each busy himself exclusively with the work entrusted to him; the giver must discharge his task with simplicity, the ruler his with diligence; he that shows mercy is to do so with cheerfulness (12 4-8). The mutual relations must be considered anew and carefully regulated, both in general (12 9-21 13 8-10), and, in particular, with respect to the special 'necessities of the saints,' the duty of hospitality, the attitude to be maintained towards persecutors (12 12 *ff.*), the public authority, and the fulfilment of the duties of citizenship (13 1-7). A vigorous exhortation to vigilance and an earnest warning against revellings and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife and envy, are not superfluous (13 11-14). There are weak ones in the faith, who avoid the use of wine and flesh (14 1 *f.* 21); others who hold one day holy above others, and as regards their food consider themselves bound by obsolete precepts regarding clean and unclean (14 5 *f.* 14 *f.* 20). Others again who regard all these things with lofty disdain, making no distinction between clean and unclean food, deeming that they are free to eat and drink as they choose, and that all days are alike; but these, just because of the freedom they rejoice in, give offence to many brethren and are the cause of their moral declension (14 5 *f.* 13 15 20-23). These divergent practices have already continued for so long that the writer, so far as the first two (wine and flesh, clean and unclean) are concerned, is in perplexity between them himself, and has no other plan than to raise himself above them all in order to urge a general point of view—a genuinely 'catholic' one—of 'give and take,' in which the principle of freedom is recommended and its application urged in the fine maxims: let no one give offence, let each one be fully persuaded in his own mind, all that is not of faith is sin (14 5 13 23).

The church is exposed to persecution; it suffers with Christ. It has need of comfort. What is said in this connection cannot be explained from any circumstances at Rome known to us before Nero and the time of the great fire in 64. It points rather to later days when Christians were continually exposed to bloody persecutions. See 5 3-5 8 17-39 12 12 14.

One decisive proof that in our epistle we are listening to the voice of one who lived after the death of Paul in 64 A.D. is to be found in the manner in which the question of the rejection of Israel is handled in chaps. 9-11. That question could not thus occupy the foreground or bulk so largely in the minds of Christian writers and readers as long as Jerusalem was still standing, and there was nothing to support the vague expectation of its approaching overthrow which some entertained. The allusions to the great events of the year 70, the overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth, and the expectations which connected themselves with this event are manifest. Any one who will read what is said, particularly in 11 11-22, about the downfall of the Jews (τὸ παράπτωμα αὐτῶν), about the branches that have been broken off (ἐξεκλάσθησαν κλάδοι) and the 'cutting off' (ἀποτομία) which has come upon those who are fallen (ἐπὶ τοὺς πεσόντας), can be under no misapprehension on this point.

19. Conclusion.

If we now sum up the points that have been touched on in §§ 6-18, we need have no hesitation in deciding that the arguments are convincing: our canonical Epistle to the Romans is not what it seems to be, not a letter written by the apostle and sent to a definite church; it is a tractate, a book, designed to be read aloud at Christian meetings, a piece to be read in Church (kirchliches Vorlesungsstück), or homily, as Spitta (*Zur Gesch.* 3 59) has phrased it. It is a book written in the form of a letter, not written after the kind of preparation with which we write our books, but compiled rather in a very peculiar manner by use of existing written materials wherein the same subjects were treated in a similar or at least not very divergent way. We can best form some conception of the method followed here by studying the text of one of the synoptical gospels with an eye to the method in which it was presumably composed; or by tracing in detail the manner in which such authors as the writer of the present epistle make use of the OT. They quote from its words alternately verbatim and freely, often, too, without any reference to the OT context, so that we can trace the question only by comparison of the text we possess which has been wholly or partly followed (cp van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 217-9).

The study of the 'epistle' from the point of view of its probable composition, enables us to distinguish what treatises or portions of treatises were probably made use of before the text came into existence in its present form. In this way the work as a whole makes us acquainted with underlying views then prevalent, and accepted or controverted by our author—on the universality of sin and its fatal consequences (1 18-3 20); on righteousness by faith (3 21-31); on the connection between this and Abraham as father of the faithful (4); the fruits of

justification (5); three objections against Paulinism (6 1-14 6 15-7 6 7 7-25); the glories of the new life in Christ (8); the rejection of the Jews (9-11); what is the duty of Christians towards God and man generally, and towards the weak and the principles held by them in particular (12 1-15 13). Such views, however greatly they may vary in purpose and scope, all belong to one main direction, one school of thought, the Pauline. We give them this name because we gain our best and most comprehensive acquaintance with the school from the 'epistles of Paul,' just as we speak of the Johannine School and the Johannine tendency, although we know nothing about the connection between the school or tendency on the one side, and the well-known apostolic name connected with it on the other. To suppose that the school originated from the historical Paul, as was formerly maintained by Steck, is possible; but the supposition finds no support in any historical facts with which we are acquainted (cp *Paulus*, 2 222-227).

20. The author. What is certain, at any rate, is that the canonical epistle is not by Paul. A writing that is so called, but on closer examination is seen to be no epistle but rather a compilation, in which, moreover, are embedded pieces that plainly show their origin in a later time, cannot possibly be attributed to the 'apostle of the Gentiles.' In this connection, however, it is inappropriate to speak of deception or forgery or pious fraud. There is not the slightest reason for supposing that our author had the faintest intention of misleading his readers, whether contemporaries or belonging to remote posterity. He simply did what so many others did in his day; he wrote something in the form (freely chosen) of a tractate, a book, or an epistle, under the name of some one whom he esteemed or whose name he could most conveniently and best associate with his work, without any wrong intention or bad faith, because he belonged or wished to be thought to belong, to the party or school which was wont to rally under his master's standard. His own name remained unknown; but his *nom de plume* was preserved and passed from mouth to mouth wherever his work was received and read. What reason was there for inquiring and searching after his real name if the work itself was read, quoted, copied, and circulated with general approval? The work might bear evidence of the artist so far as concerned person, surroundings, sufferings. In this case, according to the epistle, he was a Christian, one of the Pauline School, a polished and educated man with a heart full of zeal for the religious needs of humanity: a Paulinist, however, of the right wing.

21. His method. He raises himself above the different shades of opinion which he knows so well by letting them find alternate expression, by letting the voice now of the one and now of the other be heard. He gives utterance to words so sharply explicit as these: 'by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified in his sight' (3 20); 'now are we delivered from the law wherein we were held' (7 6); but also to other words, so friendly in their tone as regards the very same law: 'not the hearers . . . but the doers of the law shall be justified' (2 13); 'the law is holy,' 'spiritual' (7 12 14). He asseverates that there is no distinction between Jew and Greek (3 22); that there is with God no acceptance of persons (2 11); and that the privileges of the Jew are many (3 1 *f.*); that Israel is in a very special way the people of God (9 4 *f.* 11 1). He says that to be a son of Abraham after the flesh signifies nothing (4 1 *ff.*), and that to be of the seed of Abraham is a specially great privilege (11 1). He recognises at one time that the wrath of God is now manifest upon the sins of men (1 18), and at another that this is yet to come (2 5-8). He speaks of it as a matter of experience that the Christian has broken with sin for good and has become a wholly new creature (5 1-7 6 and 8), and also lays down a quite different doctrine to the effect that he is still 'sold under sin,' continually doing the thing he would not, and he longs for emancipation from the body (7 7-25). He embraces the doctrine of a redemption of man from a power hostile to God on the ground of the love of the father (3 24 5 1 8 3 32), and with this he associates the thought of an atoning sacrifice on behalf of the sinner offered to God by Christ 'in his blood' (3 25). Paul is to him the called apostle of the Gentiles (1 1 5 13 *f.* 15 16 18); but also warmly attached to the Jews and ready to do everything for them (9 1-3 10 1 11 1); in possession of the 'first fruits of the spirit,' always working 'in the power of God's spirit,' but also in the manner of the original apostles 'in the power of signs and wonders' (15 19). He recognises Jesus as God's son, who has appeared 'in the likeness of sinful flesh' (8 3 32); but he also says that he is of Israel according to the flesh (9 5), and that he was first exalted to the dignity of divine sonship by his resurrection (1 3 *f.* 15 12). He speaks with the same facility of 'Jesus,' 'Jesus Christ,' and 'our Lord Jesus Christ' as he speaks of 'Christ' and 'Christ Jesus.' For him all distinction in the use of these various designations has practically disappeared. Not seldom do we find him affirming and denying on the same page. He knows how to give and take, when to evade arguments, and when to meet them. Already we perceive in him something of the 'catholic' spirit which rises above the strife of parties; which serves the truth and promotes the unity of believers, by siding now with the right wing, now with the left, by gliding over thorny points, and boldly thrusting difficulties aside.

22. His origin. As for origin, he was probably a Greek. He thinks in Greek, speaks Greek, and seems to have used no other books than those which he could have consulted in Greek (cp *Paulus*, 2 186-190). His home we can place equally well in the E. or in the W. In the E., and particularly in Antioch or elsewhere in Syria, because Paulinism probably had its origin there. The catholic strain, on the other hand, within the limits of the Pauline movement, seems rather to have proceeded from Rome. The possibility is not excluded that the main portions of the letter, or if you will, of a letter, to the Romans, were written in the E., and that the last touches were put to it in Rome or elsewhere in the W.; in other words, that it was there that the epistle took the final form in which we now know it. There is a considerable number of writings which passed over from the hands of the Gnostics into those of 'catholic'-minded Christians, and in the transition were here and there revised and corrected, brought into agreement, somewhat more than appeared in their original form, with the prevailing type of what was held to be orthodox (cp Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 1883-1887; Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Unters.* 1, 1889; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 227-230).

23. Date. The author has not given us the date of his work, and we can guess it only approximately. Broadly speaking, we may say, not earlier than the end of the first nor later than the middle of the second century. Not before the end of the first century, because after the death of Paul (about 64 A.D.) time enough must be allowed to admit of epistles being written in his name as that of a highly placed and authoritative exponent of Christianity,—the representative, not to say the 'father,' of Paulinism, a forward-reaching spiritual movement, a deeply penetrating and largely framed reform of that oldest Christianity which embodied the faith and expectations of the first disciples of Jesus after the crucifixion. Paulinism in this sense certainly did not come into existence until after the downfall of the Jewish state in 70 A.D., and —if we consider its kinship with gnosticism, and various other features which it shows—surely not before the end of the first, or the beginning of the second, century. On the other side, we may venture to say, not later than the middle of the second century. Clement of

Alexandria, Tertullian, Irenæus, use the book towards the end of that century, and we may be sure did not hold it for a recent composition. So also Theophilus *ad Autolycum*, 3 14, who about 180 A.D. cited Rom. 13 7 *f.* as 'divine word' (θεῖος λόγος). Basilides (125), and Marcion, who made his appearance at Rome in 138, knew the epistle as an authoritative work of 'the apostle.' Aristides (125-126), James (130), 1 Peter (130-140) in like manner show acquaintance with the epistle. Various circumstances combined justify the supposition that it was written probably about 120 A.D., whilst some portions of it in their original form may be regarded as somewhat earlier (cp *Paulus*, 2 296-303 3 312-315).

24. Value. If, in conclusion, we are met by the question, 'What is the value of the writing when one can no longer regard it as an epistle of Paul to the Romans?' it must never be forgotten that the incisiveness of its dialectic, the arresting character of certain of its passages, the singular power especially of some of its briefer utterances and outpourings of the heart, the edifying nature of much of the contents, remain as they were before. The religious and ethical value, greater at all times than the æsthetic, is not diminished. The historical value, on the other hand, is considerably enhanced. True, we no longer find in it, what we were formerly supposed to find, the interesting (though in large measure not well understood) writing of the apostle, written, in the days of his activity among the Gentiles, to a church which was personally unknown to him. But what have we in its place? A book of great significance for our knowledge of the ancient Christianity that almost immediately succeeded the apostolic (the Christianity of the disciples of Jesus in the years that followed his death). There is no work from Christian antiquity that contributes more largely to our knowledge of Paulinism (whether in its first form—a form in which it has not reached us in any deliberate writing—or in its subsequent development) in its strength as an inspiring directory for conduct, and in the richness and depth of its religious thought and experience.

25. Defenders of genuineness. No serious efforts to defend the genuineness of the epistle have as yet ever been attempted. Those offered casually and in passing, as it were, rely (as for example in Meyer-Weiss, *Komm.*[9], 1899, 33-34, and in S. Davidson, *Introd.*[3], 1894, 117-119, 150-2) on the so-called external evidence. That is to say, its defenders rely on what is excellent proof of the existence of the epistle at the time when it was cited, or what clearly presupposes an acquaintance with it, but is of no significance whatever when the question is whether the work was in reality written by the individual who from the first was named as its author. This the Tübingen school have long perceived; Baur also did not rely on such arguments. Instead of doing so he thus expressed himself (*Paulus* 1[2], 1866, 276):

'Against these four epistles (Rom., 1 and 2 Cor., Gal.) not only has even the slightest suspicion of spuriousness never been raised, but in fact they bear on their face the mark of Pauline originality so uncontestably that it is impossible to imagine by what right any critical doubt could ever possibly assert itself regarding them.'

The utterance, it will be observed, wholly ignores Evanson, 1792, and of course also Bruno Bauer, who did not publish his criticism till 1851; but it also ignores the view taken by so many, including F. C. von Baur himself, who have vied with one another in the disintegration of the epistle, as also the possibility that yet others at a later date might perceive what Baur himself had not observed; nor yet does it take account of the unsatisfactoriness of any assertion (however plausible it may sound) as to the 'originality' of Paul, whom after all we know only by means of the picture that has been constructed with the aid of those very epistles with regard to which we wish to inquire whether they really were written by him. Nothing therefore is added to the argument when a countless host of others since Baur are never weary of repeating that 'even the Tübingen school' have raised no doubts as to the genuineness. The observation is correct, it is true. Only they forget to add: nor yet have they offered proofs that it is genuine.

Meyer-Weiss, S. Davidson, and others remain equally sparing of their arguments even after the criticism of a later date has made its voice heard. They put it aside with a single word. Weiss, with a reference to a 'Parody,' by C. Hesedamm, *Der Römerbrief beurtheilt u. geviertheilt*, 1891. Davidson, with the observation that the genuineness, apart from the conclusive testimony of witnesses, is fully guaranteed by internal evidence.

'The internal character of the epistle and its historical allusions coincide with the external evidence in proving it an authentic production of the apostle. It bears the marks of his vigorous mind; the language and style being remarkably characteristic.'

He omits, however, to tell us how he knows that anything is a 'production,' not to say an 'authentic production of the apostle'; nor yet how he has obtained his knowledge of the mind of Paul; nor yet why it is impossible for a pseudonymous author to have any characteristic language and style.

Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 [1897] p. vii) considers himself absolved from going into the investigation until the representatives of the newer criticism 'shall have rigorously carried out the task incumbent on them of working out everything pertaining to the subject afresh.'

Jülicher (*Einl.*, 1894, p. 17, 1901[2], p. 19) once and again resorted to a severe attack on 'hypercriticism' and 'pseudocriticism,' and subsequently proceeded, in dealing with the Epistle to the Romans, as if nobody had ever at any time argued against its genuineness.

Sanday and Headlam (*Comm.*, 1895, pp. 85-98) discuss exhaustively the integrity of the epistle, especially as regards chaps. 15-16, but say little about the history of the question of genuineness. They cursorily dismiss some of the objections without showing that they have really grasped their proper significance. Counter-arguments are practically not heard. So also in other commentaries whose authors had heard anything about the newer criticism referred to. Holsten ('Krit. Briefe üb. die neueste paulin. Hypothese' in *Prot. Kirchenztg.*, 1889), Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*[2], 1890), Holtzmann (*Einl.*[3], 1892), Lipsius (*HC*[2], 1892, pp. 83 *f.*), and others, made some general observations in favour of the genuineness that had been called in question. But these discussions were little more than insignificant 'affairs of outposts'; no real battle was delivered nor even any serious attack prepared.

Then came Zahn (*Einl.*[2], 1900, 1 3) with his censure on his comrades in arms against the Tübingen school for their error in having defended indeed the genuineness of the epistles 'rejected' by Baur, but not that of the 'principal epistles,' 'although Baur and his disciples had never so much as even attempted any proof for the positive part of their results.' Forthwith he addressed himself to the long postponed task. He gave some half-dozen general observations (pp. 112-116) not differing in substance from those which had already been made; referred to the various particular investigations to be made in a later part of the work, including the detailed treatment of the Epistle to the Romans (pp. 251-310) where 31 full pages are devoted to the subject of the integrity and not a single word to the question of genuineness.

Baljon (*Gesch.*, 1901) perceived that something more than this was necessary to put the newer criticism to silence, if it was wrong. But what he wrote with this end in view was neither (as might have been expected) a confutation of the objections urged, nor yet an argument for the genuineness at least as solid and good as (in intention at all events) that made on behalf of Philippians, but simply a couple of pages (pp. 97-100) devoted to the history of the newer criticism and a few observations upon the objections urged by van Manen.

So far as appears, no one has as yet addressed himself to the task of an orderly scientific discussion of the arguments on the other side, or to an effective setting forth of the arguments on behalf of the genuineness.

26. Literature. Good commentaries—though all, it may be remarked, written from the point of view of an undisputed and therefore indisputable genuineness—are those of B. Weiss [6] (=Meyer-Weiss[9]), 1899, R. A. Lipsius (*HC*[2], 1892), W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam (*Int. Crit. Comm.* 1895). They all take account of their important predecessors (see Weiss 39-43, Lipsius vii-viii, Sanday xcviii-cix), amongst whom are Origen (*ob.* 254), Chrysostom (*ob.* 407), Melanchthon (1560), Calvin (1564), Grotius (1645), Tholuck (1877), Rückert (1839)[2], J. G. Reiche (1833-34), C. F. A. Fritzsche (1836-43), van Hengel (1854-59), de Wette (1847)[4]; as also of the works of H. Alford (*ob.* 1871), B. Jowett (1855, 1859)[2], C. A. Vaughan (1874)[4], W. Kelly (1873), F. Godet (1879, ET 1881), G. Volkmar (1875). Cp H. J. Holtzmann, *Einl.*[3] (1892), 230-246; S. Davidson, *Intr.*[3] (1894), 1 105-152, Th. Zahn, *Einl.*[2] (1900), 1 251-310, J. M. S. Baljon, *Gesch. van de boeken des NTs* (1901), 80-101, F. Spitta, *Unt. üb. den Br. des P. an die Romer* (1901); A. D. Loman, 'Quæst. Paulinæ,' *Th.T* (1882); R. Steck, *Gal.* (1888), 154-161, 359-363, 374-382, W. C. van Manen, *Paulus II.: De brief aan de Rom.* (1891).

W. C. v. M.

ROME (CHURCH)

Not founded by Peter and Paul (§ 1 *f.*).
Not by Peter alone (§ 3).
Not by Paul (§§ 4-7).
Origin among Jews in Rome (§ 8 *f.*).
Age (§§ 10-12).
Character (§§ 13-16).
Constitution and government (§ 17 *f.*).
Influence and importance (§ 19 *f.*).
Bibliography (§ 21).

1. Peter-Paul tradition. The earliest period of the Christian community in Rome is wrapped in impenetrable obscurity. Tradition attributes its founding to the joint labours of the apostles Peter and Paul. This tradition, however, is unworthy of our confidence. It is comparatively recent. The oldest traces of its existence do not go back farther than to the close of the second century.

According to a notice in Eusebius (*HE* ii. 25 8), 'Dionysius of Corinth,' about the year 170 A.D., or somewhat later (see OLD CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 31), wrote to the Romans as follows: 'So also by this so weighty admonition [of yours]—the allusion is to the epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians (=1 Clem.)—ye have brought together [anew] that planting [aforetime] made by Peter and Paul, of the [churches of the] Romans and of the Corinthians. For, indeed, these two both planted us in our Corinth and likewise taught us; in like manner also after having taught together in Italy they suffered martyrdom about the same time' [not necessarily, of course, at the same hour, or on the same day, the same month, or even the same year] (*ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν*). Here the 'planting' or founding of the churches, alike of Rome and of Corinth, is clearly recognised to have been the work of the apostles Peter and Paul. It is of no avail to say with Sanday and Headlam (*Comm.* p. xxix) that the 'planting' referred to (*φυτεύειν*; cp 1 Cor. 3 6 *ff.* 9 7) is not to be taken 'in the sense of first foundation.' We are not responsible for what 'Dionysius' says; but we are under obligation to understand it in the sense in which he meant it.

The same remark holds good with reference to Irenæus when he speaks of the church at Rome as having been 'founded and constituted by the two very glorious apostles Peter and Paul' ('a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et constituta,' iii. 3 1). These two, subsequently spoken of as 'the blessed apostles,' the same authority (about 180 A.D.) goes on to state, after having founded and built up the church, handed over the government to Linus (*θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν*, iii. 3 2; Eus. *HE* v. 6 1). In Eus. *HE* v. 8 2 he tells us that Matthew wrote a gospel for the Hebrews in their own tongue 'whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and founding the church' (*τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*).

2. Not trustworthy. These clear testimonies, however, to the founding of the church of Rome by Peter and Paul—however unhesitatingly they may have been accepted and built upon in later times—are one and all quite unworthy of credence. Not only are they relatively recent and obviously framed in accordance with a settled policy of glorifying the unity of the church as having been manifest even in its oldest communities; what is more to the point, they are at variance with older representations, whether we receive these with absolute confidence or not, of the course of events connected with the founding of a Christian community in Rome.

'Ignatius,' in his epistle to the Romans (4 3), written about the middle of the second century (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 28 *f.*), indeed mentions 'Peter and Paul' as known and influential teachers of the church he is addressing, but says nothing as to their having founded it. The church of Rome itself speaks by the mouth of 'Clement' in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, dating from about the year 140 A.D. (see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 23-26), of Peter and Paul as known witnesses to the truth (1 Clem. 5 3-7), but not as founders of the church. Acts is not aware of any labours of Peter and Paul carried out in common at Rome. From 28 17-28 it might seem to be a possible inference that Paul was the first to speak about Christianity to the leading Jews there; but of Peter there is no word in this connection. Just as little is Peter mentioned in the canonical epistle to the Romans, even in conjunction with 'Paul' when this apostle is speaking of his desire to become acquainted with the Christians of the metropolis, whose faith is everywhere spoken of, and whom he hopes ere long to be able to meet (1 3-15 15 22-24 28 *f.* 16 19). Indeed, the arrangements between Paul on the one hand, and James, Cephas, and John on the other, according to Gal. 2 9, 'we to the Gentiles and they to the circumcision' (*ἡμεῖς εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, αὐτοὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν περιτομήν*), do not lead us to expect to find in epistles of Paul any word of co-operation between Peter and Paul in the founding of individual churches. What is related as to this at a later date with regard to Rome cannot hold good in presence of the assurance given us by the Epistle to the Romans, whether by Paul himself or by an anonymous author using his name, that at Rome there was a considerable Christian community before Paul could possibly have been able to speak a single word there.

3. So also Peter-tradition. Matters do not stand much better with the belief—held absolutely for many centuries, called in question at the Reformation, and again at a later period maintained by many Protestants also—according to which the church of Rome was founded by Peter alone. This tradition also deserves no credence, whether in the form which represents Peter as having been bishop of Rome for twenty-five years after the founding of the church, or in the simpler form which merely conjectures that the apostle may have contributed something to the formation and extension of the church, or at least in later years may have visited it for a shorter or longer period. The founding of the church by Peter is excluded by the silence of Ignatius and Clement on the subject, and still more by the evidence of Acts, Galatians, and Romans. Not only do they say nothing positive to this effect; they make it perfectly clear that from the point of view of their respective authors such a thing is not to be thought of. Acts closes its account of Peter in 12 17 with the words, 'and he departed, and went to another place' (*καὶ ἐξελθὼν ἐπορεύθη εἰς ἕτερον τόπον*), and in the rest of the book Peter's name is only once again mentioned, and in a different connection (15 6-20), where he is represented as again in Jerusalem. In view of this passage 12 17 cannot be understood as referring to a journey to Rome for any lengthened period, not to speak of a period of five and twenty years. Neither, however, can we understand a visit to Rome of shorter duration, such as Harnack (*ACL* 2 1 [1897], 240-244, 704-710) still, with many, regards as probable, not even with the aid of the assumption that the contents of Acts 15 were taken from another source than that from which 'Luke' derived his other statements regarding Peter in Acts 1-12. The words quoted do not 'of course' say that we are to think of a mere visit whether to Rome or to any other place. They are quite clearly intended merely to indicate that the author does not propose to follow the fortunes of Peter further: 'and going his way, he journeyed to another place.' To understand Rome as intended here becomes possible only after one has learned otherwhere, rightly or wrongly, to speak of a sojourn of the apostle in the metropolis. Acts says nothing of this, and plainly presupposes rather the exact opposite, since

chap. 15 alluded to Peter as again in Jerusalem, and 28 17-28, speaking of Paul's meeting with Jews at Rome, leaves no room for the supposition that Peter had preceded him there as a preacher of Christianity. Galatians knows no residence of Peter other than Antioch (2 11-21)—apart from Jerusalem where, according to 1 18 2 1-10, he seems to have his home, an agreement that he is to address himself to 'the circumcision' being expressly mentioned. Romans knows of Christians in Rome; refers to their conversion from Judaism and heathendom, their fidelity to the Pauline type of doctrine once received (6 17), and the spiritual bond subsisting between them, or many of them, and Paul; but has not a word to say about any connection, whether of long or short duration, between them and the apostle Peter, and does not even so much as mention his name. The writer, whoever he may have been, it has been rightly remarked, has no acquaintance with any tradition which represented Peter as having been the founder of the Roman Church. His declaration made in 15 20 *f.* that he, 'Paul,' would not build upon another man's foundation, however inconsistent with the desire expressed in 1 8-15 and 15 22-24 29, wholly excludes it. Especially so as soon as by the word 'another' we understand, as is usually the case, an apostle—in this instance Peter.

It is, in fact, improbable that Peter ever set foot in Rome. The later traditions regarding this, including those handed down by Eusebius, have no claim to our acceptance, as has often been convincingly shown by many scholars (and recently by C. Clemen, *Preuss. Jahrb.*, 1901, pp. 404-417, and C. Erbes, *Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1901, pp. 1-47, 161-231). They possess no higher value than those relating to Thomas's preaching to the Parthians, Andrew's to the Scythians, John's in Asia Minor. When Eusebius, immediately afterwards (iii. 3 2, cp ii. 25 5), gives expression to the conjecture that Peter preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, before his crucifixion (head downwards) at Rome, he attributes to him, obviously with his eye on 1 Pet. 1 1, a career which he himself could not possibly reconcile with the details that he gives elsewhere. According to iii. 36 2, Peter was for some time bishop of Antioch before Ignatius; according to ii. 25 8 he was, along with Paul, founder of the churches of Corinth and Rome; according to ii. 14 6, the powerful opponent of Simon Magus at Rome in the reign of Claudius (41-54 A.D.); according to vi. 25 8, the rock upon which the church of Christ is built, and the author of two epistles.

A reference to 1 Pet. 1 1, though often made in conjunction with 5 13, is of no avail to support the view that Peter at some time or other had indeed made a stay, longer or shorter, in Rome. There need, indeed, be no hesitation, not even in presence of the objections of Erbes,[1] to see in 'she that is in Babylon, elect together with [you]' (ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτή, 1 Pet. 5 13) an allusion to the church in Rome. In 1 Pet., however, it is not Peter himself who is speaking, but an unknown author writing in the first half of the second century, 130-140 A.D. (OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 20; PETER, EPISTLES OF, §§ 5 *ff.*; CHRISTIAN, § 8). He is the exponent of a tradition, not met with elsewhere, regarding Peter as apostle in a portion of the countries of Asia Minor where Paul also had laboured, and at the same time of the other widely spread tradition that Peter had his home in Rome. Acts, Galatians, and Romans, so far as we can see, are not yet acquainted with this latest tradition. Even 1 Clem., written professedly by the church of Rome, and probably, in point of fact, originating there, says nothing of a sojourn of Peter in Rome. The writer assuredly would not have passed it over in silence when speaking of Peter's glorious past in chap. 5, or treating of the life-work of the 'apostles' in chaps. 42 and 44, if he had known anything of it. Hermas and Justin, both of them witnesses belonging to the Roman circle, are similarly silent as to aught that Peter may be supposed to have done, said, or endured there.

There are, then, as regards Peter's going to Rome, and as regards his journeyings as a whole, traditions which, in part, are mutually exclusive and in no case admit of being combined together into one consistent whole. The older ones do not imply the supposed fact of the church of Rome having been founded by Peter; they have no knowledge of it, or even bear witness against it by making statements which cannot be harmonised with it. Acts, Galatians, Romans, 1 Clem., undoubtedly come chiefly into consideration here. On the same side there fall to be grouped other NT testimonies to the martyrdom of Peter, and, more precisely, his crucifixion, drawn from very old, if not the oldest, traditions relating to the careers of the apostles, though without mention of the place where this violent death occurred. See Jn. 21 18-22 (cp 13 36) Mt. 10 5 *f.* 16-18 22-33 23 34 39 24 9 14 Mk. 13 9-13 Lk. 24 47 Acts 1 8. Within the circle of these ancient witnesses we can safely say—apart, if you will, from 1 Pet. 1 1 5 13—of all those in the NT, to which also may be added that of the apostolic fathers, that not a single word or even the remotest hint is found in them as to a sojourn, whether of long or of short duration, of Peter in Rome, whilst, in fact, more than one of them, by implicit or explicit declaration, are irreconcilably at variance with any such supposition. Rather does everything plead for the view that Peter never visited Rome, but worked continuously in Palestine—occasionally, perhaps, outside its limits, but never very far off—and that there, it may well have been in Jerusalem, somewhere about 64 A.D. under Sabinus,[1] or, at all events, some years before the destruction of the temple and city in 70 A.D., he died a martyr's death. [See, further, SIMON PETER.]

4. Paul-tradition: in Acts.

What remains of the late tradition as to the founding of the church of Rome by Peter and Paul conjointly does not need any careful scrutiny after the name of Peter has been eliminated. We are not, in that event, shut up to the alternative: if not by Peter and Paul together, then probably by Paul alone. This is nowhere said in any tradition so far as known to us. Tradition seems rather to have followed this course: since it is impossible that Paul can have founded the church along with Peter, his name must not be thought of in connection with the founding at all. Acts and Pauline Epistles, writings frequently read in a large circle, indicated this.

Acts knows of no Christian church at Rome at a date prior to a possible foundation by Paul after he had proclaimed the glad tidings to the Jews assembled at his lodging (28 17-31). In 28 15, indeed, we read of the 'brethren' who came from Rome to Appii Forum and the Three Taverns to meet Paul, and it is no doubt usual to regard these as having been Christians, but on no adequate grounds. They are, to judge from *vv.* 17-28, Jews, just as Roman Jews (*v.* 21) call their kinsmen in Judæa 'the brethren.' They are amazed at Paul's plans, and declare as distinctly as possible in *v.* 22 that up to that hour they had heard nothing of 'this sect'—*i.e.*, of the Christians—beyond the mere name. All this is in perfect agreement with the current representation in Acts, according to which Paul in his journeyings invariably first addressed himself to the Jews and thereafter to the Gentiles with a view to proceeding to the setting up of a Christian community, whether composed entirely of converted Gentiles, or partly also of former Jews (cp 13 46 and 13-28 *passim*). The view that by the 'brethren' of Rome, alluded to in 28 15, as also by

[1] *Op cit.*, below, 16-20. Erbes once more seeks to plead for a sojourn of Peter among the Jews in Babylon, unless perhaps we are to understand Jerusalem.

[1] So Erbes, 212, conjectures, relying upon Jos. *Ant.* xx. 9 5.

those of Puteoli in *v.* 14, we are to understand Christians, rests solely upon the representation in Romans, according to which Christians are found in Rome long before Paul has ever visited that city.

At the same time it must be remembered that the opposite representation in Acts has no historical authoritativeness, being inextricably bound up with the tendency of that book which has been already referred to. Moreover, in Acts 28_{30} *f.* the founding of a Christian church at Rome by Paul is rather tacitly assumed than asserted in so many words. It is possible that in the 'Acts of Paul' (which were worked over by the writer of our canonical Acts, and also made use of in the composition of the Pauline Epistles, and which themselves in turn had their origin in a redaction and expansion of the recognised We-source) the original journey record (PAUL, § 37; OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 9) may have given a somewhat different account of the conditions which Paul found at Rome and elsewhere in Italy. It may be that, according to that representation, there were already in more than one place at Rome Christians, 'brethren' in another and higher sense than that of mere kinship, and that their figurative designation is adopted by Acts so that the 'brethren' in Puteoli and Rome, according to Acts 28_{14} *f.* to be understood as Jews who were friendly disposed towards Paul, were at the same time the original Christians of these places.

However that may be, Acts nowhere contains any express statement as to the founding of a Christian church at Rome by Paul; and as little does the epistle to the Romans.

5. In Romans. What Romans implies is, clearly, rather this—that the church had already been long in existence when Paul was cherishing the hope that he might have an opportunity of personally visiting it. This view is wont to be accepted on all hands as just: by the majority, because they hold it to come from the apostle Paul; by others, the friends of advanced criticism, because, however fully convinced of the pseudepigraphical character of the epistle (see ROMANS), they have no reason for doubting it.

6. Romans versus Acts. These have this advantage over the others that they are not, like them, sorely perplexed by Acts which betrays no acquaintance with the epistle held to have been addressed to the church of Rome by Paul at least two years before he himself undertook the journey thither only to become aware on his arrival in the metropolis that no one there had ever heard anything about him or even about Christianity at all otherwise than by report merely. They set down the divergent representations in 'Luke' and 'Paul' simply to the account of the separate writers, and as regards a supposed founding of the church at Rome, can only say that according to 'Luke' it was perhaps the work of Paul, but according to 'Paul,' certainly not. According to 'Luke,' perhaps it was, since we must interpret in accordance with the general tendency of his 'historical' work; according to 'Paul,' because everyone thought so in those days nor yet had any one any knowledge of a founding of the church in Rome by Peter and Paul, or by Peter alone.

7. Other epistles. In other Pauline epistles also there is no trace of acquaintance with any tradition which sought to represent that founding as having been brought about by Paul. In Romans there is no hint, of the kind we meet with in 1 Cor. 4_{14} 2 Cor. 6_{13} 12_{14} Gal. 4_{19}, that 'Paul' can regard those whom he addresses as his 'children.' There is no suggestion of such a relation of Paul to Rome even in Philippians, Philemon, or 1 Clem. $5_{5\text{-}7}$, where there was such ample opportunity to call to mind the founding of the Roman Church by Paul had the writer been minded to refer to it. The Pauline literature says nothing at all about it, nor yet do the kindred writings, 1 Peter, 1 Clement, Hermas, Ignatius. Rather must we say that in all of them the undisputed and indisputable presupposition is that Rome was won for the gospel without the intervention of Paul, either by his epistles or by his later personal intercourse.

8. Founders unknown Jews. Whom then are we to name as founder of the Roman church? 'Not any of the apostles,' as long ago Ambrosiaster in the so-called commentary of Ambrosius in the fourth century rightly answers (cp Sanday and Headlam, pp. xxv, ci). We could almost venture to guess: one or more of those who probably at a quite early date, spread the glad tidings of salvation from Jerusalem westward. There was abundant opportunity in the constant intercourse between Rome and the east, even before the middle of the first century, for travellers from Palestine to return, or come for the first time, to the banks of the Tiber and there to discourse, as they had done in the various other ports and cities they touched on their route, of the 'things concerning Jesus' (τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ; Acts 18_{25} $28_{23\,31}$), 'the kingdom of God' (ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ; Acts 14_{22} 19_8 20_{25} $28_{23\,31}$), 'the preaching of the gospel' (τὸ εὐαγγελίζεσθαι; Acts 13_{32} $14_{7\,15\,21}$ 15_{35} 16_{10}). It is not necessary to have recourse to the hardly historical account of the first appearance of the apostles at Jerusalem in Acts 2, where, as we read in *vv.* 10 *f.*, Romans, Jews as well as proselytes, were sojourning (οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι). Such Jews living in Rome, as well as Gentiles who had attached themselves to them and professed their religion, may well have visited Jerusalem on other occasions and become messengers, possibly very capable ones, of what they had seen and heard there to their brethren in the metropolis.

9. Jewish settlements at Rome. We shall best picture to ourselves the subsequent course of events if we suppose that the preaching of the gospel and the establishment of the new religion made its way amongst 'Jews and proselytes' in Rome. Whoever wishes to picture to himself the nature of the field in which, now here, now there, the good seed was scattered by unknown sowers, must try to form some conception of the Jewish settlements in Rome as they then were. Very many they were, ordinarily confined within certain precisely defined limits, but within these moving with social freedom bound only in so far as they themselves chose to be so by the customs and practices received from their fathers, the law and what it was held to enjoin on the faithful children of Abraham by descent, or on the proselytes who had joined them. Alternately receiving the favours of the great and bowed down under the heavy burden laid upon them by authorities of a less friendly disposition; constantly exposed to risks of persecution, scorn, and derision, and seldom allowed to pass altogether without notice; engaged in the pursuit of trade and dependent on this for their daily bread, now envied for their wealth and now plunged into the depths of poverty or reduced to the ranks of professional beggars. Such, just before and during the opening decades of the first century, was the manner of life of the Jews in Rome: a great brotherhood, we may call it, broken up into a number of smaller communities; a band of aliens who know how to maintain their old manners and customs, their nationality, and their religion, in spite of many divergencies and divisions among themselves, in the midst of the surrounding Gentiles amongst whom their progenitors had settled. At first they had come to pay a visit there because commerce and political reasons had brought them to the world-city; so it had been already in the days of the Maccabees. Others again had been brought to Rome from their native country as slaves, but on closer acquaintance were hardly found suitable and often received their freedom or even were invested with the privileges of Roman citizens. So, in particular, shortly after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. By Cæsar and others they were shown great favour. Under Tiberius they were ex-

pelled from Rome in the year 19 A.D. and partly employed in the war against the pirates of Sardinia. Under Claudius about 49 A.D. they were again banished. Under Nero it would seem they enjoyed no small power and influence. (For details see Schürer, *GJV*[3], 1898, 3 28-36 and specially the literature referred to there on p. 28, n. 70; cp *EB*[9], 20 727-730 [1886]).

On this Jewish soil the earliest Roman Christianity, we may safely affirm, had already come into being before the middle of the first century. The oldest distinct trace of its beginnings is found in Suetonius (*Claud.* 25), where he says of the emperor Claudius that he expelled the Jews from Rome on account of their persistent turbulence under the instigation of Chrestus ('Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit'; cp CHRISTIAN, § 6 iii.). The banishment of the Jews (Acts 18 2 and Dio Cassius 60 6), although probably in the event not judged expedient or perhaps even possible, and in any case not carried out on any large scale, had its occasion in troubles and disturbances which had arisen among the Jews 'impulsore Chresto'—*i.e.*, at the instance or with the help of Chrestus. This Chrestus was, to judge by the manner of speech of those days, no other than (Jesus) Christ; his person and work, the views and expectations connected with him, and his cause were what led Claudius to seek to remove the Jews who had thus become troublesome. Now, though the exact year in which this resolution was come to by the emperor is uncertain, if we remember that at the beginning of his reign (41-54 A.D.) he was, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 5 2-3), favourably inclined to the Jews, we are led to think of a somewhat later date—let us say with Schürer (32 *f.*) and others, the year 49 A.D. In that case the movement we are supposing, and its procuring cause, the first systematic preaching of Christianity in Rome, can have begun some months or years previously. We must leave open the question as to whether at a still earlier date some converts, in the course of pilgrimages to Jerusalem or through the agency of third parties in their adopted country, may not have been won for the new confession and the expectations connected with it. Rome had already for a long time been a favourite and much frequented harbour for new ideas in the sphere of religion.

10. Age.

With the date thus arrived at for the founding of the Christian church in Rome it agrees tolerably well that a writer many years later, in Acts 28 17-28, could still speak as if the new sect were known only by name in the world capital when Paul first proclaimed the tidings of salvation to the Jews there, and that another writer—the author of Romans—did not hesitate to assume throughout his work that at that very time there had already been for a long time in Rome believers belonging to various schools of Christian thought and practice. When these books were written the days of the first founding of a church in Rome were already so far removed that in different circles divergent representations were given regarding it, though there was some danger of misrepresentation. 'Luke' is wrong because he does not take account of the existence of any Christian church at Rome before the apostle Paul had made his voice heard there. The Pauline writer, on the other hand, represents the apostle of the Gentiles as knowing that before his arrival among them the faith of the Roman Christians was already 'proclaimed throughout the whole world' (Rom. 1 8), and in 6 17 it is the Pauline form of doctrine whereunto they have been delivered. Both the one view and the other may well be questioned as strict history. Both writers make it manifest that they no longer know the true position of matters so far as details are concerned. At the same time they confirm, each in his own way, the correctness of the date we have arrived at; at the beginning of the second century, the founding of the church at Rome belonged to a considerably remote past and at that distance of time could, speaking broadly, be connected with a delineation of the period when Paul was setting out for, or had arrived at, the metropolis of the empire.

11. Theory of Acts and Rom.

The nearer determination of the date is to be sought in such data as (1) the tradition regarding Paul's plans with reference to a journey to Spain, by way of Rome, where a Christian church no longer needed to be founded (Rom. 15 28 *f.* cp 1 Clem. 5 5-7); (2) the tradition of Paul's death at Rome, whether, as the ordinary reckoning has it, in 64, as Erbes thinks, on 23rd Feb. 63, or as yet others judge, at some date that cannot be more exactly determined, shortly before or in connection with the persecution of the Christians in the summer of 64; (3) all that relates to the fact of the persecution of the Christians at Rome by Nero; (4) the appearance of the 'Church of Rome' as the writer of Clement's first epistle to the Corinthians; (5) the activity of Marcion and Valentinus among the Christians at Rome; (6) all that tradition tells us of the establishment of a bishop's see at Rome by the apostles Peter and Paul;—a very large series of testimonies continuously assuring us, each in its own way, that the founding of a Christian church at Rome goes back to the middle of the first century of our era.

12. Further data.

The character of this church was, to begin with, no other than was to be expected from its origin within the sphere of 'Jews and proselytes' (§ 4). Ambrosiaster in speaking of Jews alone as fathers of the Christian community at Rome has here again truly said that those who believed confessed Christ and held fast by the law ('ex quibus [Judæis] hi qui crediderant, tradiderunt Romanis ut Christum profitentes legem servarent'). In this there is no 'exaggeration' as Sanday and Headlam (p. 25, n. 3) have thought. They indeed could hardly have thought otherwise as long as they were dominated by belief in the genuineness of the Epistle to the Romans. Whoever deems himself bound to maintain that belief must inevitably assume that already, before Romans was written by Paul—on the ordinary reckoning, that is to say, before 59 A.D.—there were to be met with in Rome two divergent types of Christian faith and profession, the Jewish-Christian and the Pauline. Such an one cannot avoid facing the question: What was the church of Rome at that time? Jewish-Christian? Pauline? Mixed? Yet all the while he is well aware—or the discovery is ever anew forced upon him—that no satisfactory answer to the question can be given. Some texts speak very clearly for the view that the church in question consisted of former gentiles, whilst others say the exact opposite—that it was composed of former Jews (see ROMANS, § 8; van Manen, *Paulus*, 2 23-25 166-7). Yet we cannot hold with Sanday-Headlam (p. xxvi) and others the theory that it was a 'mixed' church. To such a theory can be applied to the full what these scholars remark in another connection: 'there is no hint of such a state of things,' which moreover would compel us, contrary to the manifest intention of the writer, to think of 'two distinct churches in Rome, one Jewish-Christian, the other Gentile-Christian, and that St. Paul wrote only to the latter.'

13. Character of church.

Any one who, on the other hand, has been able to free himself from the axiom of the genuineness and has satisfied himself of the pseudepigraphical character of this writing of a later time (see ROMANS) no longer feels his hands tied by the various impossible attempts that have been made to answer the questions proposed. He is no longer perplexed by that other troublesome question: How are we to explain the fact that nowhere in history has there remained any trace of the existence of an important Pauline community in Rome, after the apostle's epistle had been sent thither? He takes no notice of all ideas of this sort, the pictures suggested

in the epistle of the outward appearance and inward semblance of the Christian church in Rome in the days before Paul could possibly have preached there—as being not renderings of historical actuality but pictures of a past that never had been real, attempts to represent the old-Christian period after many decades had passed. Such a student holds fast by the seemingly insignificant phrase, which yet tells us so much, of the instigating 'Chrestus' by whom the Jews in Rome, according to Suetonius, in the days of Claudius (*ob.* 49 A.D.) were troubled; and holds by the pretty generally accepted conception as to a Christian Church at Rome which had arisen out of the faith and life, the active exertions, of 'Jews and proselytes' who had been converted to Christ; by what Ambrosiaster has said, with equal sobriety and justice—that Jews living in Rome in the days of the apostles had taught their brethren to confess Christ and to hold fast by the law.

In other words, the church in Rome was originally Jewish-Christian, and probably long remained so.

14. Jewish-Christian.

Gradually more liberal ideas crept in, thanks perhaps to the influence of more advanced preachers from abroad who had wholly or partially outgrown their Judaism, but thanks still more to the ease with which in every sphere of thought new ideas made way in Rome. Whether Paul may have had any active share in this work we are not now in a position to say. Acts leaves us in doubt. Romans testifies to good intentions but not to any work actually done. The 'epistle,' in spite of the seeming abundance of the light it sheds on the events of the years immediately preceding 59 A.D. in Rome, really draws over them all an almost impenetrable veil. It gives surprising glimpses into the history of the development of the church in the direction of greater freedom, the emancipation of Christianity from the dominion of the law, but all from a remote distance in space, probably from the East—Antioch or somewhere else in Syria, it may be, or perchance Asia Minor—at all events, a long way off and in a distinctly later time. In reality, in the

15. Struggle of Paulinism.

more trustworthy tradition there is no trace of all this, but on the contrary, unmistakable proof that Paulinism at Rome though (i.) it struggled for a time for the victory in the days of Marcion (*ob.* 140 A.D.), (ii.) never really took permanent root there, and never was other than an exotic.

i. That Paulinism flourished in some degree at Rome is very certain, as we may safely infer: (*a*) from the way in which it is throughout presupposed in Romans (written probably about 120 A.D.; see ROMANS, § 23) that, before his first visit to the capital, Paul already had there a large circle of friends and followers, of whom a whole series is mentioned by name in 16 3-15, and who already for a long time had been instructed in his distinctive type of doctrine (6 17); (*b*) from the support as well as the opposition, which Marcion met with in Rome, in various capacities, and not least of all as advocate of his 'Apostle,' the Paul of the epistles; (*c*) from the friendly relation between Peter and Paul presupposed in '1 Peter,' probably written at Rome, in evidence of which relation we point not only to the Pauline form of the writing and to the mention, at the end, of Silvanus and of Mark (cp 2 Peter 3 15 *f.*), but also and chiefly to the strongly Pauline character of the contents; (*d*) from the liberal spirit of the gospel according to Mark, probably also written at Rome, along with which perhaps that according to Luke may also be named; (*e*) from the honour with which 'Clement' as spokesman of the church at Rome writes 'to the Corinthians' concerning Paul (1 Clem. 5 5-7 47 1), and more than once declares that he is influenced by the reading of his 'epistles'; (*f*) from the mention of Paul along with Peter as a teacher of authority by 'Ignatius' in his epistle to the Romans ('I do not command you as Peter and Paul did,' 4 3); (*g*) from the wide currency of the later tradition of the founding of the Christian church at Rome by 'Peter and Paul.'

ii. Paulinism was, however, only partially successful, as is no less clearly evident: (*a*) from the way in which in Romans Paul now admonishes the Jews (chaps. 1-8, *passim*, and especially 2 17-29) and now shows them the greatest deference (chaps. 9-11 *passim*, especially 3 1 *f.* 9 1-5 10 1); (*b*) from the opposition met with by Marcion in Rome which ended in his expulsion from the new religious community; (*c*) from the position of the name of Paul in the younger tradition—already in 'Clement' and 'Ignatius'—after that of Peter; (*d*) from the spirit of works brought out at Rome and extensively read there, the most outstanding of which is the so-called first Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians. The spirit there breathed, notwithstanding the reverence expressed for 'Paul' and the deference occasionally paid to the principles inaugurated by him, is much more of a Jewish-Christian character than one that testifies to warm sympathy with the gospel of freedom; rather one that is slowly gravitating toward the left than one that is averse to the right in principle; a conciliatory and advancing spirit, if you will, yet rather in many respects showing lingering attachment to the old than still standing with both feet upon the basis of the law, firmly rooted in Judaism, filled with the rich contents of the Old Testament; in a word, a spirit that in its inmost nature is becoming Catholic.

The Christian Church of Rome, in its beginnings a shoot from the Jewish stock, in the course of years took

16. Gradual change.

up and assimilated elements that were brought to it from other quarters: from the East, and particularly from Syria and Asia Minor. Its power of adaptation was of great use to it in regard to those elements in the new faith which were originally strange in it and were at home rather in the more developed circles of Paulinism, but in adapting itself the original power of the Pauline spiritual movement was in many respects taken away. In the course of years—let us say, in round numbers, between 50 and 150 A.D.—the character of the church at Rome, from being Jewish-Christian with occasional deviations towards the right and towards the left, had become, we shall not say Pauline or Gentile-Christian, but Catholic. At the later date—*i.e.*, about the middle of the second century—it had recently been the scene of the labours of Marcion, who was excommunicated afterwards, Marcion the eager and serious advocate of 'Paul' who had already probably some years before become known to it by means of the 'epistles.' It had at the same time come into touch with, among others, that highly gifted teacher, well nigh lost in broad and deep speculations, alternately held in reverence and covered with scorn, the gnostic Valentinus. It had learned to listen to preachers of repentance like Hermas who, eminently practical, sought to win it before all things else to the urgent duty of conversion. But, however divergent may have been the paths by which it was so dissimilarly led by these and other leaders to clearer insight on many sides, and deeper experience of the fruits of faith as that translated itself into a genuine Christian life, the structure as carried out appeared always, in spite of the multifarious and manifold additions, to rest upon the old foundation—destined, as it would seem, never to become obsolete—that of the law and of Judaism, to which, as a new and indispensable element, confession of Jesus as the Christ, had been added.

How this Christian community at Rome was originally governed and organised can probably be best conjectured,

17. Constitution of Jewish community.

in the absence of all positive information, by calling to mind once more what we know of the spirit of that religious fellowship of the Jews out of which it arose. Like this last it had no political aims, and consequently as yet knew nothing of those who at a later time were to be called rulers and leaders, charged

ROME (CHURCH)

with the care of the outward life of Christians as subjects of the state. The Jewish 'Church,' although it can be so called in respect of the religious confession of its adherents, formed no unity placed under the leadership and government of a single council or of one head. It was made up rather of a great number of separate and independent congregations (συναγωγαί), each having its own synagogue, its own council (γερουσία), its own rulers (ἄρχοντες), who also sometimes at least, were partly called 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι), and, whether for life (διὰ βίου) or for a limited period, were chosen at the beginning of the Jewish civil year (in September). They were charged with the general leadership of the community, sometimes also with the task associated with the special office of chief of the synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγος). The language employed was Greek, as indeed the whole constitution with rulers (ἄρχοντες) and councils (γερουσίαι), so far as form was concerned, seems to have been borrowed from the civil organisation usual in Greek cities (see Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1879, and *GJV*(3), 3, pp. 44-51 [1898]).

18. Of Christian Church.

The Christian Church also, we may safely take for granted, very soon after its members had been excommunicated, or had voluntarily withdrawn from the Jewish synagogues in Rome, had their own centres, with a government proper to themselves (modelled mainly, so far as form was concerned, on that which they had left at the call of religious principle and duty), their own places of meeting (συναγωγαί), their own rulers (ἄρχοντες), who are often called elders (πρεσβύτεροι). This was what happened elsewhere throughout the cities of the Dispersion. Why not also in Rome? Acts calls the rulers 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι) in 11 30 14 23 20 17; whenever Jerusalem is spoken of, where the apostles are regarded as having lived and laboured, we read of 'apostles and elders' (15 2 4 6 23 16 4), just as the same writer elsewhere when referring to the rulers (ἄρχοντες) of the Jews speaks of their 'elders' (2 17 4 5 8 23 6 12 23 14 24 1 .25 15). For the rest, in Acts we find no allusion to any government of Christian communities, just as, in fact, of the community that arose after the arrival of Paul in Rome nothing more is said than that they met in Paul's own house (28 30 *f.*). In Romans there is no evidence as to the terms employed in this connection by the Christians at Rome, except in a single passage where allusion is made to 'him that ruleth' (ὁ προϊστάμενος: 12 8).

1 Clem., the 'epistle' of the 'church of God' at Rome to that of Corinth, has more to say. The church (ἡ ἐκκλησία) comes before us as a unity embracing all believers within the boundaries of a definite locality; so in the opening words and also in 44 3 47 6 (cp 2 Clem. 2 1 14 1 2 4 1). We are not precluded from thinking that, as in the case of the Jews, this unity was made up of various circles or congregations within the larger whole which comprehended the whole body of the faithful. The supposition finds support when we consider the manner in which the occurrence of divergent ideas and practices with regard to the choice of officials is spoken of. Some consider themselves free in their choice; but others, including the writer, hold themselves bound to tradition and obliged to adhere to the ancient holders of spiritual offices as long as they have not disqualified themselves by misconduct (cp 1 3 3 3 21 6 42 44 59 2). True, this applies, so far as form is concerned, in the first instance and especially, only to the Corinthians who are being addressed, but yet also to the Romans who are speaking of themselves in the plural number (cp 7 1; see OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 24). The most obvious explanation is to be found in the supposition that the divergent views and practices referred to were found in the different circles or congregations (ἐκκλησίαι) within the bounds of the one church —ἡ ἐκκλησία—whether that of Rome or that of Corinth.

However that may be, 'the church' had its rulers or leaders (ἡγούμενοι; 1 3) just as had the Jews (32 2), the Egyptians (51 5), and others (37 3 55 1 60 1). They are usually called 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι; 1 3 3 3 21 6 44 5 47 6 54 2 57 1, cp 2 Clem. 17 3 5), but in one instance, though in no different sense, 'overseers' (ἐπίσκοποι) and 'deacons' (διάκονοι, 42 4 *f.*, cp 44 1 50 3), charged with the sacred service (λειτουργία, 41 1 44 2 *f.* 6). They were 'ministering' (λειτουργοῦντες; 46 3) just as in their manner were the Jews (32 2 40), Enoch (9 2), Aaron (43 4), the angels of God (34 5 *f.*). In this service or ministry were included, or at least came under their superintendence, (1) the reading of scripture (ἡ γραφή or αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαί)—the OT as we now know it and whatever other writings were at that time reckoned as belonging to it; also Christian writings such as Paul's 'Epistle to the Corinthians' and other treatises, including 1 and 2 Clem. (cp 2 Clem. 19 1 15 1 17 5 1 Clem. 47 1 63 2 7 1, OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 2-4; Herm. *Vis.* ii. 1 3 4 1 Eus. *HE* ii. 25 8 iii. 38 5)—(2) exhortation (cp 1 Clem. *passim*) and (3) prayer (1 Clem. 59 3-61 2 Clem. 2 2). All of these, as with the Jews, at least down to near the end of the second century, were performed in Greek.

Of a monarchical government of the Church there is as yet no trace in 1 and 2 Clem. Neither is there any in the Shepherd of Hermas which, like the Epistles of Clement, knows only of elders (*Vis.* ii. 4 2 3 iii. 1 8) and overseers, along with 'teachers' and 'deacons' (*Vis.* iii. 5 1 *Sim.* ix. 27 2). The oldest traces of monarchical church government in Rome are met with in the seven epistles of 'Ignatius' which were probably written there about the middle of the second century, and in the earliest lists of Roman bishops—little trustworthy though these are in their substance, and put together in the interests of the recognition of the episcopate, which was then coming into being, or had recently come to be important. They do not go farther back than to Anicetus, and were probably drawn up under his successor Soter, about 170 A.D. (see Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 1897, pp. 70-231, esp. pp. 144-202. See, further, MINISTRY).

19. Importance of Rome.

If the question be asked, finally, as to the influence and importance of the Christian church at Rome, it was small and certainly for the first few decades, not to be compared with that of the church at Jerusalem nor yet with that of other churches of Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor. It was only gradually in the course of the second century that a change in this respect came about, under the influence of great historical events such as the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., the rebuilding of that city as Ælia Capitolina under Hadrian (see JERUSALEM, §§ 33 *f.*), and the continual process by which the West manifested its preponderance over the East. In all this there made itself felt the favourable situation of the Christian Church at Rome in the centre of Græco-Roman civilisation; the inborn inclination, and the corresponding aptitude, of what had been the Gentile element in the new church, to lead and soon to dominate believers who had their homes elsewhere, as well as unbelievers; and last, certainly not least, whatever that church was able to contribute from its own resources towards its internal growth and its external prestige. In this connection we may particularly specify: the accession not merely of slaves and people of the lower orders but also of rich and often influential persons, sometimes even from the immediate entourage of the emperor; the courage shown by martyrs there as elsewhere; the zeal of outstanding personalities such as Valentinus and Marcion; the activity of efficient men such as 'Clement' and 'Ignatius' in labouring for the establishment of the Catholic Church; the labour expended on various sides to advance far and near the cause of knowledge, of Christian practice, of edification, of consolation.

Marcion laid the foundations of a recognition of a written norm of truth, of belief (κανὼν τῆς ἀληθείας, τῆς πίστεως), one gospel and ten Pauline Epistles (τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ Ἀπόστολος [τὸ Ἀποστολικόν]), which the church as it grew Catholic soon spread far and wide and accepted—along with the older tradition—as the touchstone of truth. Into this (ecclesiastical) canon Rome, according to the list discovered and published in modern times by Muratori, introduced a larger collection of Old-Christian writings differing but slightly in extent from the NT as that was finally fixed by well-nigh the whole of Christendom. Marcion also wrote an orthodoxly conceived 'Epistle' and 'Antitheses' or 'Separation of Law and Gospel' (*Antitheses* or *Separatio legis et evangelii*); Valentinus was the author of 'Epistles,' 'Homilies,' and 'Psalms.' Some unknown writer prepared the Gospel according to Mark; 'Clement,' two 'epistles' to the Corinthians, of which the first is a 'Treatise concerning Peace and Harmony' (ἔντευξις περὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ὁμονοίας), conceived, according to its own description of itself (63 2), in the interests of peace in the churches, and especially in the matter of the election of elders, and the second is an 'Exhortation concerning continence' (Συμβουλία περὶ ἐγκρατείας, 15 1). Hermas wrote his *Shepherd* to stir up all to repentance; 'Ignatius' composed his 'Epistles' upon love for the promotion of martyrdom and on behalf of right views in doctrine and in life. He and others contributed largely to the upbuilding of their own as well as other churches, where their epistles were diligently read. Thus the Roman leaders exercised influence in ever-widening circles, and opened up the way, often quite unconsciously, for the spiritual predominance of their fellow-believers abroad. From the middle of the second century another element that had no small influence also was the effort after a one-man government of the church, first on the part of Rome alone, but afterwards also on that of others who afterwards associated themselves with it in this. Polycarp of Smyrna, seeking for comfort at the hands of Anicetus of Rome in the matter of orthodox observance of Easter, still knows how to maintain his freedom of thought and action in another direction than that prescribed to him. But one of his successors in the Asia Minor controversy of the Quartodecimans, Polycrates of Ephesus, was excommunicated by Victor of Rome and cut off from the fellowship of the faithful (see Baur, *Das Christenthum u. d. Christl. Kirche der drei Ersten Jahrh.* 1853, pp. 141-157). In this manner the preponderance and authoritativeness, and ultimately the supremacy, of the church of Rome had already come to be recognised in the East before the end of the second century.

20. Christian literature.

21. Bibliography.

For the extensive literature dealing with our subject reference may be made, amongst others, to such studies on the supposed sojourn of Peter and Paul in Rome as those of A. Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 1897, pp. 240-244, 703-710; C. Clemen, 'Ist Petrus in Rom gewesen?' in *Preuss. Jahrb.* 1901, pp. 404-417; C. Erbes, 'Petrus nicht in Rom sondern in Jerusalem gestorben' in Brieger's *Ztschr. f. Kirchen-gesch.* 1901, pp. 1-47 161-231; on the Jews in Rome in Sanday and Headlam, *The Ep. to the Romans*, 1895, xviii-xxv; Berliner, *Gesch. der Juden in Rom*, 1893; E. Schürer, *Die Gemeindeverfassung der Juden in Rom*, 1879 and *GJV*(3), iii. 1898, pp. 28-36 44-56. Also to the commentaries on Romans such as those of Sanday-Headlam, 1895, xviii-xliv; R. A. Lipsius in *HC*(2), 1892, pp. 70-78; Meyer-Weiss(9), 1890, pp. 16-22: to the NT introductions such as those of S. Davidson(3), 1894, 1 105-113; H. J. Holtzmann(3), 1892, pp. 232-236; Th. Zahn(2), 1900, pp. 299-308; J. M. S. Baljon, 1901, pp. 88-92. See also 'Romans (Epistle to the)' in *Ency. Brit.*(9), 20 727-730 [1886], and OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, PAUL, ROMANS, SIMON PETER, in the present work.

W. C. V. M.

ROME (EMPIRE). The Roman Empire has been supposed to be alluded to in Dan. 2 and 7, but the interpretation 'is one which the progress of history has shewn to be untenable' (Driver, *Daniel*, 98; see the whole discussion, 94-102). Rome is referred to by name in biblical writings for the first time in connection with Antiochus Epiphanes; this 'sinful root,' we are told, had been a hostage at Rome (1 Macc. 1 10, ὃς ἦν ὅμηρα ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ).

The topography and history of Rome and of the Roman Empire is so vast a subject and is so fully dealt with by various writers and in easily accessible works of reference, that it has been deemed sufficient, in the space at our disposal, simply to touch upon the problem of the relation of Rome to Judaism and to early Christianity.

1. Rome and the Hasmoneans.

Destined to play such an important part in the political and religious history of the Jews, the Empire came into close touch with them for the first time in the early days of the revolt against the power of Syria. About the year 161 B.C. Judas the Maccabee having heard of the great fame of the Romans, sent an embassy 'to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, and that they should take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in bondage' (1 Macc. 8 1 *ff.*; cp 2 Macc. 11 34, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 6 Justin 36 3). The mission was successful; but before the news arrived Judas was slain (1 Macc. 9 1-18; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 11 1). In 143 B.C. the alliance was renewed by the statesmanlike Jonathan (1 Macc. 12 1-4 16; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 8). On the death of Jonathan, Simon, his brother and successor, like his predecessors, also sent to Rome to seek a renewal of friendship. The ambassador, this time Numenius, was again successful, and 'the Romans issued a decree to all the peoples of the East, announcing that they had entered into a league of friendship with the Jews' (W. D. Morrison, *The Jews under Roman Rule*, 13). Hyrcanus, again, Simon's son and successor, after the death of Antiochus (129 B.C.), to escape paying any more the tribute which the Syrian had exacted, sent yet another embassy to Rome, and again 'in accordance with the settled principle of Roman policy in the East, the Jewish mission was received in a friendly manner, their grievances were attentively heard, and a decree was issued, ordering the Syrians to relinquish their claims to tribute, and declaring void whatever Antiochus had done in Judæa in opposition to previous declarations of the senate [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 2 *f.*]' (Morrison, *op. cit.* 16 *f.*). After this several causes combined to weaken the power of the Syrians, so that the Jews no longer had any cause to fear them.

Such were the first relations of the Jews with the Roman Empire, if we are to trust tradition; but as Morrison again observes (19), 'some of these supposed alliances rest upon very slender historical foundations.' For further details we must refer the reader to the article MACCABEES (cp ISRAEL).

2. Jewish party-spirit.

While the Roman Empire was becoming more and more imperialistic, within the Jewish nation was arising, through the play of new ideas, that spirit of faction which was to rend it asunder even in the face of a common foe (see SADDUCEES, SCRIBES AND PHARISEES; cp ISRAEL). See again on the history of the period MACCABEES, and JANNÆUS. The disputes between Pharisees and Sadducees did not end with words; in the contest between the soldiers of Alexander and the Pharisees much blood was spilt. The struggle went on throughout the reign of Alexander, though towards the end he was able to subdue the Pharisees and their allies the Syrians; it continued during the reign of Salome Alexandra (78-69 B.C.), in which John Hyrcanus, one of Alexander's sons was content to act as high priest; and into the reign of Aristobulus (69-63 B.C.), Alexander's other son. It sapped the strength of the nation so that it was ready to fall an easy prey to a power that aimed at expansion. When the Romans, who for a time had been otherwise occupied, again turned their attention to the East, having been roused to action by the revolt of Mithridates, king of Pontus, in 88 B.C., and when success had attended their arms in the very neighbourhood of this people that had wantonly reduced itself to a state of miserable weakness, it was natural and inevitable that the Roman Empire should be further extended. Another civil war in Palestine (66 B.C.) gave Pompey his opportunity. Hyrcanus, influenced by the schemer Antipater, had plotted to

overthrow Aristobulus. When, however, the Pharisees, assisted by the Nabateans, were besieging Aristobulus in the temple, Marcus Scaurus, one of Pompey's lieutenants, appeared on the scene, put an end to the fight, and set Aristobulus on the throne for a time at least. The struggle between the two brothers soon broke out again. This time Aristobulus, having offended the Romans, was besieged by them in Jerusalem. With the help of the Sadducees, and in spite of the Pharisees, he was able to hold out against the besiegers; but in the end Pompey, attacking him on a Sabbath (63 B.C.), broke through and inflicted severe punishment on the Jews.

Judæa was then regarded as a conquered province. We may venture to say with Morrison that the new arrangements that resulted 'were on the whole a blessing to the peoples of the East, who were rescued from chaos and instability, and enabled, after years of anarchy, to enjoy the fruits of peace' (41). Graetz (*Hist.* 267) points out that 'the Judæan prisoners that had been dragged to Rome, were to become the nucleus of a community destined to carry on a new kind of warfare against long-established Roman institutions, ultimately to modify or partly to destroy them.' Certainly the war between the new and old ideas was to go on uninterruptedly until some adjustment could be effected. Under the Herods, when the Jews were again in large measure allowed to govern themselves, the adoption of Hellenic culture was encouraged by the rulers to such an extent that the people revolted against it. The Jews determined to rid themselves of their half-Jewish rulers. At the request of the people themselves they were at length put under the direct government of Rome. 'With the return of Judæa to a Roman administration begins the prelude of the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish people—perhaps the most shocking tragedy known to the history of the world' (Cornill, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, 259). The tragedy was due to the refusal of a large section amongst the people, such as the Pharisees, the Zealots, and the Sicarii, to accept the inevitable—Roman rule and the spread of Græco-Roman ideas.

3. Closer connection with Rome.

After Pompey's conquest Jewish and Roman history are closely bound up together, and the details have been sufficiently dealt with in ISRAEL, §§ 85-115, HEROD, PILATE, GOVERNMENT, JERUSALEM, SELEUCIDÆ, TRADE, and other special articles.

One of the problems of history is to discover the precise attitude adopted by the Romans towards Judaism, on the one hand, and towards Christianity on the other. We know that important concessions were made to the Jews and that on the whole they enjoyed a large measure of religious liberty. Unfortunately, however, we are unable to treat the history of Josephus or the narratives of the NT as in all respects historically accurate. As to Josephus, 'his persistent endeavour to make it apparent that his people were actually friends of the Romans, and in reality took up arms against them unwillingly, is a notable example of his colouring of the situation, and compels the acceptance of his assertions with some caution' (Riggs, *Hist. of Jewish People*, 145; cp De Quincey, *Works*, 7 131 *ff.*). As to the Gospels, it is admitted that their present form is due to editorial redaction. Christianity was no sudden growth. It arose gradually, and only made its way by slow degrees. It represents the result of that interplay of Eastern and Western ideas which began under the DISPERSION (*q.v.*). Judaism, under the influence of Greek thought, had undergone during the dispersion a striking change. Later, the transition from Græco-Judaism to Christian Judaism, and from the ideas of Philo to those accredited to Jesus, was easy and natural. Even the stricter Judaism, itself, in the person of Hillel, helped to promote the new development. The process was accelerated by contact with Rome. But the new movement at first met with no very great success. Christian Judaism appealed neither to the Jew nor to the Gentile. The Jew refused to give up his characteristic rites; the Gentile would not submit to purely oriental institutions. Christian Judaism was obliged to throw off more of its oriental trappings. Hence arose the purely Christian movement. This form of Christianity was probably represented by the primitive gospel. But the evolutionary process was still at work. The struggle of ideas was now going on with renewed vigour. The Roman empire had become a world-empire; everything was tending towards a world-religion. 'Christianity' had long been in the air, or in other words, 'the fulness of time had come.'

4. Rome and the Gospel.

This is admitted on all hands. 'If the Empire was the greatest of hindrances to the gospel, it was also the greatest of helps. . . The single fact that the Empire was universal went far to complete the fulness of time for Christ's coming. Rome put a stop to the wars of nations and the great sales of slaves resulting from them, to the civil strife of cities and their murderous revolutions. Henceforth they were glad to live quietly beneath the shelter of the Roman peace. Intercourse and trade (witness the migratory Jews) were easier and freer than ever since in Europe till quite recently. . . This was her [Rome's] work in history—to be the link between the ancient and the modern—between the heathen city states of the ancient world and the Christian nations of the modern' (H. M. Gwatkin, 'Roman Empire' in Hastings' *BD*). Cp Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. 9, § 6; also Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, 1; J. H. Muirhead in *The Hibb. Journ.* 1 153 [Oct. 1902], a criticism of Kidd's *Principles of W. Civilisation*; J. M. Robertson, *A Short Hist. of Christianity* (1902).

Writing of the state of the world towards the end of the first century, Renan shows (see the references in his notes) that 'expanded ideas of universal brotherhood and a sympathy with humanity at large, derived for the most part from the Stoic philosophy, were the result of the broader system of authority and the less confined education which had now assumed control. Men dreamed of a new era and of new worlds. . . Maxims of common humanity became current, and the Stoics earnestly taught the abstract notions of equality and the rights of men. . . Love for the poor, sympathy for all, and charity, became virtues.' But at the same time, as often happens during a period of transition, 'on the whole, the middle of the first century is one of the worst epochs of ancient history.' Philosophers, however, were doing much to bring about a reformation, and 'there was as much grandeur in the struggle of philosophy in the first century as in that of Christianity' (*The Apostles*, ch. 17). But it was not merely a struggle of two independent forces against a common foe. A struggle of ideas was going on within and between the two reforming agencies, and between both and the popular Roman religion. The conflict resulted in the victory of neither one nor the other, but in a compromise, in the evolution of a religion adapted and adaptable to its surroundings—in other words in a paganised Christianity.

The primitive gospels seem to have been edited and amplified in view of this development. We have in our present gospels, apart from the fact that there are doubtless 'gospels' (Gnostic, Ebionitic, and even Essenic) within the gospels, on the whole not a picture of what really took place at the rise of the Christian movement, but a representation coloured and suggested by the ideas of a later age. Although therefore they may contain much correct information as to Roman administration in Palestine, we can hardly trust them as to the general conduct of the Romans. To take an instance, the Gospels suggest that the Romans were interested in the new movement from the start, but that the ruling Jews were almost persistently hostile to it (espec. Lk. [cp also Acts]; cp Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethl.?* 67 *ff.*). But the movement was not such as to appeal to the Roman mind in the first instance, and the name of its founder 'appears only in profane authors of a hundred years later, and then in

5. Romans in the Gospels.

an indirect manner . . .' (Renan, *Life of Jesus*, ch. 28). Writings, such as the Gospels and the Acts, written in the interest, or to explain the rise, of a religious movement, are especially liable to be influenced by bias or tendency, so that there is every reason to treat them with caution and critically to examine their statements before regarding them as strictly historical. In particular, the accounts of the betrayal, trial, and execution of the hero, whether we consider the part played by the Jews or by the Romans, are very difficult to understand. We might naturally suppose that Jesus would have been treated by the Romans as a political offender. Deliverers kept coming forward, we may be sure, in answer to the Jewish expectations. The Romans would hardly have been likely to discriminate between the new Messiah and other agitators. Each and all would be regarded equally as politically dangerous; the career of each and all would be abruptly terminated as soon as the outskirts of the cities were abandoned and an attempt was made to openly preach 'a new kingdom' in the market-place. We have examples later of the treatment which these prophets received.

For instance, to quote Cornill's graphic description (*Hist.* 260), 'a certain Theudas . . . had summoned the people to the Jordan where at his command the miracle of Joshua was to be repeated. Fadus sent thither a company of cavalry, who simply cut the people down and brought the head of Theudas to Jerusalem.' See THEUDAS.

It is difficult to believe that the Romans behaved as they are reported to have done at an earlier date, even when it is admitted that the circumstances at the time were rather different. It has been handed down again that the Jews themselves, or a section of them, actually anticipated Roman action, that they betrayed the author of the new movement to the Romans and were themselves allowed to play a chief part in carrying out his death-sentence. But this representation of the Jewish attitude, as well as that of the Roman procedure, looks very much like a late attempt to take the blame as far as possible off the shoulders of the Romans and lay it on the Jews. The pagan-Christian movement, and the widening gap between Jews and Christians, would give rise to a tendency to say as little as possible in disparagement of the Romans, and as much as possible to bring odium on the Jews; to adapt the teaching more and more to the mind of the Roman, to make it diverge more and more from the doctrines and practices of the Jews.

Cp GOSPELS. On the representation of Roman administration given in Acts, see ACTS. For other details see the special articles on the Roman places, governors, etc., mentioned in NT. See also CHRISTIAN (NAME OF), GOVERNMENT, ROME (CHURCH OF), ROMANS, PAUL, PILATE, PROCURATOR, PROVINCE, QUIRINIUS. M. A. C.

ROPE. For *ḥĕbel*, *'ăbōth*, and *nikpah*, see CORD, and for *'agmōn*, Job 41 2 [40 26] RV, AV 'hook,' see RUSH, 2, and cp FISH, § 5, n. 1, col. 1529.

ROSE. 1. (חֲבַצֶּלֶת; ανθος, Cant. 2 1; κρινον, Is. 35 1†) is now usually taken, as in RVmg., to be the autumn crocus, *Colchicum autumnale*, L., or some kindred species. The Heb. word, *ḥăbaṣṣéleth*, is closely akin to Syr. *ḥamṣallāythā*, the meaning of which is well assured (Löw, 174).

The rendering 'rose,' found in Ḳimhi and other Jewish writers, seems to rest on mere conjecture; 'lily' stands in 𝔊, Vg., Tg. (but only once in each), whilst 'narcissus' is in Tg. on Cant., and is upheld by Celsius (1 489 *ff.*) and others. Delitzsch (*Prol.* 82 *ff.*) compares Ass. *ḥabaṣillatu*, 'reed,' and argues for the word being a general name (cp 𝔊 and Vg. of Cant. 2 1) for a flower-stalk or a flowering plant. As Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 40 730) and Halévy (*REJ* 14 149) urge, however, the name must be specific (at all events in Cant. 2 1): and the Aramaic word provides a satisfactory parallel, though, of course, this argument is not decisive against an Assyrian connection.[1] Various species of colchicum found in Palestine are enumerated by Tristram (*FFP* 425).

2. The *ῥόδον* is referred to in Wisd. 2 8 (*στεψώμεθα ῥόδων κάλυξιν*), Ecclus. 24 14 [18] 39 13 (17), and 50 8 (בנץ בענפי; see Schechter and Taylor). What is commonly called the 'Rose of Jericho,' the *Anastatica hieruntica*, is certainly not meant by Ben Sira, when he speaks of the 'rose-plants in Jericho.' In all these passages he apparently means the rhododendron (Tristram, *NHB* 477; cp Schick, *PEFQ*, 1900, pp. 63-65). In 3 Macc. 7 17, PTOLEMAIS [*q.v.*] is called *ῥοδοφόρον* [V], or *ῥοδοφόνον* [A]. The roses of Egypt are celebrated by the Roman poet Martial.

Grätz even finds the Hebrew, or more strictly, New Hebrew word for roses in a passage of Canticles (4 13, ורדים for נרדים). This may be right (see col. 693); but cp Budde, *ad loc.* On ורד, 'rose,' in Mishna, and its Syr. and Ar. cognates, see Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, 131 *f.* N. M.

ROSH (רֹאשׁ; ρως [BAQ]), according to most, is the name of a people in Asia Minor, which, like Meshech and Tubal (confidently identified with the Moschi and the Tibareni), belonged to the empire of GOG [*q.v.*] (Ezek. 38 2 *f.* 39 1). It is very strange, however, that all the names of peoples in Ezek. 38 1-6, except Rosh and Paras (*v.* 5), should occur in the Table of Nations in Gen. 10, and, from the conjunction of Tiras with Meshech and Tubal in Gen. 10 2, von Hammer long ago plausibly conjectured the identity of Tiras and Rosh. It is noteworthy that in Judith 2 23 the 'sons of RASSES' (*q.v.*, and cp TIRAS) are mentioned directly after Put and Lud, and it is natural to identify, first, Rasses with Rosh, and then, on the ground of the phenomena of the Lat. MSS.,[1] Rasses with Tiras. This would produce the reading 'prince of Tiras.'[2]

This is decidedly better than explaining נ' ראש, 'chief prince (of Meshech, etc.),' as RVmg. and Smend (after Tg., Aq., Jer.). But the whole of the prophecy of Gog appears to need reconsideration (see PROPHET, § 27). If it is true that the prophet foretells a great N. Arabian invasion, we must suppose that ראש, like תירס and תרשיש, is a corruption of Aššur (אשור), the name of one of the peoples in N. Arabia bordering on the old Judahite territory. Cp TARSHISH, TIRAS.

Winckler would omit נשיא as a gloss on ראש ('chief'); but this is too superficial a correction. נשיא is specially one of Ezek.'s words (cp PRINCE, 2). T. K. C.

ROSH (רֹאשׁ; ρως [ADL]), a Benjamite family name (Gen. 46 21). In the corresponding list in Nu. 26 38 *f.* for Ehi Rosh Muppim we find Ahiram Shephupham, and the three names probably grew out of the two either by a simple transposition of the letters *M* and *Sh* (cp C. J. Ball, *SBOT*), or in some such way as that explained by Gray (*HPN* 35).

The MT in Gen., indeed, requires Rosh to make up its ten 'sons' of Benjamin (*i.e.*, fourteen 'sons' of Rachel; *v.* 22); but 𝔊AL, although naming ten, preserves the original summation nine (*i.e.*, eighteen 'sons' of Rachel). 𝔊B is lacking at this point; but 𝔊D sees the discrepancy and, since it retains Rosh, changes the eighteen to nineteen.

ROSIN. 1. צֳרִי, *ṣŏrī*, Ezek. 27 17 AVmg. See BALM, § 1.

2. *νάφθα*; Song of Three Children, 23 (Dan. 𝔊 3 46) AV, RV NAPHTHA.

RUBY. In EV 'rubies' represent *pĕnīnīm*, פְּנִינִים, six times (Job 28 18 Lam. 4 7 Prov. 3 15 8 11 20 15 31 10); in Lamentations RVmg. has 'corals'; in Job it has 'red coral' and 'pearls.'

1. Biblical references.

[1] [The Ass. comparison is accepted by Che. (*Proph. Is.*(3), on 'Is.' *l.c.*) after discussion; it is pointed out that the same plant-name often has a different reference in different countries. See also Ges.(13) *s.v.*, who recognises the connection.]

[1] Vet. Lat. reads *Thiras et Rasis*, with which Pesh. must originally have agreed: *Thiras* and *Rasis* represent different readings of the same word.

[2] נְשִׂיא תִירָס, instead of נ' רֹאשׁ; תי, as Herz has remarked, might easily fall out after שיא. Toy (Ezek. *SBOT*) has also combined the names Rosh and Tiras. The above was written, however, before the appearance of his work.

The renderings of 𝔊 vary and (sometimes at least) manifestly represent another text (in Job, καὶ ἕλκυσον σοφίαν ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐσώτατα [BℵC, ἐσώτα, A]; Lam., ὑπὲρ λίθους; Prov. 3 15 8 11 31 10, λίθων πολυτελῶν; Prov. 20 15, wanting?); Vg. has a different rendering in each case (Job, *trahitur autem sapientia de occultis*; Lam., *ebore antiquo*; Prov. 3 15, *cunctis opibus*; 8 11, *cunctis pretiosissimis*; 20 15, *multitudo gemmarum*; 31 10, *de ultimis finibus*).

2. In Is. 54 12 (κρύσταλλος), Ezek. 27 16 (χορχορ [BQ], κορχορυς [A]) RV has 'rubies,' but AV 'agate' and AVmg. [Ezek.] 'chrysoprase,' for כַּדְכֹּד, *kadkōd*. See AGATE, CHRYSOPRASE.

3. In Ex. 28 17 Ezek. 28 13 RVmg. has 'ruby' for אֹדֶם, *'ōdem*.

The question whether rubies are referred to in the OT may at first sight appear rather complicated. It is not so, however, in reality. The claims of 'rubies' as a rendering of *pĕnīnīm* have long since passed into abeyance; the revisers of AV, it is clear, only acquiesce in certain cases in AV's rendering 'rubies' from a feeling of uncertainty as to the absolute correctness of the marginal renderings which they propose. On the correctness of their renderings we may refer to CORAL, PEARL, and with regard to Lam. 4 7 (where the strange statement, 'they were more ruddy in body than rubies,' is ventured upon in EV) to LAMENTATIONS [BOOK], § 5, SAPPHIRE. If the precious stone called *'ōdem* is really from √אדם, 'to be red,' and not rather from the name of Edom,[1] it is most plausible to identify it with the carnelian (see SARDIUS). We have, therefore, only the passages Is. 54 12 Ezek. 27 16 to deal with. Here the greatest weight is due to Prof. Ridgeway's remark (CARBUNCLE, col. 702), that there is no proof that the ruby, which is found only in Ceylon and in Burmah,[2] was known to the Hebrews any more than it was to the Greeks till after the time of Theophrastus. If the *nōphek* is the *mafkat*-stone of the Egyptians (see CARBUNCLE, end), the *kadkōd* might conceivably be the garnet; on the possible root-meaning (to emit fire, as a fire-stick), see Ges.-Bu. and BDB. We must not, however, ignore the possibility (see CHALCEDONY, 1, end) that the true reading of the word is, not כדכד, but כרכר (r for d). Both for the stone called *'ōdem* and for that called (as we now assume) כרכר, the name of a country may be surmised as the origin—viz., in the case of *'ōdem*, Edom, and in that of כרכר, Jerahmeel (such corruptions of this name turn out to be common);[3] the stones so designated may in fact have reached the Hebrews from N. Arabia, and so have been called respectively the Edomite and the Jerahmeelite stone. Cp SARDIUS, TOPAZ.

2. Identification.

The true or Oriental ruby is a red variety of corundum or native alumina of great rarity and value, and to be distinguished from the spinel (an aluminate of magnesium), which is of much less estimation as a gem stone. The phraseology of ancient writers was even more confused than that now current, for they appear to have classed together under a common name, such as the *carbunculus* of Pliny or the ἄνθραξ of Greek writers, not only (perhaps) our two kinds of ruby, but also garnets and other inferior stones of a fiery colour. See further STONES [PRECIOUS].

T. K. C.

RUDIMENTS (ϹΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ), Col. 2 8 20 EV, RVmg. ELEMENTS (*q.v.*).

RUE (ΠΗΓΑΝΟΝ [Ti. WH]) is once mentioned (Lk. 11 42†) as a small garden herb; in the parallel passage Mt. 23 23 anise and cummin are mentioned instead.

According to Tristram (*NHB* 478) *Ruta graveolens* is at this day cultivated in Palestine, whilst *Ruta bracteosa* is a common wild plant. Cp Löw, no. 317.

RUFUS (ΡΟΥΦΟϹ [Ti. WH]) occurs several times in Old-Christian literature.

1. Mk. 15 21, as the son of SIMON OF CYRENE and the brother of ALEXANDER (*qq.v.*). In the Apocryphal Acts of Peter and Andrew, and of others, Alexander and Rufus are mentioned as disciples of Andrew, who were his companions in the country of the barbarians; cp R. A. Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* 1 533 *f.* 617 621; 3 77 79 83, E. 94 96.

2. Rom. 16 13, as a Roman Christian, well known to Paul and to the Christians in Rome as being 'the elect (or the chosen) in the Lord.' We do not know the force of this expression. Weizsäcker thinks that it hints at some special circumstances connected with his conversion. B. Weiss, Sanday-Headlam interpret: 'eminent as a Christian.' In any case it will be an *epitheton ornans* to celebrate the friend of Paul, the supposed author, who goes on to salute 'his mother *and* mine,' as if the Roman wife had once kindly treated him, who had not yet been in Rome. The list of greetings in Rom. 16 is not historical; the names and the additions are fanciful; cp ROMANS (EPISTLE). According to Epiphanius this Rufus was reckoned among the seventy 'others' (apostles), Lk. 10 1. A Spanish local tradition makes him the first bishop of Tortosa, consecrated by Paul. Another tells us that he was consecrated bishop of the Egyptian Thebes by Peter. His birthday is said to have been the 8th or the 19th April; cp Lipsius, 2 222 227, E 2 42.

3. Polycarp, *Phil.* 9 1; cp Eus. *HE* iii. 36 13, as a companion of the martyrs Ignatius and Zosimus, commemorated every year on 18th Dec. at Philippi, according to *Martyrol. Rom.*

It is difficult to say whether these three, or any two of them, originally indicate the same person.

W. C. V. M.

RUG (שְׂמִיכָה), Judg. 4 18 RV†; see col. 509, n. 4.

RUHAMAH. See LO-RUHAMAH.

RULE (קָו), Is. 44 13 AV, RV LINE (*q.v.* 2). Cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2.

RULER. On the wide use of general terms of this nature, cp what has been said under the headings CAPTAIN, GOVERNOR, OFFICER.

The different Hebrew and Greek terms thus rendered are as follows:—

1. *sāgān*, see DEPUTY, 1.
2. *śar*, see PRINCE, 3, and cp ARMY, § 4, GOVERNMENT, § 21, KING.
3. *nāgīd*, see PRINCE, 1.
4. *māgēn*, Hos. 4 18, lit. SHIELD [*q.v.*]—the text is not certain.
5. *mōšēl* (a 'ruler' in the general sense, Gen. 45 8 Prov. 6 7 Mi. 5 2 [1]), see GOVERNOR, 11.
6. *šallīt*, see GOVERNOR, 9.
7. ἀρχισυνάγωγος, Mk. 5 22, see SYNAGOGUE, § 9.
8. ἀρχιτρίκλινος, Jn. 2 8 *f.*, see MEAL, § 11.
9. πολιτάρχης, Acts 17 6 8 (ruler of the city), see THESSALONICA.
10. ἔπαρχος, 2 Macc. 4 27 AV (RV 'governor'), see SOSTRATUS, and
11. ἄρχων, the most widely-used of all terms both in LXX and NT, applied, *e.g.*, to rulers of nations (Mt. 20 25), magistrates and judges (Lk. 12 58 Rom. 13 3), officers and members of the Sanhedrin (Mt. 9 18 23 Lk. 8 41 23 13 35 Jn. 3 1); to Jesus the 'ruler' of the kings of the earth (Rev. 1 5), and to Satan the 'prince' (so EV) of devils (Mt. 9 34).

RUMAH (רוּמָה), the birthplace of Zebidah or Zebudah, Jehoiakim's mother (2 K. 23 36 [ΕΚ] ΚΡΟΥΜΑ [B], [ΕΚ] Ρ. [A], [ΕΚ]ΛΟΒΕΝΝΑ [L]; Jos. *Ant.* x. 5 2, ΕΞ ΑΒΟΥΜΑϹ *i.e.*, ΑΡΟΥΜΑϹ), has been thought (see *HWB*(2)) to be the ΡΟΥΜΑ of Eusebius (*OS*(2) 288 10, ΡΟΥΜΑ Η ΚΑΙ ΑΡΙΑ,[1] in his time called ΡΕΜΦΙϹ), with which he identifies Arimathæa, unless ∥ 2 Ch. 36 5 (𝔊BA not MT) be correct in giving Ramah for Rumah (so Pesh. in 2 K.). It is the modern *Rantieh* in the plain N. of Diospolis (Lydda). There were, however, several places called Rumah. Another is referred to in the Talmud as Ruma and once as Aruma (Neub. *Géog. du Talm.* 203); this seems to be the Galilean

[1] See TARSHISH [STONE], § 3.
[2] Cp 'The Ruby Mines in Upper Burmah,' *Cornhill Magazine*, Dec. 1901.
[3] Cp, for instance, 'Calcol,' 1 K. 4 31 [5 11].

[1] See above, col. 297, n. 2.

Ruma of Josephus (*BJ* iii. 7 21), which may be the mod. Rūmeh, on the S. edge of the plain of Baṭṭauf, about 6 m. N. of Nazareth.

Arumah [*q.v.*] in Judg. 9 41 is at first sight excluded by its northern situation. Probably, however, the original story spoke of Abimelech as king of Cusham in the Negeb (see Shechem). If so, it is plausible to identify Arumah with the Rumah of 2 K., because of the matrimonial connections between the kings of Judah and the Negeb. Like 'Ramah' (which, indeed, Pesh. reads in 2 K. and 𝔊BA in the supplement to 2 Ch. 36 5), 'Rumah' and 'Arumah' probably come from 'Jerahmeel'; the place so designated was of Jerahmeelite origin. T. K. C.

RUNNERS (רָצִים). See Chariot, § 10; Army, § 4 (col. 314).

RUSH, RUSHES. 1. גֹּמֶא, *gōmé* (Ex. 2 3 [Syro-hex., Ald., 15 παπυροc; so Aq.[1] Sym., 𝔊 om.], Job 8 11 [παπυροc], Is. 18 2 [επιcτολαc βυβλιναc], 35 7[2] [ελοc]†) is almost certainly the papyrus (cp 𝔊 Ex. [?], Job), the Hebrew name being derived from Coptic *kam*. This plant (*Cyperus Papyrus*, L.), which was a characteristic growth along the Nile banks in ancient Egypt,[3] and still occurs in several localities in Palestine, rises to a height of about six feet, with a triangular tapering stem; see Papyri, § 1. Its stem supplied material for the making of boats, sails, mats, cloth, cords, and, above all, writing material. In particular, its use for the construction of light Nile boats is mentioned by Theophrastus, Pliny, and other ancient writers (cp Egypt, § 8, end), and explains the references in Ex. 2 3 Is. 18 2, and probably also Job 9 26 (see RVmg., but cp Reeds, Ospray).

2. אַגְמוֹן, *'agmōn* (Is. 9 14 [13] 19 15[4] 58 5 (κρίκος), Job 41 2 [40 26, κρ.] 41 20[5] [12]†) is a word for 'marsh reed,' derived from *'ăgam*, אֲגַם, a 'marsh' or 'pool' (Barth, *NB* 341), and very probably to be identified with *Arundo Donax*, L. (cp Tristram, *NHB* 436 *f.*). In Is. 9 14 [13] 19 15 the *'agmōn* or 'reed' is contrasted with the *kappāh* (כִּפָּה) or 'palm-branch,' the latter indicating those in high position and the former the humbler classes in the state—so 𝔊 (below, n. 4). In Is. 58 5 among the spurious tokens of pretended piety is mentioned that of bowing the head as the head of the reed is bent by the flow of the stream in which it grows; cp 1 K. 14 15 Mt. 11 7.

In Job 41 2 [40 26] the name is transferred to the rope or cord (see RV) of reed used to noose the crocodile; and in Job 41 20 [12] the hot vaporous breath of this animal is compared to the steam of 'a seething pot' and (see RV) the smoke of '(burning) rushes.' [In both passages the text is doubtful. On Job 41 2 see Fish, § 5, and *n.* 1, where נֶזֶם, 'ring' is proposed as an emendation, and on Job 41 20 see Budde, who (with Bi., Du., Beer) reads וְאֹגֵם, 'and boiling.'] N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

RUST. 1. חֶלְאָה, *ḥel'āh*; 10c. in Ezek. 24 6 11 *f.* of 'the bloody city, that caldron full of rust [AV 'scum'] wherefrom the rust is not yet gone.

2. *βρῶσις*, in Mt. 6 19 *f.* of 'moth and rust' (*σὴς καὶ βρῶσις*) which consume 'treasure.'

3. *ἰός*, in Jas. 5 3, spoken of rusting gold and silver.

RUTH (רוּת, ΡΟΥΘ, ܪܘܬ), a Moabitish woman, the heroine of the Book of Ruth. Through her marriage with Mahlon, and subsequent marriage-at-law with Boaz (in the name of Mahlon), she became an ancestor of David, who, according to our present text, was a native of Bethlehem in Judah. Ruth's noble unselfishness was thus rewarded (cp Ruth 2 12). Her sister,

[1] Aq. gives *παπυρεών* for סוּף, Ex. 2 5; Vg. *papyrion*.

[2] AV has 'bulrushes' in Ex. 2 3 (RVmg. 'papyrus'), Is. 18 2 (RV 'papyrus'), 'rush' in Job 8 11 (RVmg. 'papyrus'), and 'rushes' in Is. 35 7.

[3] It is said to be now extinct in Egypt—thus Boissier (*Fl. Or.* 5 375) 'olim in Egypto, ubi destructus nunc esse videtur.' Tristram: 'no longer found in Africa, excepting in marshes of the White Nile in Nubia, 7° N. latitude' (*NHB* 433).

[4] In both cases 𝔊 paraphrases, *μέγαν καὶ μικρὸν* and *ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος*.

[5] 𝔊 *ἀνθράκων* (גֶּחָלִים).

whose impulse to follow Naomi to her home in Judah was less effectual than Ruth's, was named Orpah, a name which suggests the meaning 'obstinacy.' Hence, following Pesh., it is usual (cp Geiger, *Urschr.* 50) to explain Ruth as a contraction of Rĕ'ūth, *i.e.*, 'the companion,' 'one who lovingly attaches herself.' See, however, for other explanations, Ruth [Book], § 5. The account of her levirate-marriage with Boaz is given with archæological fulness as an obsolete custom. Cp Shoes (*e*).

[By old Hebrew law, as by the old law of Arabia, a wife who had been brought into her husband's house by contract and payment of a price to her father was not set free by the death of her husband to marry again at will. The right to her hand lay with the nearest heir of the dead. Originally we must suppose, among the Hebrews as among the Arabs, this law was all to the disadvantage of the widow, whose hand was simply part of the dead man's estate; but, while this remained so in Arabia to the time of Mohammed, among the Hebrews the law early took quite an opposite turn; the widow of a man who died childless was held to have a right to have a son begotten on her by the next kinsman, and this son was regarded as the son of the dead and succeeded to his inheritance so that his name might not be cut off from Israel. The duty of raising up a son to the dead lay upon his brother, and in Dt. 25 5 is restricted to the case when brothers live together. In old times, as appears from Gen. 38, this was not so, and the law as put in the book of Ruth appears to be that the nearest kinsman of the dead in general had a right to 'redeem for himself' the dead man's estate, but at the same time was bound to marry the widow. The son of this marriage was reckoned as the dead man's son and succeeded to his property, so that the 'redeemer' had only a temporary usufruct in it. Naomi was too old to be married in this way, but she had certain rights over her husband's estate which the next kinsman had to buy up before he could enter on the property. And this he was willing to do, but he was not willing also to marry Ruth, and beget on her a son who would take the name and estate of the dead and leave him out of pocket. He therefore withdraws and Boaz comes in his place. That this is the sense of the transaction is clear; there is, however, a little obscurity in 4 5, where (see Vg., Pesh.) one letter has fallen out and we must (with Cappellus, Geiger, Bertheau, etc.) read וגם אחדות, and translate 'What day thou buyest the field from Naomi thou must also buy Ruth,' etc. Cp *vv.* 9 *f.*—W. R. S.]

The notice in Ruth 4 7 has caused some difficulty. Kalisch (*Bible Studies*, 1 [1877] 61) actually suggests that לפנים (EV 'in former time') may perhaps mean 'from olden times.' Driver (*Intr.*(6) 455), who apparently finds 4 7 and 4 18-22 the only passages which may indicate a late date, thinks that, while 4 18-22 'forms no integral part of the book,' 4 7 'has every appearance of being an explanatory gloss,' and compares the admitted gloss in 1 S. 9 9, which begins with לפנים בישראל. This is a perfectly legitimate view, though it entails an alteration of the text in *v.* 8. But we may ask this question: Supposing that the custom referred to in 4 7 had become antiquated, was not such an explanatory notice called for? T. K. C.

RUTH, BOOK OF. The story of Ruth (*q.v.*) forms one of the OT Hagiographa, usually reckoned as the second of the five Megilloth or Festal Rolls. This position corresponds to the Jewish practice of reading the book at the Feast of Pentecost; Spanish MSS, however, place Ruth at the head of the Megilloth (see Canticles); and the Talmud, in a well-known passage of *Bābā Bathrā* (14*b*), gives it the first place among all the Hagiographa. On the other hand, 𝔊 and the Vulgate make Ruth follow Judges. It has sometimes been held (*e.g.*, by Ewald, *Hist.* 1 156; Bertheau, *Richter u. Ruth*,(2) 292) that this was its original place in the Hebrew Bible also, or rather that Ruth was originally reckoned as an appendix to Judges, since it is only by doing this, and also by reckoning Lamentations to Jeremiah, that all the books of the Hebrew canon can be reduced to twenty-two, the number assigned by Josephus and other ancient authorities. It has been shown elsewhere (Canon, §§ 11-14), however, that the argument for the superior antiquity of this way of reckoning breaks down on closer examination, and, whilst it was very natural that a later rearrangement should transfer Ruth from the Hagiographa to the

1. Original position.

historical books, and place it between Judges and Samuel, no motive can be suggested for the opposite change. That the book of Ruth did not originally form part of the series of 'Former Prophets' (Judges-Kings) is further probable from the fact that it is quite untouched by the process of 'prophetic' or Deuteronomistic editing, which gave that series its present shape at a time soon after the fall of the kingdom of Judah; the narrative has no affinity with the point of view which looks on the whole history of Israel as a series of examples of divine justice and mercy in the successive rebellions and repentances of the people of God. But if the book had been known at the time when the history from Judges to Kings was edited, it could hardly have been excluded from the collection; the ancestry of David was of greater interest than that of Saul, which is given in 1 S. 9 1, whereas the old history names no ancestor of David beyond his father Jesse.

As to the date. A very early period is clearly impossible. The book does not offer itself as a document written soon after the period to which it refers; it presents itself as dealing with times far back, and takes obvious delight in depicting details of antique life and obsolete usages (on Ruth 4 1-12, see RUTH); it views the rude and stormy period before the institution of the kingship through the softening atmosphere of time, which imparts to the scene a gentle sweetness very different from the harsher colours of the old narratives of the book of Judges. [We cannot therefore very well say with Dr. C. H. H. Wright (*Introd.* 126) that the book 'must have been written after the time of David, and long prior to the Exile.'] Indeed, the interest taken in the pedigree of David points to a time when 'David' had become a symbol for the long-past ideal age. In the language, too, as we shall see presently (see § 3), there is a good deal that makes for and nothing that makes against a date subsequent to the captivity, and the very designation of a period of Hebrew history as 'the days when the judges judged' (Ruth 1 1) is based on the Deuteronomistic additions to the book of Judges (2 16 *f.*), and does not occur till the period of the Exile.

2. Date.

An inferior limit for the date of the book cannot be assigned with precision. Kuenen formerly argued (*Ond.*[1] 1 [1861] 212 214) that, as the author seems to take no offence at the marriage of Israelites with Moabite women, he must have lived before the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 9 Neh. 13); but the same argument would prove that the Book of Esther was written before Ezra, and indeed, as Wellhausen (Bleek's *Einl.*[4], 205) points out, the singular Talmudic statements respecting the descent of eminent Jewish teachers from supposed heathen proselytes of antiquity (Sisera, Sennacherib, Nebuchadrezzar, Haman—see RAHAB) appear to imply a theory very similar to that of the Book of Ruth, which nevertheless had no polemical bearing on the practical exclusiveness of the prevalent custom. We cannot therefore assert that the Book of Ruth was not written later than about 444 B.C.

At the same time it must be admitted that the story of Ruth was written before the living impulses of Jewish literature had been choked by the growing influence of legalism. As Ewald remarks, 'we have here a narrator of a perfectly individual character,' who, 'without anxiously concealing by his language all traces of the later age in which he wrote, had obviously read himself into the spirit of the ancient works both of history and of poetry, and thus produces a very striking imitation of the older work on the kings' (*Hist.* 1 154 *f.*). The manner, however, in which he tells the story is equally remote from the legal pragmatism of Chronicles and from the prophetic pragmatism of the editor of the older histories. His work has therefore some advantage over the histories just mentioned, an advantage, it is true, of which the Targum (see 1 5 *f.*) endeavours to deprive it. By the tone of simple piety and graciousness which pervades it, and by its freedom from the pedantry of legal orthodoxy, the book reminds us of the prologue to the colloquies of Job and the older poetical wisdom. Legalism, then, was still far from having triumphed in the field of literature when the story of Ruth was written; even a superficial student cannot close his eyes to this important fact.

The necessity of a somewhat late date will appear also from the following stylistic and linguistic considerations.

3. Linguistic data.

That the style of the narrative lacks the freshness and popularity which distinguish the best sections of the Books of Samuel must be apparent, and upon examining closely the linguistic details, we shall probably become convinced that a pre-exilic origin is impossible. The learned Benedictine Calmet (*Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1722, art. 'Ruth'), indeed, following *Bābā bathrā*, 14*b*, ascribes the composition to the author of the Books of Samuel, a view which he supports by referring to the phrases, 'Yahwè do so to me and more also,' Ruth 1 17 (cp 1 S. 3 17, and ten other passages in Sam. and Kings), 'to uncover the ear,' Ruth 4 4 (cp 1 S. 9 15, and six other passages in Sam.). For other points of contact between Ruth and Sam. and Kings, see 4 15 and 1 S. 1 8 (טוב מן); 1 19 and 1 S. 4 5 1 K. 1 45 (וַתֵּהֹם); 4 1 and 1 S. 21 3 2 K. 6 8 (פלני אלמני); 2 3 and 1 S. 6 9 20 26 (מקרה, 'accident'), and the second fem. sing. imperf. in ין־, 2 8 21 3 4 18 1 S. 1 14 (also Is. 45 10 Jer. 31 22). These coincidences, however, are outweighed, not only by the difference of style (in the more general sense) between Ruth and Sam., but also by certain forms and expressions found in Ruth but not found in Sam., some of which at least point distinctly to a post-exilic age.

The following forms and idioms (to which add the second fem. sing. imperf. in ין־; see above) are post-classical and mostly post-exilic or exilic in use—the second fem. sing. perf. in תי־, 3 3 *f.* (also in Jer. [often], Ezek. 16 Mic. 4 13 [hardly Micah's]);

מָרָא for מָרָה, Mara, 1 20 (cp parallels in Ezek. 27 31 36 5 etc.);

עָגַן, 'to shut up,' 1 13 (Mishnic, Jewish Aram., Syriac, but cp Driver);

קִיֵּם, 'to confirm,' 4 7 (also Ezek. 13 6 Esth. 9 21 27 29 31 *f.* Ps. 119 28 106, and in [Aram.] Dan. 6 8);

שִׂבֵּר, 'to hope,' 1 13 (Esth. 9 1 Ps. 119 166);

נָשָׂא אִשָּׁה, 'to take a wife,' 1 4 (Ezra 9 2 12 Neh. 13 25 1 Ch. 23 22 etc., but *not* Judg. 21 23 [Budde]);

לָהֵן, 'therefore,' 1 13 (as in Aram. Dan. 2 6 etc.); cp Driver.

It is also well worth noticing that the divine name or title שדי (exilic and post-exilic in use) occurs in Ruth 1 20 *f.*[1] (without אֵל), as often in Job—Ewald rightly compares Job 27 2, and (against the view that Ruth is written in a pre-exilic N. Israelitish dialect) that the relative is always אשר, never שׁ (cp König, *Einl.* 286).

According to König (*Einl.* 287), the book in its present form belongs, on linguistic grounds, to the period of Jer., Ezek., and the Second Isaiah, whilst marks of the later Hebrew are wanting. Whatever may seem to point to an earlier period (*e.g.*, the use of the older form אנכי seven times, and of אני only twice) this eminent linguistic critic regards as conscious archaizing. It should be remarked, however, that portions of Jeremiah can be shown to be of very late date, and that the unity of the date of authorship for Is. 40-66 is doubted by an increasing number of scholars. König's dating, then, is necessarily subject to revision, and so, still more, is that of Driver (*Introd.*[6] 455), who embarrasses himself with the theory that Canticles and Ruth (although included in the Hagiographa) may have been written in the N. kingdom, and preserve words current there dialectically. The book, in its present

1 The passage, as Ewald (*Hist.* 1 154) points out, is highly poetical.

form, must surely on linguistic grounds be regarded as a post-exilic work, and we shall see later that, even if it is to some extent based on an earlier folk-story, the skill of the artist has enabled him so to expand, to enrich, and to fuse his material that it is virtually all his own work, and that a later editor has only touched the proper names and appended the genealogy.

Wellhausen is of opinion that the most important sign of date is the genealogy of David (Ruth 4 18-22, cp 1 Ch. 2 10-17). The names of the ancestors of David were known as far as Boaz.

4. Genealogy.

Then memory failed, and a leap was made in 1 Ch. 2 11 Ruth 4 21 to Salma (in Ruth, Salmon), who, in 1 Ch. 2 51, is called 'the father of Bethlehem.' But Salma belongs to the same group as Caleb, Abi, and Hur, and, 'if anything is certain, it is this—that in the olden times the Calibbites dwelt in the S. and not in the N. of Judah, and that David in particular by his birth belonged, not to them, but to the older part of Israel, which gravitated in the opposite direction to Israel proper, and stood in the closest connection with Benjamin.' Wellhausen adds that 'of the other members of the genealogy Nahshon and Amminadab are princes of Judah in P, whilst Ram is the firstborn of Hezron (1 Ch. 2 25), and by the meaning of his name ('the high one') is, like Abram, qualified to be the starting-point of the princely line.' On the other hand, Sam. only knows of David's father Jesse.[1]

[The argument that Salma is a tribe foreign to old Judah, which was not 'father' of Bethlehem till after the Exile, has been very generally admitted, and seemed to Robertson Smith in 1886 to decide the post-exilic origin of the genealogy. The present writer, however, cannot see his way to follow his predecessor in this particular; the genealogy is no doubt post-exilic, but is not proved to be so by Wellhausen's criticism of the proper names, all of which appear really to refer to Jerahmeelite—*i.e.*, N. Arabian—clans and localities.[2] But he heartily agrees with W. R. Smith that 'the genealogy in 1 Ch. 2 10 *ff.* is quite in the manner of other genealogies in the same book.']

That the genealogy was borrowed from Chronicles and added to Ruth by a later hand seems certain, for the author of Ruth clearly recognises that 'Obed was legally the son of Mahlon, not of Boaz' (4 5 10). [Driver, too, remarks (*Introd.*(6) 455) that the genealogy 'may well have been added long after the book itself was written,' and, like König (287), leaves out of the linguistic data for the solution of the problem of age, *tôlĕdôth* and *hôlîd*, which are characteristic of P in the Pentateuch (cp GENEALOGIES i., § 1). Bertheau, Kuenen, and Budde adhere to the view that the closing section is an integral portion of the book. But surely], if the author had given a genealogy, he would have traced it through Mahlon. The existence, however, of the genealogy suggests the possibility that two views of the descent of David were current, one of which traced him to Perez by Mahlon, and the other to the same Perez by Boaz.

[We have arrived at this point without having been obliged to interfere with the traditional text. It is, however, necessary to take that step if we would obtain a more complete comprehension of the narrative and of its historical origin.

5. Proper names.

That Ruth, as it now stands, is a post-exilic work is certain; we must therefore examine the text in connection with that of other not less certainly post-exilic works, in the study of which we have already reached results which, though in points of detail subject to revision, yet on the whole seem to throw considerable light on ancient editorial processes. We shall thus find reason to suspect that the personal and geographical names in the Book of Ruth (1 1-4 17) were not altogether originally as they now stand.

Bethlehem-judah, as in the strange stories appended to Judges, is a corruption or distortion of Beth-jerahmeel, the name of some place in the region called Ephrath in the south, possibly, but by no means probably, the same as the place known as Carmel.

[1] Bleek's *Einl.*(4) 204 *f.*, *Prol.*(1) 227 [ET 217 *f.*]; cp *De Gent.* 16 *f.* The passage in *Einl.*(4) is *mostly* reprinted in *CH* 357-359, (3) 233-235.

[2] We reckon the Negeb as the N. Arabian borderland.

RUTH, BOOK OF

'Ephrath' itself (like the 'Perath' of Jer. 13 4-7) is possibly a mutilated form of ZAREPHATH [*q.v.*], and 'Moab' may be a substitute for 'Miṣṣur' (cp MOAB, § 14), a region to the S. of the country called Ṣarephathite or Ephrathite. Elimelech, Mahlon, and Chilion—the two latter of which have been so fatally misunderstood, as if they were symbolical names—are no doubt clan-names (or different forms of the same clan-name) derived from the great ethnic name, Jeraḥmeel. 'Orpah' has probably arisen by 'metathesis' from 'Ophrah'—*i.e.*, 'Ephrath.' Ruth (Re'uth, cp Pesh.) is probably the fem. of Re'u (Gen. 11 18 *ff.*), which is surely equivalent to Re'uel; now Re'uel appears in Gen. 36 4 as a son of Esau, and his name is most probably a distortion of Jeraḥmeel, a name which in its various broken forms attached itself to different N. Arabian clans. Naomi (No'omi) is doubtless connected with the clan-names Na'ami, Na'amani.[1] 'Boaz' (בעז) is less transparent; hence Stucken and Winckler do not hesitate to identify the original Boaz with a mythological figure. But the place of the bearer of this name in the genealogy, as well as in the story of Ruth, shows that he too must have a clan-name,[2] and remembering the 'Ezbi' (אזבי) of 1 Ch. 11 37, which corresponds to ארבי (MT) or rather ארבי (cp 𝔊BA) in 2 S. 23 35—*i.e.*, to ירחמאלי, 'Jeraḥme'eli,' we may restore as the original name ערב, 'Arāb. עבד, 'Obed,' too, is probably by metathesis from עֲרָב, Arabia.[3]

The statement of the narrator then, if the present writer's conjectures are sound, amounts to this—that a member of a Jerahmeelite clan who belonged to Beth-jeraḥmeel (in the Negeb) removed with his family, under the pressure of famine, into the land of Miṣṣur, and sojourned there for about ten years. This agrees with the original form of the story in Gen. 12 10 *ff.*, according to which Abram (='father of Jeraḥmeel') removed from the same cause from the Jerahmeelite country to Miṣṣur or Miṣrim (see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*).

Another parallel story is that of the Shunammite woman who was warned by Elisha of the approach of a famine and went to the land of the 'Philistines' (2 K. 8 1-3); the original story, the present writer thinks (cp SHUNEM), represented her as a dweller in the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb (still in Israelitish occupation), and as going farther S. to the land of Ṣarephath (in a wide sense of the phrase).

Nor was it only famine that drove dwellers in the Negeb to the neighbouring land of Miṣṣur. The original text of 1 S. 22 3 *f.* seems to have represented David as placing his father and mother under the protection of the king of Miṣṣur at Ṣarephath (see MIZPEH, 3), while he was himself a wanderer in the land of Jeraḥmeel, and there is, in the present writer's opinion, hardly room for doubt that David lived in, or close to, the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb (see NEGEB, § 3, and note 3), and had strong Jeraḥmeelite (and Miṣrite) affinities. The latter passage is specially important, because the ostensible object of the writer of Ruth is to prove the descent of David from a noble-minded Miṣrite woman.[4] It was natural to represent that David's ancestor had already set the example of taking refuge in Miṣṣur.

We are not expressly told that 'Ṣarephath'—*i.e.*, that portion of Miṣṣur which lay nearest to and included the city of Ṣarephath—was the locality to which Elimelech and his family repaired. But the connection of Ṣarephath with Moses, with the Levites, and apparently with the prophets, conjectured by the present writer (see MOSES, § 4; PROPHECY, § 6), makes it seem to him not improbable that the narrator had this place or district in his mind, and in 4 12 the kindly wish is expressed that the house of Boaz might be like the house of 'Pereṣ' (from 'Ṣarephath'?) whom Tamar (=Jeraḥmeelith?) bore to Judah.

[1] Many Benjamite clan-names appear to the present writer to be demonstrably of N. Arabian origin.

[2] Stucken's connection of the name with astral mythology (*Astralmythen*, 205, note) will hardly stand examination.

[3] ישׁי (Jesse), too, very possibly comes ultimately from ישמעאלי (Ishmaelite), a term which did not originally belong exclusively to nomads. The names of the ancestors of David in the genealogy are, as suggested above (§ 4), exclusively N. Arabian clan-names.

[4] Budde (*ZATW* 12 [1892] 44) thinks that the notice in 1 S. 22 3 does *not* imply a race-connection between David and the Moabite (*i.e.*, Miṣrite) king or chieftain. David, he thinks, had to negotiate with the king, whereas if his grandmother had been a Moabite, this would have been unnecessary. But this is to press the words too strongly; and indeed (assuming the tradition to be historical) tact may have required that David should represent the desired protection as a favour.

The view here taken renders it probable that the story of Ruth as it now stands is not of very early post-exilic origin. For the feeling of bitterness towards the Miṣrites and their neighbours, on account of their long-continued oppression of Israel, apparently persisted till close on the Greek period. The date of the traditional elements, out of which, with imaginative freedom, the present story of Ruth may have been partly composed, is quite another point. As in the case of Job (see JOB [BOOK], § 4) and Jonah (see JONAH [BOOK], § 4 *f.*) some of these elements may have been derived from mythology or folk-lore (cp Wi. *AOF* 366 *f.*). As Stucken points out,[1] 'Ruth corresponds exactly to Tamar; she obtains Boaz by taking him unawares (Ruth 3), as Tamar obtains Judah (Gen. 38). A dim consciousness of this connection shows itself in the fact that the pedigree of Boaz is traced to Perez.' The original story of Ruth probably gave her two sons (corresponding to the two sons of Tamar), only one of whom is recorded (simply out of interest in David) by the narrator.

6. Origin.

The 'altogether peculiar' character of Ruth among the historical and quasi-historical narratives has been pointed out by Ewald, who is 'led to conclude that this story is only one taken from a larger series of similar pieces by the same author, and that through mere chance this is the only one preserved' (*Hist.* 1 155). More definitely, Budde suggests (*ZATW* 12 43 *ff.* [1892]) that the story of Ruth may originally have formed part of the 'Midrash of the Book of the Kings' referred to in 2 Ch. 24 27. In so far as this theory is based on the language of the genealogy in 4 18-22 (in connection with Wellhausen's view that 1 Ch. 2 10-17 is a later insertion), we must agree with König (*Einl.* 289, note) that it is unproven. At the same time, Ewald's impression that the narrative of Ruth did not always stand alone seems natural.

7. Objects of Ruth.

That one of the objects of Ruth was to explain the traditional descent of David from a Miṣrite woman, has been mentioned already. It was true, said the writer, that his grandmother was a Miṣrite; but what a noble woman she was! how obedient to those fundamental laws of morality which the true God values more than sacrifice! And so a second object naturally unveils itself—viz., to prepare the readers of the book to arrive at a more favourable opinion of the moral capacity of the Miṣrites than, owing to the cruel oppression of Israel by the Miṣrites, previous generations had been able to form.

Many critics (*e.g.*, besides Winckler and most commentators, Umbreit, *St. Kr.*, 1834, pp. 308 *ff.*; Geiger, *Urschr.* 49 *ff.*; and especially Kue. *Rel. of Isr.* 2 242 *f.*, and *Ond.*(2) 1 523 527) hold that the narrator was one of those who protested against the rigour of Ezra in the matter of mixed marriages. It is not clear, however, that any such protest would have been detected by a Jewish reader of the book. The great point with the narrator is not the marriage of Mahlon but the next-of-kin marriage of Boaz. It cannot be shown that, when married to Mahlon, Ruth became in the full sense a worshipper of Yahwè. It is much more probable that the statement of Mahlon's marriage to a Miṣrite woman is simply a proof that the writer was a good historical scene painter. Like the Chronicler, he knows that in early times there was a great mixture of clans, and that Israelites often intermarried with Jeraḥmeelites and Miṣrites. Besides, in order to produce an impression on the Jews it would be necessary for the dwelling of Boaz to have been in Judah, not in a district which in post-exilic times was not in Jewish occupation. The latest editor did no doubt arrange the geographical statements accordingly; but the author himself, as we have seen, placed Boaz in the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb.

Surely no one who thoroughly appreciates the charm of this book will be satisfied with the prevalent theory of its object. There is no 'tendency' about the book; it represents in no degree any party programme. And even if the writer started with the object of illustrating the life of David, he forgot this when he began to write, and only thought of it again as he was about to lay down the pen. Justly does Robertson Smith remark, 'the marriage acquires an additional interest when we know that Ruth was David's great-grandmother, but the main interest is independent of that, and lies in the happy issue of Ruth and Naomi from their troubles through the loyal performance of the kinsman's part by Boaz. Doubtless the writer meant his story to be an example to his own age, as well as an interesting sketch of the past; but this is effected simply by describing the exemplary conduct of Naomi, Ruth, Boaz, and even Boaz's harvesters. All these act as simple, kindly, God-fearing people ought to act in Israel.' [At the same time, the writer must have shared the religious aspirations of his time, which, as we have seen, was probably the post-exilic age—*i.e.*, perhaps that quieter period which followed after the first century of the Greek rule. Now, there is good evidence for the view that one of these aspirations was for a cessation of the bitter feeling between Israel and Jeraḥmeel. As yet the sad exclusion of Jeraḥmeelites and Miṣrites from the religious assembly had not been enacted,[1] or, if enacted, it was ignored by the noblest Jews, who held that the N. Arabian peoples were not incapable of repentance, and that it was no disgrace to David that his pedigree contained the name of a Miṣrite woman. A thorough study of certain psalms and prophecies will, it is believed, strongly confirm this view, and show that the best of the Jews looked forward to a true conversion of the Miṣrites to the religion of the God of Israel—the 'Lord of the whole earth.' Jerusalem would yet be thronged by the children of Israel's bitter foes, seeking first for instruction and then for admission into the religious community, and it is possible to see a glance at this hope in the touching words of Boaz, 'and how thou hast left thy father and thy mother, and the land of thy nativity, and art come unto a people which thou knewest not heretofore' (Ruth 2 11). And so, ultimately, the book becomes (like Jonah) a noble record of the catholic tendency of the early Judaism.]

Literature.

Among other commentaries reference may be made to J. B. Carpzov, *Collegium rabbinico-biblicum in libellum Ruth*, Leipsic, 1703. [Among recent commentators, the works of Bertheau (ed. 2, 1833), Bertholet (1898), Nowack (1901) may be specially mentioned. See also Wi. *AOF* 3 65-78, and references in the course of this article.]

(§§ 1, 2, partly 4 and 7) W. R. S.
(§§ 3, 5, 6, mostly 4 and 7) T. K. C.

RYE (כֻּסֶּמֶת). See RIE, FITCHES.

[1] *Astralmythen*, 110, note. We may add that we take 'Tamar' and 'Ruth' to be ultimately corruptions of 'Jeraḥme'elith' (cp JUDAH, § 2). Neither Stucken nor Winckler criticises the Hebrew names.

[1] In Dt. 23 3-6 [4-7]—*altogether* a later insertion—the ethnics should probably be 'Jeraḥmeelite' and 'Miṣrite.' The passage *conflicts* with *v.* 7 [8], where the ethnics should be 'Arammite' (=Jeraḥmeelite) and 'Miṣrite.' Dillmann's criticism here is very incomplete. The passage must be later than the fall of Jerusalem.

S

SABANNUS (ΣΑΒΑΝΝΟΥ) [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 63 RV = Ezra 8 33 BINNUI, 2.

SABAOTH, LORD OF (יהוה צְבָאוֹת). See NAMES, § 123.

SABAT. 1. RV SAPHAT, a group of children of Solomon's servants (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8 *c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 (ΣΑΦΑΓ [B], ΣΑΦΑΤ [A], om. L) after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ‖ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

It apparently represents the form SHAPHAT = Shephatiah (in Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59 = 1 Esd. 5 33 𝔊L, AV SAPHETH, RV SAPHUTHI).

2. RV SEBAT (*σαβατ* [AV] *σαββατ* [א]), the month of that name, 1 Macc. 16 14. See MONTH, § 5.

SABATEAS (ΣΑΒΒΑΤΑΙΑΣ [A]) 1 Esd. 9 48 AV, RV **Sabateus** = Neh. 8 7, SHABBETHAI, 1.

SABATHUS (ΣΑΒΑΘΟΣ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 28 RV, AV **Sabatus** = Ezra 10 27, ZABAD, 4.

SABBAN (ΣΑΒΑΝΝΟΥ [BA]) 1 Esd. 8 62 = Ezra 8 33, BINNUI, 2.

SABBATEUS (ΣΑΒΒΑΤΑΙΟΣ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 14 RV = Ezra 10 15, SHABBETHAI, 1.

SABBATH (שַׁבָּת, ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΝ), the day of sacred rest which among the Hebrews followed six days of labour and closed the week; see WEEK.

1. Etymology. The grammatical inflexions of the word 'Sabbath' show that it is a feminine form, properly *šabbat-t* for *šabbāt-t*, from שבת (*Pi'el* conjug.). The root has nothing to do with resting in the sense of enjoying repose; in transitive forms and applications it means 'to sever,' to 'put an end to,' and intransitively it means to 'desist,' to 'come to an end.' The grammatical form of *šabbāth* suggests a transitive sense, 'the divider,' and apparently indicates the Sabbath as dividing the month. It may mean the day which puts a stop to the week's work; but that is less likely. It certainly cannot be translated 'the day of rest.' (Cp Lag. *Uebers.* 113; Kö. *Lehrg.* ii. 1 280 *f.*; Hoffm. *ZATW* 3 121; Wellh. *Prol.* [1883] 117, n. 1; Jastrow's article cited in § 8.)

[According to Jensen, *ZKF*, 1887, p. 278, the Assyrian ša(p)bat(td)-tum = 'penitential prayer,' and hence 'day of penitence and prayer.' Hirschfeld (see § 8), however, derives שַׁבָּת from שׁבעת. Cp Benz. *HA* 202, 'perhaps in its oldest form it was connected with שָׁבוּעַ (week).' For Jastrow's view, see § 8.]

2. Jesus and the Sabbath. By way of preface to the present historical inquiry, and to clear away, if possible, any remnants of theological prejudice against criticism, let us consider the attitude of Jesus towards Sabbath observance. It is not too bold to say that in his opposition to the current Rabbinical views he is in harmony with the main result of modern historical criticism. This thesis will be justified at a subsequent point. The well-known and probably (see col. 1888, near foot) authentic saying, 'Think not that I am come to destroy the law' (Mt. 5 17), expresses one side of that teaching. Jesus revered the Sabbath as he revered the other religious traditions of his people; but he had also a freedom of inspiration which put a new life into his interpretation of the Sabbath law. That he was in the habit of attending the synagogue on the Sabbath, we know from Lk. 4 16 (cp *v.* 31). But he would not adhere to the letter of the law where works of necessity or of mercy claimed to be performed: 'the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath; wherefore the Son of Man is Lord also of the Sabbath' (Mk. 2 27 *f.*). There is a traditional saying of Jesus which may express his Janus-like habit of mind as regards the Sabbath. It ceased, indeed, to be understood when the Christian Sunday had become an institution, and so was thrust out of the canonical Church tradition; but it certainly gives us the impression of being an ancient and a genuine tradition.[1] It is the well-known addition of D (*Codex Bezæ*, ed. Scrivener, 173) after Lk. 6 4: 'On the same day when he saw one working on the Sabbath he said to him: Man, if thou knowest what thou art doing thou art blessed; but if thou knowest not, thou art cursed and a transgressor of the law' (*τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ εἶπεν αὐτῷ· ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου*). The sense is clear—it is what we find in Rom. 14 4 14 23.[2] 'If thou knowest what thou art doing,'—in other words, if thou art doing this work on the Sabbath day with the consciousness that it is a work of necessity—if thy conscience justifies thee in it—'then blessed art thou.' 'But if thou knowest not'—in other words, if thou art acting against thy conscience, with a lurking fear that thou art doing aught amiss—'then art thou accursed, and a transgressor of the law.' The saying in the Oxyrhynchus papyrus-fragment discovered in 1897,[3] 'if you do not keep the Sabbath you will not see the Father' (*ἐὰν μὴ σαββατίσητε τὸ σάββατον οὐκ ὄψεσθε τὸν πατέρα*), may also very well have been actually spoken by Jesus in its literal sense, as the expression of the same conservative temper as we find in Mt. 5 17-19, and against noisy fanatics who thought to do honour to their master by showing contempt for the day. It is more probable, however, in view of the parallel clause, 'If you do not fast [to] the world you have not found the kingdom of God' (*ἐὰν μὴ νηστεύσητε τὸν κόσμον οὐ μὴ εὕρητε τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ*), that the saying is not intended to be understood literally.

3. Early Christian attitudes. [This is not the place to discuss the relation of the Pauline teaching to that of Jesus. Without entering into the question as to the historical origin of each of the Pauline epistles referred to, we may recall that, according to the Pauline teaching, Jesus was sent in human flesh to liberate men from servitude to the law as a whole and in every particular. The conservative side of the teaching of Jesus regarding the Sabbath could not, therefore, be reproduced in the corresponding teaching of Paul.] It is clear from Rom. 14 5 *ff.* that Paul regarded the observance of the Sabbath as essentially an *ἀδιάφορον* for Christians; it is possible to serve the Lord by observance of a fixed day, and equally possible to serve him without such observance; the important thing is to have a clean conscience (cp also *vv.* 14 and 23). The Pauline attitude towards the Christians of Colossæ is not inconsistent with the magnanimous tolerance here expressed. The sharpness of Col. 2 16 *f.* (cp Gal. 4 9 *f.*) is due to the situation: Paul perceived that the Judaising false teachers had raised the *ἀδιάφορον* into an *ἀναγκαῖον*, and that an energetic protest against the imposition of any such yoke was urgently required. [There is no definite *conflict* between the attitude of Paul and that of Jesus. The position taken up by Jesus was perfectly natural to him, as a son of a pious Jewish family, and a preacher to the chosen

[1] Ropes, 'Die Sprüche Jesu,' in *Texte u. Untersuchungen*, xiv. 2 126 (1896) also regards this as possible.

[2] It is more probable that the ideas in these passages rest upon an utterance of Jesus known to the apostle than that the saying attributed to Jesus in D should be an invention resting on the utterance of Paul.

[3] *Λόγια Ἰησοῦ* (ed. Grenfell and Hunt, 1897), 10 *f.*

people of God. It would not have been natural to Paul, a preacher to the Gentiles and not of purely Jewish culture, who seems to have felt as free towards the earthly life of Jesus as Jesus himself did towards the letter of the Mosaic Law. There were other Christians, however, who felt and acted differently from Paul.]

That the earliest Christians in Palestine observed the Sabbath is nowhere indeed expressly said,[1] but is certainly to be assumed. The silence of Acts is not to be taken as a proof of the non-observance, but contrariwise as a proof that it was observed as matter of course.

[Eusebius (*HE* 3 27) remarks that the Ebionites observed both the Sabbath and the Lord's Day; and this practice obtained to some extent in much wider circles, for the *Apostolical Constitutions* recommend that the Sabbath shall be kept as a memorial feast of the creation, and the Lord's Day as a memorial of the resurrection.—W. R. S.]

Was the Sabbath observed in the Christian mission-churches of the Dispersion? This is not an inquiry that affects our main subject, and only a glance at it can be given. We may be certain indeed that where a mission-church consisted essentially of those who had formerly been Jews or σεβόμενοι (see PROSELYTE) the observance of the day did not forthwith cease. It is instructive, however, to note that in the decree of Jerusalem (Acts 15 23 *ff.*) Sabbath observance is as little imposed as binding on Gentile Christians as is that of any other holy day.[2] In estimating the historical bearing of this *testimonium e silentio* it matters little whether we take the decree as actually pronounced by a council of apostles at Jerusalem[3] or regard it as a later finding of the church of that city (cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM).

We now return to the thesis with which this article opened, viz., that the attitude of Jesus towards the Rabbinical Sabbath (see Mt. 12 1-14 Mk. 2 27) is in harmony with the main result of modern criticism. In his trenchant criticism of the scribes the general position which Jesus takes up is that 'the Sabbath is made for man, and not man for the Sabbath,' which is only a special application of the wider principle that the law is not an end in itself but a help towards the realisation in life of the great ideal of love to God and man, which is the sum of all true religion. On the other hand, the rules of the scribes enumerated thirty-nine main kinds of work forbidden on the Sabbath, and each of these prohibitions gave rise to new subtilties. Jesus' disciples, for example, who plucked ears of corn in passing through a field on the holy day, had, according to Rabbinical casuistry, violated the third of the thirty-nine rules, which forbade harvesting; and in healing the sick, Jesus himself broke the rule that a sick man should not receive medical aid on the Sabbath unless his life was in danger.[4] In fact, as Jesus put it, the Rabbinical theory seemed to be that the Sabbath was not made for man but man for the Sabbath, the observance of which was so much an end in itself that the rules prescribed for it did not require to be justified by appeal to any larger principle of religion or humanity. The precepts of the law were valuable in the eyes of the scribes because they were the seal of Jewish particularism, the barrier erected between the world at large and the exclusive community of the grace of Yahwè. For this purpose the most arbitrary precepts were the most effective, and none were more so than the complicated rules

4. Attitude of Jesus, resumed.

1 Zahn, *Gesch. des Sonntags*, etc., 168, 353.
2 Id., *ut supr.* 173.
3 So Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, 1 199 *f.*
4 [In like manner the length of journey that could be undertaken without breach of the Sabbath came to be also strictly defined (cp Mt. 24 20). For by the thirty-ninth rule it was forbidden to carry anything from one 'place' to another—a prohibition plainly based on Ex. 16 29, 'let no man go out of his place on the Sabbath day'—in other words, 'let every one stay at home.' A definition of 'place' in this connection was found in the measurement of the 'suburbs' of a Levitical city as laid down in Nu. 35 1-8—2000 cubits square. This gave the 'Sabbath limit' (תְּחוּם הַשַּׁבָּת), and thus the 'Sabbath day's journey' (Acts 1 12; σαββάτου ὁδός) was fixed at 2000 cubits or about 1000 yards.]

of Sabbath observance. The ideal of the Sabbath which all these rules aimed at realising was absolute rest from everything that could be called work; and even the exercise of those offices of humanity which the strictest Sabbatarians regard as a service to God, and therefore as specially appropriate to his day, was looked on as work. To save life was allowed, but only because danger to life 'superseded the Sabbath.' In like manner the special ritual at the temple prescribed for the Sabbath by the Pentateuchal law was not regarded as any part of the hallowing of the sacred day; on the contrary, the rule was that, in this regard, 'Sabbath was not kept in the sanctuary.' Strictly speaking, therefore, the Sabbath was neither a day of relief to toiling humanity nor a day appointed for public worship; the positive duties of its observance were to wear one's best clothes, eat, drink, and be glad (justified from Is. 58 13).

A more directly religious element, it is true, was introduced by the practice of attending the synagogue service; but it is to be remembered that this service was primarily regarded not as an act of worship, but as a meeting for instruction in the law. So far, therefore, as the Sabbath existed for any end outside itself, it was an institution to help every Jew to learn the law, and from this point of view it is regarded by Philo and Josephus, who are accustomed to seek a philosophical justification for the peculiar institutions of their religion. But this certainly was not the leading point of view with the mass of the Rabbins.[1]

Such was the position of the scribes; the Sabbath was an end in itself—a mere barrier between God's people and the world at large. Jesus maintains, as we have seen, the opposite doctrine. He declares too that his view of the law as a whole, and the interpretation of the Sabbath law which it involves, can be historically justified from the Old Testament. And in this connection he introduces two of the main methods to which historical criticism of the Old Testament has recurred in modern times: he appeals to the oldest history rather than to the Pentateuchal code as proving that the later conception of the law was unknown in ancient times (Mt. 12 3 4), and to the exceptions to the Sabbath law which the scribes themselves allowed in the interests of worship (*v.* 5) or humanity (*v.* 11), as showing that the Sabbath must originally have been devoted to purposes of worship and humanity, and was not always the purposeless arbitrary thing which the schoolmen made it to be. Modern criticism of the history of Sabbath observance among the Hebrews has done nothing more than follow out these arguments in detail, and show that the result is in agreement with what is known as to the dates of the several component parts of the Pentateuch.

The historical results of criticism may be thus summarised. Of the legal passages that speak of the Sabbath all those which show affinity with the doctrine of the scribes—regarding the Sabbath as an arbitrary sign between Yahwè and Israel, entering into details as to particular acts that are forbidden, and enforcing the observance by several penalties, so that it no longer has any religious value, but appears as a mere legal constraint—are post-exilic (Ex. 16 23-30 31 12-17 35 1-3; Nu. 15 32-36); the older laws only demand such cessation from daily toil, and especially from agricultural labour, as among all ancient peoples naturally accompanied a day set apart as a religious festival, and in particular lay weight on the fact that the Sabbath is a humane institution, a holiday for the labouring classes (Ex. 23 12 Dt. 5 12-15). As it stands in these ancient laws, the Sabbath is not at all the unique thing which it was made to be by the scribes. 'The Greeks and the barbarians,' says Strabo (x. 3 9), 'have this in common, that they accompany their sacred rites by a festal remission of labour.' So it was in old Israel: the Sabbath [which the Israelites

5. Pre-exilic and post-exilic Sabbath.

1 See the Mishnah, tract 'Shabbāth,' and *Jubilees*, chap. 1; and compare Schürer, *GJV* (3), 2 428 451 470-478, where the rabbinical Sabbath is well explained and illustrated in detail.

may have taken from the Canaanites—an agricultural people (see WEEK)] was one of the stated religious feasts, like the new moon and the three great agricultural sacrificial celebrations (Hos. 2 11); the new moons and the Sabbaths alike called men to the sanctuary to do sacrifice (Is. 1 13); the remission of ordinary business belonged to both alike (Am. 8 5), and for precisely the same reason.[1] Hosea even takes it for granted that in captivity the Sabbath will be suspended, like all the other feasts, because in his day a feast implied a sanctuary.

This conception of the Sabbath, however, necessarily underwent an important modification in the seventh century B.C., when the local sanctuaries were abolished, and those sacrificial rites and feasts which in Hosea's time formed the essence of every act of religion were limited to the central altar, which most men could visit only at rare intervals. From that time forward the new moons, which till then had been at least as important as the Sabbath, and were celebrated by sacrificial feasts as occasions of religious gladness, fell into insignificance, except in the conservative temple ritual. The Sabbath did not share the same fate; but with the abolition of local sacrifices it became for most Israelites an institution of humanity divorced from ritual. So it appears in the deuteronomic decalogue, and presumably also in Jer. 17 19-27. In this form the institution was able to survive the fall of the state and the temple, and the seventh day's rest was clung to in exile as one of the few outward ordinances by which the Israelite could still show his fidelity to Yahwè and mark his separation from the heathen. Hence we understand the importance attached to it from the period of the exile onward (Ezek. 20 12 22 8 23 38 Jer. 17 19-27 Is. 56 1-7 58 13), and the character of a sign between Yahwè and Israel ascribed to it in the post-exilic law. This attachment to the Sabbath, beautiful and touching so long as it was a spontaneous expression of continual devotion to Yahwè, acquired a less pleasing character when, after the exile, it came to be enforced by the civil arm (Neh. 13; cp Neh. 10 31), and when the later law even declared Sabbath-breaking a capital offence. It is just, however, to remember that without the stern discipline of the law the community of the second temple could hardly have escaped dissolution, and that Judaism alone preserved for Christianity the hard-won achievements of the prophets.

As the Sabbath was originally a religious feast, the question of the origin of the Sabbath resolves itself into an inquiry why and in what circle a festal cycle of seven days was first established.

6. Origin of the Sabbath.

In Gen. 2 1-3 and in Ex. 20 11 the Sabbath is declared to be a memorial of the completion of the work of creation in six days. It appears certain, however, that the decalogue as it lay before the deuteronomist did not contain any allusion to the creation (see DECALOGUE), and it is generally believed that this reference was added by the same post-exilic hand that wrote Gen. 1 1-2 4 *a*. The older account of the creation in Gen. 2 4 *b*-25 does not recognise the hexæmeron, and it is even doubtful whether the original sketch of Gen. 1 distributed creation over six days. The connection, therefore, between the seven-days week and the work of creation is now generally recognised as secondary. The week and the Sabbath were already known to the writer of Gen. 1, and he used them to give the framework for his picture of the creation, which in the nature of things could not be literal and required some framework. At the same time, there was a peculiar appropriateness in associating the Sabbath with the doctrine that Yahwè is the Creator of all things; for we see from Is. 40-55 that this doctrine was a mainstay of Jewish faith in those very days of exile which gave the Sabbath a new importance for the faithful.

But, if the week as a religious cycle is older than the idea of the week of creation, we cannot hope to find more than probable evidence of the origin of the Sabbath. At the time of the exile the Sabbath was already an institution peculiarly Jewish, otherwise it could not have served as a mark of distinction from heathenism. This, however, does not necessarily imply that in its origin it was specifically Hebrew, but only that it had acquired distinguishing features of a marked kind. What is certain is that the origin of the Sabbath must be sought within a circle that used the week as a division of time. Here again we must distinguish between the week as such and the astrological week, *i.e.*, the week in which the seven days are named each after the planet which is held to preside over its first hour.

If the day is divided into twenty-four hours and the planets preside in turn over each hour of the week in the order of their periodic times (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon), we get the order of days of the week with which we are familiar. For, if the Sun presides over the first hour of Sunday, and therefore also over the eighth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-second, Venus will have the twenty-third hour, Mercury the twenty-fourth, and the Moon, as the third in order from the Sun, will preside over the first hour of Monday. Mars, again, as third from the Moon, will preside over Tuesday (Dies Martis, Mardi), and so forth.

This astrological week became widely current in the Roman empire, but was still a novelty in the time of Dio Cassius (37 18). That writer believed that it came from Egypt; but the old Egyptians had a week of ten (not seven) days, and the original home of astrology and of the division of the day into twenty-four hours is Chaldæa. It is plain, however, that there is a long step between the astrological assignation of each hour of the week to a planet and the recognition of the week as an ordinary division of time by people at large. Astrology is in its nature an occult science, and there is not the slightest trace of a day of twenty-four hours among the ancient Hebrews, who had the week and the Sabbath long before they had any acquaintance with the planetary science of the Babylonian priests. Moreover, it is quite clear from extant remains of Assyrian calendars that our astrological week did not prevail in civil life even among the Babylonians and Assyrians: they did not dedicate each day in turn to its astrological planet. These facts make it safe to reject one often-repeated explanation of the Sabbath, viz., that it was in its origin what it is in the astrological week, the day sacred to Saturn, and that its observance is to be derived from an ancient Hebrew worship of that planet. In truth, there is no evidence of the worship of Saturn among the oldest Hebrews (see CHIUN AND SICCUTH).

The week, however, is found in various parts of the world in a form that has nothing to do with astrology or the seven planets, and with such a distribution as to make it pretty certain that it had no artificial origin, but suggested itself independently, and for natural reasons, to different races. In fact, the four quarters of the moon supply an obvious division of the month; and, wherever new moon and full moon are religious occasions, we get in the most natural way a sacred cycle of fourteen or fifteen days, of which the week of seven or eight days (determined by half-moon) is the half. Thus the old Hindus chose the new and the full moon as days of sacrifice; the eve of the sacrifice was called *upavasatha*, and in Buddhism the same word (*uposatha*) has come to denote a Sabbath observed on the full moon, on the day when there is no moon, and on the two days which are eighth from the full and the new moon respectively, with fasting and other religious exercises.[1]

From this point of view it is most significant that in the older parts of the Hebrew scriptures the new moon

[1] [Hence also the Sabbath was quite readily made use of for the purpose of paying a visit to a man of God (2 K. 4 23), or the like; quite the opposite of the later practice, which forbade all travelling on Sabbaths and feast-days (cp Mt. 24 20 and Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 4: *οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ ἡμῖν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ὁδεύειν*).—K.M.]

[1] Childers, *Pali Dict.* 535; Kern, *Buddhismus* (Germ. Transl.) 8; *Mahâvagga*, ii. 1 1 (ET 1 239, 291).

and the Sabbath are almost invariably mentioned together. The month is beyond question an old sacred division of time common to all the Semites; even the Arabs, who received the week at quite a late period from the Syrians (Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, ET 58), greeted the new moon with religious acclamations. And this must have been an old Semitic usage, for the word which properly means 'to greet the new moon' (*ahalla*) is, as Lagarde (*Orientalia*, 2 19) has shown, etymologically connected with the Hebrew words used of any festal joy. Among the Hebrews, or rather perhaps among the Canaanites, whose speech they borrowed, the joy at the new moon became the type of religious festivity in general. Nor are other traces wanting of the connection of sacrificial occasions—*i.e.*, religious feasts—with the phases of the moon among the Semites. The Harranians had four sacrificial days in every month, and, of these, two at least were determined by the conjunction and opposition of the moon.[1]

That full moon as well as new moon had a religious significance among the ancient Hebrews seems to follow from the fact that, when the great agricultural feasts were fixed to set days, the full moon was chosen. In older times these feast-days appear to have been Sabbaths (Lev. 23 11; cp PASSOVER, NEW MOON).

A week determined by the phases of the moon has an average length of $29\frac{1}{2} \div 4 = 7\frac{3}{8}$ days—*i.e.*, three weeks out of eight would have eight days. But there seems to be in 1 Sam. 20 27, compared with *vv.* 18 24, an indication that in old times the feast of the new moon lasted two days—a very natural institution, since it appears that the feast was fixed in advance, whilst the Hebrews of Saul's time cannot have been good enough astronomers to know beforehand on which of two successive days the new moon would actually be observed.[2] In that case a week of seven working days would occur only once in two months. We cannot tell when the Sabbath became dissociated from the month; but the change seems to have been made before the Book of the Covenant, which already regards the Sabbath simply as an institution of humanity and ignores the new moon. In both points it is followed by Deuteronomy.

7. The Babylonian and Assyrian Sabbath.

The word 'Sabbath' (*šabattuv*), with the explanation 'day of rest of the heart,' is claimed as Assyrian on the basis of a textual emendation made by Fried. Delitzsch in 2 Rawl. 32 16. The value of this isolated and uncertain testimony cannot be placed very high, and it seems to prove too much, for it is practically certain that the Babylonians at the time of the Hebrew exile cannot have had a Sabbath exactly corresponding in conception to what the Hebrew Sabbath had become under very special historical circumstances. What we do know from a calendar of the intercalary month Elūl II. is that in that month the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days had a peculiar character, and that on them certain acts were forbidden to the king and others. There is the greatest uncertainty as to the details (cp the very divergent renderings in *RP*, 7 160 *f.*; Schrader, *KAT*$^{(2)}$ 19; Lotz, *Qu. de historia Sabbati*, 39 *f.*); but these days, which are taken to be Assyrian Sabbaths, are certainly not 'days of rest of the heart,' and to all appearance are unlucky days, and expressly designated as such.[3] If, therefore, they are 'Assyrian Sabbaths' at all, they are exactly opposite in character to the Hebrew Sabbath, which was described by Hosea as a day of gladness, and never ceased to be a day of feasting and good cheer. [Cp Jastrow, in the article mentioned below.]

8. Recent Literature.

Besides the works already mentioned, reference should be made to W. Lotz, *Quæstionum de historia Sabbati libri duo* (1883), which takes account of the Assyriological evidence. Hirschfeld's 'Remarks on the etymology of Sabbath' (*JRAS*, April 1896, pp. 353-359), according to Jastrow, misunderstands and misquotes the Babylonian material. Nowack (*Hebr. Arch.* [1894] 2 140 *ff.*) gives a lucid sketch of current theories and their grounds. See also Jensen, *Sunday School Times* (Philadelphia), Jan. 16, 1892, and Jastrow, *Amer. J. of Theol.* 1898, pp. 315-352. Jensen is cautious and reserved on the question of a Babylonian origin of the Sabbath, which, however, Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 14) and Jastrow (*op. cit.*) expressly affirm. The bridge which Gunkel fails to construct between the Babylonian atonement-Sabbath and the Hebrew rest-Sabbath, Jastrow endeavours to point out. He remarks that the Heb. *šabbāthōn* does in fact, like the Bab. *šabattum*, convey the idea of propitiation or appeasement of the divine anger, and he is of opinion that the Hebrew Sabbath was originally a *šabbāthōn*—*i.e.*, a day of propitiation and appeasement, marked by atoning rites. At this stage of development it was celebrated at intervals of seven days, corresponding with changes in the moon's phases, and was identical in character with the four days in each month (7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th) that the Babylonians regarded as days which had to be converted into days of propitiation. There were also, however, other šabbāthôn days, such as the New Year's Day, the Day of Atonement, the first and eighth days of the annual pilgrimage to the chief sanctuary.

The introduction, in consequence of profound changes in religious conceptions among the Hebrews, of the custom of celebrating the Sabbath every seventh day, irrespective of the relationship of the day to the moon's phases, led to a complete separation from the ancient view of the Sabbath, whilst the introduction, at a still later period, of the doctrine that the divine work of creation was completed in six days removed the Hebrew Sabbath still further from the point at which the development of the corresponding Babylonian institution ceased. Hence the position of the Sabbath in the Priestly Code. The field, however, is still open for further investigation.

Cp also Toy, 'The earliest form of the Sabbath,' *JBL* 18 190 *ff.* (1899); and C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* (who finds that the 19th day of the month was observed by abstinence from secular business; but the deeds do not indicate that the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days were Sabbaths).

W. R. S.—K. M.—T. K. C.

[1] The others—according to the *Fihrist*, 319 14—are the 17th and the 28th.

[2] It appears from Judith 8 6 that even in later times there were two days at the new moon on which it was improper to fast.

[3] Lotz says they are lucky days; but the expression which he renders, *dies faustus*, is applied to every day in the calendar. The rest of his book does not rise above this example of acumen.

SABBATH DAY'S JOURNEY. See SABBATH, § 4 n.

SABBATHEUS (σαββαταιος [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 14 = Ezra 10 15, SHABBETHAI, 1.

SABBATICAL YEAR. The Jews under the second temple observed every seventh year as a Sabbath according to the (post-exilic) law of Lev. 25 1-7. It was a year in which all agriculture was remitted, in which the fields lay unsown, the vines grew unpruned, and even the natural produce was not gathered in. That this law was not observed before the captivity we learn from Lev. 26 34 *ff.*; indeed, so long as the Hebrews were an agricultural people with little trade, in a land often ravaged by severe famines, such a law could not have been observed. Even in later times it was occasionally productive of great distress (1 Macc. 6 49 53; Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 16 2). In the older legislation, however, we already meet with a seven years' period in more than one connection. The release of a Hebrew servant after six years' labour (Ex. 21 2 *ff.* Dt. 15 12 *ff.*) has only a remote analogy to the Sabbatical year. But in Ex. 23 10 *ff.* it is prescribed that the crop of every seventh year (apparently the self-sown crop) shall be left for the poor, and after them for the beasts. The difference between this and the later law is that the seventh year is not called a Sabbath, and that there is no indication that all land was to lie fallow on the same year. In this form a law prescribing one year's fallow in seven may have been anciently observed. It is extended in *v.* 11 to the vineyard and the olive-yard; but here the

culture necessary to keep the vines and olive-trees in order is not forbidden; the precept is only that the produce is to be left to the poor. In Deuteronomy this law is not repeated; but a fixed seven years' period is ordained for the benefit of poor debtors, apparently in the sense that in the seventh year no interest is to be exacted by the creditor from a Hebrew, or that no proceedings are to be taken against the debtor in that year (Deut. 15 1 *ff.*). W. R. S.

SABBEUS (ϲαββαιαϲ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 32 = Ezra 10 31, SHEMAIAH, 19.

SABEANS occurs four times in AV, representing three distinct Hebrew words in MT; (1) in Job 1 15 (שְׁבָא, RVmg. SHEBA) and Joel 3 8 (שְׁבָאִים, RV MEN OF SHEBA); (2) in Is. 45 14 (סְבָאִים), see SEBA; and (3) in Ezek. 23 42 (AVmg. and RV 'drunkards'), where, however, it is no part of the original text. The Kt. סובאים—*i.e.*, סוֹבְאִים, the reading for which the Ḳre substitutes סָבָאִים with the same meaning (drunkards), is an obvious interpolation due simply to dittography of the preceding מוּבָאִים. On the further textual corruption of the verse see Cornill, *ad loc.*, and Toy (*SBOT*). Of course none of these words has anything to do with any of the religious sects that have at one time or another been called Sabians—*i.e.*, Baptists (see art. SABIANS in *Ency. Brit.* 21 128)—a name which is etymologically quite distinct.

SABI. 1. (ϲαβει [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, SHOBAI.

2. (σαβ[ε]ιη [BA]) 1 Esd. 5 34 AV, RV **Sabie** = Ezra 2 57; see POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM.

SABIAS (ϲαβιαϲ [BA]) 1 Esd. 1 9 RV = 2 Ch. 35 9, HASHABIAH, 6.

SABTA (סַבְתָּא, ϲαβατα [B], ϲαβαθα [A], ϲε. [L], 1 Ch. 1 9), or **Sabtah** (סַבְתָּה, ϲαβαθα [ADEL], Gen. 10 7), one of the sons of Cush. See CUSH. If 'Cush' here means the N. Arabian region of that name, we are entitled and indeed compelled to suppose that 'Sabtah' and 'Raamah' have arisen by corruption and editorial manipulation from the names of places near the S. border of Canaan. סבתא will probably come from מַעֲכָת 'Maacath' (the southern Maacah), which is also the original of SUCCOTH in the earliest story of Jacob and in Ps. 60 8, and of SOCOH in 1 S. 17 1. Cp SHABBETHAI. From the ordinary point of view Dillmann finds some plausibility in Tuch's suggestion that Sabta = Σαββαθα (*Peripl.* 27; also Ptolemy, Strabo), the Sabota of Pliny (6 32 12 32). This was the capital of the Chatramotitæ (see HAZARMAVETH), and was famous as the centre of the trade in incense. The name is the Sab. שבות. According to Glaser, Sabta is the Σαφθα of Ptol. vi. 7 30, and is to be placed at Sudeir or in the NE of Yemāmah; Sabta, Raamah, and Sabteca representing the districts on the coast of the Persian Gulf (*Skizze*, 2 252 *f.*).

T. K. C.

SABTECA (סַבְתְּכָא, ϲαβακαθα [ADE], ϲεβε. [L] in Gen.; ϲεβεκαθα [BL], -θαχα [A] in Ch.; 𝔊 therefore indicates rather SBKTHA), one of the sons of Cush (Gen. 10 7 1 Ch. 1 9†). AV has **Sabtechah** in Gen. and **Sabtecha** in Ch. Glaser, following Bochart, connects this with the name Samydake in Carmania, on the E. side of the Persian Gulf (*Skizze*, 2 252); but Dillmann calls attention to the phonetic difference. It is perhaps really a dittographed SABTA, the כ being a record of a reading סכתא (cp 𝔊 in Gen.). T. K. C.

SACAR (שָׂכָר). Probably an ethnic of the same group as ISSACHAR, ZICHRI. The name has, of course, no connection with that of the little known Egyptian god Sakar (cp ISSACHAR, col. 2292, n. 5). 1. On the name in 1 Ch. 11 35, see SHARAR and ISSACHAR, § 6 (end).

2. A son of OBED-EDOM (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 26 4 (ϲωχαρ [B], ϲαχαρ [L], ϲαχιαρ [A]).

SACK. The wide diffusion of this word throughout the European languages is probably due in the first instance to Phœnician trade and commerce.[1] The word, it is true, does not happen to be found in either Phœnician or Punic; but it is vouched for in Hebrew, Syriac, Ethiopic, and possibly Assyrian. See SACKCLOTH.

1. *śaḳ*, שַׂק (σάκκος [but μάρσιππος, Gen. 44 1 *f.*], *saccus*), Gen. 42 25 35 (E); in *v.* 27*a* it is due to R (Holz.); Lev. 11 32 Josh. 9 4. See SACKCLOTH.

2. *kĕlī*, כְּלִי, Gen. 42 25*a* (ἀγγεῖον), RV 'vessel'; cp BAG.

3. *'amtáḥath*, אַמְתַּחַת (√spread out, cp Is. 40 22), only in Gen. 41-42 J (42 25 27 *f.* 35 43 12 etc.). On E's term see (1) above. 𝔊 in 42 27 *f.* 43 12 μάρσιππος.

4. *ṣiḳḳālōn*, צִקְלֹן, 2 K. 4 42† RV (AV, RVmg. 'husk,' AVmg. 'scrip,' 'garment'), cp FOOD, col. 1539 n. 2. AVmg. gives a superficially plausible sense (cp SCRIP)—derived from an anonymous Greek translator's κώρυκος (Field's *Hex.*); but √צקל is unknown.

[It has been conjectured elsewhere (see PROPHET, § 7) that Elisha, like Elijah, was specially a prophet of the Negeb, and that כרמל is a popular corruption of ירחמאל. If so, בצקלנו probably comes from בֵּית־גַּלִּים, 'Beth-gallim,' where גלים is another corruption of ירחמאל. Elisha was at a place called Beth-gallim, or (see *v.* 38) Beth-gilgal, or (since Gallim and Gilgal = Jeraḥmeel) Beth-jeraḥmeel, in the Negeb formerly belonging to the Jeraḥmeelites. But Lagarde's reading קלעת, 'wallet' (?), suggested by the βακελλεθ of 𝔊A and Theod. (see BDB), is ingenious.—T. K. C.]

SACKBUT (שַׂבְּכָא), Dan. 3 5 7 10 15†. See MUSIC, § 6 (10).

SACKCLOTH (שַׂק; ϲακκοϲ; *saccus, cilicium*[2]). It is probable that the Heb. *śaḳ* was originally a coarse textile fabric made from the hair of the camel or the goat (cp the meanings of σάκκος, a borrowed word).

1. Use.

Like the *śimlah* it could be used also as a wrap or bag (cp MANTLE, § 2 [1]); see SACK. Referring the reader, generally, to the articles DRESS and MOURNING CUSTOMS, we propose here to indicate the nature of the garment expressed by the word *śaḳ*, and to endeavour to ascertain the origin of the custom of wearing it.

The usage of the word suggests that the *śaḳ* was nothing more than a loin-cloth, similar, no doubt, to the *iḥrām*[3] of Moslem pilgrims at Mecca. It was worn as a token of grief after a death (Gen. 37 34 2 S. 3 31 Joel 1 8), more commonly, however, in times of trial, to remove a calamity, or as a means of propitiation.

Thus, the *śaḳ* is worn after hearing bad news (2 K. 6 30 19 1 Est. 4 1-4, etc.), to avert a pestilence (1 Ch. 21 16), when one's neighbour lies in sickness (Ps. 35 13), or as a sign of general undefined grief (Ps. 30 11 [12] 69 11 [12] Is. 22 12). It is often preceded by the rending of the clothes (Gen. 37 34 1 K. 21 27—the rending alone in Job 1 20), or by the covering of one's head with ashes or (Neh. 9 1 2 Macc. 10 25) earth.[4] Like the *iḥrām*, the *śaḳ* is also worn by women (Joel 1 8, cp Judith 8 5 10 3 2 Macc. 3 19). In Jon. 3 8 it is ordered to be worn by both man and beast (*bĕhēmāh*)

The passages in which the *śaḳ* is mentioned as worn next the skin are probably not exceptional (1 K. 21 27 2 K. 6 30 Is. 32 11); Doughty has remarked the half-naked appearance of the wearers of the *iḥrām*—'like bathing-

2. A sacred garment.

[1] Some (*e.g.*, Whitney, in the *Cent. Dict.*) have supposed this diffusion to be due to the incident in the story of Joseph, where the cup was hidden in the *sack*. This does not explain the various meanings of σάκκος, *saccus*, and, as a matter of fact, the Heb. *śaḳ* appears only thrice in the story, whilst the synonym *'amtáḥath* occurs no fewer than fourteen times (see SACK, 3).

[2] *Saccus* and *cilicium* are about evenly distributed. For *cilicium* (a goat's-hair cloth used for tents), see CILICIA, § 3 end, and cp TENT, § 3.

[3] *Śaḳ* is frequently used with *ḥāgar*, 'gird on,' the reverse process being described by *pittaḥ*, 'loosen' (Ps. 30 11 [12] Is. 20 2). The *iḥrām* (on which cp Wellh. *Heid.*(1) 116 *f.* (2) 123) is a loin-cloth covering the knee, one lap of which may be cast over the shoulder (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 479 481). In Eg. *sa-g*, with the determinative 'hair,' is a woollen Palestinian garment of the poor (WMM *OLZ*, 1901, col. 191).

[4] Jastrow *JAOS* 20 139 suggests that in Judith 9 1 (σποδόν), the translator mistook *ăphēr* (see TURBAN, § 2) for *ēpher*, like his predecessor in 2 S. 13 19.

men' (*Ar. Des.* 2 479 *ff.* 537), and the dress doubtless resembled the prophet's girdle which, in Job 12 18, is worn as a mark of humiliation by a king. See GIRDLE.

The sackcloth of the OT, therefore, must not be regarded as in any way akin to a sack or sackcloth in the modern sense of the word, and, in endeavouring to ascertain the origin of the custom of wearing such a garb, we must not be led away by the early Christian or the later ideas with which it is associated.[1]

That conservatism prevails longest in matters of cult is a familiar experience, and Schwally, Nowack, and Kittel (*HK* on 1 K. 21 27) favour the view that the *śaḳ* is the clothing of an earlier half-forgotten time, which, though it may long have continued to be worn—*e.g.*, by slaves and the poorer people—was nevertheless adopted exceptionally by the ruling classes on specific occasions (cp DRESS, § 2, col. 1136, n. 4). Another view is possible.

It is to be observed (*a*) that the corresponding *iḥrām* is essentially a dress for a sacred occasion; (*b*) that the prophets wore a garment similar to the *śaḳ*; and (*c*) that the sacred ephod itself was probably once a mere loin-cloth (see EPHOD, § 1, and cp T. C. Foote, *JBL* 21 41-44 [1902]). On these grounds, therefore, it seems extremely probable that the *śaḳ* was pre-eminently a sacred garment, and it agrees with this interpretation that we find it worn by people of all classes on any especially solemn occasion (1 Ch. 21 16 Joel 1 13 Dan. 9 3 1 Macc. 3 47 2 Macc. 10 25 etc.).

In view of what has been said elsewhere on the bearing of ideas of holiness upon such a matter as dress,[2] a plausible explanation of the custom may be attempted.

3. Why worn. Garments that have come in contact with holy things are unfit for common use, and in early Arabia certain rites were performed either in a naked state or in clothes reserved for the purpose. There are some indications that this held good among the ancient Hebrews; and if we bear in mind that the *śaḳ* is worn at times of great trouble, when Yahwè's help or forgiveness is besought, we may perhaps surmise that such occasions were formerly accompanied by a sacrificial rite when a special garb (if we may judge from the Arabian evidence) would not be unnatural. It would be just at such a time as this that the individual would feel himself brought into closest contact with his deity. At all events, ideas connected with worship of the dead do not cover the whole ground.

The king of Nineveh removes his royal mantle before donning the *śaḳ* (Jon. 3 6),[1] the 'holy' occasion requires 'holy' clothes, and the primary object of the rending of the garments is probably to put oneself in a state of nakedness as quickly as possible (Schwally, Frey).

That the use of this special garment should have been retained long after the (*ex hyp.*) ritual died out is not without analogy. The gradual decay is further illustrated by the fact that sometimes even it was the custom not to wear the *śaḳ* but to lie upon it (2 S. 21 10 Is. 58 5), and that in later Jewish times the rending of the garments was confined to a small slit (Nowack, *HA* 1 193).

See the literature at the end of MOURNING CUSTOMS; also Schwally, *Das Leben nach d. Tode* (1892), 11 *ff.*, Frey, *Tod, Seelenglaube*, etc. (1898), 34 *ff.*

On sackcloth and nakedness, cp Jastrow, *ZATW* 22 117 *ff.* (1902), which appeared since the above article was written.

S. A. C.

SACRAMENT (*sacramentum*, the Vg. rendering of *μυστήριον* in Eph. 1 9 3 3 5 32 Col. 1 27 1 Tim. 3 16 Rev. 1 20 17 7). See MYSTERY, § 5.

SACRED (ιεροc) 1 Cor. 9 13 2 Tim. 3 15 RV. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 1, 8.

SACRIFICE

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I. HISTORY OF SACRIFICE IN OT

The term 'sacrifice' may with etymological propriety be employed of all offerings to God; in common use

1. Introductory. it denotes specifically that class of offerings in which a victim is slain, corresponding to the Heb. *zĕbaḥ* (lit. 'slaughter').[3] In the present article the word will be used in this more restricted sense, whilst offerings of grain, meal, bread, oil, and the like (Heb. *minḥāh*) are called 'oblations.' The term 'offering' will be employed as the equivalent of the comprehensive *ḳorbān*, as well as in such phrases as 'burnt offering' (*'ōlāh*, holocaust), peace offering (*šĕlem*), sin offering (*ḥaṭṭāth*), trespass offering (*āšām*).

For convenience, certain species of offering are made

[1] Cp Schwally, *Leben nach d. Tode*, 11 *f.* For the early Christian usages see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant.*, *s.v.*

[2] See *Rel. Sem.*(2) 451 *f.*, DRESS, § 8, and cp generally CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

[3] See WRS *EB*(9), 21 132, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 213 *f.*

[1] Cp Wi. *AOF* 2 29, where the Assyrian king tears off his royal garments, and clothes his body in the '*bašâmu*, the dress of the penitent. Wi. (*op cit.* 44) points out that *bašâmu* is elsewhere glossed by *šaḳḳu* (=שׂק).

the subject of special articles: see FIRSTBORN, INCENSE, TAXATION, TITHE, VOW, VOTIVE OFFERING. Cp also ATONEMENT [DAY OF], FEASTS, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, TABERNACLES; and, for Babylonian parallels, RITUAL. The present article deals in its first part (§§ 1-22) with the history of sacrifice in the OT; in its second (§§ 23-40) with the developed Jewish system; the third part (§§ 41-53) discusses beliefs and ideas connected with sacrifice, its intent, significance, efficacy, and operation; the fourth part (§§ 54-61) treats of sacrifice in the NT.

2. Sacrifices of nomads.

Before the invasion of Palestine the Israelite tribes were nomads; their living and their wealth were in their flocks of small cattle.[1] These also furnished the material of their sacrifices. Offerings were doubtless made also of the spoils of war, and perhaps of animals taken in the chase (see below, § 8). Our knowledge of the character of these sacrifices is derived not so much from the stories of the patriarchs in JE as from survivals in later custom and law. The nature of these survivals, together with the permanent conditions of nomadic life in the deserts of Syria and Arabia, justify us in supplementing or interpreting our scanty material by what is known of Arab sacrifice in pre-Islamic times and among the modern Bedouins.[2]

The occasions of sacrifice are many and various. Among the modern Arabs sacrifices are offered on the birth of a son, a circumcision, marriage, the coming of a guest; for the recovery of the sick or for the health of flocks and herds; on the inception of an enterprise, such as setting out for a foray, breaking ground for tillage, opening or enlarging a well, laying the foundation of a building; on the conclusion of a compact or covenant; the return from a successful expedition; on the anniversary of a kinsman's death, and the like.

The rites of sacrifice are of primitive simplicity. The owner ordinarily slaughters his own victim. The blood is poured upon the ground, smeared upon the sacred stone, upon the tent ropes, the door-posts of houses, or upon persons or animals. The flesh makes a feast for the owner, his family, tribesmen, and guests.

3. Firstlings.[3]

A species of sacrifice which in all probability goes back to the nomadic stage is the offering of firstlings (*bĕkōrōth*, sg. *bĕkōr*) of animals, that is, the first offspring of the dam, which 'opens the womb' (*péṭer rĕḥem*, Ex. 34 19 13 2 12 15 Nu. 18 15; cp *péṭer šĕger bĕhēmāh*, Ex. 13 12). The shepherd Abel makes his offering 'of the firstlings of his flock and of their fat portions' (Gen. 4 4 J); the laws insistently claim all firstlings as God's right (Ex. 13 2 12-15 22 29 *f.* [28 *f.*] 34 19 *f.* Lev. 22 27 27 26 Nu. 18 15-17 Dt. 12 6 17 14 23 15 19-23, cp Neh. 10 36). The animal was primitively sacrificed shortly after its birth; the oldest rule is: 'Seven days it shall be with its dam; on the eighth day thou shalt give it to me' (Ex. 22 30 [29]).[4] A similar custom existed among the heathen Arabs; the first birth (called *fara'*) of a she-camel, goat, or ewe was sacrificed, frequently while still so young that its flesh was gelatinous and stuck to the skin. This offering of firstlings was permitted in the earliest years of Islam, Mohammed advising, however, that the sacrifice should be deferred till the victim was a year or two old; later he prohibited the *fara'* as well as the sacrifices in Rajab (*'atīrah*, see below, § 4).[5]

1 See CATTLE, GOAT, SHEEP. The nomadic Semites have no neat cattle, and the ancestors of the Israelites do not appear to have been among the tribes that possessed camels (see CAMEL).

2 See Wellh. *Reste altarab. Heidentumes*; Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*; for modern Arab customs, Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 1829, *Bedouins and Wahábys*, 1830; Burton, *Pilgrimage to el-Medinah and Meccah*, 1855; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*; Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion*, etc.

3 See FIRSTBORN, PASSOVER, § 8 *f.*; TAXATION AND TRIBUTE, §§ 11-13.

4 On the later modification of this rule see below, § 20.

5 See the two traditions in *Lisān* 10 119 *f.*; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 462 *f.*

The sacrifice of firstlings, like the offering of first-fruits, with which it is sometimes associated (Neh. 10 35 *f.*, cp Ex. 22 29 *f.* [28 *f.*]; note also the connection with tithes, etc., Dt. 12 6 17 14 23), was regarded in later times as a tribute to God (Nu. 18 15 *ff.* Neh. 10 35 *f.*), and as such it has been surmised that the custom of devoting firstlings to God arose after the settlement in Canaan by 'a secondary extension of the practice of offering the fruits of the field.' (So Benzinger, PASSOVER, § 8 end.) The existence of firstling sacrifices among the Arabs shows that this inference is unwarranted. The sacrifice of firstlings, as the widespread custom of offering firstborn children indicates (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 43 *ff.*), was not originally conceived as a tribute to the deity (see TITHE). That there is no mention of these offerings before the invasion of Canaan is not a sufficient reason for doubting their antiquity.

4. Spring sacrifices.[1]

In the history of the exodus Moses asks the Egyptian king to let the Israelites go into the desert to sacrifice to their God Yahwè, 'lest he fall upon us with pestilence or with the sword' (Ex. 5 3 J, cp 3 18 5 8 17; 5 1 E); the presence of all the people, young and old, is requisite; and they must take with them their flocks and herds to furnish the victims (10 9 25). From 5 3 it might seem that the sacrifice in the wilderness was something unusual, demanded on this occasion by an oracle; 5 1 (E) and 10 9 (J), however, represent it as an established institution, 'the *ḥāg* of Yahwè.'[2] The season was the spring of the year, in the month called by the Canaanites Ābīb (Ex. 13 4), corresponding to the Syrian-Babylonian Nīsān.

It is natural to connect this *ḥāg* festival with the spring festivals of other Semitic peoples. The first eight days of the month Rajab, which in the old calendar fell in the spring (see Wellh. *Prol.*(2), viii.; *Heid.*(1), 94 *ff.*), was a great sacrificial season among the heathen Arabs. The poets compare the carnage of battle to the multitudes of victims lying around the sacred stones.[3] The victim, commonly a sheep, was called *'atīrah* (pl. *'atā'ir*); its blood was poured on the head of the sacred stone (Nuwairī, quoted in Ramussen, *Addit.* 79), the flesh consumed in a feast. Such sacrifices might be offered at home; but it was probably more common to take them to some more famous holy place (see Wellh. *Heid.* 74, 94). The sacrifice, like Arab sacrifices in general, was often made in fulfilment of a vow. The Rajab sacrifices were at first kept up by the Moslems; a tradition reports Mohammed to have said: 'Every Moslem is bound to offer each year an *'aḍḥāh* (the sacrifice of the tenth of the month Dhū-l-Ḥijjah) and an *'atīrah*' (in Rajab [*Lisān* vi. 211 14 *f.*]); subsequently, however, he prohibited the *'atīrah* as well as the *fara'* (see above, § 3). In the time of Mohammed the month Dhū-l-Ḥijjah, in which was held the great festival in the vicinity of Mecca, fell at the beginning of spring (Wellh. *Prol.*(2), 105), and a comparison with the Passover naturally suggested itself;[4] but further studies in the old Arab calendar have shown that this coincidence in date is accidental.

Among the Syrians, the chief feast of the year at Hierapolis was in the spring (Lucian, *Dea Syria*, 49); at Ḥarrān the first half of Nisan was a season of special sacrifices (Fihrist, 322; Chwolsohn, *Ssabier* 2 25); evidence of the sacredness of Nisan appears in the Nabatæan inscriptions at Madāin Ṣāliḥ;[5] and at Palmyra;[6] the great festival of the modern Yezīdīs falls at the same season.[7]

A closer connection between the Hebrew spring

1 See PASSOVER, FEASTS.

2 *Ḥāg* is a religious gathering (Nö. *ZDMG* 41 719). The word is used not only of the Canaanite-Israelite agricultural festivals, but also of Arab (and Sabæan) festivals, which brought multitudes together. There is thus no ground for the assumption that the use of the term here is due merely to the later association of the Passover and the Feast of Unleavened Bread (*ḥag ha-maṣṣōth*).

3 Cp modern descriptions of the sacrifices at the Meccan feast.

4 See Snouck-Hurgronje, *Het mekkaansche Feest*, 65 *f.*

5 Berger, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1884, 377 *ff.*

6 WRS *EB*(9), 18 199, n. 2.

7 Badger, *Nestorians*, 1 119 *ff.* Vernal festivals are, of course, not peculiarly Semitic.

festival ('Passover') and the Arab Rajab sacrifices has been thought to be established by evidence that both were primitively offerings of firstlings.[1] In the Pentateuch, laws prescribing the dedication of firstlings stand in juxtaposition to ordinances for the Feast of Unleavened Bread or the Passover (see Ex. 34 18 *f.* Dt. 15 19-23 16 1 *f.* Ex. 12 43-50 13 1 3-10 11-13 14-16); the slaying of the firstborn of the Egyptians has been interpreted as a reprisal upon them for withholding from Yahwè, by their refusal to let Israel go, the firstlings that were his due (see Ex. 3 18 8 1 20 10 24 *ff.*; Wellh. 86). It has been shown, however, under PASSOVER (§ 8), that the passages cited, though compatible with such a theory of the original character of the Passover, by no means require it; and opposing considerations of much weight are to be drawn from the peculiar ritual of the Passover (see below, § 6), in which—to name but a single point—one victim is required for each household, rich or poor, whereas the number of firstlings must have varied with the owner's possessions.

5. Firstlings at them.

Nor is it satisfactorily established that the Arab Rajab sacrifices were firstlings. It is true that the term *'atīrah*, by which these victims are usually designated, is by some lexicographers made equivalent to *fara'*, firstling.[2] This is, however, nothing more than the confusion which frequently occurs in their accounts of the religious customs of 'the times of ignorance,' and over against it must be put the fact that not only the traditionists[3] but also the lexicons generally distinguish the two clearly enough.

6. Peculiar rite.

The Passover differed conspicuously from all other Israelite sacrifices, and preserved to the last, essentially unaltered, its primitive peculiarities. In the earliest times, the carcass of the victim was probably roasted whole, either over an open fire or in a pit in the earth (as by the modern Samaritans), and the flesh sometimes eaten half raw or merely softened by fire. Dt. 16 7 prescribes that it shall be boiled, like other sacrifices. This, however, did not prevail; P preserves the primitive custom while guarding against abuse: the Passover is neither to be eaten raw nor boiled in water, but roasted in the fire (Ex. 12 9), with head, legs, and inwards. The sacrificial feast was held by night at full moon; the participants were in their everyday garb, not in ceremonial apparel; everything was done with haste; the whole victim was devoured—including, doubtless, in ancient times the *exta* which in later sacrificial ritual were offered to God by fire, and therefore strictly forbidden as food; only the bones must not be broken;[4] the flesh must all be consumed before daybreak; if aught remained it was to be burnt up at once; with the flesh was eaten—not originally unleavened cakes, but—a salad of bitter herbs (Ex. 12 9 *f.*, cp Nu. 9 11 *f.*, also Dt. 16 4*b*).[5]

With this singular ritual has been compared the description given by Nilus of the customs of the Arabs in the desert S. of Palestine and in the Sinaitic peninsula in his own time—the end of the fourth century A.D. They sacrificed a white camel to Venus, the morning star; after the chief or priest who presided at the sacrifice had slain the animal, all rushed upon the carcass with knives, hewed it to pieces, and devoured it in wild haste, hide, inwards, bones, and all, that not a scrap of it might be left for the rising sun to look upon.[6]

[1] WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 227 *f.* n. 464 *f.*; Wellh. *Prol.*(4), 86; Now. *HA* 2 147; Benz. *HA* 469 *f.*

[2] *Lisān*, 6 210. Note also the identical custom described in the *Lisān* under *fara'*, in the *Tāj* (3 308) under *'atīrah*.

[3] See Bokhāri, ed. Krehl, 3 514 *f.*

[4] Contrast the Arab sacrifice of Nilus, below. See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 345.

[5] See the description of the Passover of the modern Samaritans, Petermann, *Reisen*, 1 235 *ff.*

[6] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 79 613, cp 612; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 281 *f.*; Wellh. *Heid.*(1) 119 *ff.*

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In Ex. 12 21-27 (ultimately from J) the elders are bidden to take sheep or goats, one for each clan (*mišpāḥāh*), slaughter them, and, dipping a bunch of herbs ('hyssop') into the blood, to strike it upon the lintel and door-posts; Yahwè will not suffer 'the destroyer' to enter a house on which he sees these blood-marks. This, an editor adds, is the historical origin and explanation of a custom in use in later times; with it he connects etymologically the name 'Passover' (*pésaḥ*), because Yahwè 'passed over' (*pāsaḥ*) the marked houses of the Israelites (Ex. 12 24-27). The object of the rite is to protect the inmates of the house from 'the destroyer'; that is, in primitive conception, from the demons of disease and death. Similar customs with the same motive are found among many peoples.[1]

7. Protection by blood.

Whether this rite was originally connected with the Hebrew spring feast is not clear. J, who prescribes the marking of the houses, says nothing about a feast, and, indeed, repeatedly insists that the festival of Yahwè cannot be celebrated in Egypt (Ex. 5 3 8 25-27); P orders that the blood of the lamb slain for the feast be applied to the door of every house in which it is eaten (Ex. 12 7, cp 13), a direction which Jewish tradition and practice regarded as applying only to the 'Egyptian Passover';[2] Dt. makes no mention of this use of the blood at the PASSOVER (*q.v.*, § 13).[3] It is not unlikely that a rite originally occasional, as in the outbreak of an epidemic, came to be practised annually for the protection of the household during the coming year, and in connection with the old spring feast.[4] The name *pésaḥ* probably belonged, notwithstanding J's etymology, to the feast rather than to the blood marking.

8. Wild animals; spoils of war.

Some Semitic peoples, both nomadic and settled, offered in sacrifice animals taken in the chase. Gazelles were offered by the Babylonians (Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.-Ass.* 661) and probably by the Phœnicians (Sacrificial Tariffs, *CIS* 165 59 167 5; cp ISAAC, § 4, n. 2). Among the heathen Arabs, also, gazelles were sacrificed, but were regarded as an inferior offering; men who had vowed sheep or goats from their flocks sometimes substituted gazelles.[5] The nomadic forefathers of the Israelites may have made similar offerings; but there is no reminiscence of this in the OT. The requirement that the blood of animals taken in the chase be poured out and covered with earth (Lev. 17 13, cp Dt. 12 16 24) is not necessarily an attenuated survival of a sacrificial rite; the belief that the soul is in the blood (Lev. 17 14, on which see below, § 46) is reason enough.[6]

Sacrifice was doubtless offered also of the spoil of war, as in later times (1 S. 15 15 21 cp 14 34; see also Gen. 14 20). Similarly the Arabs on their return from a foray sacrificed one beast of those they had taken and feasted on it before dividing the booty.[7] The Arabs of whom Nilus wrote took by preference a human victim, a fair youth, from among their captives; in default of such, they offered a white camel.[8] The Carthaginians, after a victory, sacrificed the fairest of their captives by night as burnt offerings (Diodorus Siculus, 20 65);

[1] See, *e.g.*, Zimmern, *Beitr.* 2 no. 26, col. 3, *l.* 20 *f.*; Palmer, *Des. Exod.* 90 118, etc.; Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 499 452 2 100 etc.; Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 444 451. A large collection of material is found in Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, chap. 15 *ff.*

[2] So also the modern Samaritans: Petermann, *Reisen*, 1 237.

[3] See below, § 20.

[4] A very similar ceremony at a great annual festival in Peru is described by Garcilasso de la Vega, *Comm. Reales*, 7 6.

[5] Ḥārith, *Mu'allaḳah*, 69, with the scholia; al-Laith in *Lisān* vi. 211 9.

[6] Cp the burying of blood drawn in blood-letting, or from a nose-bleed, *e.g.*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 492; Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, 447.

[7] WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 491, and the Arab authors there cited.

[8] Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 79 612 *f.* 641 681; see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 362 *ff.*

similar instances have been adduced from the records of Assyrian kings (Shalmaneser, *Monolith*, obv. 17). The slaying of Agag, whom Samuel hewed in pieces before Yahwè in Gilgal (1 S. 15 33), has sometimes been regarded as a sacrifice of this kind;[1] but it is doubtful whether this interpretation is correct (see below, § 13 end).

9. In Canaan: sources.

The many accounts of sacrifices in the books of Samuel and Kings are in large part taken from old and good sources, and give us comparatively full and trustworthy information for the period which they cover. By their side we may place the similar descriptions in Judges, and in the patriarchal story as narrated by J and E (*e.g.*, Gen. 15 7 *ff.*). The laws in the same sources (especially in Ex. 34 and 21-23) dealing with feasts and offerings, with the other—not inconsiderable—remains of early collections of law preserved in Dt. and H, represent the usage of Israelite and Judæan sanctuaries in the time of the kings; the condemnation of many customs in the reform legislation of the seventh century bears witness to the prevalence of the practices so zealously prohibited. The prophets, finally, paint vivid pictures of the religion of their contemporaries, with all its abuses.

10. Agricultural civilisation.

The regions E. of the Jordan first occupied by Israelite tribes are capable of supporting enormous flocks upon their rich and extensive pastures.[2] Much of the land is very fertile and abundantly rewards cultivation; but the conditions do not constrain nomadic tribes taking possession of the country to become tillers of the soil. The case was different in Western Palestine. In the S. indeed, in the Negeb and the Wilderness of Judah, the new comers continued to be chiefly shepherds even after they adopted fixed habitations; but in the central highlands (Mt. Ephraim) and in the N. they were soon compelled to get most of their living from the soil. They learned from the older population of the country to raise crops of grain and pulse and to cultivate the fig, the olive, and the vine. With the arts of agriculture they learned also the religion of agriculture. To the sacrifices and festivals of their nomadic forefathers were now added the proper offerings for the bounty of the land and the season feasts of the husbandman's year (see FEASTS, § 4 *f.*). Animal sacrifice is still the most important part of worship, as we see clearly from the historical books; neat cattle, kept as plough-beasts, are added to the victims from the flock.[3] First-fruits or tithes of grain and wine and oil must be consecrated in their season according to an established ritual. The worship was offered at the 'high places,' that is, in general, the old Canaanite holy places (see HIGH PLACE, §§ 2-4).

11. Species of sacrifice: zébaḥ.

The most general term for offering, whether of animals or of other things, is *minḥāh*, מִנְחָה, 'gift' (𝔊 δῶρον, more frequently θυσία), a word not confined to religious uses.[4] In distinction from other offerings specifically named—such as *'ōlāh*, *zébaḥ*—*minḥāh* sometimes refers particularly to oblations of bread, meal, oil, and the like (see § 14).[5] Animal sacrifices fall into two main classes: *'ōlāh*, EV 'burnt offering,' in which the victim was all consumed by fire; and *zébaḥ*, EV ordinarily 'sacrifice,' in which, after the *exta* had been burnt upon the altar, the flesh was eaten. These species are often enumerated together, as in Jer. 17 26: 'they shall come . . . bringing burnt offerings and sacrifices and oblations and frankincense . . . unto the house of Yahwè.'

The Heb. *zébaḥ*, זֶבַח, is ordinarily rendered in 𝔊 by θυσία, the corresponding verb by θύω, less frequently θυσιάζω. The verb means properly 'slaughter,' and may be used of the killing of domestic animals for food without religious rites (*e.g.*, Dt. 12 15 21); but since in earlier times animals were seldom if ever killed thus, it ordinarily imports sacrificial slaying. The place to which animals are brought to be killed is the *mizbēaḥ*, literally 'slaughter place'; in Canaan this was generally the stone or pile of stones on which the fat was burned, whence *mizbēaḥ* comes to be equivalent to altar (see ALTAR, MASSEBAH, § 5).

The occasions of sacrifice were of different kinds (see above, § 2, and below, § 15), and distinctive names for some of them were probably early in use; peculiarities of ritual, too, no doubt belonged to certain varieties of sacrifice, as to the Passover or the covenant sacrifice (cp Gen. 15 9 *ff.* Jer. 34 18 *f.*), but, however ancient the custom itself may be, our knowledge of the details of the sacrificial ritual comes chiefly through later sources. For this reason, as well as to avoid repetition, the species of sacrifice and their characteristic rites will be considered below in their place in the completed system (§ 23 *ff.*).

One term is, however, so certainly old and so frequent that it cannot be passed over here; viz. *šélem*, שֶׁלֶם (Am. 5 22), generally pl. *šělāmīm* (EV 'peace offerings'). In many passages *šělāmīm* are coupled with *'ōlōth* (burnt offerings) in descriptions of greater sacrificial occasions, precisely as *'ōlōth* and *zěbāḥīm* elsewhere; see, *e.g.*, Ex. 20 24 32 6 2 S. 6 17 *f.* 24 25 1 K. 3 15 9 25 Ezek. 45 15 43 27 46 2 12 etc. In other instances we have the phrases זֶבַח שְׁלָמִים, זִבְחֵי שְׁלָמִים, 'sacrifices of peace offerings'—*e.g.*, 1 S. 10 8 Jos. 22 23 Prov. 7 14. The *šělāmīm* appear to have been by far the most common kind of sacrifices, so that when the word *zěbāḥim* was used without qualification it would be understood to refer to *šělāmīm*; on the other hand, the name *šělāmim* is probably shortened from *zibḥē šělāmīm*.

The original significance of the word is not certain. 𝔊 translates, σωτήρια, (θυσίαι) τοῦ σωτηρίου, so also Philo, *De victimis*, § 4, 2 245 Mangey; 𝔊 in Samuel and Kings (θυσίαι) εἰρηνικαί or τῶν εἰρηνικῶν, so Aq. Symm. Theodot.; Vg. *victima pacifica*, *pacificum* (sc. *sacrificium*); hence EV, 'peace offerings.' These interpreters connect the Heb. word with the simple stem of the verb שלם, 'be whole, sound, safe,' or the noun *šālōm*, שָׁלוֹם, 'peace.'[1] Josephus, who renders θυσίαι χαριστήριοι (*Ant.* iii. 9 2), apparently associates it with the meaning of the intensive stem, *šillam*, 'requite, repay, pay'; so that these sacrifices would be a return to God for benefits received from him, or the payment of an obligation to him; cp Prov. 7 14: 'I had *šelāmīm*-sacrifices to make; to-day I have paid (*šillamtī*) my vows.' The word occurs also, as the name of a species of sacrifice (שלם כליל), on an inscription from a Phœnician temple at Marseilles (*CIS* 165 3 *ff.*). It is perhaps a Canaanite term adopted by the Israelites. [On Ass. *šulmu* see RITUAL, § 11, *ia.*]

The blood of the victims was poured or smeared upon the sacrificial stone as had been done by their nomadic forefathers. Besides this, portions of the animal, especially of the internal fat (1 S. 2 15 *f.*),[2] were now burned upon a raised altar—monolith or heap of stones or earth—as upon a hearth; and this part of the performance was so essential that the verb 'burn,' with or without an object ('the fat'), becomes equivalent to 'offer sacrifice.'

In older times the intensive stem *ḳiṭṭēr*, קִטֵּר, 'make smoke, burn'—rarely with the object (הַחֵלֶב, 1 S. 2 15 *f.*)—is used; so frequently in the prophets, of the heathenish sacrifices of their contemporaries. In later texts the causative *hiḳṭīr*, הִקְטִיר, prevails. See We. *Prol.*(4), 64 *f.*, n. 1. The burning of the offering is probably to be regarded as a means of conveying it to God; the fragrant smoke was, at least in later times, thought of as containing the ethereal substance of the sacrifice. (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 236; see also below, § 41.)

The flesh of the victim was boiled (2 S. 2 15 *f.* 1 K. 19 21), and furnished a feast for the offerer with his family, friends, and guests (1 S. 1 4 *ff.* 9 12 22 *ff.*, etc.). In Canaan, bread, wine, and oil, the products of agriculture, took their place in the feast beside the flesh of animals from the flock or herd (see *e.g.*, 1 S. 1 24); these again were in part obligatory offerings—first-fruits,

1 WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 363. Nowack (*HA* 2 205) includes in the same class the killing of Zebah and Zalmunna, Judg. 8 21.
2 GASm. *Hist. Geog.* 523 *f.*; cp Nu. 32 1 4 2 K. 3 4, etc. See also CATTLE, § 3.
3 On changes in the rites of sacrifice see below, § 11.
4 In the technical language of the later ritual the comprehensive term is *ḳorbān*; see below, § 24.
5 On the more restricted technical use of the word in the later ritual see below, § 24.

1 See also the etymological explanations in *Siphrā* on Lev. 3 1 (fol. 13 *a*, ed. Weiss).
2 From Judg. 6 19 *ff.* it has sometimes been inferred that in early times boiled flesh was offered (cp also Nu. 6 19); but the evidence is insufficient to sustain the conclusion.

tithes, etc.—in part occasional and voluntary. Of them also a part was given to God, probably upon the altar by fire (see Am. 4 5). The bread offered was that which the participants in the feast themselves ate; that is, in ordinary cases leavened bread;[1] unleavened cakes when, for religious reasons (as in the *maṣṣōth* feast) or at a meal hastily prepared for an unexpected guest, they ate their own bread unleavened. The bread offered was probably moistened with oil or dipped in it, as was the bread eaten by the worshippers (cp the later rituals, § 30). Of the wine a libation was made to God (Hos. 9 4). See below, §§ 14, 31 *a*.

12. Burnt offering, 'ōlāh.

The peculiarity of the *'ōlāh* (עֹלָה) is that no part of the victim was used for food; the flesh as well as the sacrificial portions of the inwards and fat was burned.

The term is derived from the common verb *'ālāh* (עָלָה), 'go up, ascend,' and signifies, according to the prevailing interpretation, the sacrifice which (all) 'comes up' upon the altar (Knob., Wellh., Nowack, etc.), or that which 'goes up' in smoke to the sky (Bähr, Del., Dillmann, etc.). In 𝔊 generally ὁλοκαύτωμα, ὁλοκαύτωσις, Vg. *holocaustum.*

Another term for the sacrifice given as a 'whole offering' to God is *kālīl* כָּלִיל (Dt. 33 10 1 S. 7 9 Ps. 51 21; cp Dt. 13 17 Judg. 20 40), which appears as a technical term in Phœnician also; see the sacrificial tariffs of Marseilles and Carthage, *CIS* i. 165 3 5, etc., 167 5.

The whole burnt offering was naturally much less frequent than the sacrifices which furnished a feast for the worshippers; it is seldom mentioned alone, and then in peculiar circumstances.[2] Ordinarily the burnt offering occurs in conjunction with other sacrifices (*zĕbāḥīm* or *šĕlāmīm*); *e.g.*, 2 S. 6 17 *f.* 24 25 1 K. 9 25 2 K. 10 24, etc. It was probably originally an extraordinary offering made by great persons or on great occasions (We. *Prol.*(4), 70). The daily burnt offering in the temple at Jerusalem (2 K. 16 15)—and doubtless at other royal sanctuaries—was the king's daily sacrifice, and was followed by many *zĕbāḥīm* for the court and by private persons.

The ritual of the burnt offering is not described in any ancient account; it may be assumed that the blood was treated in the same way as that of the other sacrifices; it is supposed by both the narratives in JE and by the laws that the flesh and fat of the holocaust were consumed upon the altar.[3] The hide, according to Lev. 7 8, fell to the priest, and this is not improbably an ancient rule; it was, in fact, the only toll he could take for his services.[4]

It is possible that at an earlier time the burnt offering was burned on the ground or in a pit, rather than in a raised altar; this is said to have been done for a special reason at the dedication of Solomon's temple (1 K. 8 64).[5] The analogy of the human sacrifices at the Tophet (see MOLECH, TOPHET; cp. however, Gen. 22 9), and the burning of the carcass of certain sin offerings without the sanctuary, may also be noted. It is probable, however, that the burning of the holocaust upon the altar was the Cannanite custom, adopted by the Israelites.[6]

Whether the burnt offering was accompanied by an oblation of bread or by a libation is uncertain.[7] When

[1] 1 S. 10 3 Am. 4 5; leavened bread in certain *šĕlāmīm* even in Lev. 7 13, cp 23 17.

[2] Gen. 8 20 22 13 Nu. 23 1 *ff.* Judg. 6 26 (13 16 23) 1 S. 6 14 1 K. 3 4 18 38.

[3] The carcass was previously cut up; 1 K. 18 23 33.

[4] So in the sacrificial tariff of Carthage (*CIS* 1 167); in that of Marseilles the priest has a fee in money, and a part of the flesh, whilst the hide belongs to the offerer.

[5] So also at Hierapolis; Lucian, *Dea Syria;* WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 378.

[6] An argument may perhaps be drawn from the size of the Canaanite rock-altars that have been discovered.

[7] In 1 K. 8 64 the words 'and the *minḥāh*' are a gloss.

it was part of a great sacrificial occasion these probably went with the other sacrifices (*zĕbāḥīm*). The regular daily burnt offering in the temple may have had such an accompaniment; but the earlier custom seems to have been to offer the *minḥāh* daily as an evening oblation corresponding to the morning *'ōlāh* (see below, §§ 19, 32). In the passages which speak of the burnt offering alone (cited above, col. 4191, n. 2), there is no mention of a *minḥāh*. Judg. 6 20 *f.* 13 19 *ff.* cannot be alleged; in these places a meal prepared for a guest is miraculously consumed by fire; this may be called an *'ōlāh*, but obviously no inference can be drawn as to the ordinary ritual of burnt offerings.

13. Victims.

The animals sacrificed were neat cattle, sheep, and goats; also, at least in certain rites, turtle doves and pigeons, clean birds easily procured by dwellers in towns and cities. The choice of victims for particular sacrifices or occasions was doubtless to some extent regulated by custom; in ordinary cases it was left to the worshipper to determine what his offering should be, in accordance with his means, his disposition, and his motive, or his previous intention or vow. It is very likely an ancient rule that the burnt offering should be a male; though 1 S. 6 14 shows that it was not always so. Sometimes very young animals were offered even as a burnt offering (1 S. 7 9, sucking lamb); but ordinarily, no doubt, a mature animal was chosen for this sacrifice.[1]

That the offering of a human victim as a holocaust was not unknown in old Israel we learn from the story of Jephthah, Judg. 11 30 *f.* 34-40. The narrator represents this sacrifice as extraordinary, but does not condemn it as abhorrent to the religion of Yahwè.[2] The statement in 1 K. 16 34 to the effect that Hiel, who in the days of Ahab rebuilt Jericho, 'laid its foundations with Abiram his firstborn, and set up its gates with Segub his youngest son,' hardly admits any other interpretation than that he offered them as foundation sacrifices, in accordance with a widespread and persistent custom.[3]

It does not appear, however, that human sacrifices were frequent in the early centuries of the Israelite occupation of Canaan. The offering by parents of their own sons and daughters, especially the firstborn, about which there is so much in the prophets and laws of the seventh century,[4] was not the recrudescence of ancient custom, but a new and foreign cult (see MOLECH, § 4 *ff.*). The lesson of Gen. 22 is that though Yahwè might claim even an only son, he does not require such sacrifice but accepts instead a victim from the flock; cp Mi. 6 7.

The expiation of Saul's massacre of the Gibeonites by the execution of seven of his sons and grandsons 'before Yahwè' at the famous sanctuary of Gibeon (2 S. 21 9), important as the story is for the idea of expiation and thus for sacrificial conceptions, is not itself to be considered as a sacrifice. Nor is the devotion of the inhabitants of a conquered city—or an Israelite city that has fallen into the worship of other gods (Dt. 13 12 *ff.*)—to the deity by slaughter and burning (*ḥērem*, see BAN) properly regarded as a form of human sacrifice.

14. Oblations.

The offerings of bread, oil, and wine which formed part of the sacrificial feast have been spoken of above in that connection (§ 11). There were also independent offerings of the products of agriculture. The deity which gave the increase to man's labour received from him portions of all; only when these had been duly rendered could the rest be used by the owner (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 318 *ff.* 459 *ff.*).

These offerings, which fall under the general head of first-fruits, were called by various names: first-fruits (*bikkūrīm*, Ex. 34 26 23 19), tithes (*ma'ăsĕrōth*), prime portions (*rēšīth*), portions set apart (*tĕrūmāh*), and others. The original distinctions are not always clear;

[1] Mi. 6 6 speaks of burnt offerings of yearling calves; the daily burnt offering in P is a yearling lamb.

[2] JEPHTHAH, § 6. Compare Mesha's sacrifice of his son, 2 K. 3 27.

[3] See HIEL. On these sacrifices cp Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*(3), 1 104 *ff.*; Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, 284 *ff.*; especially Sartori, 'Das Bauopfer,' *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* 30 1 *ff.* (1898).

[4] See Jer. 7 31 Ezek. 20 26 23 36 *ff.* Lev. 18 21 20 2 *ff.* Dt. 18 10 etc.

the definitions of P and the Mishna may sometimes be suspected of making systematic discrimination between terms once loosely equivalent. The tendency of the ritual development was to reduce to rule and measure what was once more free, and to convert into a tax, for the support of the clergy, what formerly, as a gift to the deity, had actually fallen in whole or in part to his ministers. Aparchæ were offered not only of things that were eaten, but also of flax and wool (Hos. 2 5 9 Dt. 18 4). Inasmuch as these offerings have a history of their own it has seemed best to treat them separately; see TAXATION, TITHES. Religious dedications of a different character are the *'orlāh* of fruit-trees in the first three years of bearing, followed in the fourth by the consecration of the crop as *ḥillūlīm* (Lev. 19 23-25), which corresponds to the sacrifice of the firstlings of animals; the *pē'āh*, or unreaped corner of the grain-field; the gleanings of the harvest-field, orchard, and vineyard (Lev. 19 9 *f.*); and the spontaneous crops of the fallow year (Ex. 23 10 *f.*). (See NATURE WORSHIP, § 3.)

The form of presentation of first-fruits is described only in part. In Lev. 23 10 *f.* 14 (old laws in H) the first sheaf of barley (originally from each field, or from each village) is brought and 'waved' (*hēnīph*, הֵנִיף, a gesture of throwing) before Yahwè at the local sanctuary; until this is done the new crop must not be used in any form (*v.* 14); unleavened cakes (*maṣṣōth*) of the new barley meal are eaten for seven days (see FEASTS, PASSOVER). At the end of wheat harvest a corresponding ceremony is the presentation in a similar way of two loaves of leavened bread (originally from each household, Lev. 23 15-17 20*a*). Cp Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 319. Dt. 26 1 *ff.* prescribes that specimens of the choicest of the fruits of the land shall be brought by each landowner in a basket and set down before the altar with a solemn liturgy of thanksgiving; the presentation is followed by a feast (see below, § 22).

Another kind of oblation, which, though of much less primitive character than the kinds just mentioned, can be traced back to an early period in the history of Israel in Canaan, is the setting before the deity of a table spread with food and drink (see, further, below, § 34 *a*). Such was the custom at Nob (1 S. 21 4-6 [5-7]) as well as at Jerusalem (1 K. 7 48), and probably wherever God had a house or temple. On this table stood bread, which at certain intervals was exchanged for fresh loaves hot from the oven; the loaves that were removed were eaten as 'holy bread' by the priests, and—under exceptional circumstances—by laymen who had 'hallowed' themselves (1 S. 21 4-6). It is natural to suppose that, as among other peoples, wine too, in cups or chalices, was placed upon the table; but there is no mention of it in the OT. (On P see below, § 34 *a*.) In the *lectisternia* of other religions flesh also was thus set before the deity; it is not probable, however, that such was ever Israelite custom. Like the flesh or fat of animal sacrifices and the oblation of bread, wine, and oil with them, the loaves of 'shew bread' were 'the food of God' (לחם אלהים).

Offerings of wine in the form of libations were made at the sacrificial feasts (above, § 11); a libation of *šēkār*, properly any fermented drink other than wine, is spoken of in a late law (Nu. 28 7; see below, § 35), but in no ancient source; there seems to be no reason why such libations should not have been made. Honey was excluded from the preparation of sacrificial cakes (Lev. 2 11), in which it was much used in other cults;[1] it was brought with the other choicest products of the land in the ceremony described in Dt. 26 1 *ff.*, but did not come upon the altar. Milk, often offered by other peoples in libations,[2] was not so used by the Hebrews.

[1] Libations of honey in antiquity, Theophrastus in Porphyry, *De abst.* 2 20 *f.*; reasons for the prohibition in Jewish law, Philo, *De sacrificantibus*, § 6, 2 255, Mangey.

[2] In Arabia, We. *Heid.*(1), 111 *f.* Milk in Abel's offering (Jos. *Ant.* i. 2 1) is a mistranslation of the ambiguous חלבהם.

That independent libations of oil were made is intrinsically not improbable, though not conclusively established by reference to Gen. 28 18 Judg. 9 9 Mic. 6 7. (See Now. *HA* 2 208; cp below, § 31 *a*.)

15. Seasons and occasions. Sacrifices were generally offered at home; every village had its altar (*mizbēaḥ*, slaughter place), where the victims were slain and feasts held; thither the firstlings and other obligatory offerings were brought (see HIGH PLACE, § 4). There were more famous holy places to which men resorted in numbers, especially at the autumn festival (see FEASTS, § 4). The times of sacrifice were in part fixed by custom, in part dependent on the occasion or on the will of the worshipper. To the former class belong the Passover at the vernal full moon (see above, §§ 4 *ff.*), and the agricultural season feasts at the beginning and end of the grain harvest, and at the close of the vintage (see FEASTS).[1] At the last three custom required every man to 'see the face of Yahwè,' with an offering (Ex. 23 17). The new moon was a favourite time for feasts: Saul expects all his court to be present on such an occasion (1 S. 20 4 *f.*, cp 18 24 *ff.*); the annual sacrifice of David's clan at Bethlehem is held on a new moon (1 S. 20 5 *f.* 29). See NEW MOON. The Sabbath, apparently in a lesser degree, enjoyed the same preference. When a regular cultus became established at the greater sanctuaries, more numerous victims were offered on these days (see below, § 33). The specific occasions of sacrifice were manifold—the circumcision or weaning of a son, marriage, the coming of a traveller, the making of a compact, consultation of an oracle, the mustering of a clan for war or the return from a campaign, the accession of a king, the dedication of a temple, the staying of a plague. Many sacrifices were offered in fulfilment of vows for the obtaining of the most varied objects of human desire. Men sacrificed alike when they rejoiced in the evidence of Yahwè's favour, when they besought his bounty or his help, and when they had need to propitiate the offended God. Many kinds of uncleanness required purification by sacrifice.

16. Worshippers. The companies of worshippers for whom and by whom sacrifices were brought originally corresponded to the natural groupings of the people, the family or clan for itself (*e.g.*, 1 S. 20 6), the village community at its own high place (*e.g.*, 1 S. 9 12). Even at the greater holy places, which were frequented at the festival seasons by multitudes from different tribes, these groups preserved their identity. Deuteronomy assumes that this will be the case at Jerusalem when all bring their sacrifices thither; and in the Passover the 'household,' even when casually constituted, continued to the last, and, indeed, still continues, to be a distinct sacral group; the great mass of worshippers did not become one worshipping community, but remained many companies. The only body of worshippers in ancient times in which the natural groups are sunk is the army in time of war. How far the persistence of the family as a society of worship in the national religion is to be attributed to the survival of proper family cults, the worship of ancestors, it does not fall within the province of this article to discuss.[2]

The worshippers prepared themselves for participation in the sacrifice as 'holy' by 'hallowing themselves' (*hithḳaddēš*, 1 S. 16 5 Nu. 11 18, cp Ex. 19 10 14). An obligatory part of this 'hallowing' on solemn occasions was abstinence for a time previous to the appearance at the sacred place from sexual intercourse (cp 1 S. 21 5 *f.* Ex. 19 15);[3] other preparatory ceremonies were purifications, ablutions, the washing of garments. Men put on festal attire, garments and ornaments not of

[1] Sheep-shearing was also a time for feasting, 1 S. 25 7.

[2] See FAMILY, § 2; Sta. *GVI* 1 390 *ff.*

[3] See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 454 *ff.*

everyday wear (Ex. 3 22 11 2 *f.* 12 35 *f.* Hos. 2 13 [15] Ezek. 16 12 *f.*).[1]

For the ordinary sacrifice (*zĕbaḥ*) the assistance of a priest was unnecessary; the rites were simple and known to all. The older historical books abound in instances of sacrifices by laymen of all ranks; the father offered sacrifice for his household, the 'elders' for the clan or the village community, the commander for the army, the king for the people. The offerer slew and flayed his own victim—as, indeed, continued to be the rule to the latest period; doubtless he also in early times poured the blood upon the sacred stone or altar, afterwards a specifically priestly act. At the holy places which had a resident priesthood—often proprietary—the priests burnt the fat upon the altar; for this service they took toll (1 S. 2 13 *ff.*). The customary right of the priests may have differed at different places, as it certainly changed in course of time (cp 1 S. 2 13 *ff.* Dt. 18 3 Lev. 7 34).[3] The priests participated also by guest-right in the sacrificial feasts. The most important functions of the priesthood were not, however, direction or assistance at sacrifices, but the custody of the sanctuary, the consultation of the oracle, and instruction concerning purifications, piacular rites, and the like.

17. Priests.[2]

The sacrificial worship of ancient Israel had a prevailingly joyous character; to eat and drink and rejoice before Yahwè (Dt.) is a description of it which holds good to the end of the kingdom. The stated feasts in harvest-time and vintage, the new moon and sabbath, were all seasons of rejoicing; and the occasions of public and private sacrifice at other times (see above, § 15) were, in general, of a joyful nature. The banquet was accompanied by music and song (Am. 5 23, cp 6 5), not always of what we should call a religious kind; dances, also, were customary (Ex. 32 19 1 S. 18 6 Ex. 15 20 Judg. 11 34 21 19 *ff.*). The excesses to which such festivities are exposed did not fail to occur (1 S. 1 13 *ff.* 2 22 Is. 28 7 *f.* Am. 2 7 *f.* Hos. 4 14).

18. Character of worship.[4]

But while joyfulness was thus the predominant note of worship, it must not be imagined that ancient religion had no other note. In times of private distress or public calamity men set themselves to expiate the offence, known or unknown, that had provoked God's anger, to propitiate him by gifts and recover his favour (see 2 S. 21 1 *ff.* 24 18 *ff.* Dt. 21 1 *ff.* etc.). Such scenes as are described in 1 K. 18 26 *ff.* (the priests of Baal on Carmel) were probably not without parallel among the Israelites on like occasions. Fasting before Yahwè, wearing the garb of mourning, was an ancient and common means of appealing to his mercy (see FASTING). In ordinary cases propitiatory sacrifices differed from common sacrifices, not in rite, but in the spirit and mood of the worshippers. When God was manifestly perilously incensed men would hardly venture to approach him with sacrifice till they had reason to hope that his wrath was somewhat appeased (see, *e.g.*, 2 S. 24).

Like other ancient monarchs, the kings of Judah and Israel built temples at old holy places, such as Bethel, and in their capitals, as at Jerusalem and Samaria. Worship at these royal sanctuaries was under the direction of the sovereign; on great occasions the king in person offered sacrifice in them (1 K. 8 5 64; especially 9 25 2 K. 16 12 *ff.*); the priests were appointed by him. It was probably in these temples that the custom of offering a daily holocaust grew up. This sacrifice was made early in the morning; in the late afternoon the oblation of bread or dough, oil, wine (the *minḥāh*) was presented (see 1 K. 18 29 36, cp Dan. 9 21 Ezra 9 4 *f.*).[1] The animals required for food by the king's great household were, no doubt, slaughtered at the temples with a sacrificial dedication; the name *ṭabbāḥīm*, lit. 'butchers,' applied to the palace guard, has been thought to bear witness to this custom (WRS *Rel. Sem.*(1), 396). At the festivals and on special occasions greater numbers of sacrifices were offered by the king and his court, as well as by the people who came together to celebrate the feast. Foreign luxuries, such as incense, came into use at these sanctuaries. The support of the regular cultus came from the king's treasury, either from imposts levied *in natura* (2 K. 16 15 Ezek. 45 9 *ff.*), or by the assignment to the temple of the revenues of a district. (See TAXATION.)

19. Effect of monarchy.

A considerable number of priests must have been attached to the greater temples, and the necessity of order and authority was doubtless early felt. In Jerusalem we read of a chief priest and a second priest. The better organisation probably in part recognised, in part created, a differentiation of functions. The same conditions were favourable to the growth of the ritual in elaborateness and splendour, and to a concomitant estimate of its importance. In a word, the ritualistic and sacerdotal tendencies in the religion of Israel had their seats at the royal temples, especially at Jerusalem. By degrees the worship at Jerusalem came to be a very different thing from that at the country high places, and thus things were preparing both for the deuteronomic reforms and for the ritual law.

The greatest change, however, which followed the establishment of the kingdom was the institution of a regular public cultus maintained by the king for himself and his people. Thus a national religion was created.

When Israel took its place among the nations, political and commercial intercourse opened the way for religious influence. Solomon's new temple was built by a Phœnician architect after Phœnician models; Ahaz exchanged the altar for a copy of one he had seen in Damascus. The more complete apparatus of worship—the bronze reservoir and portable lavers, the many utensils provided for the service of the altar, for example—suppose corresponding elaboration in the ritual. The vestments and ceremonial ornaments of the priests also were probably patterned after those in use in Phœnician temples. The influence of foreign religions was much deeper in the seventh century, during the long reign of Manasseh. Not only were many new cults, especially of Assyrian origin, introduced (see QUEEN OF HEAVEN, NATURE WORSHIP, § 5 *f.*), but the worship of Yahwè was enriched by new rites and offerings; the burning of costly gums and spices, for example, is first heard of in this period.[2] The sacrifice of children as burnt offerings, with peculiar rites, to Yahwè under the title 'king' (*ham-mélek*), which also became prevalent in this age, is probably a foreign—Phœnician or Syrian—cult adopted by worshippers of Yahwè (see MOLECH).

20. Foreign influence.

The reforms of Josiah not only suppressed for a time these foreign rites, but also made a radical change in the whole sacrificial system by destroying the high places, carrying away their priesthoods, and forbidding the offering of sacrifice at any place in the kingdom except the temple in Jerusalem.[3] A necessary corollary of this restriction of sacrifice to one altar was the slaughter of animals for food at home without sacrificial rites (Dt. 12 15 *f.* 20-25), contrary to the ancient rule (see Lev. 17 3 *f.*).[4]

20a. Reform and reaction.

A large part of the occasional private and family

1 We. *Prol.*(4), 71. See DRESS, § 8.
2 See PRIEST, § 4 *f.*
3 To prevent controversy or extortion, tablets on which the legal tariff for various species of sacrifice was inscribed were sometimes set up before ancient temples (see *CIS* 1 165 167; *CIL* 6 820).
4 See FEASTS, § 5 *f.*

1 On the later custom, see below, § 32.
2 See INCENSE, § 3. It is worthy of note that Ezekiel gives it no place in his reformed cultus.
3 See DEUTERONOMY, ISRAEL, § 37 *f.*; JOSIAH, § 1.
4 Disregarding redactional changes; see LEVITICUS, § 28.

sacrifices thus drop out. The change is even greater on the other side; the season feasts must now all be kept at Jerusalem; thither firstlings and tithes, first-fruits—in a word, all obligatory offerings—must be brought, there all vows must be paid, and freewill offerings made. Various modifications of the ancient custom became necessary; the lustration of houses with blood at the Passover must have ceased (see above, § 7); the age at which firstlings should be offered (eight days, Ex. 22 30 [29]) is now a minimum limit—they may be brought at any time after they are a week old (Lev. 22 27). The removal to Jerusalem of the feasts in which the tithes were consumed, besides other changes (Dt. 14 24 *ff.*), deprived the poor of the village of the participation in these feasts which they enjoyed by ancient right of hospitality; compensation is made by the conversion of the tithes of one year in three to charity (Dt. 14 28 *f.*; see TAXATION, § 10, TITHES). The country priests who were transported to Jerusalem were not allowed to offer sacrifice in the temple, though they had their living from its revenues; an inferior order of ministry was thus, in fact, established.

By the centralisation of worship its natural connection with the common life of men was much loosened. The Israelite could visit the holy place to offer his sacrifices at most but thrice a year, more commonly, perhaps, but once or twice. At other times he knows that stated sacrifices are offered in the temple daily, and with greater pomp at all the festivals. The possibility of a cultus carried on for the benefit of those who are not present, of a sacerdotal religion done for the people by the priests, and operative, if correctly performed, is thus prepared. These consequences were not perceived, much less realised, in the few remaining years of Josiah's reign, nor, in their full effect, for many generations afterwards.

The spirit of the sacrificial laws in Deuteronomy is that of the older time; 'rejoice before Yahwè' is still the common expression for worship. The increased emphasis on the olden hospitality of the sacrificial feast is in accord with the prominence of motives of charity and humanity in the deuteronomic legislation, but is doubtless due in part, as has been already suggested, to the consciousness that the transfer of these feasts to a distant sanctuary imperilled this feature of them.

In the disastrous times that followed the defeat at Megiddo and death of Josiah, in the reaction from the deuteronomic reforms which not unnaturally ensued upon the disappointment of the high hopes based upon them, every trace of these reforms was swept away. Not only were the old altars at the high places rebuilt and the foreign worship restored, but men sought more efficacious means of expiating guilt and securing divine protection in private cults—in part, perhaps, revivals of old Israelite practices, in part of foreign origin, such as are described in Ezek. 8. These strange rites were celebrated as mysteries by societies of initiates. Their sacramental sacrifices were 'unclean' beasts, such as swine, dogs, mice.[1] The strong taboo of the flesh of these animals made them peculiarly potent *piacula*, the highest grade of 'uncleanness' being convertible with exceptional 'holiness.'

The laws in Dt. relative to sacrifice and offering represent older custom adapted to the plan of reform which made Jerusalem the sole place of worship (see above, § 20).

21. Seventh cent. laws.

Species of offerings: Dt. 12 6, cp 11 17, see also 27 6 *f.* 33 10; prescribed offerings (firstlings, tithes, etc.) are *ḳŏdāšīm*, 'sacred' (belonging to God by right), in distinction from votive and free-will offerings, and from animals slaughtered for food, 12 26; victims from the flock and herd (*bāḳār, ṣōn; šōr, śè*); human sacrifice prohibited, 12 31, cp 18 10; victims must be perfect, 17 1, cp 15 21; ritual of holocaust and sacrifice, 12 27; burning of fat, libations, cp 32 38; offerings at the feasts and ritual, 16 1 *ff.*, cp 26 1 *ff.*; priests' dues, 18 1 *ff.*; tithes, 12 17 14 23, cp 12 6 11; in the third year, 14 28 *f.*; liturgy, 26 12 *ff.*; firstlings, 15 19 *ff.*

The sacrificial laws in H are of the same age.[1]

Species: *'ōlāh* Lev. 22 18, etc., *'ōlāh* and *zébaḥ* 17 8, *zibḥē šĕlāmīm* 17 5 19 5, *tōdāh* 22 29 *f.*, *néder* and *nĕdābāh* 22 18 21;[2] tithes and firstlings are not named in the remains of H (nor in Ezek. 40-48); sacrifices as *ḳōdāšīm* 22 2 15 *f.*, cp 19 8; offerings are 'the food of God' (*léḥem ĕlōhīm*), 21 6 8 17 21 22 25, cp Ezek. 44 7; animals sacrificed, *bāḳār* and *ṣōn, šōr, kébeś, 'ēz*; human sacrifice forbidden, 18 21 20 1 *ff.*; victims must be perfect, 22 18 *ff.*, less strict rules for freewill offerings, 22 23; must be brought to the holy place, not slaughtered elsewhere, 17 3 *f.*, cp 8 *f.*;[3] blood not to be eaten, 17 10, cp 17 13 *ff.* 19 26; the ritual is not described (17 6 probably secondary); the flesh of *šĕlāmīm* must be eaten on the day they are offered or on the following day, 19 5 *ff.*; of the *tōdāh* on the day of sacrifice itself, 22 29 *f.*; feasts, offerings, and ritual, 23 (the parts of the chapter derived from H).[4]

Contemporary with the laws in H, and from the same or cognate sources, is a large part of Lev. 11-15, on uncleanness and purification (see LEVITICUS, § 24 *f.*); cases requiring sacrifice are enumerated, 12 6 *f.* 15 14 *f.* 29 *f.* 14 1-7 (49-53).

In Lev. 1-7, also, the older sacrificial *tōrōth*, not only in 1 and 3, but also in parts of 5 *ff.*, represent pre-exilic usage and formulation in later redaction.[5]

21a. Ezekiel.

Another source from which knowledge of the worship in the temple at Jerusalem may be gained, is Ezekiel's programme for a restored and purified cultus in 40-48. The prophet's purpose was not to create a new system of sacrifices and rites, but to introduce such safeguards as should prevent those invasions of Yahwè's holiness which had provoked him in anger to destroy his desecrated house and make an end of the polluted worship. Knowing as we do the characteristic motives of Ezekiel's reformatory zeal, and having from other sources reasonably good information about the temple worship in the last half-century before the fall of Judah, we should not find it difficult to distinguish the old from the new in Ezekiel's sketch, and thus to use 40-48 for the history of the cultus.[6] This testimony is the more valuable because Ezekiel had a priest's intimate acquaintance with the ritual and affection for it.

In comparing Ezek. 40-48 with the sources hitherto examined, it is important to observe that Ezek. deals almost exclusively with *sacra publica*,[7] the others with private sacrifices. As the public ceremonies had, doubtless, in all ages, a more solemn ritual, the fuller liturgical details in Ezek., as compared, for example, with Dt., signify much less than has sometimes been made of them. Besides the species of sacrifice with which we have already become acquainted (*'ōlāh, zébaḥ, šĕlāmīm*), Ezek. repeatedly names two others, *ḥaṭṭāth* and *āšām* (EV sin offering and trespass offering—RV guilt offering), 40 39 42 13 43 19 *ff.* 44 27 29 45 17 *ff.* 46 20 (see below, §§ 27 *f.*). The *minḥāh* is an offering of flour and oil in specified quantities (46 5 7 11, etc.); a libation (*nések*) is also provided for (45 17). The animals sacrificed are the same as in the other sources (birds are not named).

The public sacrifices are provided by the prince from the proceeds of a tax levied in kind (*tĕrūmāh* 45 13-17). A lamb is offered every morning, the regular holocaust (*'ōlath tāmīd*), with an accompanying oblation (*minḥāh* 46 13-15);[8] the sabbath burnt offering is six lambs and a ram, with their oblations (46 4 *f.*);[9] on the new moon, the victims are the same, with the addition of a bullock (46 6 *f.*). At the passover a bullock is offered on the first day as a sin offering for the prince and people; during the seven days of the feast, each day seven bullocks and seven rams as burnt offerings, and a he goat as a sin offering (45 23 *f.*); the feast of the seventh month has the same sacrifices (45 25); there is no summer festival (Pentecost). At the great festivals, new moons and sabbaths, the prince also provides *šĕlāmīm* (45 17), doubtless as a feast for the people.

1 Is. 65 3 *ff.* 66 3 17 (late post-exilic rites of the same kind); cp Ezek. 8 9 *f.* See WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 290 *ff.* 343.

1 Setting aside the double redaction. See LEVITICUS, §§ 14 *ff.*

2 The *āšām* in 19 21 is from Rp.

3 The principle, no slaughter without sacrificial rites, is reaffirmed; see LEVITICUS, §§ 15, 28.

4 Passover is not named.

5 See LEVITICUS, §§ 5 *f.* and, on *āšām* and *ḥaṭṭāth*, below, §§ 27 *f.*

6 The custom of the temple after the restoration, which frequently followed the older usage rather than Ezekiel's innovations, furnishes an additional criterion.

7 Even the *šĕlāmīm* at the feasts, new moons, and sabbaths, are to be provided by the state, 45 17.

8 No evening *tāmīd*; see below, § 32.

9 The general rule for the oblation to be offered with each kind of victim, 46 11, cp 5 7; the quantity of wine for the libation is nowhere fixed.

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The number of these victims is necessarily left undetermined. A table (or altar) for the shewbread stands in the temple (41 22); but no rules are given for the presentation of offerings upon it—probably the old custom is to be followed without change.[1] An elaborate ritual is provided for the consecration of the altar (43 18-27), and for the semi-annual *piacula* (on the first of the first and seventh months) by which the temple and altar are purified (45 18-20).[2] The rites of sacrifice are given in some detail: the slaying and dressing of the victims (40 38-43, cp the description of the court and altar, 40 28 *ff.* 43 13 *ff.*); the dashing of the blood upon the altar (43 18), or—of the sin offering in consecration and purification ceremonies—the application to the altar and other parts of the temple and court (43 20 45 19). The fat and blood of sacrifices are the food of God (44 7). The flesh of public sin offerings is burned (43 21); that of private sin offerings and of trespass offerings belongs to the priests (44 29); there are kitchens in the inner court where they boil their meat and bake their *minḥāh* bread (46 19 *f.*), and chambers in which they eat this 'very holy' food (42 13).

Of private sacrifices the freewill offerings of the prince (*'ōlāh* or *šĕlāmīm*) are sacrificed by the priests (46 2); the private sacrifices of the people are slain for them by the Levites (degraded priests of the old high places), who wait upon the offerers and serve them (44 11); the flesh is boiled in kitchens in the four corners of the outer court by temple servants (46 21-24). The priests are supported by offerings: the flesh of the (private) sin offerings and of trespass offerings, the oblations of flour and oil, and everything that is devoted to Yahwè fall to them; besides this they have a right to all kinds of first-fruits and dedications (44 28 *ff.*).

Ezekiel supposes that his readers are familiar with the terms he uses and their significance; he does not deem it necessary, for example, to define the nature or occasion of the trespass offering (see below, § 27). The *sacra publica*, which before the fall of Judah had been maintained at the king's charges, are to be provided for by the prince from the taxes.[3] The rules prescribing the kinds and numbers of victims to be offered at the feasts, and the proportion of flour and oil with each, may perhaps make new requirements; but it may safely be assumed that there had been similar rules fixed by the custom of the temple under the kings. The periodical expiation of inadvertences or mistakes by which the holiness of the temple might have been sullied, appears to be an innovation;[4] but the rite is simple and old, and had probably been practised in earlier times when occasion required. In general, the ritual of public sacrifice does not seem to be much changed in Ezekiel's new model of temple worship.

The consequences of Ezekiel's system would doubtless have made greater changes in the sphere of private sacrifices. The tax to be paid to the prince and the assignment of all first-fruits to the priests apparently are to take the place of all the offerings (firstlings, first-fruits, tithes, sacrifice for appearance at the holy place, and the like) which in former times the Israelite had been bound to bring to God. Even the sacrificial feasts (*šĕlāmīm*) at the great festivals were provided from the public treasury. There would remain vows and freewill offerings, and the sin and trespass offerings, in which, as it appears, no change was intended. In the ritual of private sacrifice Ezekiel proposed a very radical departure from immemorial custom: the owner was henceforth not to offer his own victim, but to look on while one of the inferior ministry of the temple (Levites) slaughtered it for him. This innovation, however, did not prevail; in the ritual law and in the practice of the Herodian temple, the worshipper retained his old right (see below, § 26).

22. Cultus after 586.

The destruction of the temple in Jerusalem did not cause a long interruption in sacrificial worship in Judæa. Not only were there other holy places in the land (see HIGH PLACES, § 9; MIZPAH, 1), but there can be no doubt that the altar in Jerusalem was soon rebuilt and worship re-established (ISRAEL, § 45), with survivors of the old priesthood for its ministry. Probably, however, the public sacrifices—the daily holocaust and the offerings on Sabbaths and feast days—which had been supported by the king, ceased, and only private sacrifices were offered, as at other high places. With the appointment of a native governor and the rebuilding of the temple, the public services were doubtless resumed on such a scale as the poverty of the community permitted. The ritual, also, no doubt, conformed to the ancient custom and tradition of the sanctuary as far as possible under these conditions; and as the prosperity of the Jews increased, and Persian kings and governors from time to time made contributions to the support of the temple, it recovered something of its ancient splendour. The opinion that the cultus was first restored by priests returning from the exile, and afterwards thoroughly reformed by Ezra in accordance with the prescriptions of a liturgical work ('Priest's Code') which he brought with him from Babylonia, rests in both parts on the same late testimony, and greatly exaggerates the share that the Babylonian Jews bore in the development of Palestinian Judaism in the Persian period. Babylonian influence upon the terminology of the later ritual, if not upon the rites themselves, is indeed manifest; but, in view of the evidences of the same influence in other Syrian religions in the Persian and Greek period, it is not clear that we must look to the exiled priests in Babylonia for the explanation.

An important landmark in the history of the ritual is the description of a typical series of sacrifices—sin offering, burnt offering, peace offerings—at the inauguration of Aaron in Lev. 9, a chapter which is universally assigned to the original History of the Sacred Institutions, and was written probably in the fifth century B.C. (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 9). The rites agree closely with the older sacrificial *tōrōth;* many refinements of the later laws are still unknown to the author, in particular such as are connected with the inner altar, the *sprinkling* of blood in consecrations and expiations, and the like.

22 a. Later.

It can hardly be questioned that the philhellenic priests of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid times introduced various ceremonies in imitation of the cults of Syrian-Greek temples, some of which were preserved till the destruction of Jerusalem. The procession at the offering of first-fruits, headed by an ox with gilded horns and crowned with an olive garland, the flute player making music before them, etc., is an example in point.[1] But such innovations were probably in matters of vestments, processions, and the like, rather than in the ancient rites of sacrifice themselves.

The two features in which the sacrificial cultus of later times differs most from the worship of old Israel are the enhanced importance of the *sacra publica* and the greater prominence of expiatory rites. Both are natural consequences of the conditions of the age.

The Jews were a widely scattered people; most of them could visit Jerusalem only at long intervals—perhaps but once or twice in a lifetime. But sacrifices were regularly offered for them—the daily holocausts, the burnt offerings and sin offerings on the sabbaths and new moons and at the feasts. These sacrifices were now maintained, not from the revenues of the king or prince, but by a tax collected from Jews in all parts of the world, who thus became participants in all their benefits. The cessation of the daily sacrifice was a calamity that deeply affected the whole race (Dan. 8 11 *ff.* 11 31 12 11, cp Jos. *BJ* vi. 2 2).

Piacula of various kinds were doubtless common in old Israel, as in other religions (see, *e.g.*, Dt. 21 1-9); many of the purifications—which fall under the same head—are unquestionably ancient customs (*e.g.*, Lev.

[1] There is no mention of incense or an altar of incense, of a candelabrum, or of anointing oil.

[2] Observe the use of the terms *kipper* and *ḥiṭṭā;* see below, § 45.

[3] On the question how far this is a change of system, see TAXATION, § 15 *f.*

[4] It did not establish itself in the restored temple, where in later times a corresponding, but much more elaborate, rite was celebrated annually. See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

[1] *M. Bikkūrīm*, 3 3; Philo, *De Festo cophini*. See Spencer, *Legg. ritual.* lib. 4, cap. 10.

14 1 *ff.*, cp Dt. 24 8 Nu. 19). Solemn public *piacula*, however, seem in earlier times to have been performed only on occasions when some calamity warned the people that they had offended God (*e.g.*, 2 S. 24 18 *ff.*; above, §§ 18, 20). In the Persian period, they became an established institution. We have seen that Ezekiel provides for such ceremonies at the beginning of each half year (above, § 21); the oldest stratum of P in Lev. 16 seems to have had in mind a yearly expiation;[1] the Day of Atonement was in later times the most solemn of the year. All rites of consecration and inauguration are begun by piacular sacrifices. Not infrequently, as in Ezekiel, the whole cultus is regarded as expiatory. The prevalence of such a conception of God's holiness as we find in Ezekiel, inevitably led to the multiplication of expiatory rites; the depressed and unhappy state of the Jews in Palestine during a large part of these centuries may be regarded as a contributory cause.

The differences between the sacrificial worship of old Israel and that, say, of NT times must not, however, be exaggerated. The public cultus did not supersede private sacrifices. The Jews, even from the remoter parts of Palestine, frequented Jerusalem at the feasts in great numbers, bringing the prescribed offerings and paying their vows; the population of the city itself and of neighbouring Judæa alone was sufficient with their sacrifices to give employment and support at ordinary times to a great number of priests. Nor must it be thought that the worshippers were habitually oppressed by a sense of sin, or that the expiatory side of the cultus so dominated their conception of sacrifice as to exclude all others. The contrast sometimes drawn between Dt., with its rejoicing before Yahwè, and P, with all its sin offerings and trespass offerings, even if it fairly represented the spirit of two legislations, cannot legitimately be taken as evidence of a corresponding difference in the spirit of religion in two ages.[2] From our other sources it is easy to show that no such radical difference exists.

II. DEVELOPED JEWISH SYSTEM

It is proposed in the following paragraphs briefly to describe the Jewish sacrificial system in its final form, as it was in practice in the last century before the destruction of Jerusalem. In this system the rules and rites of sacrifice in the Pentateuch, of whatever age and origin, were combined, and their often conflicting requirements in some fashion harmonised. There was also a traditional usage, not wholly dependent upon the written law, and at all events much more detailed, without a knowledge of which we should often be hopelessly at a loss in our effort to reconstruct the ritual.[3] Our sources, therefore, include, besides the Pentateuch, the descriptions of the cultus in Jewish authors—Sirach, the Epistle of Aristeas, Philo, the NT, Josephus, etc.—and the school tradition embodied in the legal midrash (*Mekiltā, Siphrā, Siphrē*), the Mishna, and the Tosephta.[4]

23. Introductory.

The comprehensive name for offerings of all kinds, including dotations to the sanctuary, is *ḳorbān* (קָרְבָּן), 'present, gift' (Nu. 7 12-17, etc.; cp also Neh. 10 35 13 31).

24. Offering in general; species.

This term, which is found only in technical use, first appears in the sixth century (Ezek. 20 28 40 43, sacrificial laws in Lev. 1 3), and is probably a borrowed word, as is suggested also by the unusual form of the noun; cp Assyr. *ḳurbānu* (RITUAL, §§ 1, 11 1 *a*), Aram.-Syr. *ḳurbān*. The technical use of the verb *hiḳrīb* (הִקְרִיב), 'present' an offering to God, is of the same age. 𝔊 renders the noun by δῶρον, Vg. variously and often freely Tg. and Pesh. *ḳurbān*.

[1] See ATONEMENT, DAY OF, § 2; LEVITICUS, § 12.

[2] Many critics appear to be misled by the word 'sin offering.' See below, § 28*a*.

[3] It would be quite impossible, *e.g.*, to understand the ceremonies of the Day of Atonement from Lev. 16.

[4] This tradition—carefully to be distinguished from the scholastic exegesis and casuistry in the same writings—goes back to priests who had served in the temple.

The old Hebrew *minḥāh*, 'gift,' which in earlier times was used more broadly (see above, § 11), is in the ritual laws specifically the oblation of flour and oil or of cakes baked therefrom.

The species of sacrifice are the same as in Ezek.: burnt offering (*'ōlāh*), trespass offering (*āšām*), sin offering (*ḥaṭṭāth*), and peace offerings (*šĕlāmīm*); some of these embrace several varieties.

The public sacrifices are either stated or occasional. The stated public sacrifices are:

25. *Sacra publica et privata*.[1]

1. The regular daily burnt offerings, every morning and evening (Ex. 29 38-42 Nu. 28 3-8).
2. The additional burnt offerings on the sabbaths (Nu. 28 9 *f.*) and the new moons (*ib.* 11-14), and at the annual festivals, viz., Passover (*ib.* 16-25), Pentecost (26-31), New Year (29 1-6), Day of Atonement (7-11), Tabernacles (12-38).
3. The sin offerings at the new moons and feasts (Nu. 28 15 22 30 29 5 11 16 19 22 25 28 31 34 38).
4. The goat of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16 15, etc.).

Occasional *piacula* are:

1. The sin offering of the congregation (Nu. 15 22 *ff.* Lev. 4 13 *ff.*).
2. The sin offering of the 'anointed priest,' because his sin brings guilt upon the people (Lev. 4 3 *ff.*; cp Lev. 16 6. 11 14).

In this class may be included also sacrifices of consecration for the temple and altar (Lev. 8 14 *f.*; cp Ex. 40 1 *ff.*); and the sacrifices for the installation of priests, especially the high priest (Ex. 29 Lev. 8).[2]

Public sacrifices as a rule are either burnt offerings or sin offerings; the trespass offering is always a private sacrifice, and the only public peace offerings are the two lambs at Pentecost (Lev. 23 19, see below, § 40); the consecration ceremonies also include *šĕlāmīm*.

Private sacrifices may be of any of the four chief species, and frequently comprise more than one kind. They are either prescribed or voluntary. The prescribed sacrifices are:

1. Sin offerings, trespass offerings, and purifications of various kinds according to the occasion.
2. The sacrifices obligatory upon those who appeared at the temple at a festival season; with which may be included the Passover.

Voluntary private sacrifices were brought either in fulfilment of a vow, as freewill offerings, or as expressions of gratitude (*nĕder, nĕdābāh, tōdāh*).

It will be most convenient to begin with private sacrifices, since these are more fully described in the Pentateuch, and afterwards to treat of the public cultus in the temple, for the details of which we are mainly dependent upon Jewish tradition.

The victim might be from the flock or the herd (Lev. 1 2); a turtle-dove or a pigeon was also accepted.[3]

26. Burnt offering.[4]

If a quadruped, it must be a male without blemish, a bullock, ram, or he goat. A list of twelve defects which rendered an animal unfit for sacrifice is given in Lev. 22 22-25; much more minute rules are found in the Talmud.[5] If the dissection of the victim disclosed abnormal or diseased organs, this also caused its rejection. The age of the victim is sometimes prescribed; in general, animals that had attained their full growth were preferred for burnt offerings. The offerer brought the victim to the court of the temple, rested both hands heavily upon its head, slaughtered and flayed it, and cut up the carcass. The priest received the blood and carried it to the altar, and afterwards burnt the flesh and fat.

That the offerer slew his own victim is the rule in Lev. 1 5 11, and is universally assumed in Palestinian tradition (see, *e.g.*, *M. Zĕbāḥīm*, 3 1; *Siphrā*, Par. 4; cp *M. Kēlīm* 1 8, etc.; so also Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9 1). 𝔊, indeed, in Lev. *l.c.* has indefinite plurals

[1] 'Publica sacra, quæ publico sumptu pro populo fiunt . . . privata, quæ pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus fiunt,' Festus; the distinction is made by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 9 1), Philo (*e.g.*, *De victimis offer.* § 3), and in the Mishna.

[2] The installation sacrifices might from another point of view be regarded as private sacrifices, and are in fact so regarded by Jewish tradition.

[3] The offering of birds as burnt offerings is permitted as the only kind of sacrifice possible to the poor in cities.

[4] On the name see above, § 12.

[5] See *M. Bĕkōrōth* 6, *Tos. Bĕkōrōth* 4, *Bĕkōrōth* 37*a ff.*

(σφάζουσι), and is naturally followed by Philo, *De victimis*, 2 241 Mangey; but their interpretation is not to be accepted.[1] Ezekiel would have the sacrifices of laymen slain by Levites (see above, § 21); but there is no evidence that this ever became the actual practice.[2] The place for the slaughter of the burnt offering was in the Court of the Priests (see TEMPLE), on the N. side of the great altar (Lev. 1 11), where also the sin offering and the trespass offering were slain (peace offerings might be slain in any part of the court; *M. Zĕbāḥīm* 5 1 *ff.*). Here were rings in the pavement for tying the victims, posts supporting beams with hooks to hang them up on, and low marble tables for dressing the large cattle (*M. Middōth* 3 5 5 2 *M. Tāmid* 3 5 *M. Shĕkālīm* 6 4, etc.). The blood was caught by a priest in a bason, and thrown from the vessel against the altar in such a way that some of the blood struck each of the four faces of the altar. The carcass was then cut up according to a certain order; the inwards and shanks (with the feet) were washed; and all the parts of the animal, except the hide[3] and the contents of the intestines, were borne by priests to the sloping ascent of the altar, where they were salted; finally they were carried up to the top of the altar, flung on the great fire,[4] and burned. In later times, at least, an oblation was offered with private holocausts (Nu. 15 1 *ff.*).

The offering of a bird had necessarily a different ritual (Lev. 1 14-17; *M. Zĕbāḥīm* 6 5). The dove or pigeon, which might be of either sex, was taken by the priest to the altar; ascending the ramp and standing at one corner, he pinched off the bird's head with his thumb-nail, squeezed out the blood so that it flowed down the side of the altar, drew out the crop with the entrails through an opening in the breast, and threw these, with the feathers, on the ash heap E. of the altar. Then with his hands he rent the fowl by its wings without actually pulling it in two, rubbed it with salt, and threw it upon the fire.

In the Pentateuch, especially in Lev. 5, there is some confusion between trespass offerings and sin offerings (see LEVITICUS, § 5); the original distinction both in occasion and ritual is, however, sufficiently clear, and is in general justly observed by the Jewish tradition.

27. Trespass offering.[5]

In the *ăšām* the victim is regularly a ram (*ảyil*, אַיִל Lev. 5 15 *f.* 18 6 6 [5 25], Nu. 5 8 Lev. 19 21 *f.*, cp Ezra 10 19; in two late laws *kĕbeš*, כֶּבֶשׂ, Lev. 14 12 21 Nu. 6 12).[6] The animal, according to the Jewish interpretation of Lev. 5 15, must be worth at least two shekels. The ritual in Lev. 7 1 *ff.* prescribes that the trespass offering shall be slain, like the burnt offering, on the N. side of the great altar;[7] the blood is thrown against the altar precisely as in the burnt offering (§ 26); when the animal is cut up certain parts are taken to be burned upon the altar, viz., the fat tail, the fat that covers the entrails (omentum), the two kidneys with the fat upon them, and the excrescence on the liver.[8] No oblation or libation accompanies them. The flesh of the animal falls to the priests (according to Lev. 7 7, to the officiating priest); it is 'very holy,' and may be eaten only by males in a state of ceremonial purity and in a holy place.

In the ceremonies for the purification of the leper prescribed in Lev. 14 9 *ff.*, which have a striking—and surely not accidental—resemblance to the consecration of priests (Lev. 8), the he lamb with whose blood the leper's right ear, thumb, and great toe were anointed is called an *ăšām;* but the ritual—note the 'waving' of the lamb, the accompaniment of oil, the anointing with blood and oil, sprinkling of oil, etc.—has nothing in common with that of Lev. 7 (see below, § 28*b*).

In the oldest laws about the *ăšām* this species of sacrifice seems to have been required only in expiation of the unlawful appropriation of the property of another (conversion), or of the tribute due to Yahwè (see Lev. 6 1-7 [5 20 *ff.*], 5 14-16; cp Lev. 22 14-16 and Nu. 5 5-8).[1] In such cases restitution of the property with the addition of one-fifth its value must be made, and a ram offered as a 'trespass offering.' The term *ăšām* probably originally signified the mulct by which such an offence was punished; the application to the sacrifice is secondary. An *ăšām* in silver is named in 2 K. 12 16 as one of the sources of the priests' income; as a species of sacrifice *ăšām* is mentioned first in Ezekiel, but in a way which implies that it was well known.

In the redaction of the laws the distinctive character of the *ăšām* is lost, and a 'trespass offering' is prescribed in many cases in which the offence is of a different nature and restitution is impossible (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 5 1 *ff.* 17 *ff.* 19 20 *ff.*); the confusion with the sin offering remarked above thus arises.

The victims required by the laws differ in different cases—a bullock, he goat, she goat, ewe lamb or kid, or a dove (see below).

28a. Sin offering.[2]

The animal is brought to the temple court, and after the imposition of hands, as in the burnt offering, is slain by the offerer (Lev. 4 29) on the N. side of the altar. The distinctive feature of the ritual is that the priest, instead of dashing (זרק) the blood against the sides of the altar from the ground, ascends the altar, and, dipping his finger into the bason, smears (נתן, 'put') blood upon each of the four horns of the altar in order; the rest of the blood is poured out at the base of the altar. The parts offered upon the altar are the same which are thus consumed in the peace offerings (§ 29) and the trespass offering (§ 27). The flesh belongs to the priests; it is, like that of the *ăšām*, 'very holy,' and must be eaten under the same restrictions.

The holiness of the *ḥaṭṭāth* is in other respects more intense than that of the *ăšām;* everything which comes in contact with the flesh becomes 'sacred' (cp Hag. 2 12), that is, becomes the property of God—in effect, of the temple; an earthen pot in which the flesh is boiled must be broken, a metal one scoured and rinsed; a garment upon which the blood has accidentally spirted must be washed in a 'holy' place (Lev. 6 27-29 [20-22]). The piacular character of the sacrifice accounts for this higher degree of holiness.

In offering a dove as a sin offering the priest kills it with his thumb-nail (as in the burnt offering), but does not completely sever the head from the body; sprinkles some of the blood upon the side of the altar (not on the horns), and squeezes out the rest of the blood at the base; there are no altar portions to burn;[3] the flesh goes to the priest (Lev. 5 7-9 6 26 [19]).

In cases of extreme poverty a sin offering consisting only of a tenth of an ephah of fine flour, without oil or frankincense, was accepted; the priest burned a handful of it upon the altar and took the rest for himself as in other oblations (Lev. 5 11-13).

A late law (Lev. 4; see LEVITICUS, § 5) establishes a sliding scale of sin offerings according to the station of the offerer: the common man has to bring a female goat or sheep (4 28 32), as was doubtless the older rule (cp Lev. 5 6 Nu. 15 27).[4] If too poor for such a sacrifice, he is allowed to substitute two doves or pigeons, one as a sin offering and one as a burnt offering; or, in extremity, an oblation of flour (see above);[5] a prince (נָשִׂיא) in a similar case must offer a he goat (Lev. 4 23 *f.*, cp Nu. 7 16, etc.); the 'anointed priest' a bullock (see below, § 37 *c*).

The name 'sin offering' suggests to the modern

1 A man might have his sacrifice offered by another; but the other was not necessarily a priest.

2 The slaying of the paschal lambs by the priests had a particular reason in the urgent need of expedition.

3 The hide fell to the priest who conducted the sacrifice (Lev. 7 8); a different rule seems to have prevailed in the Herodian temple; see Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 248.

4 *Ep. Arist.*, ed. Thackeray, 535 *f.*, admires the strength as well as the skill with which this was done.

5 Heb. *ăšām* (אָשָׁם), 𝔊 τὸ περὶ τῆς πλημμελείας, ἡ πλημμέλεια, Vg. *hostia pro delicto.* On the technical meaning of the term see col. 4204, begin.

6 The female victim in Lev. 5 6 is a sin offering. So are also the doves and the offering of flour allowed to be substituted by the poor, Lev. 5 7-13; see LEVITICUS, § 8.

7 There is no mention of the imposition of hands.

8 The same parts of the sheep are burned when it is a sin offering or a peace offering, or an inauguration sacrifice.

1 Affinity to H has been noted in the primary stratum of these *tōrōth.*

2 Heb. *ḥaṭṭāth* (חַטָּאת), 𝔊 τὸ περὶ τῆς ἁμαρτίας, Vg. *hostia pro peccato.*

3 For this reason a second bird is ordered as a burnt offering.

4 Female victims in *piacula*, see, *e.g.*, Schoemann, 2 226; cp also Nu. 19 2 Dt. 21 3.

5 These mitigations are not understood to apply to those sin offerings in which a certain victim is prescribed for all.

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reader a sacrifice for the expiation of *sin* in our sense of the word, and it is often imagined that the Jewish sacrificial system provides and requires such expiation for *every* sin. Both these notions are erroneous. The cases in which a *ḥaṭṭāth* is prescribed fall for our apprehension into two classes: first, the ignorant or inadvertent transgression of certain prohibitions ('taboos'—including some in which we see a moral character), or unintentional failure to observe the prescriptions of the law (Nu. 15 22 *ff.*; from the context it is clear that religious observances are primarily meant); second, in purifications of various kinds, as of a woman after childbirth, a leper, etc., or of things, such as an altar (see below, § 45). For the former class the general rule in the Mishna is that any transgression the penalty of which, if wilful, would be that the offender be cut off, requires, if committed in ignorance or through inadvertence, a *ḥaṭṭāth* (*M. Kĕrīthōth* 1 2); the catalogue of these transgressions (*ib.* 1 1) ranges from incest and idolatry to eating the (internal) fat of animals and imitating the composition of the sacred incense, but does not include the commonest offences against morals. In the second class (purifications) fall the *ḥaṭṭāth* of a woman after childbirth (Lev. 12 6); of a man who has suffered from gonorrhœa (15 14 *f.*), or a woman from menorrhagia (15 29 *f.*); of a Nazirite accidentally defiled by the proximity of a dead body (Nu. 6 10 *f.*)—in all these cases the victim is a dove or pigeon; of a leper (Lev. 14 10 *ff.*; a ewe lamb, for the poor a dove or pigeon);[1] of a Nazirite at the end of his term (Nu. 6 14; ewe lamb); a man defiled by contact with the carcass of an unclean animal, etc. (Lev. 5 2 *f.*, ewe lamb or she goat, *v.* 6).

In connection with the *ḥaṭṭāth* brief reference may be made to certain peculiar ceremonies of similar intent and effect.

28*b*. Peculiar piacula.

The most characteristic of these is the old rite for the purification of the leper (Lev. 14 1-8); a clean bird is killed over an earthen vessel containing fresh water in such a manner that its blood mingles with the water; the priest dips cedar wood, wool dyed crimson, and 'hyssop,' together with the living bird, into the vessel, sprinkles the water upon the leper, and lets the living bird fly away.[2] The expiration of the term of the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6 13-21) is celebrated by a complete series of sacrifices, beginning with a ewe lamb as a sin offering, a he lamb as a burnt offering, and a ram for a peace offering; the oblation consists of a basket of different kinds of cakes. The boiled shoulder (only here) of the ram with a specimen of each kind of cake is 'waved' before Yahwè (see § 29 *a*), and then belongs to the priest.

The Ordeal of Jealousy has been described elsewhere (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF).

The best description of the peace offering ritual is in Lev. 3, corresponding to that of the burnt offering in 1; see also 7 11 *ff.* 28 *ff.* 22 21 *ff.*, Nu. 15 1 *ff.*

29*a*. Peace offerings.[3]

The victim may, as the owner pleases, be from the flock or the herd, either male or female, and of any age; it is required only that it be without blemish (see above, § 26), a rule that is relaxed in the freewill offering alone. The presentation and imposition of hands occur precisely as in the burnt offering; but whereas *'ōlāh*, *ḥaṭṭāth*, and *āšām* must be killed on the N. side of the altar, the *šĕlāmīm* may be slain in any part of the court—obviously because at certain seasons they were brought in such numbers that the space on the N. of the altar, with its apparatus, did not suffice. The slaughter of the victim and the dashing of the blood upon the altar, again, differ in no respect from the corresponding acts in the burnt offering or the trespass offering; the sin offering alone requires a peculiar application of the blood. The portions consumed upon the altar are the fat that covers the entrails (great omentum) and all the fat upon the entrails, the two kidneys with the mass of fat upon them, and the excrescence upon the liver, which is to be separated with the kidneys; if the victim was a sheep there was added to these the whole fat tail, removed close to the os sacrum.

The precise meaning of the phrase הַיּוֹתֶרֶת עַל הַכָּבֵד, or יותרת הכבד (Lev. 8 16 9 19) is disputed. 𝔊 ὁ λοβὸς ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἥπατος, ὁ λοβὸς τοῦ ἥπατος, Vg. *reticulum jecoris*, etc., EV 'the caul upon the liver.'[1] According to Jewish tradition it was not fat (*Tos. Ḥullin* 9 14); in the Mishna it is called אצבע, 'finger' (*M. Tāmīd* 4 3); Saad. translates, *ziyādat al-kabid*, an Arabic anatomical term which etymologically corresponds to Heb. יותרת. The question cannot be discussed here; the view of the present writer is that the *lobus caudatus* is meant, which lies close against the right kidney.

Another phrase which has been variously rendered is לְעֻמַּת הֶעָצֶה, Lev. 3 9. The עצה is not the 'coccyx,' as many modern writers absurdly say, nor the vertebral column, but the os sacrum.

These parts having been removed, the carcass was cut up, and the owner proceeded to present his offering to God by taking upon his two hands the altar portions and the breast and 'waving' them before Yahwè (Lev. 7 29 *f.*). In conformity with the example in Ex. 29 24, the priest, in later times, put his hands beneath those of the offerer and moved them backward and forward, up and down; the right leg was also added to the breast (cp Lev. 9 21 Ex. 29 27). After this ceremony the priest salted the altar portions and burned them; the breast and leg went to the priests; the rest of the flesh made a feast for the maker of the sacrifice; women as well as men might partake of it, if only they were in a state of ceremonial purity (Lev. 7 19-21). (See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.) It might be eaten anywhere in Jerusalem on the day on which it was offered or the following day before sunset; whatever remained after that time must be burned (Lev. 7 16-18 19 5-8). One species of *šĕlāmīm*, however, the *tōdāh*, had to be eaten on the day of sacrifice (see § 29*b*; also § 39*a*).

The increase of the tariff in 7 32 appears in the very construction of the sentence. In Dt. the priest receives a foreleg, the jowl, and the stomach (tripe); the older stratum of priestly laws gives him the breast (חָזֶה, στηθύνιον, *pectusculum*) instead (see Ex. 29 26 Lev. 7 31); this is presented to God ('the wave breast') and ceded by him to his priest. Lev. 7 32 adds the right leg as a tax (תְּרוּמָה) paid by the Israelites to the priest (cp Nu. 6 20). The rules of Dt. and P are harmonised in the Mishna by applying the former to *ḥullīm*, the latter to *ḳŏdāšīm* (*M. Ḥullin* 10 1, *Siphrā* on Lev. *l.c.*).

The priests' portions of the *šĕlāmīm* were not subject to the severe restrictions of the *ḥaṭṭāth* and the *āšām*; the flesh might be eaten by the priests and their families, including slaves, anywhere in Jerusalem. The same rule of time applies to the priests' part of the flesh as to the offerers

The ordinary *šĕlāmīm* described in the last section were offered either in fulfilment of a specific vow to sacrifice such and such victims as peace offerings (*nĕder*),[2] or as a 'freewill offering' (*nĕdābāh*)—that is to say, a sacrifice not made obligatory by the law or by the owner's engagement (vow).

29*b*. Thank-offering.

These two kinds only are named in Dt. 12 17 Lev. 22 17 *ff.* Nu. 15 1 *ff.* Lev. 7 11 *ff.* (see also 22 29 *f.*) joins with these a third species of *šĕlāmīm*, the *tōdāh* (AV 'sacrifice of thanksgiving,' 'thank offering'; on the name, see below, begin. of next col.), to which in some respects different rules apply.

The *tōdāh* was accompanied by a prescribed oblation of a peculiar kind, in which, besides various kinds of sacrificial cakes, *leavened* bread is included (see § 30). The flesh of the victim must be eaten on the day of the sacrifice, 'none of it must be left until morning' (7 15,

[1] The later law; cp the old purification, Lev. 14 1-8; see below, § 28 *b*, LEVITICUS, § 10.

[2] See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 16. On the later ritual (Lev. 14 10 *ff.*) see also above, § 27.

[3] On the term *šĕlāmīm* and its meaning see above, § 11.

[1] On the history of interpretation, see Dillmann-Ryssel on Lev. 3 4.

[2] The votive offering might also be an *'ōlāh*, § 26.

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22 30 [H]). The cakes and bread were naturally subjected to the same restriction (*Zĕbāḥīm*, 36*a*). The limit of time is the same which is fixed in Ex. 23 18 34 25 for the sacrifices of Yahwè's feast (חג),[1] and in Ex. 12 10 (P) for the Passover. It is therefore evidently an old rule for at least some sacrifices.

According to the Talmud (*Zĕbāḥīm*, 36*a*) the limit applied also to the *āšām* and *ḥaṭṭāth* the flesh of which was eaten by the priests, and to the peace offerings of the congregation (Lev. 23 19) and the peace offering of the Nazirite (Nu. 6 17).

The offering of leavened bread, also, is doubtless an old custom (see above, § 11); the cakes of unleavened bread seem to be an accommodation to the ordinary rule, Lev. 2 11. There seems, therefore, to be no sufficient reason for regarding the *tōdāh* as a late development.

The name תּוֹדָה signifies 'praise, thanksgiving' (cp 𝔊 *θυσία αἰνέσεως*, Lev. 7 5, *χαρμοσύνης* 22 29, Vg. *hostia pro gratiarum actione*); its use in connection with sacrifice is old (Am. 4 5 קַטֵּר מֵחָמֵץ תּוֹדָה [note the conjunction with *nĕdābāh*], cp Jer. 17 26 33 11), and the law in Lev. 22 29 was apparently contained in H. It was perhaps, as Jewish scholars explain, a sacrifice of gratitude for some signal manifestation of God's goodness, such as deliverance from a great peril. The apparent conflict in the laws may be explained by the fact that the *tōdāh* was regarded by some compilers as a distinct species of sacrifice, by others as a variety of *šĕlāmīm*.

To the class of the *šĕlāmīm* belongs also the *ḥăgīgāh*, to which a book of the Mishna is devoted—*i.e.*, the sacrifices made by pilgrims at the feasts, especially in the spring. The animals thus offered furnished the flesh for the sacrificial feasts which are so often commended in Dt. (*e.g.* 12 6 *f.*, 11 *f.*, etc.); they might be purchased with the proceeds of the sale of the ('second') tithe (Dt. 14 24 *ff.*), or be taken from the cattle tithe (Lev. 27 32). Besides the *ḥăgīgāh šĕlāmīm*, which were obligatory, the Rabbis distinguish *šalmē simḥāh*, 'joyous sacrifices,' at the feasts, which might be either votive or freewill offerings; the cattle tithe might be used for these also.

30. Oblations.[2]

The oblation (*minḥāh*) consists of flour and oil either merely kneaded in a mass or baked or fried in cakes of various kinds. Salt is required in all, and a portion of frankincense accompanies many of these oblations; leaven, and honey, which in other countries was commonly used in sacrificial cakes, are prohibited (Lev. 2 11). The *minḥāh* is either an independent offering—voluntary or prescribed—or the obligatory concomitant of certain species of sacrifices.

The rules for the *minḥāh* as an offering by itself are found in Lev. 2, which corresponds to 1 (burnt offering). and 3 (peace offering). The following varieties are recognised:

(*a*) The oblation of fine wheat flour (סֹלֶת, *σεμίδαλις*),[3] Lev. 2 1-3, as a votive or freewill offering. The quantity is for the giver to determine; tradition fixes the minimum at one tenth of an ephah. For each tenth of an ephah one lōg of oil is required.[4] The offerer put the flour and part of the oil into a vessel and mixed them by stirring, transferred the mass to a liturgical vessel, poured the rest of the oil over it, and put frankincense on top of it.[5] The priest carries it to the altar, takes a handful of the mass and puts it in another vessel with all the frankincense, ascends the altar, puts salt upon the oblation, and places it upon the fire. The portion thus consumed is called the *azkārāh* (Lev. 2 2, 'reminder,' EV 'memorial'); the rest of the dough goes to the priests. It is 'very holy,' like the sin offering and the trespass offering, being ceded to the priesthood from the 'offerings of Yahwè made by fire'; it may not be leavened (Lev. 6 16 *f.* [9 *f.*]), but is baked, and eaten by the males of priestly families within the temple precincts.

(*b*) The oblation of cakes baked in the oven (תַּנּוּר), Lev. 2 4 (see BAKEMEATS, BREAD). Of these the law describes two species—unleavened cakes (*ḥallōth*) mixed with oil, and unleavened wafers (*rĕḳīḳīm*) smeared with oil. Both were made of fine flour; the *ḥallōth* were thicker cakes shortened with oil, the *rĕḳīḳīm* thin wafer bread mixed with water only and after baking smeared with oil (as we should butter it). These cakes were baked in the temple; the offerer broke them into pieces, put them into a liturgical vessel with the quantum of frankincense, and brought it to the priest, who proceeded as in the former case.

(*c*) Baked on a griddle or fried in a pan (Lev. 2 5 *f.* 7 *ff.*).

Heb. מִנְחָה עַל הַמַּחֲבַת, מִנְחַת מַרְחֶשֶׁת respectively. The utensils are described in *Siphrā*, *ad loc.*, and in *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 5 8: the *maḥăbath* is a griddle; the *marḥešeth* a somewhat deep pan with a cover, in which the dough fried in its own fat; see COOKING, § 7.

The flour and part of the oil were put in a vessel and mixed by stirring, the mass was kneaded with lukewarm water, baked on the griddle or fried in the pan as the offerer chose (or as he had vowed to do); the cakes were then broken into pieces, the rest of the oil poured over them (Lev. 2 6), and frankincense placed upon them. The priest proceeded as in the previous cases. An independent oblation is prescribed by the law as the sin offering of the very poor (Lev. 5 11-13); it consisted of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour (*sóleth*), without oil or frankincense. The priest burned a handful of it on the altar as an *azkārāh*, and took the rest for himself. A similar offering of coarse barley meal, without oil or frankincense, is required in the peculiar ritual of the ordeal of jealousy, Nu. 5 11 *ff.* (see JEALOUSY, ORDEAL OF). The oblation at the installation of priests and the daily oblation of the high priest will be treated below under *sacra publica* (§ 39*a*).

The general rule for the oblation accompanying private sacrifices is laid down in Nu. 15 1-16. Every victim from the flock or the herd,[1] offered as *'ōlāh* or *zĕbaḥ*, whether in fulfilment of a vow, as a freewill offering, or at the feasts, must be accompanied by an oblation proportioned to the value of the animal:[2] with a lamb or kid, one tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with one fourth of a hīn of oil; with a ram, two tenths of flour, one third of a hīn of oil; with neat cattle, three tenths of flour and one half a hīn of oil for each animal. The preparation and offering of the oblation are the same as in the independent oblation of fine flour (above, *a*).

The following oblations are prescribed as the accompaniment of certain sacrifices of purification:

(*a*) In the (secondary) ritual for the purification of the lepers (Lev. 14 10 *ff.* 21 *ff.*), with the animals to be offered, are required three tenths of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil and one lōg of oil (*v.* 10); in case of poverty the flour may be reduced to one tenth, but the quantity of oil remains the same (*v.* 21). (*b*) The Nazirite, on the completion of his vow (Nu. 6 15), has to bring, with his three victims, a basket of unleavened bread of both kinds which are baked in the oven (viz. cakes mixed with oil and wafers smeared with oil; above, *b*; according to the Mishna, ten of each variety), 'and their [the victims'] oblation and libation'—*i.e.*, as understood by Jewish tradition, in addition to the cakes, the oblation of fine flour and oil that according to rule should accompany every burnt offering and peace offering.[3] The purification of a woman after childbirth required a lamb as a burnt offering (Lev. 12 6); an oblation is not named in the law, but the case was brought under the general rule of Nu. 15 3-5.

1 The words 'the Passover' in the second passage are regarded by many as a gloss.

2 See above, § 14.

3 On the preparation of the wheat, see *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 6 5; cp FOOD, § 1.

4 Preparation of the oil, *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 8 3 *ff.*; see OIL.

5 This, it is observed, corresponds to the slaying and dressing of a victim by the owner.

1 Birds are not offered on the occasions specified, and therefore are not mentioned in the rule.

2 Sin offerings and trespass offerings have no oblations. The Mishna makes an exception of the sin offering and trespass offering of the leper, Lev. 14 10 (*M. Mĕnāḥōth* 9 6).

3 This is perhaps only an exegetical oblation.

SACRIFICE

31a. Libations.[1]

Nu. 15 1-16 prescribes with the oblation, and in the same cases, a libation of wine as the obligatory accompaniment of private burnt offerings and sacrifices; with a lamb or kid one fourth of a hīn; with a ram, one third; with a victim from the herd, one half. No libation is made with any oblation offered by itself without the sacrifice of an animal (see Lev. 2 6 19-23 [12-16] Nu. 5 15); nor with sin offerings or trespass offerings, for the same reason that these sacrifices have no oblation;[2] nor with birds. A libation accompanies the peace offering at the release of the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6 15 17); it is not named with the burnt offering and oblation of the cleansed leper (Lev. 14 10 20), nor with that of the *puerpera* (Lev. 12 6 *f.*). In these cases also Jewish authorities apply the rule in Nu. 15 3 *ff.* No ritual directions for the libation are found in the OT; see below, § 35.

Nothing is said in the Pentateuch about an independent libation; but the Mishna recognises a votive offering or freewill offering of wine (*M. Mĕnāḥōth* 12 5, cp 13 5), and there is other evidence that such libations were made (cp Jubilees 7 5); the quantity is fixed at three lōgs, all of which was thrown upon the fire (*Zĕbāḥīm* 91*b*, cp Jubilees, *l.c.*). A votive offering or freewill offering of oil (without flour) is also recognised by the Rabbis, though R. 'Akībā does not allow it (*M. Zĕbāḥīm* 10 8); the quantity should be not less than one lōg; a handful was thrown upon the fire, the rest went to the priests for food.

31b. Frankincense; salt.

Frankincense (see INCENSE, § 1 *f.*) is a necessary accompaniment of every private oblation (Lev. 2 1 *f.* 6 14 *f.* [7 *f.*]), except of the pauper's sin offering of fine flour and in the ordeal of jealousy; the offering of first-fruits of grain—roast ears, crushed corn—also requires it (Lev. 2 14 *f.*). The quantity was fixed: one handful for every *minḥāh*, whether great or small. The frankincense was put on the dough of fine flour mixed with oil, or the broken pieces of the sacrificial cakes, in a liturgical vessel, and, with a handful of the dough or the cakes, was thrown upon the fire on the great altar and consumed. Frankincense might also be given by itself as a votive or freewill offering. Salt was used with all sacrifices and oblations (Lev. 2 13, cp Ezek. 43 24 Mk. 9 49, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9 1, *Mĕnāḥōth* 20 *a*). See below, § 36

32. Sacra publica: daily holocausts.

The custom of offering a daily burnt offering and oblation probably originated in the royal temples of Judah and Israel. In the ninth century the burnt offering seems to have been in the morning and the oblation in the evening (above, § 19). Ezekiel (46 13-15) provides for both holocaust and oblation in the morning only. The rule in Nu. 28 1-8 Ex. 29 38-42 requires holocaust and oblation both morning and evening, and such was the practice of later times (Dan. 8 11-14). Similar sacrifices once or twice daily were frequent in antiquity; Nebuchadrezzar, *e.g.*, is said to have offered six lambs daily; at Hierapolis there were regular sacrifices morning and evening, etc.

The technical name in Hebrew is עֹלַת הַתָּמִיד (מִנְחַת ,עֹלַת), 𝔊 ὁλοκαύτωμα ἐνδελεχισμοῦ, Vg. *holocaustum sempiternum, holocaustum juge.*

The victims were yearling lambs, perfect males; the accompanying oblation for each consisted of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with one fourth of a hīn of fine oil; the libation was one fourth of a hīn of wine. The morning sacrifice was offered between dawn and sunrise (*M. Tāmīd* 3 2); the evening sacrifice, 'between the two evenings' (Ex. 29 39; see DAY, § 2)—*i.e.*, perhaps originally between sunset and dark; in the Herodian temple, however, the offering was, on ordinary days, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon (*M. Pĕsāḥīm* 5 1) and on the fourteenth of Nisan even earlier, in order to give time for the slaughter of the paschal lambs after the Tāmīd. The lambs for the daily holocaust, after having been duly examined, were kept (never less than six at a time) in a room in the temple, set apart for this purpose, in the NW. corner of the priests' court (*M. Middōth* 1 6); they had to be in readiness four days before they were offered; a second inspection preceded the slaughter.[1] No peculiarities in the ritual of these sacrifices are indicated in the laws; in the Mishna the chief difference between them and private burnt offerings (above, § 26) is the participation of a greater number of priests.

[1] Heb. נֶסֶךְ, 𝔊 σπονδή.

[2] They are not meant to be *pulchra.*

In addition to the proper oblation for the holocaust, there was offered at the same time the high priest's daily oblation of cakes (Lev. 6 19-23 [12-16]), made of one tenth of an ephah of fine flour baked on a griddle, broken in pieces, and soaked in oil. These were made fresh every morning in a special chamber in the temple; one half was offered in the morning, half in the evening.

In the Herodian temple the daily burnt offering formed part of a complex and minutely regulated service of which only a brief outline can be given here.

The regular duties of the temple service were distributed daily among the members of the course of priests on duty by a method of counting out. Four such drawings were held in succession in the early morning; the first designated the priest who should have charge of the removal of the ashes from the great altar and the rebuilding of two fires upon it—the third fire was kept burning night and day. By the second drawing thirteen priests were chosen for different specified parts in the sacrifice of the lamb and the offering of the oblations, and for the cleansing of the altar of incense and the lamps; the third, to which only those were admitted who had not previously enjoyed the honour, determined who should burn the incense in the temple; the fourth, who should put the parts of the victim upon the fire. As soon as dawn lighted up the E., a lamb was taken from the pen, inspected by torchlight, given a drink of water, and led to the place of slaughter on the N. side of the altar. The two priests whose duty called them into the temple, opened the great door of the temple, gathered into a vessel the ashes from the altar of incense, and trimmed and refilled the lamps, removing the old wicks and oil. The lamb was laid on the pavement with its head toward the S., its face to the W. (*i.e.*, toward the temple), and at the sound of the opening door the sacrificing priest slew it; a second caught the blood in a vessel, carried it to the NE. corner of the great altar, and standing on the ground threw some of the blood against the angle so that it spread on both faces, repeated the ceremony at the SW. corner, and poured out the rest of the blood at the base of the altar on the S. side, where it was carried off by a drain. The carcass was then hung up, skinned, and dissected by the sacrificing priest in a particular manner and order, and the inwards cleansed and washed. Six priests, standing in order before him, received the several parts of the victim as they were separated; three others held respectively the oblation of the burnt offering, the high priest's oblation of cakes, and the wine for the libation. They now carried all these to the ramp of the altar, laid them down in order less than half way up the slope, salted them, and descended to the marble hall (לִשְׁכַּת הַגָּזִית) for the morning prayers. The offering of incense on the inner altar followed, as described under INCENSE, § 7. After this the priests took their stand on the steps of the prostyle, those who were for the day the ministers of the temple at the S. end with the vessels in their hands. The priest to whose lot this service had fallen carried the parts of the victim one by one up to the top of the altar and threw them upon the great fire; the priests upon the steps of the temple intoned the benediction; the altar priest offered the oblation, the high priest's sacrificial cakes, and last of all the wine. At the moment of the libation, upon a signal from the master of ceremonies, the cymbals clashed, two priests gave a blast upon their trumpets, and the chorus of Levites set up the song of the day; when they paused, the trumpeters blew another blast, and all who were in the court prostrated themselves—nine times in all.

The same ceremonies were repeated in the evening by the same priests—no fresh drawings were held—except the removal of the ashes from the great altar and the renewing of the fires, which took place only in the morning.

As the daily burnt offering was made for the people, the people was represented at it each morning and evening by a deputation appointed for the purpose (the *anšē ha-ma'ămād*, called also *anšē kol-Isrā'ēl*).[2] There

[1] On the blemishes which made them unfit, see above, § 26.

[2] *M. Ta'ănith* 4 2, *Tos. Ta'ănith* 4 2 *f.* A similar delegation of twelve laymen appears at the Samaritan Passover as celebrated in our own time; see Petermann, *Reisen*, 1 236.

was such a delegation of the laity for each of the twenty-four weekly courses of priests. Any members of a deputation who were not present with their fellows in the temple held a special synagogue service at home. The age of this institution is not known; it long outlived the destruction of the temple.[1]

In addition to the daily burnt offerings more numerous sacrifices were made on the sabbaths and new moons, the first of the seventh month (civil new year), the three season feasts, and the Day of Atonement. Nu. 28 *f.*, which fixes the kind and number of the victims for these occasions, is late (see NUMBERS, § 10); but the multiplication of public as well as private sacrifices at festivals is common, and doubtless ancient among the Israelites as well as other peoples.[3]

33. Additional sabbaths and festivals.[2]

On the Sabbath the additional (*mūsāph*) sacrifice was a burnt offering of two yearling he lambs, with their oblation and libation according to rule (two tenths of an ephah of fine flour with one half a hin of oil, and half a hin of wine; cp Ex. 29 40 Nu. 15 4 *f.* etc.). The sacrifice—like all the additional sacrifices—was made immediately after the morning holocaust, by the same priests, and with the same rites. The priests of the outgoing course pronounced at the proper place an additional benediction on those of the incoming course (*M. Tāmīd* 5 1). For the new moon are prescribed (Nu. 28 11-15) two bullocks, a ram, and seven yearling he lambs as burnt offerings, with the oblation and libation demanded for each by the rule in Nu. 15 1-12, with the regular ritual; further, a he goat as a sin offering for the people (below, § 37). At the Passover, from the first (fifteenth of Nisan) to the seventh day of the feast inclusive, were offered daily the same additional victims as on the new moon (Nu. 28 19-24); on the second day (sixteenth of Nisan),[4] besides these, one he lamb as a burnt offering in connection with the wave sheaf (Lev. 23 10-13; see below, § 34 *b*). At Pentecost, the same additional offerings as on the first of the month, the oblation from the new flour ('the two loaves,' Lev. 23 15-21; see § 34 *b*), and with this bread, one bullock, two rams, and seven he lambs as burnt offerings and a he goat as a sin offering;[5] finally, two he lambs as peace offerings of the people (see below, § 40).

The first of the seventh month, the civil new year, was celebrated by the so-called Feast of Trumpets. Its sacrifices are, first, the daily holocaust; second, the offerings for the new moon; and third, the sacrifices proper to the season—viz., one bullock, one ram, and seven yearling he lambs as burnt offerings, with their oblations, and a he goat for a sin offering (Nu. 29 1-6). If the day was also a sabbath, the additional victims for the sabbath were offered directly after the daily sacrifice. The order of victims in each is—bullocks, rams, lambs, goats; which is to be noted, because by general rule the sin offering should precede burnt offerings. The additional offerings of the Day of Atonement (10th of the seventh month) are the same as those of the New Year's day (Nu. 29 7-11); the piacular sacrifices of Lev. 16 are distinct (see below, § 37). At Tabernacles, the greatest feast of the year, the additional sacrifices are multiplied prodigiously (Nu. 29 12 *ff.*). They begin on the first day (15th) with thirteen bullocks, two rams, and fourteen lambs as burnt offerings, with their respective oblations and libations severally, and a he goat as a sin offering. On the succeeding days the number of bullocks diminishes by one each day, so that on the seventh day there are seven bullocks, the other victims remaining throughout the same. On the eighth day the sacrifice consists of one bullock, one ram, and seven he lambs as a burnt offering with their oblations and libations, and a he goat as a sin offering (Nu. 29 35-38). At this feast all the twenty-four courses of priests took part, in a fixed order (*M. Sukkāh* 5 6). A ceremony peculiar to Tabernacles was the libation of water; see below, § 35.

Ex. 25 30 merely prescribes that bread shall always stand on the table before Yahwè; more particular directions are given in Lev. 24 5-9 (see LEVITICUS, § 21). The bread was made of fine flour, two tenths of an ephah of which was required for each loaf. Twelve such loaves were baked and set upon the table in two piles of six each; frankincense in golden urns stood beside them. The bread was changed every sabbath; the loaves that were removed were eaten by the priests within the precincts ('in a holy place').

34*a*. Shewbread.[6]

Additional details are derived from Josephus and the Mishna.[1] The loaves were unleavened; the dough was mixed with water only—not, like other oblations, with oil. They were, as we should infer from the quantity of flour, of considerable size; according to the Mishna, shaped like a brick, ten handbreadths long, five wide, and seven fingers thick. In the Chronicler's time the loaves were made by a family of Kohathite Levites (1 Ch. 9 32); in the first century of our era by a family of priests named Garmo, with whom the art was a secret.[2] They were moulded in forms, and baked in a chamber on the N. side of the temple court. The loaves were piled on two salvers, six on each. On the sabbath four priests of the outgoing course entered the temple to remove the old loaves and frankincense, followed by four of the new course, two bearing the salvers with the new bread, and two the urns of fresh frankincense. The change was so effected that there was no moment when there was not bread upon the table. The last week's oblation was carried out, the frankincense burned on the great altar (at the close of the additional sacrifices of the sabbath), and the loaves equally divided between the incoming and the outgoing course of priests; each course gave some of its loaves to the high priest.

Ex. 25 29 provides vessels for wine to stand upon the table, as well as for the bread and the frankincense; according to 1 Macc. 1 22, Antiochus Epiphanes carried off with the table its flagons and chalices.[3] It is not likely that empty cups were set before Yahwè; but there is no reference in the OT to the presentation of wine with the shewbread, and neither Josephus nor the Mishna mentions it.[4] See § 35.

Two interesting survivals of ancient agricultural rites are the presentation of the sheaf of barley at the Passover and of the two loaves at Pentecost (Lev. 23 9-14 15-20; see LEVITICUS, § 20). The old *tōrāh* (incorporated in H) required in the case of the Passover that at the beginning of harvest a first-fruit sheaf of barley should be brought to the priest (at the local holy place), who should wave it before Yahwè; until this has been done the new crop may not be used in any way—in bread, parched corn, or grits (see above, § 14). When this rite was made part of the public cultus of the temple in Jerusalem its character was greatly changed. The reaping of the barley (on the night preceding the sixteenth of Nisan) became a liturgical act; the sheaf itself was not waved, but the grain was threshed, winnowed, cleansed, roasted, ground, sifted, etc., in the temple precincts, mixed with oil, like the ordinary *minḥāh*, 'waved,' and burnt. The accompanying sacrifice was a yearling lamb as a burnt offering (Lev. 23 12 *f.*).

34*b*. Peculiar oblations.

The two leavened loaves of new wheat flour at Pentecost (§ 14) were also originally a local offering; in later times they were presented in the temple for the whole people. The preparation of the fine flour, and the leavening and baking of the loaves, are minutely regulated. Two yearling lambs are presented with the loaves, waved before Yahwè, and offered as peace offerings (§ 40). The bread does not come upon the altar, but is eaten by the priests. The additional burnt offerings on this day have been enumerated above (§ 33).

A libation of wine and an oblation accompany every public burnt offering: the daily holocaust (Nu. 28 7 *f.* Ex. 29 40 *f.*); the additional burnt offerings on sabbaths, new moons, and festivals (Lev. 23 18 37 Nu. 28 9 14 29 18 etc. 33 39); the lamb offered with the first sheaf (Lev. 23 13); and the bullock of burnt offering sacrificed with the sin offering of the congregation (Nu. 15 24). The manner of offering wine is referred to only in Nu. 28 7: 'in the holy place (בַּקֹּדֶשׁ, ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ) offer a libation of strong drink (שֵׁכָר, σίκερα) to Yahwè.

35. Libations.[5]

Footnotes (col. 4211):

1 See Hamburger, *RE* 2 887 *f.*
2 See above, § 21 (Ezekiel).
3 See, *e.g.*, for the Egyptians, Erman, *Aegypten*, 375 *f.*; for the Greeks, Stengel, *Kultusaltertümer*(2), 97.
4 See Now. *HA* 2 176 *f.*; PASSOVER, § 15.
5 This duplication results from taking the laws in Nu. 28 and Lev. 23 as independent of each other; see R. 'Akībā in *Mĕnāḥōth* 45 *b*. It is possible that the practice was not so lavish as this exegesis; cp R. Tarphon, *l.c.*
6 See above, § 14. Heb. לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים (1 S. 21 6 [7] Ex. 25 30 35 13 39 36), cp Babylonian *akal pāni*; also ל׳ הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת, from its arrangement on the table (1 Ch. 9 32 23 29 Neh. 10 34); ל׳ הַתָּמִיד, Nu. 4 7. 𝔊 usually *ἄρτοι τῆς προθέσεως* (so in NT), Vg. *panes propositionis.*

Footnotes (col. 4212):

1 *Ant.* iii. 6 6, 10 7. See esp. *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 1 1 *ff.*
2 *M. Yōmā* 3 11; *M. Shĕkālīm* 5 1; *Jer. Shĕkālīm* 48 *d*, etc. On the special art of baking sacrificial cakes see Athenæus, 3 115 *a*.
3 See also *Ep. Arist.*, ed. Thackeray, 532 *f.*
4 Ex. 30 9 prohibits a libation on the inner altar.
5 See above, §§ 14 and 31 *a*.

The passage is difficult; *šēkār* is not elsewhere prescribed for libations; if 'old wine' (Tg.) or 'unmixed wine' is meant it is hard to see why the unusual term should be used (cp WINE); *equally strange is a libation in the temple itself, yet the words* admit no other natural explanation.

The oblation, of which the libation is a standing accessory, was offered on the great altar, and there, undoubtedly, the libation accompanying the burnt offerings also was made. Evidence that this was the custom is given by Sirach (50 15 [16*f.*]): the high priest 'stretched forth his hand to the chalice and made a libation of the blood of the grape; he poured it out at the base of the altar, a fragrance well pleasing to the Most High the universal king'; so also Jos. *Ant.* iii 9 4. In the same way the rite is described by Maimonides.[1] *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 8 6 names some places where the best wine for the temple service was produced, and forbids wine grown or prepared under certain conditions. It must be pure natural wine, not sweetened, smoked, or boiled.

One of the most striking ceremonies of the Feast of Tabernacles was the libation of water which was made every morning during the seven days of the feast at the same time as the libation of wine accompanying the morning holocaust.[2] The water was carried up from Siloam through the water-gate, and poured into a basin on the top of the altar at the SW. corner, the wine being poured into another. The bringing of the water into the precincts was accompanied by trumpet-blasts and loud jubilation.[3]

The oblation in the *sacra publica* was not accompanied, as was that of individuals (§ 31 *b*), by a portion of frankincense burned on the great altar.

36. Incense; salt.

In place of this, a costly compound incense was burned on the small altar in the temple at the morning and the evening sacrifice (see INCENSE, § 6 *f.*). Urns of frankincense stood on the table of shewbread; the contents were removed every sabbath and burned on the outer altar (above, § 34 *a*). Salt was required with all public as well as all private offerings; even the compound incense contained salt. Large quantities of salt were consumed in the temple; Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3 3) records that Antiochus the Great ordered 375 medimni (annually) to be delivered to the Jews for the maintenance of the worship.[4] Rock salt ('Sodom salt') is specified in the formula for the compounding of incense, and was doubtless used for other purposes (see SALT, § 2).

37. Public piacula.

(*a*) Stated sin offerings at new moons and feasts. With the additional burnt offerings (Nu. 28 *f.*; above, § 33) it is ordered that one he goat (שָׂעִיר) shall be sacrificed as a sin offering on the new moon, on each of the seven days of Unleavened Bread, at Pentecost,[5] on the first of the seventh month, on the tenth of the same month, on the seven days of Tabernacles, and on the closing (eighth) day of that festival. No special rules for these sin offerings are given in the Pentateuch; the ritual is doubtless the same as that described in Lev. 9 15, cp 8-11; that is, identical with that of the private sin offering (§ 28 *a*), except that there is no imposition of hands (*M. Mĕnāḥōth* 9 7); the flesh was eaten by the priests under the same restrictions as that of the private sin offering.[6]

(*b*) The sin offerings of the Day of Atonement. Nu. 29 11 demands, with the additional burnt offerings, a he goat as a sin offering, 'beside the goat of atonement'—that is, the goat chosen by lot in the special rites of the day as a *ḥaṭṭāth* (Lev. 16 5 9 15). It was offered after the peculiar expiatory ceremonies of the day, with the ordinary ritual; its flesh was eaten.

The *propria* of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16)[1] begin with the sacrifice by the high priest of a bull as a sin offering for himself and the priesthood in general;[2] its blood was carried by him into the 'most holy place' and sprinkled there in a minutely prescribed manner. The sin offering of the congregation, a he goat, was next offered, and its blood in like manner sprinkled in the adytum. The blood of both was then applied to the horns of the altar and sprinkled with the finger seven times upon the altar—that is, according to the later practice if not to the original intention of the law, the altar of incense (Ex. 30 10); cp Lev. 4 7 18; the rest of the blood was poured out at the base of the great altar. The usual parts of both victims were burned on the altar of burnt offerings; the rest of the flesh (cut up as for an *'ōlāh*), with the head, legs, inwards, and hide, were carried out to the place where the ashes from the altar were emptied, and there consumed by fire. The general rule is that the flesh of sin offerings whose blood is brought into the temple must not be eaten (Lev. 6 30 [23], cp 4 7 11, etc. 16 27). The attendant who thus comes in contact with the holy flesh is unclean, and must bathe before again coming into the city (Lev. 16 28, cp Nu. 19 5-10).

(*c*) Occasional sin offerings. The sin offering of the anointed priest (Lev. 4 3-12) must be regarded as public, because the premiss is that his inadvertent transgression has brought evil consequences upon the people (4 2 *f.*). The victim is a bull; the blood is taken into the holy place, sprinkled seven times before the veil, and applied to the horns of the altar of incense; the subsequent procedure is the same as in the case of the high priest's bull on the Day of Atonement. The sin offering of the whole congregation (Lev. 4 13-21) for an unknown transgression, the consequences of which they suffer, is a bull; the imposition of hands is by the elders; the minister is the high priest; the ritual is the same as in his own sin offering above. An older parallel to Lev. 4 13-21 is Nu. 15 22-26.[3] The sacrifices here required are a bull as a burnt offering, with the regular oblation and libation, and a he goat as a sin offering. It is assumed that the ordinary ritual is followed; the flesh is eaten by the priests.

(*d*) Sin offerings in ceremonies of consecration.[4] In the consecration of priests, Ex. 29 1 *ff.* (cp Lev. 8 1 *ff.*), a bull is offered as a sin offering, with the usual ritual; the flesh, hide, and offal are destroyed by fire. Similarly in the inaugural sacrifices of Aaron, Lev. 9, he sacrifices for himself a bull-calf as a sin offering with the same rites. The disposition of the flesh is not mentioned; from *v.* 15 it may be inferred that it was burned; but a late passage (10 16-20) maintains that it should have been eaten, since it did not fall under the rule of 6 30. At the dedication of the Levites (Nu. 8 8) a bull is sacrificed as a sin offering without specification of the ritual.

In addition to the several sin offerings of the Day of Atonement, a goat, on whose head the sins of the people had been solemnly laid by the high priest, was sent away into the wilderness 'to Azazel' (see ATONEMENT, DAY OF; AZAZEL). This was the great expiation for the sins of the year (see below, § 51). Another

38. Scape-goat; red heifer.

1 *Ma'ăsē haḳ-ḳorbānōth*, 2 1. R. Abraham b. David, on the contrary, holds that the wine—as at the water libation at Tabernacles—was poured into a basin on the top of the altar, whence it was carried off by a drain. This difference need not much concern us.

2 *M. Sukkāh* 4 9, 5 1; *Sukkāh* 51 *a b*, cp 42*b*, 44*a*, 48 *a b*; *Jer. Sukkāh* 55*b*; *Ta'ănīth* 3*a*; *Rōsh ha-Shānāh* 16*a*, etc.

3 For an explanation of the rite see NATURE WORSHIP, § 4.

4 Cp Ezra 6 9 7 22, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2 3.

5 The sin offering of Lev. 23 19 is thought by most critics to be an interpolation from Nu. 28 27 *ff.*; the Jews, however, decide that it was distinct from that. See *M. Mĕnāḥōth* 4 2; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 6.

6 See Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 5. This is the rule for all sin offerings whose blood is not brought into the holy place.

1 See ATONEMENT, DAY OF.

2 Inasmuch as the purification of the priest is an indispensable preliminary to the grand *piacula* of the day, this sin offering is here classed with the *sacra publica*.

3 Rabbinical exegesis harmonised them by interpreting Nu. 15 22 of the sin of idolatry as the violation of all the commandments. *Siphrē* loc., *Hōrāyōth* 8*b*.

4 The consecration sin offerings are not without significance for the theory of such *piacula*.

peculiar rite which, though widely differing from ordinary sacrifice, must be mentioned here, is the burning of the red heifer, with whose ashes is prepared a holy water that purges the uncleanness arising from contact with a dead body (Nu. 19). The rites, as described in the Mishna (*Pārāh*), are plainly assimilated to those of a burnt offering (see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17; NUMBERS, § 20). Another noteworthy *piaculum* is the slaying of a heifer to atone for a murder the perpetrator of which cannot be detected (Dt. 21 1-9).

In the directions for the consecration of Aaron and his sons (Ex. 29, cp Lev. 8), after the sacrifice of a bull as a sin offering (above, § 37) and a ram as a burnt offering, another ram, called the 'installation ram' (אֵיל מִלֻּאִים, *v.* 22) is offered. Its blood is rubbed on the tip of the candidate's right ear, on his right thumb, and his right great toe;[1] the blood is then dashed against the altar as in other sacrifices. To the parts usually burned upon the altar in the sacrifice of a sheep as a peace offering, is added in this case the right leg, which in a layman's sacrifice would fall to the priest. From a basket containing loaves of bread, cakes made with oil, and wafers smeared with oil—all of fine flour (cp Lev. 7 11 *ff.*, § 30)—one of each kind is taken and placed, with the altar portions and the leg, on Aaron's hands, and 'waved' by Moses before Yahwè. They are then burned upon the altar. The breast of the ram, which Moses waves before Yahwè, is his portion; the rest of the flesh of the ram is boiled in a holy place and, with the remainder of the contents of the basket, eaten by the newly consecrated priests. Any that is left till morning must be burned; it may not be eaten after that time. It is implied in Ex. 29 29 *ff.* (secondary) that the same ceremony is to be performed whenever a high priest is to be inducted; cp Lev. 8 33 *ff.*

39a. Installation of priests.

In Ex. 29 36 *f.*, the blood of the bull offered as the sin offering of the priests also purifies the altar ('removes its sin,' 'expiates for it'; see below, § 45); cp Ezek. 43 18 *ff.* Thus the altar becomes 'very holy'; whatsoever touches it is thereby made sacred (*i.e.*, belongs to God). In a still later supplement, Ex. 30 26 *ff.*, the holy anointing oil is applied to the tent and all its furniture, as well as to the priests.

39b. Consecration of altar.

Peace offerings were ordinarily private sacrifices; the feast of the worshippers was their characteristic feature. It is, indeed, not improbable that at the high festivals the kings furnished animals in great numbers (as their free-will offerings) for the assembled people, and Ezekiel plainly contemplates the continuance of this custom (45 17); but in P there is no recognition of offerings of this kind. In the completed sacrificial system there are, however, certain public or quasi-public sacrifices which fall under this head. The installation ram of the priests (Ex. 29) is plainly a peace offering with certain peculiar rites. The inaugural sacrifices of Aaron in Lev. 9 include an animal from the herd (*šōr*) and a ram as peace offerings for the people; whether the author means it to be understood that their flesh was eaten by representatives of the people or by the priests is not clear. The annual sacrifice of the two lambs offered with the two loaves of new wheat bread at Pentecost (Lev. 23 19) are public peace offerings;[2] the flesh fell to the priests and was very holy. With this exception the rule holds that all public sacrifices are either burnt offerings or sin offerings.

40. Peace offerings in sacra publica.

[1] The aspersion of blood and anointing oil on the vestments of the priest is a later addition.

[2] This results from transferring a local rite in which the lambs were real *šĕlāmīm* to the central sanctuary; see §§ 14 and 34*b*.

III. BELIEFS AND IDEAS

The prevailing conception of sacrifice and offering in the OT is that of a gift or present to God. The two generic terms *minḥāh* and *ḳorbān* both express this idea.[1] *Minḥah* applies equally to Cain's gift of the fruits of the earth and to Abel's of animals from his flock (Gen. 4 3-5, J). The same word is used of a gift to a fellow-man as a token of friendship (Is. 39 1), an act of homage (1 S. 10 27 1 K. 10 25), tribute to a suzerain (Judg. 3 15 17 *f.* 2 S. 8 2 6), to propitiate a powerful person who has been wronged or offended (Gen. 32 13 18 33 10 *f.*), or to procure favour and assistance (Gen. 43 11 *ff.* Hos. 10 6), etc. In the later technical language of the ritual *ḳorbān*, 'present,' is the comprehensive name for sacrifice and offering of every kind. The general rule that no man should come into the presence of God without a gift holds in all ages; see Ex. 23 15 34 20 Dt. 16 16, Ecclus. 35 4 *M. Ḥăgīgāh* 1 1. Gifts to God were made with the same variety of motive as to man. Theophrastus names three: homage, gratitude, and need (ἢ γὰρ διὰ τιμὴν ἢ διὰ χάριν ἢ διὰ χρείαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ap. Porphyry, *De abstin.* 2 24). Philo distinguishes sacrifices in which men pay to God the honour due to him with no self-regarding motive from those brought for the benefit of the offerer, either that he may obtain good things or be delivered from evils.[2]

41. Sacrifice a gift to God.

The commonest gift to God is something to eat and drink, the flesh of the domestic animals used for food by the Israelites, grain, fruit, oil and wine.[3] The phrase 'food of God' (לחם אלהים), which occurs repeatedly even in comparatively late contexts (see Lev. 21 6 8 17 21 22 25 [H], Ezek. 44 7 cp 16 19; also Lev. 3 11 16 Nu. 28 2 24), shows to what end such offerings were made; cp Dt. 32 38: the gods whom the Israelites worshipped 'eat the fat of their sacrifices and drink the wine of their libations'; see also the protest of Ps. 50 13. Doubtless those who first used the phrase 'food of God' meant it quite literally (see the end of the third tablet of the Babylonian Cosmogonic Epic), though observation and reflection may have early led men to draw the distinction which modern peoples in low planes of culture often make between the visible things offered and their subtle essence or 'soul' which the deity extracts for his enjoyment—a conception as literal, though not so crass, as the other. The mode of presentation varies. The shewbread (originally accompanied, doubtless, by wine; see above, § 34*a*) was kept standing continually on a table in the house of Yahwè (1 S. 21 6 Ex. 25 30 Lev. 24 5-9); in animal sacrifices certain parts—in the holocaust all the flesh—of the victim were consumed by fire upon the altar, as were also sacrificial cakes of various kinds and unbaked dough; other offerings, as the firstfruits, were set down before the altar with a dedicatory formula (Dt. 26 4-10), or 'waved'; that is, with one of those fictions so common in ritual, in make-believe thrown upon the fire.

The custom of burning the offerings to God upon a sacrificial fire seems to have been adopted by the Israelites after their settlement in Canaan, from the older inhabitants (see above, § 12), probably without much inquiry or reflection about the significance of the new mode or the reason for it. The verb which is commonly used, however (*ḳiṭṭēr*, see above, § 11), implies that the object was not so much to consume by fire as to make a savoury smoke (see INCENSE, § 1 and n. 1). In this fragrant smoke, as it arises, the finer essence of the gift, etherealised, is conveyed to the deity.[4] This is

[1] See above, §§ 11, 24. Cp also in NT, Mt. 5 23 *f.* 8 4 23 18 *f.* (δῶρον).

[2] *De vict. offer.* § 4, 2 240 Mangey. On the relation of Philo's analysis to Theophrastus, see Bernays, 82 *f.* 103 *ff.*

[3] Dotations and votive offerings to temples which do not fall under the definition of sacrifice are not considered in this article. See VOTIVE OFFERINGS.

[4] Cp *Il.* 1 317, etc. Porphyry explains the burning as an ἀπαθανατίζειν (*De abstin.* 2 5).

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manifestly an advance upon the setting before God of food and drink just as the worshippers use them.

The offering by fire (*iššeh*, אִשֶּׁה) produces a 'soothing—that is, an agreeable—odour' (*rēaḥ nīḥōaḥ*, רֵיחַ נִיחֹחַ, Gen. 8 21, J; often in the ritual laws). Yahwè 'smells' this odour, and is appeased or gratified by it (Gen. 8 21 1 S. 26 19); when he is angry he will not enjoy the smell of it, that is, he rejects the sacrifice (Lev. 26 31 Am. 5 21). The burning of aromatic gums and spices is a later refinement (see INCENSE, § 3); the ideas which prompt it are the same.[1]

42. Sacrificial feasts.

All common private sacrifices (*zěbaḥ*, *šělāmīm*, *tōdāh*), whether obligatory or voluntary, were accompanied by a feast, in which the offerer participated with his family, neighbours, and guests.[2] Since these feasts were held 'before Yahwè,' at the holy place, after God had received his portion, it is a natural surmise that a meal in which God and men join is an essential feature of ordinary sacrifice, and that the hospitality of table communion is a pledge and bond of friendship between God and his worshippers as it is among men, a bond closer than that which is established by the acceptance of a gift. It must be admitted, however, that this conception of the nature and efficacy of sacrifice is nowhere distinctly expressed in the OT, and it is difficult to say how clearly it was present in the consciousness of Israelite worshippers.[3] Much less do our sources throw any light upon the origin of such a conception. The scholars who contend that the sacrificial meal was primitively not a mere hospitable fellowship but sacramental communion in the divine life of a totem animal, do not maintain that the Israelites in OT times regarded their sacrifices in any such way; the most that would be claimed is that certain survivals in the cultus and superstitions without it point to this as the original character and significance of the sacrificial feast.

It is clear, however, that whether the feast at the sanctuary was conceived of as a table-companionship of God and men or not, it must actually have strengthened the bond of religion by the sense of God's presence and friendliness.

43. Blood of victim.

Our investigation in the first part of this article of the history of Israelite sacrifices and of the ritual has shown that from first to last the utmost importance attaches to the disposition of the victim's blood. Indeed, it may be said that this is the one universal and indispensable constituent of sacrifice. When Saul's victorious followers rushed upon the spoil of the Philistines and began to slay cattle and eat them, the king had a great stone rolled up, and commanded that they should slaughter there, and not sin against Yahwè by eating 'with the blood,' that is the flesh of animals whose blood had not been poured out at a sacrificial stone or altar (1 S. 14 32-34); cp Lev. 17 3 *ff.* (see LEVITICUS, § 15). We have seen that in Arab sacrifice also the pouring of the blood upon the sacred stone or anointing of it with blood was the essential rite. This use of sacrificial blood is older than the offering of part of the victim by fire, and is the necessary antecedent of the feast, its religious consecration. The offering or application of the blood cannot very well be regarded as a gift to God, or as a mere incident in the preparation for a communion meal. It is, indeed, plain in the OT itself that the ideas and beliefs that are connected with the use of sacrificial blood belong to a different and a more primitive circle of ideas.

In the application of blood to the doorposts and lintels of a house to prevent 'the DESTROYER' (*q.v.*) from entering to slay the inmates (see above, § 7) we have an instance of the belief that the blood of a victim serves as a protection against disease and death; that is, in primitive apprehension, against the spirits which cause these evils. To the same end the modern Arab rubs the blood of a sacrifice upon his tent-ropes, or smears it upon his camels (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 499). It is said that in an outbreak of cholera at Hamath in 1875 Christians procured blood from the slaughter-house and made with it a cross on the door of every room in their houses (Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, 197 *f.*, cp 181, 189 *f.*). With the same motive sacrificial blood is applied to sick persons or animals—the same power which averts evil can expel it. The use of blood in 'purifications' is similar. The leper whom the priest's inspection proves to be free from the disease is sprinkled with water mingled with the blood of a bird,[1] while another bird after being dipped in the bloody water is allowed to fly away.[2] In the later rite blood is applied to the man's ear, hand, and foot. It is not improbable that in other purifications the blood was primitively applied to the person to be cleansed, rather than to the altar only, as in the actual ritual of the 'sin offering.' The efficacy of blood in removing uncleanness is exemplified also in ceremonies of dedication for the temple or altar, and for their periodical purification from accidental and unknown defilement, as well as in the consecration of priests;[3] the removal of 'uncleanness' and the establishment or restoration of 'holiness' are effected by the same means.

Different from these uses of blood as a means of averting or removing disease and defilement is the disposition made of it in ordinary sacrifice, where it is poured, splashed, or smeared upon the sacrificial stone (*maṣṣēbāh*, altar).[4] The significance of this rite seems to be that by it the sacrifice is not only brought immediately to the attention of the deity to whom it is offered, but—at least in earlier conception—physically conveyed to him; in Arab sacrifice nothing else is made his. Covenant ceremonies like that in Ex. 24 4-8, in which the blood is applied both to the altar and to the people—that is, to the two contracting parties, as in blood covenants between men—are also to be noted. The profane use of blood is stringently prohibited; to taste blood, or flesh with blood in it, is one of the worst and most dangerous things a man can do. Domestic animals were in old times slaughtered at the sacrificial stone and the blood poured out there; after the abolition of the high places it must be allowed to drain into the ground, as that of beasts killed in hunting had previously been. The blood of some species of sacrifice made taboo everything it touched.

The common root of these diverse uses and restrictions is the almost universal belief that blood is a fluid in which inheres mysterious potency, no less dangerous when misused than efficacious when properly employed. In the outpouring of the blood at the sacrificial stone we may perhaps recognise the feeling that this is the safest disposition of it, as well as the belief of a somewhat more developed theology that it belongs to the deity of right. What makes the blood so powerful for good or ill is that the life is in it; the theory of Lev. 17 11 is based on a fact of the simplest observation.

Many of the practices that have been noted above manifestly originated in an animistic nature religion, in which alone they have meaning. In the national religion of Israel they become part of the worship of Yahwè or of the custom of the people under his sanction. This connection logically involves a change of apprehension: the rites are not efficacious by the inherent potency of the blood or the virtue of the

[1] Cp the Babylonian Flood Tablet, *l.* 160 *ff.*

[2] See above, § 11. The flesh of the trespass offering and of all ordinary sin offerings furnished a banquet for the priests.

[3] The idea of communion in sacrifice with the deity is expounded by Paul, 1 Cor. 10 18-21.

[1] Cp the 'water of uncleanness' containing the ashes of the red heifer in purification from contact with death.

[2] Cp the Arab custom of release from widowhood, *Tāj*, v. 70 18 *ff.*; Wellh. *Heid.*(2), 171; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 422.

[3] That this ceremony was felt to be a purification is shown by the imitation of it in the late rite for the cleansing of the leper, Lev. 14 14 *ff.*

[4] Curtiss, *op. cit.* ch. 15, has collected many modern instances in which the blood of a victim is smeared on the portal of a shrine, which takes the place of the old sacred stone.

operation, but as the means which God has appointed.[1] The more positive the conception of religion becomes, the less motive there is to seek any other explanation of such practices than that God has commanded them. If, finally, the irrationality of such ceremonies comes to be felt, and their incongruity with spiritual religion, allegory and symbolism will find some profound significance in them. Yet the ignorant multitude will doubtless continue to have faith in the virtue of the ceremony itself, and to understand better than their teachers its true import, because the old animism is still a reality to them.

A corresponding change is wrought in the conception of 'uncleanness.' Whereas originally it was a physical thing whose evil was in itself, it becomes in the national religion a pollution offensive to Yahwè; it is incompatible with his holiness and the holiness which he demands of all that approach him; its consequences are not only natural but penal; it requires to be not merely purged but expiated. Uncleanness is in this light a moral wrong, and involves guilt. On the other hand, a not inconsiderable class of what we regard as moral offences were included in the category of taboos requiring purifications. We have difficulty in realising that guilt was believed to have the same physically contagious quality as uncleanness—one man who had touched *ḥērem* (חרם) could infect and bring defeat upon a whole army (Josh. 7). Almost equally strange to us is the notion that guilt, like uncleanness, can be contracted without knowledge and intention; and that the first intimation a man may have that he has offended God is that he suffers the consequences (*āšam*), with its converse, that misfortune is the evidence that he has offended without knowing how. These are things, however, which must be kept in mind if we are to understand the piacular aspects of Israelite sacrifices.

44. Propitiation and expiation. A man who has offended God may seek to propitiate him by a gift, as he might an earthly ruler; so David in the time of plague offers burnt offerings in the threshing floor of Araunah (2 S. 24 18-25). More frequently, perhaps, he made a vow that if God's anger under which he was suffering were withdrawn, he would make him a specified sacrifice, either holocaust or peace offering,[2] or both together, with such and such victims. This was probably in all periods the most numerous class of votive offerings. The same means by which man in prosperity sought the continuance and increase of God's favour were employed to recover it when in any way it had been lost.

The special *piacula* called sin offerings have a very limited range of employment (see above, § 28*a*). They are prescribed chiefly for unintentional ceremonial faults or as purifications; the trespass offering is even more narrowly restricted (above, § 27). The great expiation for the whole people, in later times at least, was the scape-goat; not any form of sacrifice.

Sacrifices offered to propitiate the offended deity require no peculiar rites; the outpouring of the blood, the burning of the fat or of the holocaust, are precisely the same as when these species of sacrifice are made, say, in gratitude for the signal goodness of God. The blood of the sin offering is smeared upon the horns of the altar instead of being splashed against its corners; but whatever the origin of this difference may be,[3] we may, in view of the whole character of the *ḥaṭṭāth*, confidently affirm that it is not a purposed heightening of the application.

In the discussion of Hebrew ideas concerning the effect and operation of sacrifice the meaning of the verb *kipper* with its cognate words and synonyms has filled a large place; and, by a fault of method which has been fruitful of error in the study of the OT, the investigation has frequently set out from etymological assumptions instead of from the plain facts of usage.

45. Effect of sacrifice: terms.

Kōpher, a word of jural associations, is the means—payment, gift, bribe—by which a man buys himself off from the consequences of his deed: see Ex. 21 30 (=a ransom for his life), Nu. 35 31-33 Prov. 6 35 13 8 Job 33 24 Am. 5 12 1 S. 12 3 (bribe; cp Is. 47 11); Ex. 30 12 (head money). The verb *kipper* (denominative use of the intensive stem) means to make satisfaction by such means; see especially 2 S. 21 3 Gen. 32 20 [21]. Since the object is to avert the consequences of misdoing, the verb often signifies to seek or procure remission, without regard to a material satisfaction, to propitiate; thus Ex. 32 30 (Moses' intercession with God for forgiveness of the people's sin), cp 2 Ch. 30 18. The passives regularly mean 'be forgiven,' *e.g.*, Is. 22 14 1 S. 3 14 Dt. 21 8; and conversely the active, frequently, 'forgive,' *e.g.*, Ezek. 16 63 Jer. 18 23. With these senses and uses in common life and religion the uses which we should call specifically ritual connect themselves. Offences against God are not confined to moral wrong-doing; the infringement—even unwitting—of ceremonial rules or of the many laws concerning 'uncleanness' may have dire consequences unless expiated. The defilement may be contracted by things as well as by persons, and these also require to be purged in a similar way; in the consecration of a new altar it is necessary to 'remove its sin,' to 'expiate' (*kipper*) the altar (Ezek. 43 20 26);[1] the semi-annual purification of the temple is a removal of the sin of the sanctuary, an expiation of the house (Ezek. 45 20); cp Ex. 29 36 *f.* Lev. 8 15 16 16 24. The sacrifices or rites, of whatever nature, by which the consequences of unwitting or inadvertent invasion of the sphere of 'holiness' are nullified are expiatory, and the verb *kipper* is the technical term for their effect. Other verbs are frequently joined with it, especially *ḥiṭṭā*, חִטֵּא (privative), 'remove sin' (of things), *ṭihar*, טִהַר, 'make pure or clean' (of things and persons), *ḳiddaš*, קִדֵּשׁ, 'make holy,' which is the positive counterpart of the preceding terms.

The word *kipper* is not so common in old *tōrōth* as might be expected. It occurs with especial frequency in the old laws for the trespass offering in Lev. 5 and the supplements to them, the usual formula, standing after the directions for the sacrifice, being, 'and the priest shall make propitiation (כפר) in his behalf (על), and he shall be forgiven' (see Lev. 5 6 10*b* 13 16 18 6 7 [5 26] 7 7 19 22 Nu. 5 8); also in the purification of the leper (Lev. 14 18-20, cp 29 31 53), the Nazirite defiled by death (Nu. 6 11), purification after childbirth, gonorrhœa, menorrhagia (Lev. 12 7 *f.* 15 15 30); further, in the sin offering of the congregation or an individual for an inadvertent omission (Nu. 15 25 28, cp Lev. 4 20 26 31 35), and in the several strata of the ritual of the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16). In most of these passages, where the priest is subject, *kipper* (ἐξιλάσκομαι), 'make propitiation,' might equally well be translated, 'make intercession,' as in Vg. (*orare*, *rogare*, *deprecari*, etc.), by Saadia (*istaghfara*, 'beseech forgiveness'), and others.

The propitiatory or expiatory effect of sacrifice is not restricted to any particular species or class, though specific offences have prescribed *piacula*, not only trespass offerings and sin offerings, but also the private burnt offering (Lev. 1 4), and even peace offerings and oblations 'atone'; the whole public cultus is a means of propitiating God and obtaining remission for sin and uncleanness (Ezek. 45 15 17). Nor is the operation of propitiatory sacrifice centred exclusively, as has often been contended, in one part of the ritual, the shedding and application of the victim's blood: it is only in certain peculiar purifications that this is really the case; elsewhere the very formulation of the laws shows that the whole ceremony has atoning value (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 4 26 31 35 5 10 13, etc.). The sin offering of the pauper, which is only a little meal, is as effectual as the bloody sacrifices of his more prosperous fellows.

The term *kipper* is used in relation to other than sacrificial expiations; thus when a plague broke out, Aaron went among the people with a censer of burning incense, and made expiation for the people (ויכפר על העם), and the plague was stayed (Nu. 16 46 *f.* [17 11 *f.*]); the slaughter of a guilty man by Phinehas made expiation for the Israelites (Nu. 25 13); murder profanes the land, no blood-wite (*kōpher*) shall be taken for it, 'the blood which has been shed shall not be expiated save by the blood of him that shed it' (Nu. 35 32 *f.*); an offering of

[1] The constant tendency is to assimilate ceremonies of protection or purification to the ritual of sacrifice to God.

[2] Neither sin offering nor trespass offering could be vowed.

[3] If a conjecture may be allowed, we may surmise that the presence of the polluted man requires a purification of the altar; or that the blood which in the primitive rite was applied to the person of the man to be cleansed has in the cult been transferred to the altar.

[1] Cp *expiandum forum Romanum*, Cic. *Phil.* i. 12 30.

jewelry from the spoils of war serves 'to make expiation for our lives' (Nu. 31 50); cp also Nu. 8 19 Lev. 10 16 *ff.* 14 18 *ff.* 16 10.

Whether the primary meaning of the root כפר in Hebrew was 'cover up,' as in Arabic, or 'wipe, wipe off,' as in Syriac, we need not here inquire, inasmuch as it is not used in the OT in a physical sense at all, or with any reminiscent consciousness of such a sense. It is of more moment that the same verb is used in Assyrian of ritual purifications or expiations for persons and things, performed by the *ašipu*-priest.[1] Cp RITUAL, § 8.

On *kappōreth*, see MERCY SEAT.

One passage only seems to contain a more explicit theory of expiation by blood. Lev. 17 11 (R_P) gives as

46. Theory of blood atonement.

a motive for the oft-repeated prohibition of eating blood: For the life of the body is in the blood, and I have given it to you to use upon the altar to make expiation for yourselves; for the blood makes expiation by virtue of the life [in it];[2] cp *v.* 14. That the life or soul of the animal is in the blood, or, shortly said, the blood *is* the soul (cp Gen. 9 4 Dt. 12 23 Lev. 17 14), gives it the mysterious potency which is the ground both of the prohibition and of the piacular efficacy of blood (see above, § 43). The author of Lev. 17 11 merely says explicitly what is implied in the use of blood in rites of purification and expiation; it is not as a fluid like water or oil or wine that it is efficacious, but by virtue of its inherent life.[3] This beginning of reflection on the operation of sacrifice is interesting because it is reflection; it also truly expresses the conception which underlies the rites. We should err, however, if we sought in it the profounder idea of the substitution of the victim's life for the sinner's which is suggested by the Greek translation, τὸ γὰρ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξιλάσεται, or perhaps even that the offering of a *life* to God is the essential thing in sacrifice.[4]

There is no doubt that the Israelites in all ages firmly believed in the efficaciousness of sacrifice to preserve

47. Efficacy of sacrifice: popular belief.

and restore the favour of Yahwè. In times of prosperity they acknowledged his goodness and besought its continuance by sacrifice; in times of distress they multiplied sacrifices to appease him and make him again propitious. The worship of God by sacrifice and offering was, indeed, the central thing in their religion, we might almost say *was* their religion. Its rites, as they had been received from their forefathers, they believed—long before the age of the written law books—to have been ordained and sanctioned by Yahwè himself; the experience of generations had shown that he honoured the faithful observance of them; how should they not have confidence in them? That this confidence was often the sincere and earnest faith of godfearing men is beyond question; but bad men also confided in sacrifice as an effective means of placating God, and persuading him to wink at their unrighteous deeds, just as a gift might serve to turn aside the anger of a king, or to corrupt a judge. *This* confidence in the efficacy of sacrifice involved an immoral idea of God and of religion; it was, indeed, the very stronghold of these false conceptions. Against it, therefore, the prophets direct their attack.

The prophets of the eighth century not only denounce the abuses and corruptions of the worship at the temples

48. The prophets.

and high places—the drunken revelry, the consecrated prostitution, the greed of the priests and their perversion of the tōrāh; they deny the efficacy of sacrifice altogether. What

1 See Zimmern, *Beitr.* 2 292; Haupt, *JBL*, 19 61 80 (1900).

2 So בנפש is probably to be taken, not 'instead of' (𝔊 Vg. etc.).

3 See above, § 43. It may be recalled that in the temple pains were taken, by stirring it, to keep the blood from coagulating before it was brought to the altar.

4 No such theory appears in later Jewish thought.

God requires of men is not gifts and offerings but faithfulness and obedience, not cult but conduct. This was the necessary consequence of their idea of God and of religion. Yahwè is a righteous God; that is to say, his character is perfectly moral; being such, by his very nature he demands righteousness of his people, and can accept nothing in lieu of it. The sphere of righteousness is not ritual and ceremonial but social and political; it means truth, integrity, justice, goodness to fellow-men, in all the relations of life. The demand of righteousness is not something aside from religion, is not a minor part of religion; it is its fundamental law, its sum and substance. The sacrifices of unrighteous men are an insult to God, because they imply that he is like themselves. They deceive themselves fatally when they think that they can buy his favour or his forgiveness. And where there is the character in which he delights, there is the pure religion and undefiled which has no need of sacrifice. The utterances of the prophets are too familiar to need more than the briefest reference here; see Am. 4 4 5 21 *ff.* Hos. 4 8 13 5 6 8 11 *ff.* 14 3 *f.* Is. 1 11 *ff.* 22 12 *f.* 28 7 *f.* Jer. 6 20 7 21 *ff.*, etc.

The substance of the prophetic conception of religion is summed up for all time in Mic. 6 6-8: Wherewith shall I approach Yahwè; bow to the exalted God? Shall I approach him with burnt offerings and yearling calves? Will Yahwè accept thousands of rams, myriad streams of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the child of my body for my own sin? He has told thee, O man; what is good, and what doth Yahwè seek of thee, save to practise justice and to love charity and to walk in humility with thy God?

It is not probable that the prophets distinctly entertained the ideal of a religion without a cultus—a purely spiritual worship; sacrifice may well have seemed to them the natural expression of homage and gratitude. But they denied with all possible emphasis that it had any value to God or any efficacy with him; he had not appointed it; his law was concerned with quite different things (Jer. 7 22 *f.*).

The deuteronomic reform attempted to cut off the abuses of the worship at the high places against which the prophets had inveighed by suppressing the high places themselves; and made by consequence considerable changes in the old customs, the most serious of which was that which permitted domestic animals to be slaughtered for food without any sacrificial rites; but, so far from detracting from the religious importance of sacrifice, Dt. greatly enhanced it by incorporating its ordinances in a law book of professedly Mosaic origin, divine sanction, and national authority. Ezekiel lays out a detailed plan for the sacrificial cultus of the restoration; Haggai and Zechariah zealously urge the rebuilding of the temple, in the conviction that the prosperity of the community depends upon it. The collections of *tōrōth* made or edited in the sixth and following centuries are largely occupied with ritual prescriptions.

It is manifest that in the Persian and Greek periods sacrifice held both in the actual worship and in the

49. Persian and Greek periods.

estimation of the people the same place in religion that it had had under the kings; see, *e.g.*, Mal. 1 7 *ff.* 3 3 *f.* 8 *ff.* Joel 1 9 13 2 14 Dan. 8 11 *ff.*, cp 11 31 12 11 Ecclus. 50 11 *ff.* 1 Macc. 4 42 *ff.*, etc.

In the Psalms the religious spirit of sacrifice finds frequent and pious expression; *e.g.*, 26 6 *f.* 27 6 66 13-15 107 22. The teaching of the prophets was, however, not forgotten: God has no delight in sacrifice and offering; what he requires is to do his will with delight and have his law in the heart, etc. (Ps. 40 6 *ff.*); the fault God finds with Israel is not about their sacrifices and continual burnt offerings; how absurd to imagine that he to whom belongs the world and all that is therein needs their beasts, or that he eats the flesh of bulls and drinks the blood of goats! (Ps. 50 7 *ff.*); he desires not sacrifice, nor is he pleased with burnt offering; the sacrifices of God are a broken spirit, a broken and

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contrite heart God does not spurn—repentance, not expiation (Ps. 51 16 *f.*, cp 7 *f.*). The Proverbs teach that to practise uprightness and justice is preferred by God to sacrifice (Prov. 21 3; cp 1 S. 15 22); the sacrifice of wicked men is the abomination of Yahwè, but the prayer of the upright is well-pleasing to him (Prov. 15 8, cp 21 27; see also 16 6).

The teachings of the wise concerning sacrifice in the second century B.C. are well illustrated by Jesus son of Sirach.

50. Sirach; Philo.

He describes with enthusiasm the splendour of the temple service when the high priest Simon offers sacrifice (50 11 *ff.*), and evidently has much interest in priesthood and cultus (cp 7 31 45 14 *f.*). But his religious estimate of sacrifice is thoroughly ethical.

The long passage, 34 18-35 [31 21-32], is of high importance throughout. The sacrifices of the wicked are a mockery of God; he will not accept them, nor forgive men's sins for the multitude of their sacrifices (34 19); it is vain to try to bribe God by offerings (cp *Jubilees* 5 16), for he will not accept them, or to rely on an unrighteous sacrifice, for the Lord is an impartial judge (35 12 *ff.*); offerings made of goods wrung by extortion from the poor are like murder (34 20-22, cp 18). A man who fasts for his sins and then repeats them is as one who, after performing his ablution to cleanse him from contact with a dead body, goes and touches it again; who will hear his prayer, or what profit is there in his humiliation? (34 25 *f.*). Obedience to God and love to men take the place of sacrifice; he who observes the law makes many offerings; he who gives heed to the commandments sacrifices a peace offering. He who shows kindness offers fine flour; and he that practises charity sacrifices a thank-offering.[1] The acceptance of God is secured by avoiding wickedness, and forgiveness by abstaining from unrighteousness (35 1 *ff.*). Literal sacrifices are to be brought when men visit the temple, because they are enjoined by the commandment (*v.* 5), not because they have a moral or religious value in themselves. But the character and disposition of the worshipper is still the essential thing (*v.* 8 *ff.*). The same lessons are emphasised elsewhere in the book; see, *e.g.*, 7 8 *ff.*

For a representative of Hellenistic Judaism we turn to Philo. It must suffice to quote a single passage.

There are those who think that slaughtering bulls is religiousness, and who set apart for sacrifice—inexpiable sinners that they are!—a portion of what they have got by theft or breach of trust or robbery, in order to escape punishment for their misdeeds. To such I would say: The tribunal of God is incorruptible; those who have a guilty conscience he turns away from, even if they offer a hundred bulls every day; but the blameless, even if they bring no sacrifice at all, he receives. For God delights in fireless altars surrounded by the chorus of virtues, not in altars blazing with a great fire that the impious sacrifices of unhallowed men (*ἀνιέρων ἄθυτοι θυσίαι*) have set aflame, which do but remind him of the ignorance and deep guilt of each who so offers (*De plantat. Noe*, ii. § 25, 1 345 Mangey). See also *Vit. Mos.* iii. § 10, 2 151; and on the character of the worshipper, especially *De vict.* § 5, 2 241; *De sacrificantibus*, § 1 *ff.*; *De merc. meretr.* § 1, 2 264 *f.*, Frag. 34, etc.

The superiority of uprightness and goodness to sacrifice is not infrequently emphasised by Palestinian rabbis; Hos. 6 6 ('I desire mercy and not sacrifice,' cp Mt. 9 13 12 7) 10 12 Mic. 6 8 Prov. 21 3 are quoted in proof.

51. Schools of law: efficacy of sacrifice.

That God has regard, not to the magnitude and costliness of the offering but to the spirit of the worshipper, is authoritatively declared.

Without dwelling longer on this aspect of their teaching, we pass directly to the inquiry, What was taught in Palestinian schools of the first and second Christian centuries, or defined by their authority concerning—*a*, the efficacy of sacrifice or of particular sacrifices; *b*, the religious and moral conditions of their efficacy (§ 52); and *c*, the mode of their operation (§ 53)?

(*a*) The effect of sacrifice is expressed, as in the Pentateuch, by the verb *kipper* (see above, § 45), 'make propitiation, expiation'; in translating passages in which it occurs we shall render as consistently as possible 'atone.' The general principle is that all private sacrifices atone, except peace offerings (including thank offerings), with which no confession of sin is made.[2] Sin offerings and prescribed trespass offerings atone in the specific cases for which they are appointed in the law; for what kinds of offence the burnt offering atones (Lev. 1 4) is discussed in *Tos. Mĕnāḥōth* 10 12.[1] In the OT all *sacra publica* are sometimes regarded as atoning (propitiatory); so Ezek. 45 15 17 (above, § 45). Piacular value attached, however, especially to the sin offerings—goats—at the new moons and feasts, and on the Day of Atonement (see above, § 37). In *M. Shĕbū'ōth* 1 2-5 the things for which these sacrifices respectively atoned are classified. It would be profitless to enumerate them here; it must suffice to say that they are without exception cases of ignorant or unwitting intrusion of the 'unclean' into the sphere of 'holiness,' as when a man ceremonially unclean, in ignorance of the fact, enters the precincts of the temple, or eats 'holy' food without knowing that he was unclean or that the food was holy, and the like (כלן באין לכפר על טמאת מקדש וקדשיו, *M. Shĕb.* 1 4 end, cp 1 5 end). Even the special sin offering of the Day of Atonement, whose blood is brought into the adytum of the temple, atones for the same kind of offences, but for such as were committed presumptuously; cp Lev. 16 16 with *v.* 19. 'For the rest of the transgressions defined in the law, venial or heinous, presumptuous or inadvertent, conscious or unconscious, of omission or commission, including sins the penalty of which is excision from the people [by God] or death by the sentence of a court, the scapegoat atones' (*ib.* 16, end). This is the authoritative statement, based upon Lev. 16 21 *f.* Another authoritative formulation of the doctrine of sacrifice is found in *M. Yōmā* 8 8 *f.*: Sin offering and prescribed trespass offering atone;[2] death and the Day of Atonement atone if accompanied by repentance; repentance (by itself) atones for venial sins whether of omission or of commission, and in the case of heinous sins it suspends the punishment till the Day of Atonement comes around and atones. (9) If a man says, 'I will sin and repent over and over again,' no opportunity of effectual repentance is given him; if he says, 'I will sin and the Day of Atonement will atone,' the Day of Atonement does not atone for him. Transgressions which are between a man and God, the Day of Atonement atones; transgressions that are between a man and his fellows, the Day of Atonement does not atone until he has propitiated the injured party (cp *Jer. Yōmā*, 39 *b*, ed. Sitomir).

Somewhat fuller, and fortified by biblical proof texts, is the teaching of R. Ishmael concerning four kinds of sins and their atonement, which, in slightly varying forms, is repeated in many places, and may be regarded as containing the generally accepted doctrine; see *Tos. Yōm Kippūrīm* 5 6 [4 6]; *Yōmā* 86*a*; *Jer. Yōmā* 45*b*; *Jer. Shĕbū'ōth* 33*b*; *Jer. Sanhedrīn* 27*c*; *Mekiltā*, Yithro, § 7 (76*a*, Weiss), etc. Ishmael recognises the chastisements of God as expiating sin in whole or in part; see below, § 52.

(*b*) The Mishna and R. Ishmael include repentance among the things which obtain the remission of sins, and bring us naturally to the question

52. Moral and religious conditions of atonement.

whether, in general, repentance is requisite to the efficacy of piacular sacrifices, or whether they expiate sin *ex opere operato*, without regard to the penitence of the subject.

The latter theory was held by some eminent authorities, among them, if he be rightly understood, by R. Judah the patriarch, who maintained that the great expiation of the Day of Atonement (the scapegoat) atoned for the sins of all Israelites who had not deliberately put themselves outside its effects by breaking with the religion of their people,[3] independently of anything in the conduct or disposition of man himself, a view which might find support in a literal interpretation of Lev. 16 22. In *Jer. Yōmā* 8 7, where this utterance of Rabbi is recorded, it is asked with surprise whether he can have meant that repentance is not essential, and it is

1 Cp the saying of Simon the Just, *Ābōth*, 1 2.
2 In the 'world to come' the thank offering (*tōdāh*) will be the only species of sacrifice; *Tanchūmā*, Emor, 14.

1 See also Jer. Targ. on Lev. 6 9.
2 They expiate certain specified offences.
3 By atheism, the effacing of circumcision, irreverent liberties in the interpretation of the law.

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explained that he held that in this respect the Day of Atonement was like death, of which also he taught—contrary to the general opinion—that it expiates sin even without repentance.[1] The prevailing view, however, was that repentance is the *conditio sine qua non* of expiation and the forgiveness of sins, as is laid down in the Mishna quoted above (*M. Yōmā* 8 8), and even more sweepingly in *Tos. Yōm Kippūrīm* 5 9 [4 9]: Sin offering and trespass offering and death and the Day of Atonement none of them atone unless accompanied by repentance; for it is said, 'Only' (אך, Lev. 23 27); if a man repent, atonement is made for him (מתכפר לו—*i.e.*, he is forgiven), but if not no atonement is made for him. R. Eleazar quoted, 'And clearing' (ונקה, Ex. 34 7); he clears those who repent, but not those who do not repent. R. Judah (ben 'Ilai) taught: Death and the Day of Atonement atone, with repentance; repentance atones with death, and the day of death is like repentance (another reading is, 'by means of repentance'). See also *Yōmā* 85*b*, and esp. 86*a*. In accordance with this doctrine the importance of repentance and its effects are much dwelt upon: see especially *Yōmā* 86*a b*, a collection of eulogiums on repentance from the lips of various teachers.

A fine saying may be quoted from *Jer. Makkōth* 2 6 (also *Pesiktā*, Shūbāh, 158*b*): Men asked philosophy (חכמה), What is the consequence of sin? It answered: Evil pursueth sinners (Prov. 13 21). They asked prophecy. It answered: The soul that sinneth it shall die (Ezek. 18 4). They asked the law. It answered: Let him bring a trespass offering and it shall be forgiven him (ויתכפר לו). They asked God, and he answered: Let him repent (יעשה תשובה), and it shall be forgiven him.

The nature of repentance is well defined. Who is a truly repentant man? it is asked. One, the reply is, who, having sinned and repented, does not yield to the same temptation again (*Yōmā* 86*b*). Genuine repentance is a resolute turning from sin; a man who commits a sin, and confesses it, but does not turn from it, is like a man who holds some crawling vermin (שרץ) in his hand; though he were to bathe in all the waters in the world it would avail him nothing; but if he throw it away, a bath of forty sĕāhs suffices to make him clean, for it is said, He who confesses and forsakes his transgressions shall obtain mercy (Prov. 28 13, *Ta'ănīth* 16*a*; cp Philo, *De vict.* § 11, 2 247 Mangey). The ethical distinction is clearly made between the repentance that springs from love to God and the counterfeit of it which is only the expression of fear inspired by chastisement (*Yōmā* 86*a b*).

For a wrong done to a fellow-man, we have seen that neither repentance nor the great expiation of the Day of Atonement avail to obtain of God remission, until the offender has propitiated the injured party (*M. Yōmā* 8 9, above). This propitiation includes the reparation of the material injury, the confession of wrongdoing and sorrow, and the obtaining of forgiveness (cp Mt. 5 23 *f.*). If forgiveness be not granted at the first seeking, the penitent must return with other members of the community, and in their presence confess his fault and beseech pardon (*Jer. Yōmā* 8 8).[2]

An expiatory character is attributed to suffering, regarded as the chastisement of God; whence R. 'Aḳībā taught that a man should praise God not merely *in* chastisement but *for* it, since through it his sins are atoned for (cp 1 Cor. 11 32); and R. Eleazar ben Jacob quoted: 'Whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth' (Prov. 3 12, cp Heb. 12 6). Death in a state of penitence also expiates sin (*M. Yōmā* 8 8); or, in the more detailed exposition of R. Ishmael, death finally wipes out (מרק) the remainder of guilt which, in certain great sins, neither repentance nor the *piacula* of the Day of Atonement nor the chastisements of this life suffice wholly to atone for. Hence, for example, a criminal sentenced to death was exhorted to make a penitent's confession; only then will his death be an expiation for all his crimes.

The sufferings, and especially the death, of righteous men atone for the sins of others. Is. 53 12 is interpreted of Moses, who 'poured out his soul unto death (Ex. 32 32) and was numbered with the transgressors (the generation that died in the wilderness) and bare the sin of many' that he might atone for the sin of the golden calf (*Sōṭāh* 14*a*). Ezekiel suffered 'that he might wipe out the transgressions of Israel' (*Sanhedrīn* 39*a*). The general formulation of the doctrine is, 'the death of the righteous makes atonement' (*Mō'ēd ḳāṭān* 28*a*, etc.); cp 4 Macc. 6 27–29 17 22.

(*c*) The only explicit answer to the question how sacrifice expiates in the Jewish authorities of our period is that of Lev. 17 11 (see above, § 46); what atones in

53. How does sacrifice expiate?

sacrifice is the blood (*Siphrā* on Lev. *l.c.*, cp *Yōmā* 5*a*, *Zĕbāḥīm* 6*a*). The question, How has the blood this efficacy? is not raised; and the speculations to which Lev. 17 11 seems to invite by its association of the blood with the life, and in which Christian theology has been prolific, appear not to have been started.[1] The theory that the victim's life is put in place of the owner's is nowhere hinted at, perhaps because the Jewish doctors understood better than our theologians what sin offerings and trespass offerings were, and what they were for. Nor is there any discussion of the mode in which the blood of sacrifice operates expiation. The verb *kipper* and its derivatives are used, precisely as in the OT, in the sense, 'make propitiation, expiation, procure remission,' without recourse to etymology and imagined 'primary meanings.' Hence we hear nothing about the 'covering' of the sin or the sinner, or the 'wiping off'—or 'out'—of guilt.[2] The ancient etymological midrash attaches itself not to the verb *kipper* but to the noun 'lamb.' The daily morning and evening holocaust was a lamb (*kĕbeś*); the school of Shammai said: It 'tramples down' (*kābaš*) the sins of Israel (cp Mic. 6 9); the school of Hillel replied: What is trampled down comes up again; sacrifice 'washes' (כִּבֵּס, *kibbes*) Israel free from sin (*Pesiḳtā*, ed. Buber, 61*b*).

Outside the ritual sphere—in the ethical sphere of religion, that is—it is repentance that atones; it is the condition of God's forgiveness; and the ultimate ground of forgiveness is God's love; love covereth all transgressions (Prov. 10 12), for God loves Israel (*Wayyiḳrā R.* c. 7 begin.). As a motive, the merits of the forefathers are often referred to. See also, on the nature of repentance and its relation to God's forgiveness, the fine passage in Philo, *De exsecrationibus*, § 8 *f.*

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to describe or discuss later theories of the nature and effect of sacrifice, such as the *poena vicaria*, or the sacramental theory, further than to say, as the result of the whole preceding investigation, that they are not derived from the OT but imported into it.

IV. SACRIFICE IN NT

It is assumed in the Gospels that Jesus throughout his life observed in the matter of sacrifice, as in other

54. Jewish sacrifices: the Gospels.

respects, the Jewish law as it was commonly practised in his time. Lk. relates that his mother offered in due time the sacrifice of purification after childbirth prescribed for the poor (Lk. 2 22 *ff.*, cp 39, Lev. 12 2 4 6 8); at the age of twelve he first went with his parents to Jerusalem to the Passover (Lk. 2 41 *ff.*). He kept the Passover with his disciples the night before

[1] An attempt to harmonise the opinion of Rabbi with the Mishna is made in *Yōmā* 85*b*.

[2] Cp a corresponding procedure, Mt. 18 15 *ff.*

[1] Philo, indeed, calls the blood ψυχῆς σπονδή, but pursues the subject no farther.

[2] These senses—unknown to the ancient translators or interpreters—were discovered in the Middle Ages. If either etymology had suggested itself to the Jewish scholars in the Talmudic period it would doubtless have been the latter ('wiping off').

his death (Mk. 14 12 *ff.* and ||s). The Fourth Gospel tells of several other visits to Jerusalem at the annual feasts (2 13 *ff.* 5 1 *ff.* 7 2 *ff.*). Jesus bids the leper whom he has healed offer the sacrifices appointed in the law for his purification (Mk. 1 44 and ||s, Lev. 14). The injunction to effect the reconciliation of an injured fellow-Israelite before offering sacrifice (Mt. 5 23 *f.*),[1] supposes the continuance of sacrifice among those who should be his disciples; cp also 23 18 *ff.* 23. There is in the Gospels no such denunciation of the sacrificial worship of Jesus' contemporaries as we find in the prophets (see above, § 48); the forms of Pharisaic piety which Jesus assails are of a different kind—the ostentatious fasts, almsgiving, and prayers. He quotes Hos. 6 6, 'I desire mercy and not sacrifice' (Mt. 9 13 12 7), as proof that goodness to our fellow-men is of much higher value in the sight of God than offerings to himself; the scribe who recognises that love to God and man is worth more than all burnt offerings and sacrifices is not far from the kingdom of God (Mk. 12 32-34). Such utterances are, however, not infrequent in the words of the scribes themselves. It cannot be said that the teaching of Jesus in this respect differs from that of the Jewish masters of his time,[2] though it may be inferred from his whole attitude that he set far less value on observances of any kind than they did. Mt., indeed, represents him as declaring emphatically that not the minutest particle of the law should cease to be observed 'till all things be accomplished'—*i.e.*, so long as the present order of things lasts (5 17); and as bidding his disciples do and observe all the things that the scribes and Pharisees, as the custodians of the law and successors of the legislator, enjoined (23 1-3); but this is rather the evangelist's attitude than the master's; cp Mk. 7 5 *ff.* (= Mt. 15 1 *ff.*).

In the accounts of the last supper Jesus calls the wine 'my covenant blood' (τὸ αἷμά μου τῆς διαθήκης),[3] in obvious allusion to the blood by which the covenant at Sinai was ratified (Ex. 24 6-8). The various additions, 'which is poured out in behalf of many' (Mk.), 'unto remission of sins' (Mt.), bring out the accessory idea of atonement through his blood; cp Mk. 10 45 Mt. 20 28 (see below, § 60). Scholars have often found in the 'new covenant' an implicit abrogation of the old, with all its institutions; it is certain, however, that the early Christians in Palestine saw nothing of the kind in it; they continued to worship in the temple like their fellow-countrymen. The inference is first explicitly drawn by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (chap. 10).

55. Paul. According to Acts Paul more than once plans a journey so as to bring him to Jerusalem in season for a feast (18 21 20 16; in the former passage the words are lacking in ℵAB, etc.); he declares in his defence before Felix that he came thither to worship (24 11), to bring charitable gifts to his countrymen and make offerings (προσφοράς, 24 17), and was arrested in the temple in the midst of this pious occupation (*v.* 18). To give the lie to reports that he persuaded Jews in the provinces to abandon the observance of the law, he consented to assume the cost of sacrifices for the release of four Jewish Christians from the Nazirite's vow (Nu. 6 13 *ff.*), and, after the usual purifications, accompanied them into the temple (21 20-26), where offering was made for each of them, thus proving that he himself lived in observance of the law (*v.* 24). That Paul really made a profession so contrary to his own precept and example it is difficult to believe (cp Gal. 2 11 *ff.*; also ACTS, § 7).

[1] Without this the sacrifice would be of no avail, as the Rabbis taught. See above, § 52.

[2] See above, §§ 50 *ff.*, and *Sukkāh* 49*b*. To infer from Mk. 12 28-34 that Jesus himself probably offered no sacrifices is unwarranted.

[3] Mk. 14 24 Mt. 26 28, cp Lk. 22 20 1 Cor. 11 25, 'the new covenant in my blood'; cp Jer. 31 31 Heb. 9 15 *ff.* etc. On the original form of the saying, see EUCHARIST, §§ 1 *f.*

We have already referred (above, § 42) to the important passage, 1 Cor. 10 18 *ff.*, in which Paul, in warning his readers against heathen sacrificial feasts, argues, as from something that would be understood and conceded by all, that, as among Jews (cp also Heb. 13 10) so also among Gentiles, those who eat the flesh of the sacrifices, sharing it with the altar, become commensals of the God whose altar it is—the sacrificial meal is a communion, just as the Christian eucharist is, in which men partake of the table of the Lord.

Figures drawn from sacrifice—some of them more ingenious than natural—are not infrequent in the Pauline epistles. In Rom. 15 16 Paul describes himself as a priest (λειτουργός) of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles; the ministry of the Gospel is a sacerdotal function (ἱερουργοῦντα τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ), which he performs in order that the offering (προσφορά) of (consisting of) the Gentiles, may be made acceptable to God, being consecrated by the Holy Spirit. In anticipation of his approaching death he speaks of his blood as a libation poured out upon the sacrifice and priestly ministry of his converts (Phil. 2 17, cp 2 Tim. 4 6); Christians are exhorted to furnish their bodies as a sacrifice, living, holy, well-pleasing to God, their rational worship (Rom. 12 1, cp 1 Pet. 2 5); the contributions of the Philippians to the apostle are 'a gratifying odour,' an acceptable sacrifice, well-pleasing to God (Phil. 4 18). The references to the death of Christ as a sacrifice will be discussed below (§ 57). It is to be noted here only that Paul does not, like the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, explicitly declare that the sacrifices of the law came to an end with the death of Christ. To draw from his silence the inference that his Jewish-Christian opponents themselves no longer regarded sacrifice as binding is most unsafe.

56. Hebrews. The argument of the Epistle to the Hebrews is developed in a running comparison between the sacrifices and priestly ministrations of the old covenant and the work of Christ, to which we shall return in a later paragraph (see § 58). Here we shall touch only upon the author's view of the intent and effect of the sacrifices of the law. Sacrifices and offerings are made for sins (5 1, cp 8 3 9 9).

In the phrase 'gifts and sacrifices' (δῶρά τε καὶ θυσίαι) the words, according to prevailing OT use, correspond to Heb. *ḳorbān* and *minḥāh* respectively, and, thus coupled, the δῶρα are by pre-eminence 'sacrifices,' the θυσίαι, 'oblations,' not *vice versâ*, as NT commentators frequently take them (cp EV 'gifts and sacrifices').

They do not, however, really take away sin or purge the conscience of the sinner; the blood of bulls and goats cannot possibly do that (10 4 11); they serve rather, in their stated recurrence—the author is thinking of the solemn *piacula* of the Day of Atonement—to bring to mind the sin which they cannot expiate (10 3). The system, indeed, contemplates only what we should call ceremonial faults. The sin offering of the Day of Atonement, whose blood is taken by the high priest into the adytum of the temple, is offered for the unwitting offences of the people (ἀγνοήματα, 9 7; cp IGNORANCE). Sacrifices and offerings cannot restore the worshipper to his integrity in the forum of conscience; they have to do only with such matters as foods and drinks and diverse ablutions[1]—prescriptions of bodily purity imposed till the time comes for making things right (9 9 *f.*). The blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of a heifer sprinkling those that have contracted defilement, make them (ceremonially) 'holy,' so that their body is clean; in contrast to the purging of conscience (9 13). The application of blood is a rite of lustration or purification; at the ratification of the covenant Moses sprinkled the law book and the people with the blood of young bulls and goats, 'with water

[1] That is, inadvertent transgression of the rules of clean and unclean. This is, at least, the more probable interpretation of the obscure connection.

and scarlet wool and hyssop' (9 19);[1] in like manner he sprinked with blood the tent and all the utensils of worship (cp *v.* 23); according to the law nearly everything is purified with blood, and without outpouring of blood no remission (ἄφεσις) is effected (9 21 *f.*).[2]

The writer's conception of the expiatory rites of the law thus agrees entirely with the teaching of the Jewish authorities (see above, § 51). For him, however, the system was typical and prophetic of the one real and all-sufficient sacrifice of Christ. When this had been made there was no longer reason or room for the sacrifices of the law (10 18). Henceforth the only sacrifices are praise to God and goodness to men (13 15 *f.*, alluding to Ps. 107 22 116 17 Hos. 14 2 etc.).[3]

57. Death of Christ: Pauline epistles.

That 'Christ died for (ὑπέρ) our sins according to the scriptures' is an article of the common tradition of the Christian faith which Paul delivered to his converts as he had received it from those who were before him (1 Cor. 15 3). By his death men are redeemed, justified, forgiven, reconciled to God; see Rom. 4 25 5 8 *f.* 8 32 2 Cor. 5 15 Gal. 1 4 1 Thess. 5 10 Col. 1 21 *f.* Eph. 1 7 Tit. 2 14 etc. The death of Christ, that is, was expiatory; he suffered on the cross, not for his own sins but for those of others, and by the expiation which he thus made they were delivered from the consequences of their transgressions (see further, below, § 60). The idea of expiation is, however, as we have seen, closely associated with sacrifice; one great class of sacrifices, among both Jews and Gentiles, was piacular in motive and intention; and in a looser sense the whole sacrificial worship was often thought of as atoning (see above, § 45). It was natural, therefore, that the death of Christ should be conceived as a sacrifice, or spoken of in sacrificial figures. In Paul, however, this conception is not developed as it is in some of the other NT writings.

In the much-vexed passage, Rom. 3 25, 'whom God set forth as a *hilasterion* through faith in his blood' (ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι), the interpretation 'atoning *sacrifice*' (after the analogy of σωτήριον, χαριστήριον, τελεστήριον, etc.) is not entirely certain, though highly probable; the more general 'means of expiation' satisfies the context, and the addition of the words 'in his blood' does not necessarily imply that this means is thought of as sacrificial. Cp MERCY SEAT, § 8.

Even if we translate Rom. 3 25 outright 'an expiatory sacrifice' the expression would still be only a passing metaphor in a context of a different tenor—Christ's death the demonstration of the righteousness of God. Christian theologians, indeed, have been so long accustomed to regard the OT sacrifices from the jural and governmental point of view—that is, in the light of their construction of the atoning work of Christ[4]—that they hardly feel the reference to an expiatory sacrifice here as even a change of figure; but Paul was not a modern theologian.

No greater emphasis is laid on the idea of sacrifice in 1 Cor. 5 7 *f.*, where, in an exhortation to put away evil, its leaven-like working suggests the scrupulous care with which a Jewish house was purged of leaven on the eve of the Passover, and that, again, leads to the thought 'for indeed our Passover is sacrificed, Christ; so let us keep the feast not with the old leaven of malice and wickedness, but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.'

Evidence of a more pervasive association of Christ's death with sacrifice has been sought in the references to his blood as the ground of the benefits conferred by his death (Rom. 3 25 5 9); the thought of sacrifice is so constantly associated with his death, it is said, that the one word suffices to suggest it. But in view of the infrequency, to say the least, of sacrificial metaphors in the greater epistles, it is doubtful whether αἷμα is not used merely in allusion to Jesus' violent death. Nor is the case clearer in Col. 1 20 Eph. 1 7 2 13; the really noteworthy thing is that the context contains no suggestion of sacrifice either in thought or phrase. The words 'for sin' (περὶ ἁμαρτίας) in Rom. 8 3, are often mechanically translated 'sin offering,' because in Leviticus this phrase is the common rendering of *ḥaṭṭāth*; even ἁμαρτίαν, 2 Cor. 5 21, has been understood in the same way—the death of Christ specifically a sin offering. The misconception of the nature of the sin offering which underlies this strained interpretation has been commented on above (§ 28 *a*).[1]

In conclusion, it may be noted as an indication that the idea of expiatory *sacrifice* was not prominent in Paul's thought of Christ's death, that he nowhere uses the characteristic terms inseparably associated in the OT with these sacrifices, ἱλάσκομαι, ἐξιλάσκομαι, and their derivatives; ἱλαστήριον, Rom. 3 25, is the only word of the family in all the Pauline literature. This group of words is, however, rare in all the NT; even in Hebrews ἱλάσκεσθαι occurs but once; ἱλασμός but twice in the NT (1 Jn. 2 2 4 10).

58. In Hebrews.

For the author of Hebrews the priesthood and sacrificial institutions of the old dispensation are but types and shadows of the heavenly reality that was to come (8 5 10 1, cp 9 9). The main thesis of the book is that the Son, the mediator of the new and better covenant (8 6-13 9 15 etc.), is the true high priest. Now every high priest must have something to offer; this is his constitutive function (8 3); Christ, therefore, brings his sacrifice. The nature and effect of this sacrifice is developed in chaps. 8-10 18, in contrast to the sacrifices of the law,[2] particularly to the sacrifice (Ex. 24 4-8) by which the old covenant was ratified (9 15 *ff.* 10 29, cp 12 24 13 20),[3] and to the specific *piacula* of the Day of Atonement, in which the Jewish system culminated.

The Jewish high priest, having human weaknesses (7 28), had first of all to offer a sacrifice for his own sins (7 27 9 7); Christ, the perfect priest, had no such need (7 26 28). In the Mosaic sacrifices was offered the blood of bulls and goats, which could not possibly take away sin (10 4 11), but effected only a purification of the body (9 9 *f.* 12 *f.*); Christ entered the holy place of the greater and more perfect sanctuary, that is, heaven itself (9 24), through his own blood, having found an eternal redemption (7 27 9 12 15 10 10). Sacrifices could not relieve men's conscience, but served rather to call sin to mind (9 9 10 1-3); the blood of Christ purges the conscience from dead works to serve the living God (9 14, cp 10 22). They had, therefore, to be perpetually repeated, just because they had no real efficacy either objective or subjective (9 6 10 3 *f.*); his sacrifice is made once for all, forever perfecting them that are sanctified (7 27 9 12 25 *f.* 28 10 12 14). The sacrifices of the law, finally, did not open to men a way of access to the holy presence of God (9 8); by the blood of Jesus a new way is made by which they may confidently approach him (10 19 *ff.*).

The sacrifice of Christ thus not only expiates the sins of the people (ἱλάσκεσθαι, 2 17), but also establishes the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah (31 31 *ff.*), under which God lays his laws upon men's hearts and inscribes them

[1] The heightening of the rite described in Ex. 24 8 by traits borrowed from Lev. 14 5 *ff.* (the leper) shows that the author conceives it as a lustration.

[2] Cp the use of the verb in the *āšām* laws (see Lev. 5 10 16 18, also 4 26 31 34 etc.): καὶ ἐξιλάσεται περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ ἱερεύς . . . καὶ ἀφεθήσεται αὐτῷ (ונסלח לו). The remission is the consequence of the propitiation made by the priest with the sacrifice.

[3] The Rabbis also taught that the 'praise offering' (*tōdāh*) was the only sacrifice that would remain in the 'world to come' (cp above, col. 4223 n. 2).

[4] The assertion sometimes made that the Jewish conception of sacrifice was similarly influenced by the idea of divine justice is unsupported.

[1] There are less excusable errors in the books. In Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*, 193, we are told that 'the ritual of the sin-offering is fully set forth in Lev. iv. The most characteristic feature in it is the sprinkling with blood of the horns of the altar of incense.'

[2] On the author's view of the latter, see above, § 56.

[3] This parallel is suggested in the Gospel accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper.

on their minds, and no longer remembers their sins and iniquities (10 16 *ff.*, cp 8 8 *ff.*)—a real remission which makes all other sacrifice useless. Two things are especially noteworthy in the author's treatment of the subject; first, the importance attached to the subjective effect of Christ's blood in purging the conscience of man; and, second, the ultimate end, the creation of a new way of access to God by which men may confidently draw near to him. In these conceptions we see a positive ethical and religious interpretation and valuation of the death of Christ going far beyond the mere sacrificial expiation of sins or forensic justification of the sinner. How the blood of Christ has these effects the writer does not reflect, any more than he or his contemporaries reflected on the mode of operation of the blood of the OT sacrifices.

By the side of sacrificial ideas and terms, such as ῥαντίζειν 9 13 19 21 10 22, καθαρίζειν 1 3 9 14 22, ἁγιάζειν 10 10 14 29, words of different association sometimes occur: λύτρωσις 9 12, ἀπολύτρωσις 9 15, ἀπαλλάσσειν 2 15; but the characteristic Pauline 'justify' (δικαιοῦν) and cognate words and phrases are absent.

The references to the death of Christ in 1 Pet. are in the nature of allusions rather than of doctrinal statement or argument; their phraseology often suggests reminiscences of earlier NT writings. Christ died once for sins, a righteous man for unrighteous men, that he might bring us to God (3 18); he suffered for his followers, leaving them an example (2 21, cp 4 1); persecuted Christians are partakers of Christ's sufferings (4 13, cp 4 1, etc.); he carried their sins in his body on to the cross (2 24)—the whole passage, *vv.* 21-25, is an application of Is. 53 to Christ; they are redeemed (ἐλυτρώθητε) from the foolish way of life they learned from their fathers by costly blood as of an unblemished unspotted lamb, Christ (1 18 *f.*); one of the ends of Christians' election is sprinkling with the blood of Christ (1 2). The latter phrase suggests a passage in Heb. (12 24, cp 10 22 9 13 19 21), in which epistle alone the expression occurs. In 1 18 *f.* it is not improbable that the blameless lamb of Is. 53 7 (cp 9) is in the mind of the writer, who makes such large use of that chapter in 2 21 *ff.*; for the rest cp Eph. 1 7 ('redemption [ἀπολύτρωσις] through his blood, the remission of our trespasses') Rom. 3 24 *f.* Heb. 9 12. A direct allusion to the paschal lamb (Ex. 12 5) would probably have been more distinct.

59. 1 Pet.

The references to the sacrificial aspect of the death of Christ in the Fourth Gospel are few and of the slightest kind. The Baptist hails Jesus as the Lamb of God which takes away the sin of the world (1 29), with evident allusion to Is. 53 7, cp 4 *f.* 11; in 17 19 'in their behalf I hallow myself,' ἁγιάζω is a word of sacrificial associations, whether we refer it to the consecration of the victim or (with greater probability) to the preparation of the priest for his functions. In 1 Jn. the allusions are more frequent; we read not only that Christ laid down his life for us—wherefore we ought to lay down our life for the brethren (3 16)—and that our sins are remitted for his name's sake (2 12), but also that he was manifested that he might take away sin (3 5), that he is a propitiation (ἱλασμός) for our sins and for those of the whole world (2 2 4 10), and that the blood of Jesus cleanses us from every sin (1 7 9). But everywhere such expressions appear as familiar Christian phrases, rather than as part of the distinctive Johannine conception of the salvation in Christ.

60. Johannine writings.

The lamb in the Apocalypse is probably, as in Jn. 1 29, derived from Is. 53; as in 1 Pet., the idea of purchase (ἀγοράζειν, 1 Cor. 6 20 7 23) by the blood of Christ has been combined with the older conception of the expiatory suffering of the Servant of Yahwè; see 56 *ff.* 138 143 *f.* The other representation of purification by his blood appears in 7 14; cp 22 14, and note the variant in 1 5: λύσαντι . . . ἐκ, λούσαντι . . . ἀπό (τῶν ἁμαρτίων).

It does not fall within the scope of the present article to discuss the various theories which theologians have from time to time set up concerning the sacrificial death of Christ, nor even the constructions of biblical theology. Many of these, even among the most recent, rest upon profound misunderstandings of the nature of the OT sacrifices, and entirely ignore Jewish conceptions of the effect and operation of sacrifice. The task which remains to us is only to explain briefly the facts that have been set in array in the foregoing paragraphs.

61. Genesis of idea.

To begin with, it is necessary to say that in describing the death of Christ as a sacrifice the NT writers are using figurative language. Some modern theologians, indeed, still affirm that 'the apostles held it to be a sacrifice in the most literal sense of the word' (Paterson, in Hastings, *DB* 4 343 *f.*); but such writers do not expect us to take their 'literal' literally. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, for example, regarded the death of Christ as the true sacrifice, because by it was really effected what the OT sacrifices only prefigured; but he was too good an Alexandrian to identify 'true' with 'literal.'

In the second place, it is essential to note what the problem was which confronted these early Christian thinkers, in the effort to solve which they came to conceive of the death of Christ as a sacrifice. They did not set out, as has frequently been supposed, to answer the question how God without detriment to his justice or to his moral government, could remit sin, and find the solution in the sin offerings of the law, by whose blood the sinner was 'covered' (so the common etymological metaphor) and protected from the righteous wrath of God; they had a far more urgent task, namely, to account for the death of Jesus.

The death of Jesus was a severe shock to the faith of his disciples; and though the resurrection speedily re-established this faith, they had need both for its confirmation and for its defence before their unbelieving countrymen, to whom a crucified Messiah was an insuperable stumbling block, of proof from the scriptures that his sufferings were the fulfilment of prophecy. That there were predictions they could not doubt; and as now with a new insight they searched the scriptures, it was as if the Master himself opened their mind to understand them (Lk. 24 45 *ff.*), and interpreted to them the prophecies concerning himself (*vv.* 25-27).[1]

Thus the cross, instead of being the refutation of his claims, became their most conclusive demonstration. Among the scriptures which they thus for the first time understood, Is. 53 was, with good reason, the most important. Not only did the picture of the suffering Servant of Yahwè seem to foreshadow even in minute details the experience of Jesus, but in fact the author of the chapter had undertaken to solve the same problem, viz., Why did the Servant (Israel), for no fault of his own, suffer what seemed the extremities of God's displeasure? His answer was, The sufferings of the Servant of Yahwè are an expiation for others' sins, 'the Lord laid on him the iniquity of us all and by his stripes we are healed.'[2]

The idea that sins could thus be expiated by the suffering of one who had not deserved it was not repugnant to ancient minds, in which the sense of social solidarity was stronger than that of individual rights; it seemed, in fact, most natural. The sufferings of the righteous were frequently represented as an atonement for their people. Thus, of the Maccabæan martyrs it is said: 'Having become as it were a vicarious expiation (ἀντίψυχον) for the sins of the nation, and through the blood of those godly men and their atoning death (ἱλαστηρίου θανάτου), divine providence saved Israel which had before been evil entreated' (4 Macc. 17 22, cp 6 27-29); cp also Rom. 5 7 Col. 1 24.[3]

1 See Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1 367 *ff.*
2 Lipsius in Schenkel, *BL* 2 493; Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1 369 *f.*
3 See above, § 52, end.

The great influence of Is. 53 upon the early conception of the death of Christ is manifest not only in Acts 8 32-35 (Philip and the Ethiopian eunuch; cp also 3 13 26 4 27 *f.* 30—παῖς, 'servant,' Is. 52 13, a standing title of Jesus), and the epistles (Heb. 9 28 1 Pet. 2 21-25 1 Jn. 3 5, etc.), but also in the fact that it has worked back into the gospel tradition (Lk. 22 37 Jn. 1 29 36).

The first point established was, therefore, that the death of Christ was not for his own sins, it was not a triumph of the wicked over the good, an inexplicable tragedy; it was an expiation for the sins of others. This is the tradition which Paul had received (above, § 57). This expiation was originally thought of in relation to the punishment of sin; by virtue of it the sins whose penalty would otherwise have been visited upon the offender are remitted and he is cleared. From this side Paul works out his theory of atonement. The association of expiation with sacrifice in the law and in the common ideas of the time leads to the employment of sacrificial figures and terms in speaking of the work of Christ;[1] but even in Hebrews, where the idea of the death of Christ as a sacrifice is most elaborately developed, it is plain that the premise of the whole is that Christ by his death made a real expiation for the sins of men, by which they are redeemed. It was not, therefore, the conception of the death of Christ as a sacrifice which brought in the idea of expiation and propitiation, but the opposite. Hence the freedom and variety in comparing his death to the different species of OT sacrifices, as they suggest different aspects of his work—the covenant sacrifice, the Passover, the expiations of the Day of Atonement. Hence also the fact that there is no doctrine of the sacrifice of Christ in the NT as there may be said to be doctrines of redemption or of justification.

62. Bibliography.[2]

On the OT sacrifices see the commentaries on the Pentateuch (see EXODUS, § 7, LEVITICUS, § 33, NUMBERS, § 23, DEUTERONOMY, § 33), among which those of Knobel-Dillmann may be specially mentioned; also, for their Jewish learning, Kalisch on Exodus and Leviticus. Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, 1675 (bk. 3); J. D. Michaelis, *Mosaisches Recht*,(2) 1775; Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 1846, *Arch. d. Heb.*, 1855; Wachner, *Ant. Ebræorum*, etc., 1743; Ew. *Alt. Isr.*,(3) 1866, ET 1876; Nowack, *HA*, 1894; Benz. *HA*, 1894. On sacrifices in particular: Outram, *De sacrificiis*, 1677; Kurtz, *Der Alttestamentliche Opferkultus*, 1862, ET 1865; Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*, 1837; also articles 'Opfer,' 'Sacrifice,' etc., in the Bible dictionaries of Schenkel, Riehm, Smith, Hastings, and in *PRE*. On particular species of sacrifice: Thalhofer, *Die unblutigen Opfer des mosaischen Kultus*, 1848; Riehm, 'Über das Schuldopfer,' *Studien und Kritiken*, 1854, p. 93 *ff.*; Rinck, 'Das Schuldopfer,' *ib.* 1855, p. 399 *ff.*; Schmoller, 'Wesen der Sühne in der a.-test. Opferthora,' *St. Kr.* 1891, 205 *ff.*; Vatke, *Religion des Alten Testaments*, 1835; Wellhausen, *Proleg.* (1878),(5) 1899, ET 1885; H. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*,(5) 1896; Smend, *Alt. Rel.-gesch.*,(2) 1899; Dillmann, *Alt. Theol.* 1895; Marti, *Gesch. der Israelitischen Religion*,(3) 1897. Signification of sacrifice: Riehm, *Begriff der Süne im Alten Testament*, 1877; H. Schultz, 'Significance of Sacrifice in the OT,' *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* 4 257 *ff.* (1900). Systematic works: Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*,(3) 1889; Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*,(2) 1890. See also Hubert and Mauss, 'Nature et fonction du sacrifice,' *L'année Sociologique*, 1897-1898, 29-138 (based on comparative study of Jewish and Hindu sacrifice).

On the Jewish sacrificial system: Maimonides, *Yad ḥăzāḳāh*, in which the material from the Mishna and similar sources is collected and methodically arranged, is indispensable, not only as an exposition of the system but also as a key to the scattered sources. Modern works are: Duschak, *Gesch. u. Darstellung des jüdischen Cultus*; Edersheim, *The Temple and its Ministry*, 1874. For Jewish ideas concerning sacrifice Christian scholars generally turn to Weber's *Lehren des Talmuds*, a work not only uncritical but dominated by a false theory; Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, 3 vols. (critical sifting of the material); see also Kohler, 'Atonement,' *Jewish Encyclopedia*, 2 275 *ff.*

Sacrifice in the NT: in addition to the commentaries on the NT and the comprehensive works named above; Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 1887, (2) 1902; *Der Paulinismus*,(2) 1890; Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*,(2) 1892; H. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1897; Sanday, *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, 1900; W. H. Ward, 'The NT doctrine of the relation of Christ's death to the OT sacrificial system,' *Bibl. Sac.* 51 246 *ff.* (1894).

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1 In Is. 53 10 (*āšām*) the connection seems to be preformed; but 𝔊 translates otherwise.

2 Of the immense literature on the various aspects of the subject only a selection can be given here. The list is intended to include works which either are of value to the modern student or hold an important place in the history of discussion.

SACRILEGE. In Rom. 2 22 the question: 'Thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou rob temples' (AV 'commit sacrilege'; *ὁ βδελυσσόμενος τὰ εἴδωλα ἱεροσυλεῖς*) is to be interpreted in the light of Dt. 7 25 where not only is it commanded to burn the graven images of the gods of the nations with fire, but it is also forbidden to covet the silver or gold that is on them or to 'take it unto thee; for it is an abomination (תּוֹעֵבָה) to Yahwè thy God, and thou shalt not bring an abomination into thy house so as to become an anathema like it; thou shalt utterly detest and abominate it, for it is anathema' (see ABOMINATION, 4; IDOL, § 2 *d*). In Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 10, § 207, this law is rendered 'Let no one blaspheme those gods which other cities esteem such; nor may any one steal the sacred things of strange temples (*μηδὲ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά*) nor take any treasure that may be dedicated to any god.' In accordance with this, in Acts 19 37 we find the town clerk of Ephesus urging in the case of Paul and his Jewish companions that their offence has at least not been of the most aggravated kind, they being 'neither robbers of temples (*ἱεροσύλους*) nor blasphemers of our goddess.'

As regards sacrilege against the temple in Jerusalem, 2 Macc. 4 39-42 records the sacrileges (*ἱεροσυλήματα*) committed in the city by Lysimachus with the consent of Menelaus, the riot it led to, and the death of the sacrilegious person (*ἱερόσυλος*) beside the sanctuary. The alleged attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to rob a temple (*ἱεροσυλεῖν*) in Persepolis is alluded to in 2 Macc. 9 2, and in 2 Macc. 13 3-8 the death of Menelaus by precipitation from the tower for the punishment of 'him that is guilty of sacrilege (*ἱεροσυλία*) or has attained any pre-eminence in any other evil deeds' is related. In *Ant.* xvi. 6 2 Josephus records a decree of Augustus in the course of which it is enacted that the sacred things [of the Jews] are not to be touched (*τά τε ἱερὰ εἶναι ἐν ἀσυλίᾳ*), and that 'if any one be caught stealing their holy books or their sacred money, whether from the synagogue (*σαββατείου*) or from the public school (*ἀνδρῶνος*), he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person (*ἱερόσυλον*), and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans.' In xviii. 3 5 *f.* the expulsion of the Jews from Rome in Tiberius's time is said to have been due to the wickedness of four Jews who embezzled Fulvia's gift of purple and gold for the temple at Jerusalem.

SADAMIAS (*SALAME*), 4 Esd. 1 1 AV = SHALLUM, 6.

SADAS (ΑϹΤΑΑ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 13 AV, RV ASTAD; see AZGAD. The AV is derived from the Geneva version.

SADDEUS, RV LODDEUS (ΛΑΑΔΑΙΟϹ [B]), 1 Esd. 8 45. See IDDO (i.).

SADDLE. The word מֶרְכָּב, *merkāb*, is in Lev. 15 9 rendered 'saddle' in EV, but AV^mg. has 'carriage' (cp 1 K. 4 26 [5 6]). The word literally means 'place of riding'—*i.e.*, riding seat (cp CHARIOT, § 1, begin.), and in Cant. 3 10 it clearly means the seat of Solomon's palanquin (see RV and LITTER). Not less evidently this sense will not suit in Lev. (*l.c.*). A suggested emendation is מַרְבַד, 'rug' (see TAPESTRY).

It is to be remarked that though riding was the most common mode of travelling in Bible days, saddles in the modern sense of the word were not used but only 'horse-cloths,' or, failing that, a garment (Mt. 21 7). Furrer (*BL* 5 191) compares Ezek. 27 20 as showing that costly horse-cloths were brought to market at Tyre by the Dedanites. But the text is corrupt (cp AV and RV). For the most probable reading see CLOTH, n. 1; young steeds, not cloths, are referred to. On the camels' 'furniture,' see CAMEL, § 2, end. The word for 'to saddle' (חבשׁ, *ḥābaš*), Nu. 22 21 etc., literally means 'to bind.'

SADDUC, RV **Sadduk** (ϹΑΔΔΟΥΚΟΥ [A], ϹΑΔΔΟΥΛΟΥΚΟΥ [B], ϹΕΔΔΟΥΚ [L]), 1 Esd. 8 2. See ZADOK.

SADDUCEES. The origin of the name Ṣaddūḳīm (צַדּוּקִים, so probably, rather than צְדוּקִים) has been explained in two ways:

1. Name: current explanations.

1. As if from *ṣaddīḳ* (צַדִּיק), the specially righteous—a most unsatisfactory derivation, although favoured by Jerome and other of the Fathers. The change from *ṣaddīḳ* (צדיק) to *ṣaddūḳ* (צדוק) is warranted by no analogy, nor is the name as explained at all appropriate. There is no evidence that the Sadducees ever made any special claim to 'righteousness,' as under-

stood by the Jews, and certainly they were not credited with it by their opponents. Such a claim was far more likely to be made by the Pharisees.

2. From the personal name Zadok (צָדוֹק). This is not much more satisfactory than the other, for it does not account for the well-attested double *d* in *ṣaddūḳīm* (צדוקים), and besides there is no direct proof of a connection with Zadoḳ. Three persons of that name have been suggested: (*a*) a certain Zadoḳ, otherwise unknown, who is said to have been with a certain Boethos, a disciple of Antigonus of Socho; (*b*) an unknown founder of the aristocratic party; (*c*) Zadoḳ the priest in the time of David and Solomon.

a. For the first (disciple of Antigonus) we have only the authority of the Ābōth di R. Nāthān, a late compilation, probably of the ninth century, which carries no weight with regard to historical events earlier by 1000 years. It is likely that this represents a Talmudic tradition, since the Boethusians are sometimes confused with, and (even in the *Tōseftā*) put for the Sadducees. The story is, in the common Rabbinic manner, due solely to a desire to account for the supposed origin of Sadduceism from the well-known dictum of Antigonus (*Pirḳê Ābōth*, 1 3) that we should serve God without expectation of reward, which is then said to have been perverted by his disciples to mean that there will be no retribution after death. Apart from the unhistorical nature of the story, however, the saying refers quite as much to rewards in this life as to the future, and, in any case, accounts only for one side of Sadduceism.

b. The second Zadok (a person assumed to account for the name), although supported by Kuenen, may be dismissed as purely hypothetical.

c. The least unlikely is the third (Zadok the priest, temp. David and Solomon). Ezekiel certainly insists strongly on the 'sons of Zadok' (בְּנֵי צָדוֹק) as the only legitimate holders of the priestly office; but his prophecies were uttered in circumstances wholly different from those in which the Sadducean and Pharisaic parties became distinguished. In Ezekiel's time Israel appears to have been sunk in idolatry, and he depicts an ideal state of things which for the most part was never realised. A great gulf is fixed between his time and that of Ezra. Modern Judaism, a system quite distinct from anything pre-exilic, may be said to have begun with Ezra, and the people never again fell into idolatry. The breach of continuity is so definite that what might be true or desirable in the sixth century B.C. forms no argument for what was the fact in the third century. It must be remembered too that Ezekiel was himself a priest. A much stronger argument might be derived from the Hebrew text of Ecclus. 51 12 [9] (ed. Schechter), 'Give thanks to him who chose the sons of Zadok for priest,' if the passage is genuine, as it probably is. However, there is evidence that this view did not prevail exclusively, for in 1 Ch. 24 the sons of Ithamar share in the priesthood, and in later times the priests are designated by the wider term, 'sons of Aaron.' The form of the name is not the only difficulty; it does not appear that the Sadducees ever claimed to be, or were regarded as, sons of Zadok. Whilst they chiefly belonged to the priestly or aristocratic caste, that party was in its essence political, and the name, which denotes a certain set of doctrines, or rather the negation of them, seems to have been applied to them as a term of reproach by their opponents. That is to say, it was used as a theological, not a political term, referring not to the origin of a particular family, party, or caste, but to the special form of supposed heterodoxy which happened to be characteristic of that party, so that a man *might* have been described as a Sadducee on account of his views, although not necessarily being a member of the party—a case which, however, was unlikely to occur.

3. A third explanation of the name may perhaps be hazarded, though with great diffidence. In modern Persian the word *zindīḳ* is used in the sense of Manichæan, or, in a general sense, for infidel, one who does not believe in the resurrection or in the omnipotence of God. It has been adopted in Arabic (*zindīḳᵘⁿ*, plur. *zanādīḳᵘ* and *zanādiḳatᵘⁿ*) with the meaning of infidel, and also in Armenian (cp Eznik [5th cent.] against heresies, chap. 2 on the errors of Zoroastrianism). Mas'ūdī (10th cent.) says that the name arose in the time of Manes to denote his teaching, and explains that it is derived from the Zend, or explanation, of the Avesta. The original Avesta was the truly sacred book, and a person who followed only the commentary was called a Zindīḳ, as one who rejected the word of God to follow worldly tradition, irreligious. But the term cannot have originated in the time of Manes (3rd cent. A.D.), for the Zend 'commentary,' whatever view be taken of its date, was by then already becoming unintelligible. It must be much earlier and have acquired the general sense of infidel very soon. Mas'ūdī, indeed, himself implies that زندى was used long before in this sense, and makes Zoroaster the author not only of the Avesta, but of the Zend and Pāzend (super-commentary), parts of which he says were destroyed by Alexander the Great.[1] Maḳrīzī (15th cent.), who borrows largely from Mas'ūdī, confuses the Zanādiḳah with the Samaritans and Sadducees, and says that they deny the existence of angels, the resurrection, and the prophets after Moses, whence it has been suggested that Zanâdiḳah is a corruption of Ẓaddūḳīm. The reverse may, however, be the case. It is quite possible that the Persian word was used about 200 B.C. in the sense of 'Zoroastrian,'[2] and if so, it might well be applied by opponents to a party in Judæa who sympathised with foreign ideas, and rejected beliefs which were beginning to be regarded as distinctively Jewish. It would thus have been used at first in a contemptuous sense, and later, when the original meaning was forgotten, was, in the well-known Jewish manner, transformed in such a way as to bear the interpretation of 'sons of Zadok' (בני צדוק) with a suggestion of 'righteous' (צדיקים). This would explain the daghesh (for suppressed נ) with pathaḥ, and the ו for י. It may be mentioned, though perhaps as a mere coincidence, that *zanādiḳa* is used for Sadducees in Arabic translations of the NT. That they did not hold Zoroastrian views is no objection to this explanation. In later Jewish literature Epiḳurus (אפיקורוס) is used for a freethinker, without any idea of his holding the views of Epicurus (see EPICUREANS), and is connected, by a popular etymology, with the root פקר. In fact, after the real meaning of the name has been forgotten, Epiḳurus becomes in the Talmud doctrinally almost the exact representative of the earlier term Sadducee, the errors chiefly condemned in the 'sect' being their denial of the resurrection and the rejection of the oral law. It is very probable that Sadducee never had any more definite sense than this.

2. Another explanation.

3. History of Sadducees.

The beginning of the party naturally can not be traced. In its political aspect it must have existed actually or potentially ever since there was a Jewish state, if the view taken below is correct. Doctrinally too, if it is in essence the opposite of the Pharisaic development, its origin goes back to the first beginnings of a law which had to be interpreted. The uncertainty of the evidence and its paucity prevent our assigning any definite date for the first (Pharisaic) amplification of the Torah. We may, however, feel sure that the Law-book of Ezra enlarged the existing documents sufficiently to meet all the requirements of the time. It must have

[1] The question of the origin of the Zoroastrian writings is extremely difficult, and very little is certain except that the Gāthas are the earliest stratum. See ZOROASTRIANISM.

[2] The meaning of 'infidel' would then be due to the later influence of Christianity and Islam.

SADDUCEES

been later that the progressive school began to develop tradition. In the Mishna tractate *Ābōth*, after the canonical authorities, the first link in the chain of tradition (שלשלת הקבלה) is the 'Great Synagogue,'[1] and the first personal name is that of Simon the Just (probably early in the 3rd cent. B.C.). No doubt the first steps had been taken before his time; but it seems that historical record did not go farther back. We shall perhaps not be far wrong in placing the actual beginnings of the new teaching about 300 B.C., and this agrees very well with the conclusion which has been drawn from other evidence, that after the time of Alexander the Great Judaism became powerfully affected by that Persian influence to which may be traced the increasing popularity of the doctrine of a future life with rewards and punishments. The rise of the liberal party, or school of theological development, implies the formation of a conservative opposition. It is not to be supposed that the two parties were from the first sharply divided, still less that they acquired distinctive names. It is historically more probable that the divergence increased gradually, and was intensified, and at last definitely realised in the religious revival of Maccabean times. As to the first use of the name to indicate differences consciously felt, it does not occur in the OT or in Ecclus., and, in fact, the earliest documents which mention Sadducees are the Gospels (but not Jn.). There is, however, no reason to reject the testimony of Josephus that the name was used in the Maccabæan period, and if it was then well-established, we may assume that it was used, if not generally, at least sporadically, at an earlier time to denote opposition to doctrines which are afterwards known as Pharisaic. In Josephus they always appear as a definite political party, an inexact, though convenient, view which is due to the colouring of the historian. Under the earlier Maccabæans, as would be expected, they are not much in evidence; but with the Hasmonæans they again come into prominence. John Hyrcanus definitely allied himself with them. Alexander Jannæus, as being himself high priest, was supported by them (cp *Sukkah*, 48*b*), and his war may be regarded as a contest between the Pharisaic and the Sadducean parties. In their political relations they show a sympathy with foreign influences which was strongly reprobated by the nationalistic Pharisees. Thus we find them accused, perhaps justly, of tolerating Greek religious practices, and even of adopting them. This is the less surprising if it be considered that the Judaism which they professed can have had (to use a modern phrase) no religious hold on them. It was rather the machinery by which a certain political system was worked, and when circumstances changed, it could be adapted to the new conditions. In the Roman period their influence diminished again. The party, always in a minority, was not likely to be largely recruited. They apparently had no existence outside Jerusalem with the temple and its ritual, the centre of religious and political life. With the fall of Jerusalem they disappear from history, and a century later the Mishna knows of them only by tradition. (See, further, PHARISEES, §§ 17-20).

It would seem that Sadduceeism is to be rightly regarded as negative. Wherever reference is made to

4. Doctrine: negative.

it, the suggestion is that certain views are rejected. This naturally follows from what has been said above. Phariseeism represents the tendency which ultimately resulted in modern Judaism. It was at once exclusive in that it strenuously opposed all dealings with the foreigner, and popular in that it provided for the spiritual needs of the people. The doctrines which we find the Sadducees rejecting are precisely those which had been deduced from the law and the prophets to suit the requirements of the time. If Judaism was to continue as a living system, it became necessary to adapt it to altered conditions not contemplated by the law of Moses, and hence arose the whole body of oral tradition (תורה שבעל פה). At a time, too, when theological speculation was widely cultivated, it was equally natural that Judaism should be affected by the striving after those spiritual hopes which at all times have been, rightly or wrongly, the most cherished source of comfort in human suffering. Hence arose the doctrines of a future life with rewards and punishments compensating for the apparent incompatibility between virtue and happiness in this life. How keenly this problem appealed to the Jewish mind is evident from the Psalms (*e.g.*, Ps. 73). Perhaps to no people has it appealed, for various reasons, more poignantly. Naturally, however, it was to the poor, the weak, and their sympathisers, that the need for a future rectification in the cause of justice was most apparent. It is, therefore, only what would be expected when we find that those who reject such comfortable words are a relatively small party of the well-to-do (τοὺς εὐπόρους μόνον ἐχόντων). Whilst, however, it appears to have been generally the case that Sadducean views were held by the aristocratic (*i.e.*, primarily, the priestly) party, we must beware, as suggested above, of regarding aristocrat, priest, and Sadducee as convertible terms. Many of the priests were Pharisees, as we see, *e.g.*, from the names of doctors quoted in the Mishna with the title 'priest' (כהן), etc., and, moreover, the separation between the higher and the lower classes of priests was as great as between the aristocratic party and the common people. Nor again was the difference between Pharisees and Sadducees politically insuperable. They could sit together on the Sanhedrin (Acts 23 6), and priests and Pharisees could combine in a common cause (Jn. 7 32 45). That the Sadducees were, however, in an oligarchical minority is evident from the fact that they seem to have found it advisable to conform at times to the more popular Pharisaic practice—*e.g.*, *Yōmā* 19*b*, 'although we are Sadducees we are afraid of the Pharisees' (א ע פ שצרוקין אנו מתיראין מן הפרושים), where the whole passage shows a strong anti-Sadducean feeling.[1] Cp also Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1 4.

Taking then the view that Sadducean opinions were held mainly by members of the dominant aristocratic

5. Data.

class, we have now to consider those opinions in detail. The data furnished by the NT, though clear, are meagre. The account in Josephus is fuller (see especially *Ant.* xviii. 1 2-4, *BJ* ii. 8 14). His statements are, however, coloured partly by his own strong Pharisaic prejudice, and still more by a desire to express himself in terms of Greek philosophy. It must be remembered that philosophical notions which appealed to the Greek mind were entirely foreign to the methods of thought underlying Sadducean belief or disbelief. In this respect Jew and Greek start from different premises, representing a racial distinction. Roughly speaking, the one founds his faith on the will of God and the revelation bound up with it, the other deduces his scheme of the universe from a metaphysical conception of the necessary conditions of being.

The distinctive Sadducean views may be classed (as by Schürer) under three heads: (1) they denied the resurrection, personal immortality, and retribution in a future life; (2) they denied angels, spirits, and demons; (3) they denied fate (εἱμαρμένη), and postulated freedom of action for every man to choose good or evil, and work out his own happiness or the reverse.

1. With regard to the first point, Sadduceeism undoubtedly represents the old Jewish standpoint. Whatever doctrines may be inferred from the Torah, it is

[1] The rabbinical accounts of the great synagogue are irreconcilable with the received chronology. If Ezra's date could be put a century later, as has been suggested, many difficulties would be removed.

[1] This seems possibly true to the circumstances, though Talmudic references are not to be implicitly accepted. The Gĕmārā is not to be trusted for distant historical *facts*, but may represent a true traditional *attitude*.

evident that the theory of a future life and future retribution is not inculcated in it. The object of, at any rate, the earlier parts of the Torah was not spiritual teaching, apart from the edification to be derived from the historical narrative, but to set forth the practical details of the ritual of Yahwèism. Such words as 'holiness' and 'purity' had a technical religious meaning quite distinct from the moral content which has been put into them by later theology. From a law-book the poetical, the spiritual, the emotional were fittingly excluded. Into the causes of the development which we find in the other canonical books, in Phariseeism, and in later Jewish thought, we need not enter here (see PHARISEES). That development was necessary. Sadduceeism only emphasised the earlier point of view by rejecting the new doctrines with unvarying conservatism. When we consider that the Sadducees had a certain sympathy with Greek and foreign influences generally, this attitude may be thought remarkable. It is not so if we rightly understand the nature of the original Torah and the Semitic mind which is deeply interested in the problems of the present, but shows only a slight capacity or inclination for dealing with the questions of modern theology. The Jewish mind can indeed insist on the oneness of God; but how misplaced in a Midrash, nay, how impossible, would be for instance a discussion of the doctrine of homoousia, even if it could arise. Such questions have, or had, an attraction for the western mind. They have none for the Jew. Moreover, we may well suppose that in the aristocratic party a certain materialistic tendency would show itself, that practical politics would absorb attention to the exclusion of more contemplative pursuits. Whilst thus holding to primitive, formal Judaism, the Sadducees would, so far as they were disposed to be controversial, look with suspicion on Pharisaic developments, as tending, by a sort of self-contradiction, to vitiate the observance of the Law. The Pharisee was, indeed, exact in paying tithes of the mint and the cummin; but a later teacher could say, 'Whoever gives a poor man a coin attains six blessings; but he who addresses to him soothing words attains eleven blessings' (כל הנותן פרוטה לעני מתברך בששה ברכות והמפייסו בדברים מתברך בי״א ברכות). Besides the danger of such teaching in undermining the foundations on which the Sadducean position rested, there may also have been a conscientious desire to arrest the breaking up of that system by which alone the nation could rightly serve God. They accordingly rejected entirely the oral tradition (תורה שבעל פה) by which the Pharisees supplemented the written Law. According to Pharisaic doctrine this was of equal authority with the written Law, and in a sense even more binding, since it provided for what was not to be found in the Law. Later teachers claimed that the whole of tradition was revealed to Moses, who transmitted it orally to Joshua and the seventy elders. The difficulty of preserving it intact through so many centuries was evaded by the theory of a sort of apostolic succession (שלשלת הקבלה), a series of authoritative teachers. The whole of this superstructure, and therewith the doctrines deduced by it, chief among which was that of the future life, were ignored by the Sadducees.

6. Resurrection.

2. With regard to the second specific point—the disbelief in angels, spirits, and demons—the Sadducean position was probably in advance of the Torah, where we still find traces of the belief, common to all primitive peoples, in the existence and power of demons. How they could abandon this, still more how they could explain it (*e.g.*, the rite connected with Azazel) we do not know. It is, however, a natural consequence of the materialistic tendency and of the attitude described above. No doubt it was also emphasised by opposition to the Pharisaic development of angelology and demonology. Already in the Book of Daniel angels have names; in the Midrāshīm and the Talmud the system is further extended, and later, in the 'practical Ḳabbālāh,' it passes all bounds.

7. Angels.

3. For the third point—the freedom of will and the denial of fate—we have only the authority of Josephus. Schürer points out that this way of stating the case is entirely un-Jewish, although the question of God's providence was undoubtedly discussed. In spite of its not being confirmed by other evidence, it is very probable that Josephus' account is substantially correct. The doctrine is in agreement with the worldly, materialistic character of Sadduceeism, noted above, and with their tendency to keep to the simplest elements of faith, rejecting all admixture of the supernatural. It also probably represents the point of view of the Pentateuch (*e.g.*, Dt. 4 and 6). The Sadducees would not have denied that good and bad actions brought their respective consequences in this world, for a moral sanction is necessary; but they would reject any theory of predestination as well as that of future retribution. Possibly Persian influence may be traceable here.

8. Free-will.

There remains yet a fourth point to be considered. According to the church fathers (Origen, Jerome) the Sadducees accepted only the Torah, rejecting all the other canonical books. This seems to be a misconception based on Mt. 22 31 *f.* Why should Jesus have chosen an argument from the Pentateuch, when others more obvious were to be found in the other books, unless the Sadducees acknowledged only the authority of the Pentateuch in such matters? We have, however, no evidence for such a view, which could hardly fail to be laid to their charge if there were the least ground for it. The argument from silence is not conclusive; but it is very strong here, for nothing could have been better calculated to damage an opponent than to show that he rejected any of the canonical books. The truth is, however, that the Jews have always regarded the Torah as on a wholly different level of holiness and authority from the other books. In the time of Ezra, which may be regarded as the starting-point of Judaism, as we understand it, the Torah must have been the only sacred writing. Other documents won their way only gradually to a canonical position. The conservative Sadducees would, no doubt, hold more rigidly than others to the supreme position of the Torah, and would view with a certain suspicion any enlargement of the canon as showing a Pharisaic tendency. (Cp the attitude of the Protestant churches towards the Apocrypha.) It must be admitted too that the prophets and hagiographa generally lend more countenance to Pharisaic views than the Torah, and were, in fact, a result of the same development. Though we need not suppose, therefore, that they rejected them, the Sadducees may well have used them only 'for example of life and instruction of manners'; and the argument in Mt. 22 32 is probably chosen from the Torah in order to be above criticism. The statement of the fathers is no doubt partly due to a very common confusion with the SAMARITANS (*q.v.*), who did accept only the Torah (for the same reasons which caused the Sadducees to regard it with special veneration), and, curiously enough, use the very passage quoted in Mt. as an argument for the future life. A. E. C.

9. Torah.

For the literature see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES, § 21.

SADOC. 1. (*SADOCH*) 4 Esd. 1 1. See ZADOK.
2. (σαδωκ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 14. See GENEALOGIES ii.

SAFFRON (כַּרְכֹּם, *karkōm*; κροκος, Cant. 4 14†). The Hebrew word is probably identical with Syr. *kurkĕmā*, Ar. *kurkum*, both of which denote the crocus or saffron. The same word is found in Persian and Armenian (in the latter probably borrowed from Heb.; Lag. *GA* 58, *Arm. St.* 161), and the common origin seems to be Sans. *kunkuma*. The source of saffron is *Crocus sativus*, L., a plant of doubtful origin,[1] which, though found in

[1] See the discussion in Flück. and Hanb.(2) 664 *f.*

Palestine (*FFP* 422), is not apparently indigenous there. D. H. Müller, on the other hand, separating *karkōm* from the other words mentioned above, connects it with Ar. *kamkām* (Sab. כמכם) and Gk. κάγκαμον,[1] and so takes it to be the resin of the *ḍirw* or mastic tree—*i.e.*, *ṣōrī*, צְרִי (*Sab. Denkm.* 82). But Müller's identification of κάγκαμον with the resin of the mastic tree is a mistake: κάγκαμον is, according to Fraas (Syn. Pl. Fl. class. 87), derived from *Amyris* [= *Balsamodendron*] *Kataf*,[2] and is in all probability therefore the fragrant gum much esteemed in the east as 'Bissa bôl'—in fact, an inferior kind of myrrh. Mordtmann does not believe in the connection of כרכם with *kamkām* and κάγκαμον: and it seems best to follow ancient tradition in identifying the Heb. word with saffron.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

SAIL. 1. מִפְרָשׂ, *miphraś;* CTPωMNH, Ezek. 27 7, 'Thy sail to serve as ensign' (נֵס; δόξα).

2. נֵס, *nēs;* σημεῖον or τὰ ἱστία (?), Is. 33 23, 'The many-coloured sails served in ancient times as distinguishing marks.' See SHIP.

SAINT. We have to deal, in this article, not with the subject of Christian, or rather biblical, 'perfection,' but with the use of 'saint' and 'holy' in the EV. The former word, as a rendering, either of *ḳādōš* or of *ḥāsīd*, has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring characteristic biblical ideas. Readers of the EV must therefore supply for themselves the necessary mental correction or interpretation. AV applies the term in OT:

1. Use of terms.

1. To the angels (*ḳĕdōšīm*, קְדשִׁים), Job 5 1 15 15 Ps. 89 5 7 [6 8] Zech. 14 5. RV, however, calls the angels 'holy ones.' Whether even this phrase conveys the right idea to a modern reader may be doubted (see *c*), and we may well be grateful to Budde (note on Job 5 1) for his suggestion 'heavenly ones.'

2. To persons who are 'holy'—*i.e.*, consecrated (*ḳādōš*, קָדוֹשׁ, *ḳaddīš*, קַדִּישׁ)—*e.g.*, Ps. 106 16 (Aaron), 34 9 [10] Dan. 7 18 21 *f.* 25 27 (faithful worshippers of Yahwè). So, too, RV.

3. To Israelites who fulfil the duties of piety (*ḥāsīd*, חָסִיד; ὅσιος, *sanctus*, see LOVINGKINDNESS), 1 S. 2 9 (𝔊 δίκαιος or om.) Ps. 16 10 30 4 [5] 50 5 52 9 [11] 79 2 Prov. 2 8 (𝔊, εὐλαβουμένων), etc.; so RV, except in 1 S. 2 9, where it gives (not happily) 'holy ones,' and in mg. 'godly ones.' 'Loyal ones' would give one side of the meaning (cp Ps. 50 5?). In NT (see above) the EV uses 'saints' often of Christians. It may be a convenient term; but if ideas are to be translated, 'God's people' would perhaps be a better rendering, with a marg. 'holy ones—*i.e.*, consecrated ones.'

Two passages in Rev. deserve attention. In 15 3, AV's 'thou king of saints' (ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων, TR, Ti.WH^mg. ὁ β. τ. ἐθνῶν) has become in RV 'thou king of the ages' (ὁ βασ. τῶν αἰώνων, RV, WH); and in 18 20 AV's 'ye holy apostles and prophets' has become 'ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets.' Textual criticism certainly has had its rights; but the rendering 'saints' seems an unnecessary concession to a usage more honoured in the breach than in the observance. 'Ye holy ones' would surely have been adequate.

There are also great difficulties connected with EV's use of the rendering 'holy,' especially when it is used for *ḥāsīd* (on which cp Dr. *Par. Ps.* 443 *f.*; Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, 544 *f.*; BDB, *s.v.*).

2. Meaning of ḥāsīd.

1. Ps. 86 2, 'Preserve thou my soul, for I am holy' (*ḥāsīd*); so AV, cp Vg. and Jer.; but RV 'godly.' AV is here even more misleading than in 50 5 ('gather my saints [*ḥăsīday*] together unto me'). 'Who can be the speaker of these words but the Sinless One?' asks Augustine. This of course is theology, not exegesis (cp *OPs.* 260), and even if we take Ps. 86 to be a psalm of the pious community (Smend, Bä., etc.), yet, like Job, the community, while maintaining its consciousness of righteousness, would abstain from calling itself subjectively 'holy' or 'sinless.' 'It is not to the state of holiness that the Psalmist lays claim, but to the overmastering affection of moral love, the same in kind as that of which he is conscious towards his brother Israelites, and in some degree towards his brother men. To a good Israelite there is no boastfulness implied in such a claim as the Psalmist's. Whom should he love but Yahwè, who has granted Israel a "covenant ordered in all things and sure," a covenant based on the presupposition that those who desire its benefits are bound by practical love to each other, and, both as individuals and as a community, by worshipping and obedient love to Jehovah' (*Aids*, 345 *f.*)? Kirkpatrick (*op. cit.*), however, following Hupfeld, thinks the *passive* sense, 'beloved'—*i.e.*, the object of thy lovingkindness, 'far more suitable.' See LOVINGKINDNESS.

2. Ps. 16 10, 'Neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One' (*ḥāsīd*), etc. RV removes the capital letters; RV^mg 'Or godly; or beloved.' Any rendering would be better than 'holy one' or 'Holy One.' Perhaps 'thy loyal one' gives the most important part of the sense best. The phrase implies an argument; 'thou wilt preserve me because of the covenant-bond of lovingkindness.'

In Ps. 25 16, too, the same idea underlies the text, if Grätz is right in emending the very doubtful *yāḥīd* (יָחִיד) into *ḥāsīd* (חָסִיד), 'have mercy upon me, for I am loyal (to the covenant).' In all such passages pious Israel is the speaker, not an individual (though a Christian application can be reasonably defended). In Ps. 16 the reading of the text (Kt.) is 'thy holy ones.' EV, however, in following the Hebrew margin (Kr.) has the authority of the versions, and the best MSS and editions. The case with Ps. 89 19 [20] is somewhat similar.

3. Ps. 89 19 [20], 𝔊 υἱοῖς, AV 'Thou spakest in vision to thy Holy One' (*ḥāsīd*); RV 'to thy saints,' because 'Holy One' (*ḳādōš*) precedes in *v.* 18, and because the text (Kt.) and the versions have the plural, though the singular is supported by the Heb. marg. (Kr.) and by some MSS and early editions. Certainly the 'vision' of 2 S. 7 was to an individual (Nathan); though ultimately it belonged to all the *ḥăsīdīm*. 'Godly ones (or one),' as Driver, or 'to thy loyal ones (one),' would be an improvement on AV's rendering.

4. 1 S. 2 9, 'He will keep the feet of his holy ones,' RV^mg. 'of his godly ones' (*ḥăsīdāw*, Kt.; but *ḥăsīdō*, Kr.). EV is unfortunate.

5. and 6. 1 Tim. 2 8, EV 'holy hands'; Tit. 1 8, 'just, holy, temperate.' ὅσιος is never = ἅγιος; it comes nearer to δίκαιος, and denotes the righteousness of him who regards not chiefly the law, but the lawgiver; in short, piety. So Philo, ὁσιότης μὲν πρὸς Θεόν, δικαιοσύνη δὲ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους θεωρεῖται (*Op.* Mangey, 2 30).

But there are difficulties of another order—difficulties inherent in the prevalent system of translation. Are only words to be translated, or ideas also? Must not, in certain cases, a concession be made to a wider theory of translation than that which is possible in a mere revision of an old version? The names of God, at any rate, it would seem, need to be retranslated, at least in the margin. 'The Holy One of Israel' is a phrase which, taken simply as it stands, scarcely conveys any idea. *Ḳĕdōšīm* and *Ĕlōhīm* being so nearly synonymous terms, we might give as an alternative rendering 'the Majestic One whom Israel worships.' 'The Devoted One of Israel'—*i.e.*, 'He who is devoted to Israel' (Duff, *OT Theology*, 1 190)—can scarcely be the meaning; *Ḳādōš* implies one who dwells in unapproachable light, and has no contact, save by acts of judgment or by covenant favour, with earthly things; Ezekiel once has the phrase 'the Holy One in Israel' (Ezek. 39 7; see Davidson, *ad loc.*). Israel is 'holy (*i.e.*, devoted, dedicated) to Yahwè,' no doubt; but this phrase implies a secondary sense of the word 'holy.' The rendering 'Majestic One' (majesty and dazzling purity are connected ideas) will suit also in Hos. 11 9 (of which Duff also gives an unusual exposition, *OT Theology*, 1 108), which contains the words, 'I am God, and not man,

3. A designation of God.

[1] On this see Diosc. 1 23. Plin. *HN* 12 44.

[2] Sprengel (*Hist. rei Herb.* 1 172) calls this *Amyris Kafal*, which is possibly the same thing.

the Majestic One in the midst of thee.' Hosea announces the destruction of Ephraim or Israel (see Nowack), because God is not, like an impressionable human being, to be cajoled into forgiveness ; he is in the midst of Israel in all his awful majesty, and must sweep out of existence those who persistently reject his gracious condescension. 'Holiness,' as early as the age of Hosea, tends to become ethical. On the holiness of Israel and of Israelites, cp Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 52 *ff.*; Lazarus, *Die Ethik des Judenthums*, 311 *ff.* (1898). T. K. C.

SALA (σαλα [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3_{35}; and **SALAH** (שֶׁלַח, Gen. 10_{24}) ; RV SHELAH.

SALAMIEL (σαλαμιηλ [BA]), Judith 8_{1} RV. See SHELUMIEL.

SALAMIS (σαλαμις, Acts 13_{5}). Salamis (represented by the modern town of *Famagusta*) was situated on the eastern side of Cyprus, near the river Pediæus which traverses the fertile plain which runs inland to *Nicosia*, the present capital of the island. It had the advantage of a good harbour, which in history is famous for the double victory of the Athenians over the Phœnicians in 449 B.C., and the great sea-fight in which Demetrius Poliorcetes defeated Ptolemy I. in 306 B.C. From prehistoric times Cyprus was famous for its copper mines (copper in fact deriving its name from that of the island ; see CYPRUS), and its valuable timber supplies. From the ninth century B.C. iron also was worked (cp Plin. *HN* 34_{2}). The forests, though much reduced by the continual export of timber, had not wholly disappeared even in imperial times (Strabo, 684). Corn, wine, and oil were also exported, and salt was prepared at Salamis and at Kition (Plin. *HN* 31_{84}). In all these natural advantages Salamis largely shared, and in fact became by far the largest and most prosperous town in the island, to a great extent owing to its favourable situation with respect to the Syrian coast and also to that of Cilicia. Even distant Lebanon is visible from the mountain *Stavrovúni* (2260 ft. high) above *Larnaka* (anc. Kition) on the SE. coast (cp Is. 23_{1}, 'from the land of Chittim it is revealed to them'—*i.e.*, the smoke of burning Tyre).[1] Much more readily then is the opposite coast in the neighbourhood of Seleucia and Antioch visible from Salamis.

The natural result was that Cyprus displayed a long-continued struggle between Phœnician and Hellenic civilisations. Greek tradition, however, consistently claims Salamis as a very early Hellenic colony, along with Curium ; and we now know that both were centres of the civilisation called 'Mycenæan,' which is certainly not Semitic. Nevertheless, in Salamis as elsewhere, Phœnicians and Greeks were settled side by side, and although Hellenic influences had a firm hold upon the town, this affected little the general condition of the island, where upon the whole the original basic population was in affinity with the Phœnician element. After the withdrawal of the Greeks from interference in Cyprus upon the conclusion of the Peace of Cimon, there took place a reaction against Hellenism, until about 410 B.C., when Evagoras won back his ancestral throne of Salamis. Salamis was thus once more open to Hellenic influences and was connected by close bonds with Athens (Isocr. *Evag.* 47 *f.*, *CIA* 2_{397}). Subsequently it was to Egypt that Cyprus succumbed ; for in 295 B.C. Ptolemy reconquered the island, and under the Ptolemaic regime large numbers of Jews settled in it (cp 1 Macc. 15_{23}). Their numbers would be increased under the early Empire owing to the fact that Herod

[1] [One form of the ordinary view is thus expressed by Delitzsch (*Isaiah*, ET, 1_{403}), 'Cyprus, the principal Phœnician emporium, is the last place of call. As soon as they put in here, what they had heard as a rumour on the high sea is disclosed to these crews (נגלה)—*i.e.*, it becomes clear, undoubted certainty.' But this does not exhaust the possibilities of meaning. See, further, *Crit. Bib.*]

the Great farmed the Cyprian copper mines (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 4_{5}). Hence we find apparently more than one synagogue at Salamis, whither of course the majority of the Jews would congregate (Acts 13_{5}).

Various reasons account for the fact that Salamis was the starting-point of the missionary work of Paul and Barnabas. Not only was Barnabas himself a Cypriote (Acts 4_{36}, Κύπριος τῷ γένει), possibly, for aught we know to the contrary, a native of Salamis ; but many natives of the island were Christians and had set the example of missionary enterprise (Acts 11_{19} *f.*); and lastly, the number of the Jews established there and in other parts of the island was a guarantee of the existence of a proportionate number of proselytes. If Cyprus was to be visited at all, entry would be most naturally made from Syria at Salamis, which besides was connected with Paphos by two good roads—one by way of Soli, the other along the S. coast by way of Curium and Citium (vid. *Tab. Peut.*).

As regards the later history of Salamis, mention should be made of the great insurrection of the Jews in the time of Trajan (117 A.D.), in which a large part of the city was destroyed. Hadrian in consequence expelled all Jews from the island and closed it to them under penalty of death (Milman, *Hist. of the Jews*, 3_{111} *f.*). In Constantine's time, having been ruined by earthquakes, Salamis was rebuilt, and renamed Constantia (cp Jer. *Philem.*). In the fourth century A.D., consequent upon the discovery of the relics of Barnabas, with a copy of the First Gospel, at Salamis, Cyprus was made autonomous and the patriarch has ever since enjoyed the right of signing his name in red ink. W. J. W.

SALASADAI (σαλασαδαι [A]), Judith 8_{1}. See ZURISHADDAI.

SALATHIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל, 1 Ch. 3_{17}; σαλαθιηλ [Ti. WH], Lk. 3_{27}), RV SHEALTIEL.

SALCAH, RV **Salecah** (סַלְכָה ; [σ]ελχα [BAFL]),[1] an ancient city on the E. border of Bashan (Josh. 13_{11}, αχα [B]), possibly also the name of a district (cp 12_{5}, σεκχαι [B], ασελχα [A]), which belonged to the b'ne Manasseh (Dt. 3_{10}, AV **Salchah**) and later to Gad (1 Ch. 5_{11}). Salcah, the mod. Salḫat or Ṣarḥad, is situated four or five hours E. of Boṣra, on an eminence (probably once a crater) in a very strong position on the S. extremity of the Jebel Ḥaurān. It seems to have been hotly contended for by the Aramæans and the Israelites respectively, and may have played a prominent part in the legends, legendary genealogies, and history of the Israelites, though Cheyne thinks a geographical confusion may well be suspected, see GILEAD, RAMOTH-GILEAD, cp also ZELOPHEHAD. It was well known to early Arabian geographers. The Nabatæans called it צלחד, and an inscription found there (of 66 A.D.) refers to the fact that the goddess al-Lāt (אלת) was especially honoured by its inhabitants (*CIS* 2_{182}). For descriptions of the modern place see Burckhardt, *Reisen*, 180 ; de Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* 107-9 ; cp also Buhl, *Pal.* 252.

SALEM, or rather **SHALEM** (שָׁלֵם, Gen. 14_{18} [ADL]; σαλημ, Ps. 76_{2} [3], εν ειρηνη [BאRT]). See JERUSALEM, SHILOH, MELCHIZEDEK, SODOM.

SALEM, THE VALLEY OF (τον αυλωνα σαλημ [BאA], Syr. אולונא דעילם), one of the localities where the Jewish inhabitants took defensive measures against Holofernes (Judith 4_{4}). Some well-known place must be meant—not, therefore, the Salumias of *OS* 149_{18}, 8 R. m. from Scythopolis (Reland), or the Sālim near Nāblus (Wolff). Probably the whole verse should run thus, '. . . Samaria, and CYAMON [*q.v.*], and IBLEAM (see BELMEN), and Jericho, and the circle of Jordan (Syr.; see CHOBA), and to Esdraelon.' The words *καὶ αισωρα καὶ τὸν αὐλῶνα σαλημ* seem to be made up of three fragments of *εσδρηλων εσδρηλωμ*. (Cp *αυλωνος* for אלוני in Dt. 11_{30}, *οἱ λοιποί* in Hex.) T. K. C.

[1] Owing to the fact that in nearly every case the Gk. name follows ἕως, the initial of the name has been often dropped, and it appears under the form *ελχα*.

SALEMAS (*SALAME*), 4 Esd. 1 1 RV. See SHALLUM, 6.

SALIM (ϲαλειμ [Ti.WH], *v.l.* ϲαλλειμ [A], ϲαλημ [V, Eus. Cyr. Theophylact)], a place, on the W. of the Jordan, near which was Ænon, where John baptized, Jn. 3 23†. The reason given for the choice of Ænon (=a place of fountains) is, 'because there were many springs (ὕδατα) there,' so that a multitude could spread themselves out, and John could pass from one spring to another baptizing them. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 245 91 134 25) place Ænon 8 R. m. S. of Scythopolis, 'juxta Salim et Jordanem,' and it is true that about seven miles from Beisān there is a large Christian ruin called Umm el-'Amdān, near which are several springs. But no name like Salem or Ænon has been found there. Conder himself, who points this out, identifies Ænon with the springs between the well-known Sālim (near Nāblus) and a place called 'Ainūn, in the Wādy Fāri'a. The place is accessible from all quarters, especially from Jerusalem and Galilee (see the attractive description in *Tent Work*, 257 *f.*). But the distance of the springs from Sālim (about seven miles) is rather against this identification. It should be noticed, too (1) that Jesus, as we are told, was at this time baptizing in the country districts of Judæa (*v.* 22), and was apparently not very far from John, and (2) that 'near Salem' is really mentioned to explain the ready access of the Jews to John (ὅτι ὕδατα πολλὰ ἦν ἐκεῖ has the appearance of being a gloss). Considering the frequent errors of the text connected with 'Salem,' it is very plausible to correct τοῦ σαλημ (see above) into ιερουσαλήμ,[1] in which case it becomes natural to identify Ænon with 'Ain Kārim, which boasts of its beautiful St. Mary's Well, and to the W. of which is the 'Ain el-Habs (the Hermit's Fountain), connected by a very late Christian tradition with John the Baptist. The legendary connection should not prejudice us against the view here proposed, which rests solely on exegetical and geographical considerations. Cp BETH-HACCEREM, and, for an analogous emendation, NAIN.

On the tradition connecting 'Ain Kārim with John the Baptist, see Schick, *ZDPV* 22 ['99] 81 *ff.* T. K. C.

SALIMOTH (ϲαλειμωθ [B]), 1 Esd. 8 36 RV= Ezra 8 10, SHELOMITH, 4.

SALLAI (סַלָּי), 1. Neh. 12 20; in 12 7 SALLU (*q.v.* 11).

2. See GABBAI SALLAI.

SALLAMUS (ϲαλλουμοϲ [B*A]), 1 Esd. 9 25 = Ezra 10 24, SHALLUM, 11.

SALLU (סַלָּא [Neh.], סַלּוּא [Ch.]), a Judæan Benjamite (BENJAMIN, § 9, iii.), temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11 7; ϲηλω [Bא*A], ϲηλωμ [א^c.a], ϲαμαα [L]; 1 Ch. 9 7; ϲαλωμ [BL], ϲαλω [A]). Cp SALU.

SALLU (סלּוּ), a priest enumerated in one of the post-exilic lists (Neh. 12 7 ϲαλουαι [א^c.a mg. sup.], ϲαλουια [L], om. Bא*A). In Neh. 12 20 the name is SALLAI (סַלָּי; σαλλαι [א^c.a mg. inf.], σαλουαι [L], om. Bא*A); and the head of Sallai's 'father's house' in the time of Joiakim, Joshua's successor, is said to have been KALLAI (קַלָּי).

SALMA (שַׂלְמָא), the name of the clan which was reckoned as the 'father' of Bethlehem, 1 Ch. 2 51 54, and introduced into the genealogy of Jesse, *v.* 11. According to Wellhausen (*CH* 358, cp *De gent.* 29), 'Salma is the father of Bethlehem *after the exile*.' But to the present writer there is good reason to suppose that the Bethlehem intended is not the Bethlehem in Judah, but another Bethlehem—*i.e.*, Beth-jerahmeel, in the Negeb (RUTH, § 4). It will be noticed that the 'sons' of Salma include Netophah and Atroth-beth-Joab. Now Netophah is most probably a modification of Nephtoah or Naphtoah (cp NAPHTUHIM, SALMAH, 2), and Atroth of Ephrath. See JABEZ, SHOBAL, and, on the Arabian affinities of this clan, SALMAH (*vv.* 51 54, σαλωμων [BA], σαμα, -αα [L]; *v.* 11, σαλμων [BL], -αν [A]). T. K. C.

[1] It is true that the Fourth Evangelist, *according to the MSS*, invariably uses ιεροσολυμα. But he may now and then have used ιερουσαλημ, like other evangelists.

SALMAH (שַׂלְמָה; ϲαλμων [AL], -αν [B]).

1. Ruth 4 20 RV^mg., according to MT's reading. See SALMA, SALMON.

2. The name of an Arabian people mentioned in several OT passages—Cant. 1 5 1 K. 4 11 Nu. 24 23 Ezra 2 55 58 (and ‖ passages), Neh. 11 3. (1) In Cant. 1 5 the poet couples the 'tent-curtains of Salmah' (read שַׂלְמָה, not שלמה) with the 'tents of Kedar' (see CANTICLES, § 6, col. 687). Now the tribes of KEDAR [*q.v.*] tenanted the region afterwards appropriated by the Salmæans (שלמי), and the Salmæans were followed by the Nabatæans. The two latter peoples are mentioned together in a Nabatæan inscription (*CIS* ii. 197 9). Pliny mentions the 'Salmani et Masei Arabes' (*NH* 6 30), and Steph. Byz., quoted by Euting, refers to the Σαλάμιοι as an Arab population in alliance with the Nabatæans. The emendation in Cant. *l.c.* is due to Wellh. (*Prol.*[5] 218, n. 1); cp Wi. *AOF* 1 196 292. (2) Most probably in 1 K. 4 11 בת־שלמה should be pointed בַּת־שַׂלְמָה. This suggestion assumes that two of Solomon's prefects, supposed to have had daughters of Solomon as wives, really married Salamian or Salmæan women. One of these is called Basemath (בשמת), a corruption of 'Ishma'elith';[1] the other TAPHATH, perhaps a corruption of Naphtuḥith (cp 1 Ch. 2 54, reading Naphtūḥī). (3) The impossible words מִשְּׂמוֹ אֵל in Nu. *l.c.* should be emended into מִשַּׂלְמָה or מִשַּׂלְמָאִים. The context relates to the Kenites. Observe that in the Targums שלמאי is the equivalent of the Heb. קיני. See, however, BALAAM, § 6; Wi. *AOF* 2 423. (4) On the passages relating to the עבדי שלמה in Ezra-Neh., see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, SONS OF.

Winckler (*AOF* 2 545 *ff.*) proposes to substitute the 'Salamians' for 'Shalman' in Hos. 10 14, as the barbarous captors of Beth-arbel. In this he shows much acumen; but it is more probable that 'Shalman' is the name of one of the N. Arabian kings who invaded the Negeb. He was apparently a king of the N. Arabian Cusham or Cush (see *Crit. Bib.* on Hos. 10 14 Am. 1 3).

This article illustrates the names SALMA, SAMLAH, SALMON, SAMLAI, SHELUMIEL. T. K. C.

SALMAI (שַׂלְמַי [ord. text]), Neh. 7 48 RV, AV SHALMAI.

SALMANASAR (*Salmanassar*), 4 Esd. 13 40; in Kings, SHALMANEZER.

SALMON (צַלְמוֹן), Ps. 68 14 [15]† RV, AV ZALMON, 2.

SALMON (שַׂלְמוֹן; ϲαλμαν [B]: -μων [AL]), father of Boaz, Ruth 4 20 *f.* (a variant to MT's SALMAH in *v.* 20, cp 𝔊 Vg.), Mt. 1 4 Lk. 3 32 (EV ϲαλμων [א^cAD]; but ϲαλα [א*B]). See RUTH, § 4. Mt. (1 4) makes him the husband of RAHAB, whom, however, Talmudic tradition makes, as a proselyte, the wife of Joshua. Cp Nestle, *Exp. T* 10 91, and see GENEALOGIES ii., § 2.

SALMONE (ϲαλμωνη Ti.WH), a cape at the eastern extremity of Crete, as appears from the passage in Acts 27 7, where it is spoken of as the first land sighted after leaving Cnidus.

The ship on which Paul sailed beat up with difficulty (μόλις, *v.* 7) to the latitude of Cnidus from Myra. A true course W. by S. from Cnidus would have taken her by the N. side of Crete. As she was unable to hold that course, but was yet able to fetch the eastern cape of the island, which bears SW. by S. from Cnidus, we may infer that the wind blew from between NNW. and WNW. (assuming that the ship could make good a course about seven points from the wind). The wind, therefore, in common language would have been termed NW. (see Smith,

[1] This explanation of Basemath accounts for the double name of Esau's wife—Basemath and Mahalath—*i.e.*, 'Ishmaelite' and 'Jerahmeelite.' The initial B (or M? see 𝔊) is secondary.

Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, 74 *f.*). Such winds prevail in the eastern Mediterranean in the summer, and are the Etesian winds of the ancients (Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 4 15; Pliny, *HN* 2 47).

As regards the identification of Salmone some doubt is possible. The name appears in various forms.

Σαλμώνη, Acts 27 7; Σαλμωνὶς ἄκρα, Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* 4 1693;[1] Σαλμώνιον, Str. 106;[2] the most frequently recurring form is Σαμώνιον (Str. 472, etc., *Stadiasm. m.m.*, §§ 318 and 355, Ptol. 3 17, Plin. *HN* 4 20 [Sammonium]).

The extreme NE. cape, now called *Cape Sidhero* (the 'Iron Cape') or *C. Salomon*, is generally supposed to be the ancient Cape Salmone; but it is perhaps more probable that Cape Salmone should be identified with the promontory called *Plaka*, some 7 m. to the southward (so it is in the map in vol. i. of Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*; see discussion of the point, *ibid*, 189 *f.*). It is very possible also that the usage of the name may have varied in ancient times in the case of two conspicuous promontories lying so close together.

W. J. W.

SALOAS (ϲαλθαϲ [B]), 1 Esd. 9 22 RV = Ezra 10 22, ELASAH, 1.

SALOM (ϲαλωμ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 2 26 AV, RV SALU.

SALOME (ϲαλωμη, see NAMES, § 50, cp 'Shelomi,' 'Shelumiel'; or, perhaps, 'Salma,' see ISRAEL, § 79, *ad fin.* and cp SOLOMON, § 1), one of the women who witnessed the crucifixion and afterwards visited the sepulchre of Jesus, Mk. 15 40 16 1†. She is almost certainly to be identified with the wife of Zebedee, the mother of James and John; see Mt. 27 56, and cp CLOPAS, § 2.

The name Salome was borne also (1) by the daughter of Herodias; see HEROD, § 10; (2) by the wife of Alexander Jannæus; see ISRAEL, § 80.

SALT (מֶלַח; 𝔊 αλϲ, also αλαϲ, αλα).[3] Indispensable as the use of salt appears to us, it must have been quite unattainable to primitive man in many parts of the world.

1. Domestic uses of salt.

Indeed where men live mainly on milk and flesh, consuming the latter raw or roasted, so that its salts are not lost, it is not necessary to add sodium chloride, and thus we understand how the Numidian nomads in the time of Sallust and the Bedouins of Ḥadramaut at the present day never eat salt with their food. On the other hand, cereal or vegetable diet calls for a supplement of salt, and so does boiled meat. The important part played by the mineral in the history of commerce and religion depends on this fact. At a very early stage of progress salt became a necessary of life to most nations, and in many cases they could procure it only from abroad, from the sea-coast, or from districts like that of Palmyra, where salty incrustations are found on the surface of the soil. The Hebrews had ready access to an unlimited supply of this necessity of life in the waters of the Dead Sea, and in the range of rock-salt at its south-western extremity.

When the waters of the 'Salt Sea' (see DEAD SEA) subside after the spring floods have caused them to rise several feet beyond their normal level, the heavily impregnated water, left in the marshes on its borders, rapidly evaporates, leaving a deposit of salt. The Dead Sea is said to yield by evaporation 24.57 lbs. of salt in 100 lbs. of water, as compared with 6 lbs. from the same quantity of water taken from the Atlantic Ocean (Hull).

It has been adduced as evidence of the 'practical turn of the prophet's mind' (Dr. *Intr.*(6) 294) that the marshes found on the western shore of the Dead Sea in Ezekiel's day are expressly exempted from the sweetening and reviving influence of the river of the prophetic vision (Ezek. 47 11). The second source of supply, above referred to, was the famous ridge of Jebel Usdum, whence probably came the *mělaḥ sědōmith* (מֶלַח סְדוֹמִית) or 'salt of Sodom' of the Talmud. This ridge, which geologists tell us must once have formed the bottom of a larger lake, consists mainly of rock-salt, the friable nature of which, under climatic influences, causes portions of the range to assume fantastic shapes. One of these, a pillar resembling in outline a gigantic female form, gave rise in the prehistoric period to the familiar legend of Gen. 19 26 (cp Wisd. 10 7—where the pillar of salt is characterised as 'a monument of an unbelieving soul'—Jos. *Ant.* i. 11 4 [§ 203], and the illustration in Stade, *GVI* 1 119). To one or other of these sources of supply reference is made in the obscure *mikrēh mělaḥ* (מִכְרֵה מֶלַח) of Zeph. 2 9 (EV 'saltpits'; 𝔊 θιμωνία ἅλωνος), it being uncertain whether the expression signifies salt-pans for evaporation (τὰς τοῦ ἁλὸς λίμνας of 1 Macc. 11 35), or salt-pits for the excavation of salt.

As among ourselves, salt entered in countless ways into the domestic and social economy of the Hebrews. A morsel of bread and salt and 'water by measure' (Ezek. 4 11) are given by a late Jewish thinker as the irreducible minimum of human sustenance (*Pirḳē Ābōth* 6 4).

Similarly, among the principal things for the whole use of man's life, the son of Sirach assigns a prominent place to salt (Ecclus. 39 26, cp Job 6 6).

Bread (פַּת בְּמֶלַח, *Ābōth l.c.*) and olives (*Ma'ăśēr.* 4 3) dipped in salt were the poor man's fare; or the salt might be dissolved in water for this purpose (*Shabb.* 14 2; cp *Erub.* 3 1). In a stronger form as brine (הִילְמִי—*i.e.*, ἅλμη), salt water (מֵי הַמֶּלַח) was used for pickling vegetables and meat (Baruch, 6 [Ep. of Jeremy] 28) and in the preparations of olives for the table (FRUIT, § 9).

The practice of rubbing the flesh of newly killed animals with salt for the purpose of depleting it of every particle of blood required a large supply of salt. So, too, the process of pickling (ταριχεύω) and preserving fish, which formed so important an article of commerce (for methods adopted see FISH, § 7). Salt was also employed for preserving hides (*Middōth*, 5 3). In the Messianic age, even the domestic animals are to share in the material joys of the period by having their provender seasoned by the addition of saline herbs (Is. 30 24 חָמִיץ, RVmg. 'salted'). Besides the natural sea- and rock-salt, the Jews of later times were familiar with the *sal conditum* or spiced salt of the Romans (סַלְקוֹנְדִּית *'Āb. Zār.* 26—for other readings and explanations see Jastrow, *Dict. of Targ.* etc., *s.v.*). Salt was also used medicinally. A grain of salt in a decayed tooth was reckoned a cure for toothache (*Shabb.* 6 5). Here, too, may perhaps be classed the rubbing of new-born babes with salt, attested by Ezekiel (16 4, see FAMILY, § 9), varied by washing in salted water (Van Lennep, *Bible Lands*, 569), although it probably had its origin in a quite different circle of ideas as a safeguard against demonic influence (cp *Běkhōrōth* 40*a*, where salt at meals is alleged to have this effect). For the medicinal properties of the water of the 'Salt Sea' see DEAD SEA (col. 1045). Many other illustrations of the curative properties of salt itself, as employed among semi-civilised races, are given by Trumbull in his exhaustive treatise *The Covenant of Salt*, 1899. The economic importance of salt is further indicated by the almost universal prevalence in ancient and mediæval times, and indeed in most countries down to the present day, of salt taxes, or of Government monopolies.

An interesting and exhaustive study of the working of the salt monopoly in Egypt under the Ptolemies is given by U. Wilcken in his recent work *Griechische Ostraka aus Ægypten, etc.* (1 141 *ff.*, ἡ ἁλική, salt-tax). In Palestine under the Seleucids, the salt-pans on the shore of the Dead Sea were also a government property, as we learn from the remission of the royalty upon salt (ἡ τιμὴ τοῦ ἁλός)[1] decreed by Demetrius in the hope of gaining the support of the Jews (1 Macc. 10 29 11 35). We

[1] Σαλμωνὶς καὶ Σαλμώνιον, ἀκρωτήριον Κρήτης, *Schol. in loc.* Cp Dionys. Perieg. 110 *f.*

[2] Cp 'Αθαναία Σαλμωνία in *CIG* 2555, *l.* 13.

[3] Certain parts of this article which it has not been deemed necessary to indicate specially are taken from Professor Robertson Smith's contribution to the article 'Salt' in *Ency. Brit.*(9).

[1] The identical expression ἀπὸ τιμῆς ἁλός is found upon an Egyptian ostracon (Wilcken, *op. cit.* 1 144).

have no further information, unfortunately, as to the details of the operation of this tax.

That a religious significance was attached to a substance so highly prized, which was often obtained with difficulty, is no more than natural. But it must also be remembered that the habitual use of salt is intimately connected with the advance from nomadic to agricultural life, *i.e.*—with precisely that step in civilisation which had most influence on the cults of almost all ancient nations. The gods were worshipped as the givers of the kindly fruits of the earth, and, as all over the world 'bread and salt' go together in common use and common phrase, salt was habitually connected with offerings, at least with all offerings which consisted, in whole or in part, of cereal elements. This practice is found alike among the Greeks and Romans, and among the Semitic peoples (Lev. 2 13); Homer calls salt 'divine,' and Plato names it 'a substance dear to the gods' (*Timæus*, 60; cp Plutarch, *Sympos.* 5 10).

2. Salt in the sacrificial ritual.

Bread and salt were the chief and inseparable constituents of the Hebrews' daily food. It was, therefore, to be expected that every offering—was it not the 'bread of God' (לֶחֶם אֱלֹהִים Lev. 21 22)?—laid upon the altar should also have the accompaniment of salt. It is immaterial whether we regard the actual provision of Lev. 2 13 *c*: 'With *all* thine oblations thou shalt offer salt' as younger than the more special provision of 13*a* 'every oblation of thy *meal offering* (*minḥāh*) shalt thou season with salt (RV),' as Dillmann and some others are inclined to do (but see Ezek. 43 24), since both the fundamental conception of primitive sacrifice and the extant testimony to the actual practice in historical times point to the constant practice of adding salt to every species of offering, animal and vegetable alike.

Hence the statement of Mk. 9 49*b*, 'every sacrifice shall be salted with salt,' though absent from the oldest authorities, is a statement of fact (cp for the NT times Jos. *Ant.* iii. 9 1, Mishna, *Zĕbāḥ.* 6 5 *f.*). Even incense was not excepted (see INCENSE, § 6), and the Greek text of Lev. 24 7 is doubtless right in adding salt to the SHEWBREAD (which see, and cp Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 3 10 [ed. Mangey, 2 151] 'loaves *and salt*'). Grants of salt for the services of the restored worship of the returning exiles were thus entirely in place (Ezra 6 9 7 22; cp for a later period the decree of Antiochus '345 medimni of salt,' Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3 [§ 140]).

Whilst, however, the origin of the presence of salt in the cultus is to be traced to a primitive conception of sacrifice, it must be borne in mind that at the stage of religious thought reflected in the priestly legislation, the use of salt has already become symbolical (see § 3).

In the cults of Greece and Rome we find the same appreciation of salt, as is shown by the frequent references in classical writers (see Di.-Ryssel, *Kurzgef. exeget. Handb.*, on Lev. 2 13; also Hehn, *Das Salz*, 6 *ff.*, Schleiden, *Das Salz*, 73 *ff.* [1875]). It also appears in the lists of offerings in the older cultus system of Babylonia (Zim. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Babyl. Religion* 1901, 95). Cp RITUAL, § 10, col. 4123.

3. Salt in symbol and metaphor.

The absolute barrenness of the region bordering on the Dead Sea, owing to the saline incrustations with which the ground is covered, naturally suggested the employment, by various Hebrew writers, of salt as a figure for barrenness and desolation (Dt. 29 23 [22]; cp Job 39 6 Jer. 17 6). Such a barren waste, innocent of every form of vegetation, formed a fitting contrast to 'the fruitful land' (Ps. 107 34 render with RV 'a salt desert [מְלֵחָה]' for 'barrenness' of AV). This figurative use of 'salt' and 'saltness' is not confined to Hebrew, being found in several of the other Semitic dialects (Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*, 74 ET). The same idea has usually been regarded as underlying the expressive symbolical act, once referred to in the OT, of sowing a city that had been put under the ban (*ḥērem*, see BAN) with salt (Judg. 9 45). It is more probable, however, that this practice is to be brought into connection with the use of salt in sacrifice (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 454 n.), the idea of the complete dedication of the city to Yahwè, as symbolised by the strewing of it with salt, being more in harmony with the fundamental conception of the 'ban.'[1] This practice is also attested for Cyprus (*Rel. Sem.*(2) *l.c.*, Schleiden, *Das Salz*, 95, who adduces as historical parallels the tradition that Attila so treated Padua, and Friedrich Barbarossa, Milan). [Cp also Zimmern's correction (in Gunkel, 'Gen.' in *HK*, 193) of the translations of Assyrian inscriptions (Tiglath-pileser and Ašur-bani-pal) in *KB* 1 37 2 207, where 'salt' should be read for 'stones' and 'dry sand.']

As covenants were ordinarily made over a sacrificial meal, in which salt was a necessary element, the expression 'a covenant of salt' (Nu. 18 19) is easily understood; it is probable, however, that the preservative qualities of salt were held to make it a peculiarly fitting symbol of an enduring compact, and influenced the choice of this particular element of the covenant meal as that which was regarded as sealing an obligation to fidelity. Among the ancients, as among orientals down to the present day, every meal that included salt had a certain sacred character, and created a bond of piety and guest-friendship between the participants. Hence the Greek phrase ἅλας καὶ τράπεζαν παραβαίνειν, the Arab phrase 'there is salt between us,' the expression 'to eat the salt of the palace' (Ezra 4 14 RV; not in $\mathfrak{G}^{BA}$), the modern Persian phrase *namak haram*, 'untrue to salt'—*i.e.*, disloyal or ungrateful—and many others. The OT expression 'covenant of salt' (Lev. 2 13 Nu. 18 19) is therefore a significant figure of speech, denoting the perpetual obligation under which the participants in the covenant of God with Israel (having in the sacrifice and sacrificial meal partaken of salt together) lay to observe its conditions.[2] So also in 2 Ch. 13 5 the expression may legitimately be rendered without a figure by 'a perpetual irrevocable covenant.'

Although salt, from one aspect of its effects in nature, might be used, as we have seen, by Hebrew writers as a figure of desolation and death, on the other hand, in virtue of its giving piquancy and, so to say, life to otherwise insipid articles of diet (cp Plutarch, *Sympos.*, cited by Trumbull, *Covenant of Salt*, 53), or it may be, as Trumbull suggests (*l.c.*), from its being associated with blood in the primitive mind, 'salt seems to stand for life in many a form of primitive speech and in the world's symbolism.' It is as a symbol of life that salt is employed by Elisha in healing the death-dealing spring at Jericho (2 K. 2 19 *ff.*).

Here, too, may be classed the familiar description of the true followers of Jesus as 'the salt of the earth' (Mt. 5 13), the living embodiment of the highest ideals of life, a permanent and pervasive influence in the world making for righteousness. Paul's exhortation to the Colossians (4 6) to have their 'speech seasoned with salt' is not to be understood of 'wit,' the 'Attic salt' of the ancients, but rather of sober, good sense, as contrasted with 'profane and vain babblings' (1 Tim. 6 20 2 Tim. 2 16).

For the many interpretations of the *crux interpretum*, Mk. 9 49 *a* ('salted with fire'), reference must be made to the commentaries (cp also Trumbull, *op. cit.* 65 *f.*) Finally the much discussed reference to the impossibility of restoring to salt its lost savour (Mt. 5 13 and parallels) is ingeniously connected by Robertson Smith with the oppressive taxation of salt, referred to above, one result of this being that the article is apt to reach the consumer in a very impure state largely mixed with earth. 'The salt which has lost its savour' is 'simply the earthly residuum of such an impure salt after the sodium chloride has been washed out.'

The use of salt in various rites of the Christian church, as in the baptism of catechumens, in holy water, etc., falls without the scope of this article (see Smith's *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.*, *s.v.*, Trumbull, *op. cit.*).

W. R. S.—A. R. S. K.

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[1] This view is also preferable to that suggested recently by Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer* (1901) 32, that the 'strewing with salt denotes dedication to the demons of solitary and barren places.'

[2] For a slightly different explanation of the origin of the expression see Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung im AT* 46 *n.* 207. Cp *Rel. Sem.*(2) 479 (the Arab oath taken over salt strewn upon a fire). For other examples of salt in covenants and oaths see Wellh. *Heid.*(2) 124, 189, Landberg, *Arabica*, 5 134 157 (Leyden 1898).

SALT, THE CITY OF (עִיר הַמֶּלַח; αι πολειc cαλωμ [B], αι πολιc αλων [A], αι πολειc των αλων [L]), one of the six cities 'in the wilderness,' grouped with NIBSHAN and EN-GEDI [*q.v.*] in Josh. 15 62. If the VALLEY OF SALT [*q.v.*] or rather 'Valley of ham-melaḥ,' is the *Wady el-Milḥ*, the 'Ir ham-melaḥ may be placed on the site now known as *el-Milḥ*, a little to the SE of *Kh. Sa'we* (the ancient SHEMA or JESHUA?) on the great route from Hebron to the Red Sea through the 'Arabah (cp MOLADAH).

In this case, it is plain that, as, *e.g.*, in 1 S. 23 29 24 1, En-gedi must have come from En-gadiš, En-kadesh (Kadesh-'barnea'), and the wilderness be that of Arad (Judg. 1 16, if we may read מדבר ערד; see KENITES), the term *'ir ham-mělaḥ* is a corruption of *'ir jeraḥmeel*, 'city of Jerahmeel.' A 'city of Jeraḥmeel' is referred to in 1 S. 15 5; also probably in Judg. 1 16 (crit. emend., see KENITES). See JERAHMEEL, § 4.

T. K. C.

SALT, THE VALLEY OF (גֵּי הַמֶּלַח, in Chronicles and Psalms [η]κοιλαc [or φαραγξ] των αλων; in Samuel and Kings γεβελεμ, ρεμελε [B], γημαλα, γαιμελα [A], γαιμελαχ, -εχ [L]), the scene of encounters between the Israelites and the Edomites (or rather, perhaps, Aramites—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeelites), first under David (2 S. 8 13 [ארם], 1 Ch. 18 12 [אדום], Ps. 60 heading [both ארם and אדום]),[1] and then under Amaziah (2 K. 14 7 [אדום], 2 Ch. 25 11 [see closing sentence]). The 'Valley of ham-mělaḥ' has been identified with the great marshy plain (es-Sebkhah) at the S. end of the Dead Sea (see DEAD SEA, § 3), which is strongly impregnated with salt. It is true, it is described as at the present day 'too spongy to walk upon,' nor can we easily understand how it can ever in the historical period have been otherwise than marshy. An examination of the text of the passages referred to, however, makes it seem in the highest degree superfluous to choose this site for the famous battlefield. It is plausible (Buhl, *Pal.* 88)[2] to identify the 'valley of *ham-mělaḥ*' with the *Wādy el-Milḥ*, one of the two wadys into which the *W. eṣ-Ṣeba'* parts at Beersheba. This wady and the *W. eṣ-Ṣeba'* may be regarded as forming a first frontier between Canaan and the steppe-country.

It is important to notice that *ham-mělaḥ* (in the Hebrew name) is an easy corruption of JERAHMEEL (*q.v.*, § 4), and that the *Wādy el-Milḥ* would naturally enter into the Negeb of the Jeraḥmeelites. Most probably we should read אֲרָם ('Aram,' a popular corruption of Jeraḥmeel) instead of אֱדֹם in all the passages quoted above, except the last (2 Ch. 25 11), where בְּנֵי־שֵׂעִיר should be emended into בְּנֵי־מִצּוּר—*i.e.*, the Miṣrites. Cp JOKTHEEL; SALT, CITY OF; SALT SEA. T. K. C.

SALT SEA (יָם הַמֶּלַח; see DEAD SEA, § 1), a name of the Dead Sea, Gen. 14 3 Nu. 34 3 12 Dt. 3 17 Josh. 3 16 12 3 15 25 18 19†. It is an expressive name, no doubt (cp Hull, *Mount Seir*, 108), but need not on that account be original. If the *gē-hammělaḥ* (see SALT, VALLEY OF) has arisen, by a popular corruption from *gē-yĕraḥme'el* (valley of Jeraḥmeel), the presumption surely is that *yām ham-mělaḥ* (EV 'salt sea') has arisen in the same way out of *yām yĕraḥme'el* ('sea of Jeraḥmeel'), which is most naturally viewed as the original Hebrew name of the Dead Sea. Winckler, however (*GI* 2 36), thinks that the identification of the 'Salt Sea' with the 'vale of SIDDIM' [*q.v.*] is due to a mistake on the part of the second editor or reviser of the original narrative. His theory is that the first editor or reviser meant Lake Ḥūleh (cp MEROM), called by William of Tyre Melcha, on the NW. side of which is a fountain still called 'Ain el-Mellāḥa. The water of Lake Ḥūleh, however, is not salt. The same editor, it is added, interpreted the phrase 'the vale of Siddim (?)' as referring to a wādy running towards Lake Ḥûleh, the same in which the 'Ain el-Mellāḥah is situated. Winckler (*GI* 2 92 *f.* 108) also offers a new explanation of '*salt* sea.' He connects the phrase with the wide-spread Oriental myth of sweet and bitter waters (cp MARAH). It may be remarked, however, that place-names compounded with *māliḥ*, *mālik*, and the like, are at the present day of not infrequent occurrence in Palestine. See SODOM AND GOMORRAH. T. K. C.

[1] The latter part of the heading is evidently a later addition, which was made after the probable original text of the heading had assumed its present form. That text may have been בְּלַחֵץ אֲרַם יְרַחְמְאֵל וַאֲרַם מִצּוּר (PSALMS, BOOK OF, § 45; cp § 28, iv.).

[2] In *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 20 (1893), Buhl had accepted the ordinary identification (es-Sebkhah). Cp also EDOM, § 6.

SALT-WORT (מַלּוּחַ), Job 30 4 RV, AV MALLOWS.

SALU (סָלוּא, cp SALLU), a family of SIMEON (*q.v.*), Nu. 25 14 (cαλμων [B], cαλω [A], -μ [FL]), 1 Macc. 2 26 (cαλωμ [AℵV], AV SALOM). Jer. Targ. identifies the name with Shaul of Gen. 46 10.

SALUM. 1. (cαλουμ [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 = Ezra 2 42 Neh. 7 45, SHALLUM, 8.

2. RV SALEM, σαλημου [BA], 1 Esd. 8 1 = 1 Ch. 6 12 *f.* [5 38 *f.*], Ezra 7 2, SHALLUM, 6.

SALUTATIONS. To 'salute' is EV's equivalent for Heb. שָׁאַל לְשָׁלוֹם פ׳, lit. 'to ask after the welfare of some one' (2 S. 11 7 and elsewhere), and שָׁאַל לְפ׳ לְשָׁלוֹם, 'to ask some one as to welfare' (1 S. 10 4 and elsewhere), and for Gk. ἀσπάζομαι (Mt. 5 47 Rom. 16 3 *ff.* and often) whence ἀσπασμός, 'salutation' (Mt. 23 7 and elsewhere).

The Hebrew phrase, however (cp Lat. *salutatio*, 'wishing health') means 'to greet,' whereas the Greek includes both greetings and embraces. In Rom. 16 16 1 Cor. 16 20 2 Cor. 13 12 1 Thess. 5 26 1 Pet. 5 14 we have the phrase ἀσπάσασθε ἐν φιλήματι (ἁγίῳ or [1 Pet.] ἀγάπης; see § 3).

We take salutation here in the widest sense, and begin, not with formulæ of greeting, but with those conventional gestures which are even more significant.

1. Prostration. Of prostration as a sign of deep humility and respect, not much need be said.[1] David bowed himself three times before his friend Jonathan (1 S. 20 41); Jacob, seven times before his offended brother Esau (Gen. 33 3). The lowly prostrations exacted by sovereigns are too familiar to require examples from the OT or illustrations from other nations. The prostrations of women before men (or, at least, men of rank) are more startling (Gen. 24 64 1 S. 25 23); K. Niebuhr found the same custom in Arabia. Kneeling will be referred to later (see § 5).

2. Kissing. The custom of embracing and kissing calls for fuller treatment. When Esau ran to meet Jacob, he 'embraced him, and fell on his neck, and kissed him' (Gen. 33 4); and Joseph's recognition of his brethren, and especially of Benjamin (Gen. 45 14 *f.*), and the meeting between 'the prodigal son' and his father (Lk. 15 20), are described in exactly similar terms.[2] In the last two biblical passages καταφιλέω is the word used in the Greek; but in Gen. 33 4 φιλέω. There is no strongly marked distinction between them, nor is there more than a theoretical difference between Heb. *nāšaḳ* and *niššēḳ* (Piel indicating a *formal* kiss).

Parting friends quite as naturally used these conventional acts. Thus, after his father's death, Joseph 'fell on Jacob's face, wept upon him, and kissed him' (ἐφίλησεν Gen. 50 1), and the disciples from Ephesus 'wept sore, and fell on Paul's neck and kissed him' (κατεφίλουν, Acts 20 37), when he continued his journey to Jerusalem.

Such is still the mode of exchanging salutations between relatives and intimate friends practised in Palestine. 'Each in turn places his head, face downwards, upon the other's left shoulder and afterwards kisses him upon the right cheek, and then reverses the action, by placing his head similarly upon the other's

[1] On Mordecai's refusal to prostrate himself before Haman, see ESTHER, § 4.

[2] Compare the recognition scene in Hom. *Od.* 21 223.

right shoulder, and kissing him upon the left cheek';[1] 'or, again, a man will place his right hand on his friend's left shoulder, and kiss his right cheek, and then lay his left hand on his right shoulder, and kiss his left cheek.' A third mode of salutation may be mentioned. The person who gives the kiss lays the right hand under the head of his friend and supports it while it receives the kiss. This custom is referred to in the account of Joab's assassination of Amasa (2 S. 20 9). One or the other of the two former customs may explain the account of the entertainment of Jesus by Simon the Pharisee, in which none of the usual courtesies were granted to the wandering teacher—'thou gavest me no kiss' (Lk. 7 45). Absalom's self-seeking geniality to the common people (2 S. 15 5) may best be brought into connection with the second form (the hand on the shoulder).

The cheek, the forehead, the beard, the hands, the feet may be kissed, but not (in Palestine) the lips.

Two passages of AV seem to contradict this. In the MT of Gen. 41 40 (literally rendered) the Pharaoh is made to say to his Hebrew vizier, 'Upon thy mouth shall all my people kiss.' Dillmann and Delitzsch render 'According to thy mouth (=command) shall all my people order themselves' (so too RVmg.). This is, at any rate, not against the social customs of the East; but no Hebrew writer would have expressed his meaning thus. It is better to read 'shall obey thee' (וְעָלֶיךָ יַקְשִׁיב; see *Crit. Bib.*). The other passage is Prov. 24 26 '(Every man) shall kiss (his) lips that giveth a right answer.' EVmg. gives a less objectionable rendering, 'He kisseth with the lips that giveth a right answer.' But *yiššaḳ* should be *yaḳšîbû*, and the passage (see *Crit. Bib.*) should be rendered—

26 Even the simple will listen
To him who gives a right sentence,
25 And those that rebuke will they trust,
And upon such a blessing will come.

Kissing the hands or even the feet, or the hem of the garment, is at present the respectful salutation given to a superior. Kissing the feet of Jesus was the grateful tribute of the sinful but reclaimed woman at Simon's feast (Lk. 7 45, καταφιλοῦσα). A kiss on the hand is nowhere expressly mentioned in OT or NT. Still, such a kiss may be meant in the narrative of the betrayal of Jesus (Mt. 26 49 Mk. 14 45). If Delitzsch is right in supposing the kiss of 1 S. 10 1 to be the kiss of homage, we may further conjecture that Samuel raised the hand of Saul respectfully to his lips. More probably, the narrator means that Samuel greeted the new king as a friend, on the cheek. In the Assyrian inscriptions the vassals of the great king are said to signify their submission by kissing his feet (see BABYLONIA, § 69). No Hebrew phrase of this sort occurs, though the phrase 'to lick the dust' in Is. 49 23 Ps. 72 9 may be suggested by the custom of kissing the ground on which a superior has trodden ('to smell the dust' is a parallel Egyptian phrase). The Assyrian kiss of vassalage may also perhaps have been less humiliating than it seems; primitive usages early began to lose their original crudeness. In modern Syria, when a man seeks to propitiate one placed over him, he will just touch the feet of his superior with his right hand, and then kiss the hand and place it on his forehead.[2] This, or some other modification of the complete ceremony, may be meant by Ziba's 'I do obeisance' in 2 S. 16 4 (see OBEISANCE).

There is only one OT passage in which, if the text is correct, the kiss of homage (whether given to hands or feet) must be referred to,—viz., 'kiss the Son' (נשקו בר) in Ps. 2 12. Acting on the principle that a text which contradicts the social usages of Palestine cannot be correct, we are bound to try all available means of emending the text.[3] Such a cautious critic as Baethgen admits 'kiss the Son' into his version only with a parenthetic note of interrogation.

[1] Neil, *Kissing: its curious Bible mentions*, 37 (1885).

[2] Neil, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[3] 𝔊 renders δράξασθε παιδείας; Tg. קַבִּילוּ אוּלְפָנָא, perhaps reading במוסר. See Lag. and Baethgen, *ad loc.*, and, for a new solution [since proposed independently by Marti and J. D. Prince], Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 112. Hupfeld's suggestion נַשְּׁקוּ בוֹ, though often referred to, is inadmissible, because unidiomatic.

3. The 'Holy Kiss.'

It hardly needs to be remarked that freedom of intercourse between the sexes was unknown to the Jews in the period of the rise of Christianity. Ecclus. 42 12 (cp Jn. 4 27) is proof enough that the exchange of a kiss between men and women, as a sign of their common membership in a religious society, must have shocked Jewish sentiment. It appears to be the received view that such a shock to Jewish sentiment was really given in early Christian worship, and whenever recognition of a common Christian standing was called for. In the article 'Kiss' in Wace and Cheetham's *Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, it is stated that 'the primitive usage was for the "holy kiss" to be given promiscuously, without any restriction as to sexes or ranks, among those who were "all one in Christ Jesus,"' and that only when this indiscriminate use had given rise to scandals was it restricted by the church authorities. The evidence, however, is not so distinct and certain as to justify so positive a statement.[1] Paul (reff. above) does not expressly direct this startling mode of applying the truth that 'ye all are one man in Christ Jesus.' We know, however, that he does enjoin that women should have their heads veiled in the Christian assemblies (1 Cor. 11 6), which implies that he was on his guard against the occurrence of scandals. We also know that the *Apostolical Constitutions* (2 57 8 11) direct that the men of the laity should salute the men, and the women the women separately, and that the *Didascalia* (early in 3rd cent.), on which Book II. of the *Constitutions* is based, distinctly refers to the separate places of men and women, though the 'kiss of peace' is not referred to at all.

It seems very possible that the *Constitutions* do, in fact, represent the mind of the original founders of the churches on this subject, and that we are not compelled by a somewhat obscure passage in Tertullian (*Ad Uxorem*, ii. 4), who can only speak for Africa, to suppose a violation of *Jewish* sentiment in any of the earliest Christian assemblies. There may, however, of course, have been a deviation in some places from the earliest church practice.

4. Kiss of Adoration.

We have still to refer briefly to the kiss of adoration. 'It was dim night,' writes Doughty, 'and the drooping clouds broke over us with lightning and rain. I said to Thaifullah, "God sends his blessing again upon the earth." "Ay, verily," he answered devoutly, and kissed his pious hand toward the flashing tempest' (*Ar. Des.* 2 67). But there was a time when this religious hand-kiss was a sign of idolatry. Job denies having practised it, for it would have proved him a worshipper of sun and moon, and not of him who created both (Job 31 26-28). In Farther Asia as well as in Greece the rising sun was greeted by his worshippers with a hand-kiss (Lucian, *De Saltat.* 17). This was, in fact, a substitute for the kiss which would be offered to an idol—such a kiss as is referred to in Hos. 13 2, 'The men that sacrifice kiss calves'[2] (see CALVES, GOLDEN), and in 1 K. 19 18, 'Every mouth which has not kissed (Baal).'

5. Kneeling.

The ordinary salutations of worship were two—prostration, and spreading forth the hands (see the Pss. *passim*, Ex. 20 5 2 K. 5 18 for the former, and 1 K. 8 22 38 Is. 1 15 for the latter). A substitute for prostration was kneeling, which Hebrew custom set apart as an act of homage to the Deity (1 K. 8 54 2 Ch. 6 13 Is. 45 23 Dan. 6 10 Lk. 22 41 Acts 7 60 and elsewhere), though from Mk. 1 40 10 17 15 19 Mt. 17 14 27 29 we may infer that, when haste was required, kneeling might take the place of prostration as a sign of respect to a man of rank.

Formulæ of greeting are either inquiries as to the

[1] Cp Neil, *op. cit.*, 27 *ff.* 78 *ff.* On the 'holy kiss,' etc. Conybeare (*Expos.* 1894 *a*, 461) points out two passages in Philo's *Quæstiones in Ex.*, preserved in Armenian, which seem to imply that the 'kiss of peace' or 'of concord' was a formal institution of the synagogue.

[2] There is some difficulty in this passage. But at any rate the phrase 'kiss calves' is possible. Cp *Crit. Bib.*

welfare of the friend, or prayers for his continued prosperity.

6. Greetings. The treacherous Joab addresses Amasa, 'Art thou in peace, my brother' (𝔊 εἰ ὑγιαίνεις [σὺ] ἀδελφέ; 2 S. 20 9). Jesus bids his disciples say, on entering a house, 'Peace be to this house' (Lk. 10 5). Boaz, when he meets his reapers, says, 'Yahwè be with you,' and the friendly answer is, 'Yahwè bless thee' (Ruth 2 4; cp Ps. 129 8). Saul piously addresses Samuel with the words, 'Blessed be thou of Yahwè' (1 S. 15 13). To a king the loyal salutation was, 'Let the king live' (1 S. 10 24 2 S. 16 16 1 K. 1 39 2 K. 11 12), or 'Let the king live for ever' (1 K. 1 31; cp Dan. 2 4 3 9 5 10 6 6 21 Neh. 2 3), possibly with an allusion to legendary tales of highly favoured mortals who had escaped Shĕōl. In the NT we find the Greek expression χαῖρε, as a substitute for 'Peace be to thee' (Mt. 26 49 Mk. 15 18 Lk. 1 28, and elsewhere). For epistolary greetings, see Ezra 4 17 7 12 Acts 23 26 30, and the close of Pauline Epistles.

'Peace be on you' is still the commonest form of salutation among Moslems. The conventional reply is, 'And on you be the peace (of God),' to which it is usual to add, 'and the mercy of God, and his blessings.' This salutation may not be used by or to an 'infidel'; a Moslem who finds that he has addressed it by mistake to a wrong person generally revokes his salutation. He may also do so if a Moslem refuses to return his greeting, saying, 'Peace be on *us* and on (all) the right worshippers of God!' This seems to Kitto (*Bib. Cyclop.*, *s.v.* 'Salutation') a striking illustration of Lk. 10 5 *f.* 2 Jn. 11. The *salām*, however, is only the beginning of a string of conventional formulæ which take up much time, and are evaded by persons in haste. Specimens of these are given by Lane (*Mod. Egyptians*, 1 253). No doubt Jewish politeness had also its optional formulæ, which would be evaded in circumstances such as are described in 2 K. 4 29 Lk. 10 4. T. K. C.

SAMAEL (σαλαμιηλ [BA]), Judith 8 1 AV, RV SALAMIEL; the same as SHELUMIEL.

SAMAIAS (σαμαιας). 1. 1 Esd. 1 9 = 2 Ch. 35 9 SHEMAIAH, 15.
2. 1 Esd. 8 39 = Ezra 8 13, SHEMAIAH, 16.
3. 1 Esd. 8 44 = Ezra 8 16, SHEMAIAH, 17.
4. Tobit 5 13, see SHEMAIAH, 23.

SAMANASSAR (σαναμασσαρω [B], 1 Esd. 2 12 RV^mg.), see SHESHBAZZAR.

SAMARIA (שֹׁמְרוֹן; the Aram. שָׁמְרַיִן, whence the Gk. σαμαρ[ε]ια, has become assimilated to names like

1. Name. Mahanaim, Ramathaim [cp NAMES, § 107]; Ass. Samerina).[1] The city so called is said in 1 K. 16 24 (cp Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 5) to derive its name from שֶׁמֶר (SHEMER), the owner of the hill on which it was built.[2] Shemer may in fact quite well be an ancient clan-name, though it is plausible enough to derive the name of such a loftily-placed city from שָׁמַר in the sense of 'outlook' (so GASm., *HG*, 346). Shōm^erōn may denote (1) the hill, (2) the city built on it, (3) the whole district of which the city came to be the capital. In the last sense Shōm^erōn, EV 'Samaria,' is equivalent to the Northern or Israelitish kingdom (Hos. 7 1 8 6, etc. [Wellh.]), and hence עָרֵי שֹׁמְרוֹן means Israelitish cities (2 K. 17 24 26 23 19).[3]

The city is situated close to the borders of Ephraim and Manasseh, in Mt. Ephraim, about 6 m. NW. of

2. History. the earlier capital Shechem. Of its foundation we have a definite account in 1 K. 16 24, where it is stated that Omri purchased the hill from Shemer for two talents, and built on it the city which he called after the name of the former owner. Kittel confirms the accuracy of this notice by a reference to the case of David in 2 S. 24 21 *ff.* From Omri's time (about 925 B.C.) it became the capital of the northern kingdom, although it never attained to the religious prestige of the older Shechem. Ahab adorned it with a temple of Baal, and Baal-worship soon became recognised there as on a level with the original Israelitish calf-worship. The city was in a naturally strong position (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 2), standing on an oblong isolated hill which is precipitous on the one side, and easily fortified on the other. In the reign of Ahab it was besieged (901 B.C.) unsuccessfully by the Aramæans under Ben-hadad (1 K. 20), and again in the reign of Joram (892 B.C.), when it was relieved by a panic among the Aramæans (2 K. 6 24). It was captured by the Assyrian army in 721 after a siege of three years, many of the inhabitants were deported and the kingdom of Israel was finally brought to an end. For its colonisation and the little that can be gathered as to the history of the district down to the time of Nehemiah, see SAMARITANS. It was again taken by Alexander the Great who deported many of its inhabitants to Shechem, and substituted Syro-Macedonian settlers. The district, Σαμαρεῖτις χώρα, was then given over to the Jews. The city seems to have remained in the occupation of Alexander's settlers until the time of John Hyrcanus, who completely destroyed it (109 B.C.) and seized the whole district (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 3). It was partially restored under Gabinius (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 5 3), and shortly afterwards (in 25 B.C.) entirely rebuilt on a large scale by Herod the Great (ib. xv. 8 5), who named it Sebaste[ia] (Σεβαστή or Σεβάστεια; Rabb. סבסטי or סבוסטי) in honour of the Emperor. After Herod's death in B.C. 4 the kingdom of Samaria together with that of Judæa went to his son Archelaus. In the NT the city is not mentioned; the name Samaria denotes the district. As Samaria lay between Galilee and Judæa, Jesus passed through it on his way S. to Jerusalem (Lk. 17 11 Jn. 4) although the Jews ordinarily avoided doing so. Later, Christianity was preached there (εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῆς Σαμαρείας) by Philip the evangelist (Acts 8 5 *ff.*). The subsequent history of the city is obscure, and there is no record of its final destruction. According to Jerome Sebaste was believed in his time to be the burial-place of John the Baptist, as well as of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah. It apparently was a place of some importance in the early centuries of the Christian era, since we find a Bishop of Sebaste at the Council of Nicæa (325) and again at that of Jerusalem (536). It was occupied by the Crusaders, and a bishopric re-established there in 1155. The site is now represented by a village named Sebusṭîyeh, where is the interesting half-ruined church of John the Baptist, with other Christian remains. Not far off, at about the same level, run the streets of columns with which Herod adorned the city.

A. E. C.

SAMARITANS

Origin (§§ 1-3*a*). Beliefs (§§ 4*a-c*).
History (§ 3*b*). Institutions (§ 4*e*).
Literature (§§ 4*a* 5*a-c*). Language (§ 5*d*).
Bibliography (§ 6).

The Samaritans are called once in the OT (2 K. 17 29) Šōmĕrōnīm (שֹׁמְרֹנִים), a name which becomes

1. Name. common later. It is a gentilic form from שמר. In Rabbinical literature they are called *kūthīm* (כּוּתִים), a term intended to be contemptuous, referring to the colonists from Cuthah. The Greek Σαμαρεῖται properly means inhabitants of the district of Σαμάρεια. They call themselves בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל,

[1] On the question whether Samerina always means Samaria, see MENAHEM.

[2] According to Stade (*ZATW*, 5 171), the punctuation with Holem implies an erroneous explanation of the Aramaic forms with a. The lateness of this pronunciation may be inferred from 𝔊's representation of שמרון in 1 K. 16 24, which is (1) σεμερων [B], εμερων [A], σοβορων [L], (2) σαεμηρων [B], σομηρων [A], σομορων [L]. Cp, however, Kittel's note in *SBOT* on 2 Ch. 13 4, and note in *HK* on 1 K. 16 24.

[3] [On the possibility of frequent confusion between שמרון, Samaria, and שמרון, Shimron in the Negeb, see PROPHET, §§ 8, 35, SHIMRON.]

or specifically שֹׁמְרִים from שָׁמַר, properly keepers, sc. of the Law. On the name of the place, see SAMARIA.

The history of the Samaritans, as such, begins where that of the northern kingdom ceases. We read in

2. Colonisation. 2 K. 17 3 *ff.* that Shalmaneser went up to Samaria, and that in the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria and brought men from Babylon, and from Cuthah, and from Avva, and from Hamath and Sepharvaim and placed them in the cities of Samaria. In Ezra 4 2 it is 'Esar-haddon, king of Assyria, who brought us up hither.' Lastly in Ezra 4 10 they are 'the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar brought over.'[1] The importation of foreign colonists is thus attributed apparently to three several kings, the last of whom bears a name not otherwise known. To these names yet a fourth must be added. It is noticeable that in 2 K. 18 9 *f.* it is stated that Shalmaneser besieged Samaria, 'and at the end of three years *they* (not *he*) took it.' It is now known that SHALMANESER [*q.v.*], who began the siege, died in 723 B.C., and that it was his successor, Sargon II., who actually took the city in 721. Perhaps the death of Shalmaneser may account for the length of the siege. It is natural therefore to infer from the accounts in 2 K. that Sargon introduced the (first) settlement of colonists, and this is definitely stated to be the case in the annals of Sargon.[2] With regard to the other names, most recent critics rightly identify Osnappar with Ašur-bani-pal. The accounts are further simplified if Esar-haddon be taken as a corruption of the same name, due to the similarity of the first element in each (see ASNAPPER). We shall thus have two colonisations, the first by Sargon, the second by Ašur-bani-pal. As to the list of cities from which the colonists were drawn, Sepharvaim should no doubt be the Babylonian Sippar. The cuneiform account expressly states that Babylon, Cuthah, and Sippar opposed Ašur-bani-pal, and it would be consistent with Assyrian policy to deport the inhabitants of those cities to the distant province of Samaria. On the other hand, it would be altogether an unusual step to transfer the inhabitants of Hamath or of Avva (in Syria; but cp AVVAH) to a neighbouring district. See HAMATH. Sargon *may* indeed have brought colonists from Hamath, which he reduced in 720, and the combination of the two sets of malcontents *may* have led to the necessity of his reducing Samaria for the second time in 720; but there are no grounds for such a conjecture. It is far more consistent with the facts to suppose (with Winckler) that just as the Deuteronomic redactor has combined into one the two Assyrian kings, and inserted a long passage to point the moral of the story, and imparted to the whole a tone hostile to the Samaritans, so he has combined the two colonisations into one, and amplified his account from 2 K. 18 34 which he took to refer to the same events. But this last passage has not necessarily anything to do with the colonisation of Samaria. The Rabshakeh is there citing instances of towns which have fallen before Assyria, so that Hamath, Sepharvaim, and Ivvah (see AVVAH) are quite in place as being comparatively close at hand and therefore the more likely to appeal to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The redactor's view was doubtless based on a confusion of Sippar (in Babylonia) with Sepharvaim (in Syria): see SEPHARVAIM. From the biblical and the Assyrian accounts together we thus restore the history as follows: Shalmaneser besieged Samaria but died during the siege: Sargon took the city in 721, deported 27,290 of its inhabitants, and introduced in their place (? in 715) colonists from other conquered cities: in 720 the country had to be subdued again: later Ašur-bani-pal further colonised the country.

[1] Cp Winckler, *Alttest. Unt.* 97 *ff.*; also EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 9.

[2] Winckler, *Keilinschrift-texte Sargons*, 1 5 7 21.

The resulting population was called by the general name Samaritan. How far must it be considered

3a. Population. foreign (ἀλλογενής, Lk. 17 18)? The later Samaritans have always claimed very strongly to be בני ישראל, regarding Joseph especially as their ancestor (cp *Bĕrēshîth Rabbā*, § 94, on Gen. 46 13). On the other hand, the Jews deny them any right to the name of Israel, representing them as merely descendants of the Assyrian (Cuthæan) colonists. The truth lies midway. It is now generally admitted that the deportation under Sargon was not complete. A district so important as Samaria would not have been entirely depopulated by losing 27,290 of its inhabitants. (When a similar fate befel Judah, upwards of 200,000 went into captivity.) The number undoubtedly represents the persons of importance (including the priests), who alone were likely to be dangerous, whilst the poorer class were left as before and the inhabitants of the outlying towns and villages were probably hardly affected. This seems indeed to be definitely stated by Sargon, though the passage is not very clear. The account in 2 K. 17 is written from the Jewish point of view; but the real state of the case comes out in the later history—*e.g.*, when Josiah, a century afterwards, put down idolatry 'in the cities of Samaria' (2 K. 23 15 19 *f.*) obviously among Israelites (cp 2 Ch. 34 6 *f.*), and collected money for the repair of the temple from 'Manasseh and Ephraim, and of all the remnant of Israel' (*ib. v.* 9). There can hardly be a doubt that in Nehemiah's time, for example, the population of the district of Samaria consisted of the 'remnant of Israel' with an admixture of foreigners. What was the proportion of the two elements to one another cannot now be determined. Nor have we any means of knowing how far they were intermixed, and how far the colonists really adopted the religion of the 'God of the Land.' So long as the name 'Samaritan' meant only the inhabitant of Samaria and the surrounding country, it no doubt included all the mixed population; but when the name of the city was changed the term acquired a purely religious significance, and then probably denoted the descendants of the 'remnant' together with such of the colonists as had become proselytes and intermarried with Israel. But it was just this (perhaps slight) admixture which gave colour to the Jewish taunt implied by the term Cuthæan.

As to the early history of the Samaritan people, we have little information. We are indeed told in 2 K.

3b. History. 17 25 that the country was infested by lions (Jos. *Ant.* ix. 14 3, § 289, says a pestilence) and that the inhabitants in consequence made request to 'the king of Assyria' for a priest who was accordingly sent to 'teach them the manner of the god of the land.' Josephus says, 'some of the priests,' and it is probable that this was the original reading of 2 K. 17 27, since the text still preserves the strange plurals 'let *them* go and dwell' (וְיֵלְכוּ וְיֵשְׁבוּ). The idea is quite in keeping with the common view of a tutelary deity whose protection was necessary in his own land and whose power was connected with and restricted to it. Cp a similar incident in the story of Naaman, 2 K. 5 17. It is generally thought that this request could only have been made by the foreign colonists; but since the 'remnant' consisted of 'the poorer sort,' the people of the land (עַם הָאָרֶץ) who in Rabbinical literature are proverbially ignorant of the law, it is only natural that all alike should require a teacher who understood the technicalities of Yahwè-worship. So 'they feared Yahwè, and served their own gods (2 K. 17 33). However, the high-places which Josiah suppressed need not have been idolatrous: they may have been merely unauthorised Yahwè-shrines. That 'the remnant' joined with Judah in the use of the temple at Jerusalem at this period, may be inferred from 2 Ch. 34 9 and also from Jer. 41 5 where it is mentioned

that eighty men came 'from Shechem, from Shiloh, and from Samaria' to make their offerings there (cp SHECHEM, § 2, SHILOH, § 2). It is unlikely that these were apostate Jews: they can only have been Samaritans.

After another period of nearly a century, during which we have no information about the Samaritans, they are mentioned in the account of a return of Jews from Babylonia under Cyrus, when they ask to be allowed a share in the building of the new temple—a request which was refused (Ezra 4 5). It is usually considered that this refusal was the cause of a mutual estrangement and an implacable hatred between the two peoples. There can be little doubt, however, that the real cause was something deeper and went back farther than this mere incident. If we admit the presence of a strong Israelitish element in the Samaritan people, we shall not be far wrong in seeing here the old spirit of opposition between Israel and Judah, always ready to break out, which definitely asserted itself under Jeroboam,—the refusal to recognise Judah's claim to a hegemony, the revolt against centralisation. It was based on a difference of race, an incompatibility between N. and S., and was more political than religious. No reason is assigned for the refusal: the Jews do not charge their 'adversaries' with idolatry, nor even with heresy.[1] Indeed it would seem that Israel continued to be willing, and were allowed, even after this, to join in Jewish worship in Jerusalem, if Ezra 6 21 is to be so understood.

On the other hand the Jewish policy, while purely patriotic, was rigidly exclusive. It aimed at fixing the worship of Yahwè as the religion of Judah, purifying it from all foreign elements, and making Jerusalem its headquarters. Hence it was out of the question that they should allow the participation of a race whose devotion to Jewish ideals was open to suspicion and whose origin was perhaps mixed. The Jew could not risk contamination by having any dealings with the Samaritan; but, as we see from Ezra 6 21 and Jer. 41 4, there was no barrier of the kind on the Samaritan side. *Only when Judah, by refusing their help, proclaimed an* exclusive policy, did a political separation become inevitable, and it then became necessary for the Samaritans to pursue something of the same policy. No doubt, in their condition of social and religious disorganisation, the restoration of a Jewish state at Jerusalem appeared an imminent danger, and accordingly we find them endeavouring by truly Oriental intrigues to prevent first the building of the temple and afterwards the erection of the walls (Ezra 4 4 *ff.* Neh. 4 7 *ff.*); cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 10. In this they were unsuccessful, and matters must have continued in much the same state of political separation, with a good deal of individual intercourse, until the building of the temple on Mt. Gerizim, which made Shechem the religious centre of Samaria and finally rendered re-union impossible.[2] A sanctuary once established on their own sacred mountain, it became a point of honour to refuse to recognise the temple at Jerusalem. Of the Samaritan temple we have no mention in the OT, and the occasion and date of its erection are alike difficult to ascertain. According to Josephus (*Ant.* xi. 7 2, xi. 8 2) the satrap of Samaria under Darius Codomannus (336-330) was Sanballat, who gave his daughter in marriage to Manasseh, the brother of Jaddus the Jewish high priest. Manasseh was ordered by the elders and Jaddus either to give up his foreign wife or to renounce the priesthood, and thereby the possible succession to the office of high priest. He thereupon complained to Sanballat, who urged him to migrate to Samaria, promising to get him established there as high priest under state protection, and to build a temple. He was joined by other Jews who had foreign wives or were discontented with the reforms at Jerusalem, and the rival temple was ultimately built in 332 under the sanction of Alexander the Great. This account must however be received with caution.

Where Josephus differs from Nehemiah we so often find him to be in the wrong that his narrative is open to suspicion where we have no such check. In this instance, from whatever cause, he seems to be confused, and to place his account (which may very likely represent the facts) a century too late. After the enactments mentioned in Ezra 9 10 5 Neh. 10 31 13 23 28, it is improbable that foreign marriages would still be occurring in Jerusalem in 333.

On the other hand the story fits on very well to the events mentioned in Neh. 13 28, so that it would seem that Josephus confounds Darius Nothus with Codomannus and fills out his story accordingly. It is possible that he is following a trustworthy tradition in ascribing the foundation of the temple to the time of Alexander, and that he intentionally connects with it the story of Manasseh in order to cast discredit on the Samaritan religion as being founded by a renegade priest. Cp SANBALLAT. We may therefore put the secession of Manasseh soon after 432, and perhaps accept Josephus' account that the temple was built about 332.

The Temple continued to exist till 128 B.C. when it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus, in pursuance of the same exclusive policy noticed above. From the time of Alexander, Samaria shared the varying fortunes of its neighbours, gradually losing any political importance it ever possessed. A few events only need be mentioned. The city of Samaria was embellished by Herod the Great and renamed Sebaste in honour of Augustus. The temple on Mt. Gerizim was rebuilt by the Romans as a reward for Samaritan help in the suppression of Bar Kokhba's revolt. But such favourable treatment was not often received or deserved by them. After the national existence of Judah had been destroyed under Titus and Hadrian the animosity of the Samaritans turned towards the growing power and claims of the Christians. Their excesses were repressed by Justinian with a severity from which they never recovered.

During the middle ages only scattered notices of the Samaritans occur, and the native records are little more than lists of names. Colonies are mentioned by Benjamin of Tudela (died 1173) as living in several cities besides Nāblus (Shechem), and Obadiah of Bartinoro (*circa* 1487) speaks of them in Cairo. There certainly was a community in Damascus, and probably also in Cairo, as late as the seventeenth century. In more modern times communications were opened with them by Scaliger and continued by Huntington, Ludolf and others. At the present day the only remnant of them is at Nāblus (Shechem). They number about 120 persons, and 'the forty' (families) have become locally proverbial. According to a recent traveller attempts are being now made to save the tribe from extinction by encouraging intermarriages with the neighbouring Jewish families, but hitherto with little success, although no difficulty seems to be felt on religious grounds.

4a. Doctrine: books.

i. *Sacred books.*—The Samaritans are by no means a Jewish sect. Though they started from the same point the development of their respective systems has proceeded on independent, though naturally parallel, lines. Their only sacred book is the Pentateuch, of which they possess a recension agreeing essentially with the Jewish (Massoretic) text. (See TEXT AND VERSIONS, § 45.)

At what time they first received the Pentateuch cannot now be determined; but it is most natural to suppose that a copy (or copies) of the law would be carried by Manasseh to Samaria at the time of his migration thither. It is not probable that any but the priestly caste would possess, or would be allowed to possess, a copy of it at that time. If then Manasseh took with him a book of the law as part of his priestly equipment about 430, this would explain the fact that the Samaritans accepted it in its final form, which, according to modern criticism, had probably been attained about that date.

The reason why the Pentateuch alone of Jewish books was taken over is obvious. The Tōrāh is of the highest importance, not for its historical contents, but as containing practical rules for the ritual 'of the God of the land,' and the *hălākhāh* or regulations by which the daily 'walk' of Jew and Samaritan alike must be

[1] In Ezra 4 12 'to us' suggests that Samaritans had been accustomed to use Jerusalem as a sacred place before the return.

[2] [On the constitution of the Samaritan community see further Duhm's commentary on Isaiah (chaps. 56-66); Che. *Introd. Is.* 316 *f.*, 322, 364-374 385; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 25-68.]

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governed. These things alone are of vital importance; matters of faith and theoretical doctrine are secondary. Moreover, even among the Jews, the other books had not yet acquired the authority which they possessed at a later time. Having once accepted the Tōrāh, the Samaritans followed its injunctions with a rigidity recognised even by the Jews. For example, in Jn. 4 8 the disciples went into a Samaritan city to buy food, apparently as a matter of course, whilst the question in *v.* 9 probably refers to the asking of a *favour*, and the following comment is a later gloss. At a later time Jewish opinion became more hostile, and various charges were laid against them, mostly, it would seem, without foundation. 'He that eateth bread of a Cuthæan is as one that eateth swine's flesh.' They were accused of worshipping a dove and a god Ăshīmā. For the former there is no evidence, nor is it even probable from what we know of them otherwise; the latter is due to a malicious misunderstanding of the Samaritan pronunciation of שמא (*eshma*, 'the name') which they everywhere substitute for יהוה, just as the Jews read ארני (and earlier השם), from motives of reverence. But while holding closely to the Levitical law as the one thing needful, the Samaritans did develop theoretical doctrine, based upon the Tōrāh, if not derived from it. The earliest evidence for anything of the kind is contained in Jn. 4.

4*b*. Eschatology.

ii. *Eschatology.*—The belief in a Messiah is already established, in Jn. 4, and from later Samaritan sources we now know its character.

The Messiah is called תהבה, the Tāhēb, a term variously explained to mean 'he who returns' or (more probably) 'he who restores,' and the belief is founded on Dt. 18 15. He will bring to an end the period of Fanūta (פנותה), which has lasted since the schism of Eli who removed the tabernacle to Shiloh, and, as the name probably implies, he will restore the period of grace (*riḍwān*, רחותה) with the tabernacle and the worship of the Lord on Mt. Gerizim, as well as the temporal prosperity of the nation, after which he will die.

The chief external information on such points is in the writings of the Christian fathers, who assert that the Samaritans did not believe in angels, the resurrection, or a future life. These statements are due partly to a confusion, and partly to a disregard of the development of theological speculation, since we know from native sources that all these doctrines were held at least from the fourth century onward. Nevertheless the patristic account very probably rests on a basis of genuine tradition.

If the Samaritans acquired their law and their priestly system about 430 B.C., they no doubt took over with them the set of beliefs current at the time in Jerusalem. But in the fifth century B.C. Jewish theology was not concerned with eschatological doctrines, or at any rate had never formulated them, and the Samaritans, being essentially conservative, probably developed doctrine more slowly than the progressive Pharisaic party in Judæa. (Cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 45.)

The native literature, from which alone we can safely judge of the beliefs of the Samaritans, begins only in the fourth century A.D., and we then find them in full possession of those doctrines which the Christian fathers denied to them. It would therefore seem that the patristic account perpetuates a tradition which had once been correct but had ceased to be so. In the liturgies frequent references are made to the Tāhēb. Closely connected with that belief is the doctrine of the final judgment, which shall be after the death of the Tāhēb, when the righteous shall go into the garden of Eden, and the wicked be burned with fire.

The full expression is יום נקם ושלם (sometimes יום דינה רבה) derived from Dt. 32 35, where the Samaritan text reads ליום for the Massoretic לי. The character of the future life to be enjoyed by the righteous is not further described. It would seem that the condition of the dead in the interval between the present time and the final judgment is capable of alteration, since prayers are offered on their behalf.

4*c*. Angels.

With regard to the belief in angels the case is quite as clear. It has often been said that angels were considered merely as aspects of the divine energy, *virtutes dei*, and this view was supported with much ingenuity by Reland. It is indeed true that such apparent abstractions as כבודה and טובה are often mentioned; but there can be no reasonable doubt that these were considered as the names of real persons, nor have we any ground for supposing the Samaritan mind capable of any more abstract conception. In their Targum an angel is regularly introduced instead of the name of God wherever it is possible so to avoid anthropomorphism. Man is formed in the image of the angels, and it is an angel who spoke with Moses from the bush. This is only one instance, out of many, of their spiritual conception of God. He is eternal, without beginning, without a companion. He uttered a word without a mouth and the world was created from nothing. He rested on the seventh day, but not from weariness. Possibly owing to the unapproachable attributes of God we find prayers offered through the mediation of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Joseph, the seventy elders, the holy angels, and more especially of Moses. Thus the development of Samaritan theology corresponds in the main with the development of Jewish belief, by which, no doubt, it was in some respects influenced.

4*d*. Gerizim.

iii. *Mt. Gerizim.*—The essential points of difference were with regard to Moses and Mt. Gerizim. Moses is the only prophet and apostle of God, of miraculous birth, destined from the creation to reveal the law to Israel. In Dt. 34 10 the Samaritans read לא יקום for לא קם, and on this ground admit no later prophets. From the Jewish point of view the most insurmountable difference was the Samaritan reverence for Mt. Gerizim. It is called the 'blessed mountain,' 'the house of God,' and is regarded as the place which Yahwè chose to place his name there.

On Gerizim are still shown the sites of the altars built by Adam and Seth, the altar built by Noah after the flood, and the altar on which Abraham was about to sacrifice Isaac. A few yards off was the thicket in which the ram was caught, and on this spot afterwards stood the Holy of Holies of the Samaritan temple. On Gerizim, too, are the stones brought up from the Jordan whereon Joshua wrote the words of the law (Dt. 27 4, Gerizim being read for Ebal), and there are still celebrated the most sacred rites of the community.

4*e*. Institutions.

iv. *Priesthood and festivals.*—The priestly family of the house of Aaron died out in 1624 A.D., and the office is now held by Levites of a younger branch, who do not bear the title of 'high priest' (כהנה רבה). The festivals observed are the same as those of the Jews in so far as they are authorised by the Pentateuch. They do not therefore keep Purim, nor any of the later and more specially Jewish ceremonies, such as Ḥănukkah or the 9th of Ab. Half-yearly, sixty days before Passover and Tabernacles respectively, they keep the assembly (צמות, also an astronomical term, 'conjunction') of those feasts, when every man pays to the priest a half shekel, and a calendar for the ensuing six months is fixed. The Passover is still celebrated by the offering of sacrifice on Mt. Gerizim. The whole congregation assembles before dawn at the door of the synagogue, and then proceeds in pilgrimage (the meaning they attach to the term חג, ḥajj) up the mountain, where specially selected lambs are sacrificed, baked entire for some hours in a hole in the ground, and then, at sunset (בין הערבים), eaten in haste. Then follow the seven days of unleavened bread, on the last of which they again make the pilgrimage. The day of Pentecost is kept as the anniversary of the giving of the law. For these, as well as for New Year, the day of Atonement, the feast of Tabernacles, and many minor occasions, there are special services, besides the ordinary prayers for Sabbath. There are also services for circumcision (which must be performed on the eighth day, even though it be a Sabbath), for marriage, and for burial.

With regard to the sects alleged to have existed among the Samaritans, it is impossible to arrive at any certain facts. The accounts are confused, and there seems to be no mention of them in the native literature.

The native literature naturally centres in the one sacred book, the Pentateuch, which has been preserved, as mentioned above, in a recension agreeing in all essentials with the MT. It first became known in Europe from a copy brought, together with the Targum, from Damascus by the great traveller Pietro della Valle in 1616, and now preserved in the Vatican library. The text was published in the *Paris Polyglott* from which it was afterwards copied by Walton, and its variations from the MT gave rise to the keenest controversy. The question is by no means settled yet, nor can it be so until we have a thoroughly critical edition of the text. The many passages in which the Samaritan agrees with the Septuagint against the Massoretic, show that a study of it is important. The MSS are many, mostly dated, but not of great age.

5a. Literature: Torah and Targum.

The copy in the synagogue at Nāblus is regarded with great veneration as having been written by Abisha the great-grandson of Aaron, thirteen years after the entry into Canaan. No scholar has ever had the opportunity of examining it with a view to determining its date; but there are no reasons for supposing that it is much older than the twelfth or thirteenth century, about which time its 'invention' is chronicled by Abulfatḥ.

Several translations of the Pentateuch were made.

1. Perhaps it was translated into Greek. τὸ Σαμαρειτικόν is quoted by the early fathers; but we have no certain information about it, and cannot even say whether it was a distinct version or whether the citations of it are only a loose way of citing the Sam.-Hebrew text.

2. It was translated into Samaritan proper, or Aramaic. The most noticeable feature of this Targum is its frequently close resemblance to Onkelos. Until this fact has been thoroughly investigated the most reasonable explanation of it seems to be that both Targums go back to an oral tradition current in Palestine at the time when Aramaic was the common language of the people, and that they were subsequently reduced to writing independently, and with local variations, in Samaria (probably in the 4th cent. A.D.) and in Babylon. It was brought to Europe, as mentioned above, in 1616, and first printed in the *Paris Polyglott.* MSS of it are very scarce, since the language died out before the eleventh century, and copies were no longer multiplied.

For the same reason the text has suffered much corruption and is by no means yet definitely settled even in the best edition. In character the Aramaic translation is very literal; it very carefully avoids anthropomorphisms. It seems to be by several hands, and to have received interpolations at a later period. These and the corruptions of copyists are, according to the latest researches, responsible for most of the enigmatical words formerly supposed to be specially Samaritan.

3. The origin of the translation into Arabic is obscure. It was perhaps made by Abulḥasan of Tyre in the eleventh century, and revised early in the thirteenth century by Abu Said. There are many good MSS of it. The translator apparently made use of the Jewish Arabic version by Saadiah Gaon.

The Chronicles which have come down to us are: (1) A Book of Joshua, in Arabic, giving the history of Israel (*i.e.*, the Samaritans) from the time of Joshua to the fourth century A.D. It is a compilation, dating perhaps from the thirteenth century. As history its value is very small, since it consists mostly of fabulous stories of the deeds of Joshua, whilst its later chronology is of the wildest. (2) El-Tōlīdeh, in Samaritan-Hebrew with an Arabic translation. It contains the history (or rather annals) from Adam to the present time. The original part of it is ascribed to Eleazar b. Amram in the middle of the twelfth century, and it has been carried on by various writers from time to time. The history, if used with caution, is generally trustworthy, especially for the period just preceding the date of each several author. (3) The chronicle of Abulfatḥ written, in Arabic, in 1355 A.D., is a compilation from earlier works. By a comparison of these two (El-tōlīdeh and Abulfatḥ) it is possible to arrive at a tolerably trustworthy account of the Samaritan families in the Middle Ages. Of commentaries and theological works there is a considerable number in MS; but very little has been published.

5b. Chronicles.

One of the most interesting is a fragment on Genesis by an unknown author, in Arabic, remarkable as quoting from many books of the OT and from the Mishna. A commentary by Marḳah on the Pentateuch survives in a late but apparently unique MS in Berlin, and is linguistically important as being composed in the Samaritan dialect of which there are few specimens outside the Targum. Others are, a book of legends of Moses in Arabic, and a commentary by Ibrahim 'of the sons of Jacob,' from which extracts have been given by Geiger.

The liturgies form a very large and important branch of the literature. The earliest pieces which can be dated with any certainty, are those of Marḳah and Amram, composed in Aramaic in the fourth century A.D. at the instance of Baba Rabba, a sheikh of some eminence in his time, who, according to El-Tōlīdeh, restored the services of the synagogue. These are called *par excellence* the Defter or 'book.' The later portions are in Samaritan-Hebrew mostly of the fourteenth and subsequent centuries down to the present time. MSS of the later liturgies are very numerous.

5c. Liturgies, etc.

Finally, there are several letters in existence, written by Samaritans to scholars in Europe. The first of these, in 1589, was an answer to one from Jos. Scaliger; others were addressed to Huntington, Ludolf, De Sacy, Kautzsch (in 1884), and recently to the present writer.

The Samaritan language proper is a dialect of Western Aramaic as commonly spoken in Palestine, and is found in the Targum and in the earlier liturgies. It may best be compared with the Aramaic of the Jerusalem Talmud, and with Palestinian Syriac. The 'Cuthæan' words formerly supposed to be found in it, have been shown by Kohn to be mostly corruptions of good Aramaic forms. The native dialect probably began to be supplemented by Arabic soon after the Mohammedan conquest of Syria, and was no longer commonly understood in the tenth century, although used for ritual purposes. From that time onward Arabic has been the language used both in ordinary life and for literary purposes. The later liturgies, however (and the letters), are written in a corrupt Hebrew.

5d. Language.

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ix. *Catalogues of Manuscripts:* for the Bodleian Library see in the Oriental Catalogue of Uri, with the corrections in pt. ii. by Nicoll and Pusey, and in Neubauer's *Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS*, 1886. For the British Museum, G. Margoliouth's *Descriptive List of the Hebrew and Sam. MSS*, 1893 (the full catalogue is in progress). For Paris [Zotenberg's] *Catalogue des MSS Heb. et Sam.* [Paris, 1866]. For St. Petersburg, Harkavy's *Opisanie samarityanskikh rukopisei*, 1875 (vol. ii. pt. i. of the *Catalog d. hebr. u. sam. Handschriften*, dealing with the Pentateuch MSS, text and targum. In Russian).

A. E. C.

SAMATUS (ϲαματοϲ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9_{34} = Ezra 10_{42} SHALLUM, 12.

SAMEIUS, RV **Sameus** (ϲαμαιοϲ [A]) 1 Esd. 9_{21} = Ezra 10_{21} SHEMAIAH, 18.

SAMELLIUS (ϲαμελλιοϲ [B]) 1 Esd. 2_{16} RV = Ezra 4_{8} SHIMSHAI.

SAMGAR-NEBO (סַמְגַּר־נְבוֹ with Bä., Gins., not ס׳־נבו; ϲαμαγωθ [Bℵ], -γαθ [A], -δ [Q], -ρ [Q^mg.]), apparently a Babylonian name (Jer. 39_{3}). According to Schrader the words are Hebraised from *šumgir-nabû*, 'be gracious, Nebo' (*KAT*(2), 416); but Giesebrecht conjectures a corruption of שַׂר מג, *šar-mag*, equivalent to רב מג, *rab-mag*, which implies virtual dittography. 𝔊 connects *ναβου* with the following name (see SARSECHIM).

The truth, however, probably is, that the editor had a corrupt text before him, and tried in vain to make Babylonian names out of the false readings. נבו might come from נֹדָב, NODAB (*q.v.*); סמגר from [ס]רסכם. SARSECHIM (*q.v.*) was therefore written twice over, and once it has taken the place of שַׂר (before נדב). Read therefore 'and the prince of Nodab' (one of the Jeraḥmeelite princes in the army of king Nebuchadrezzar, at least, if some other name—not Babylonian—does not underlie 'Nebuchadrezzar'). See NERGAL-SHAREZER. T. K. C.

SAMI, RV **Sabi** (ϲαβει [A], om. B) 1 Esd. 5_{28} = Ezra 2_{42} SHOBAI.

SAMIS (ϲομεειϲ [BA]) 1 Esd. 9_{34} = Ezra 10_{38}, SHIMEI, 16.

SAMLAH (שַׂמְלָה, in Gen. ϲαλαμα [A], ϲαμαλα [*D*], αδαμα, ϲαλμα [E]), ϲαμλα [L]; in Ch. ϲαμαα [A; B in *v.* 51], ϲαβαα [L]); the fifth Edomite king, Gen. 36_{36} *f.* 1 Ch. 1_{47} *f.* See MASREKAH. The evidence offered by Prof. Sayce (*Hibb. Lect.* 54, n.) for a connection between Samlah and Semele is unsound (cp Tiele, *Th. T*, 1890, p. 96). Beyond reasonable doubt we should read Salmah (see SALMAH, and SOLOMON, § 1). Was this king of the Salmæan race?

T. K. C.

SAMMUS (ϲαμμουϲ [A] -ου [B]) 1 Esd. 9_{43} = Neh. 8_{4}, SHEMA.

SAMOS (ϲαμοϲ, 1 Macc. 15_{23} Acts 20_{15}). The third in size of the four large islands (Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Cos) which lie off the western coast of Asia Minor, all appearing in the narrative of Paul's journeys.

1. Geography and history.

Samos lies at the mouth of the bay of Ephesus, into which the Cayster flows, and so midway between Ephesus and Miletus by the sea route. It gained its name from the line of 'lofty broken summits' (so described by Tozer, *Islands of the Ægean*, 157 *f.*) running from E. to W. through the island; for the name Samos means 'height' (Str. 346, *σάμους ἐκάλουν τὰ ὕψη*. Cp *id.* 457, and see SAMOTHRACE). The highest point, Mt. *Kerki* (anc. Kerketeus) is 4725 ft. high, a conspicuous feature from all the surrounding islands. Between the eastern extremity of the island (Cape *Colonna*, anc. Poseidium) and the long well-wooded ridge of Mycale on the mainland (Herod. 1_{148}) there is a narrow 'marine pass' about one mile in width; this strait was the scene of the Greek victory over the Persian fleet and army in 479 B.C. (Herod. 9_{100} *f.*).

The Samians at an early period were distinguished for their maritime enterprise (cp Paus. vi. 2_{9}); it was a Samian who first ventured through the pillars of Herakles into the western ocean (Herod. 4_{152}; cp Thuc. 1_{13}; Plin. *HN* 7_{57}). Samian power and splendour reached their highest pitch under the so-called tyrant Polycrates (*c.* 533-522 B.C.) who made the island for a short time the mistress of the eastern Ægean. At this period Samos had extensive commercial relations with Egypt (Herod. 2_{178}). She produced oil in abundance; but her wine was not of the best quality (Str. 637). Her trade was largely in pottery (cp Plin. *HN* 35_{46}, *Samia in esculentis laudantur*).[1] Many Jews resided in the island (1 Macc. 15_{23}); and they, and the Samians generally, enjoyed the liberality of Herod the Great, who with Agrippa was in the island in 14 A.D. (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2_{2}; *BJ* i. 21_{11}, *τὰς εἰς Λυκίους ἢ Σαμίους δωρεάς*). In Paul's time Samos was a *libera civitas* (Plin. *HN* 5_{37}; Dio Cass. 54_{9}) in the Province of Asia by the favour of Augustus; Vespasian deprived it of this privilege (Suet. *Vesp.* 8).

The island and its chief town bore the same name. The town (now *Tigani*) lay on the SE. shore, whereas the modern capital, *Vathy*, is on the N. of the island. The question of the meaning of the word in the account of Paul's voyage is difficult (cp the case of Chios, Acts 20_{15}).

2. NT reference.

In neither case apparently did the ship stop at the town or its harbour itself, nor did Paul land. 'The ship evidently stopped every evening. The reason lies in the wind, which in the Ægean during the summer generally blows from the N., beginning at a very early hour in the morning; in the late afternoon it dies away; at sunset there is a dead calm, and thereafter a gentle S. wind arises and blows during the night' (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 293). It stopped at a point opposite Chios (*κατηντήσαμεν ἄντικρυς Χίου*, 'came . . . over against,' EV), *i.e.*, probably in the strait between Chios the capital of the island, and Cape Argennum on the opposite mainland. Next morning they struck across to Samos making a course either E. of S., to the western extremity of that island, by the *Great Boghaz* (so Ramsay, *l.c.*), or more easterly across the Caystrian Bay to the eastern extremity of the island, so as to pass through the *Little Boghaz* or strait of Mycale. In either case, the failure of the breeze from the N. found them at Trogyllium (the reference to which should undoubtedly be retained from DHLP: see TROGYLLIUM), and there is no need to understand Samos to be the *town*, and not rather the island merely; for the Greek word translated 'arrived

[1] Cp Vulg. in Is. 45_{9}, testa de Samiis terræ.

at' (παρεβάλομεν, so AV; 'touched at,' RV) does not necessarily imply stoppage or landing at the harbour of Samos. Probably it was this erroneous idea that was largely responsible for the omission of the reference to Trogyllium; for the distance between the town of Samos and the anchorage of Trogyllium (5 m., according to Strabo 636) is too small to make a distinct stage of the voyage. It ought, however, to be noticed that μείναντες need not be restricted to spending the night at anchor, but might indicate a short stop occurring during the final run between Samos and Miletus; but the order of the words seems to be opposed to that interpretation.
W. J. W.

SAMOTHRACE RV, AV **Samothracia** (ϹΑΜΟΘΡΑΚΗ, Acts 16 11). The two conspicuous features of the Thracian sea are Mt. Athos and the island of Samothrace. The island is described as a 'huge boulder planted in the sea,' towering above Imbros and conspicuous from the Thracian and the Asiatic shore.

Homer, who calls the island the 'Thracian Samos,' describes the seat of Poseidon on its topmost peak overlooking 'all Ida, with the city of Priam and the ships of the Achæans' (*Il.* 13 12, ὑψοῦ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης κορυφῆς Σάμου ὑλῃέσσης Θρηϊκίης κ.τ.λ. cp Verg. *Æn.* 7 208, *Threiciamque Samum, quæ nunc Samothracia fertur*; Strabo, 331, frg. 50, ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ἡ Σαμοθρᾴκη Σάμος πρίν).[1]

So excellent a sailing-mark, placed also at a convenient distance in the passage from the Asiatic to the Thracian and Macedonian shores was certain to arrest attention. The ship in which Paul sailed from Troas (Acts 16 11) 'ran before the wind' (εὐθυδρομήσαμεν, 'came with [RV 'made'] a straight course') to the island, passing probably to the E. of Imbros, in order to avoid the *Mythonaës* reef which lies off the coast of Lemnos. Although the island possesses several good anchorages, it has no good harbour (*vel importuosissima omnium*, is its description by Plin. *HN* 4 23). The safest landing-place is near the promontory *Acroteri* at the western end of the island, and there was probably the ancient anchorage Demetrion, in which Paul's vessel may have spent the night at anchor. The old capital (now *Palæopoli*) is on the northern side. The voyage to Macedonia thus occupied two days (*v.* 11), whereas the reverse journey on a subsequent occasion took five days (Acts 20 6).

In history Samothrace is chiefly famous as the main seat of the worship of the Cabiri and the religious mysteries connected therewith. The Cabiri were known to the Greeks as 'the Great Gods,' and were probably pre-Hellenic and in the main of Semitic origin. Their worship was of great celebrity and lasted to a very late time. Both Philip of Macedon and his wife Olympias were initiated into the Cabiri mysteries (Plut. *Alex.* 2). After Delos, Samothrace numbered more votaries than any other spot in the Ægean (see Herod. 2 51; Aristoph. *Pax*, 277; Tac. *Ann.* 2 54). The cult was in full vigour in Paul's time. It was owing to its celebrity that Samothrace, which belonged to the Thracian kingdom, became a free state when Thrace was reduced to a province in 46 A.D. by Claudius (cp Tac. *Hist.* 1 11).

Literature.—Conze, Hauser, and Niemann, *Archäologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* (Vienna, 1875 *ff.*); Conze, *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* (1860). Popular account in Tozer, *Islands of the Ægean*, 310 *f.* W. J. W.

SAMPSAMES (ϹΑΜΨΑΚΗ [A], ϹΑΜΨΑΜΗ [ℵV], *lampsaco* [whence EV^mg. LAMPSACUS], *samsamæ* [Vg.]) a locality mentioned first in a list of peoples and countries in 1 Macc. 15 23. According to Grimm, identical with Samsun, which is described by Abulfeda as lying on the Black Sea between Trebizond and Sinope. But some better known people or place is surely meant. The reading σαμψακη (cp Vet. Lat.) is almost certainly an intentional corruption arising from the difficulty felt in identifying Sampsame (so, rather than Sampsames).

[1] Samos = height: cp Strabo, 346, σάμους ἐκάλουν τὰ ὕψη. The word is of Semitic origin. The Samothracian coins are all subsequent to the time of Alexander. On an imperial coin of Hadrian occurs the remarkable inscription Σαμίων ἐν Θράκῃ. On some the fore-part of a ram, or a ram's head, occurs, a symbol of the cult of lower-world divinities of a pre-Hellenic type. See Head, *Hist. Numm.* 226.

SAMSON (שִׁמְשׁוֹן, *Šimšôn*, *i.e.*, 'solar'; the MT pronunciation is not so old as that of 𝔊, ϹΑΜΨΩΝ [BAL]; cp *Šamšânu* [Hilprecht]).

1. Story of Samson. The great enemy of the Philistines is reckoned as one of the judges of Israel in two editorial notes which belong to the chronological scheme of the book of Judges (15 20 [see Budde's note], 16 31); but this view is not that of the story of Samson itself. The story of Samson is a self-contained narrative by a single hand (Judg. 13 2-16 31*a*; see, however, § 3) and represents Samson not as a judge but as a popular hero of vast strength and sarcastic humour, who has indeed been consecrated from his birth as the deliverer of Israel, and is not unaware of his vocation, but still is inspired by no serious religious or patriotic purpose, and becomes the enemy of the Philistines only from personal motives of revenge, the one passion which is stronger in him than the love of women. In his life, and still more in his death, he inflicts great injury on the oppressors of Israel; but he is never the head of a national uprising against them, nor do the Israelites receive any real deliverance at his hands. The story of his exploits is plainly taken from the mouths of the people, and one is tempted to conjecture that originally his Nazirite vow was conceived simply as a vow of revenge, which is the meaning it would have in an Arab story. Our narrator, however, conceives Samson's life as a sort of prelude to the work of Saul (13 5), and brings out its religious and national significance in this respect in the opening scene (chap. 13), which is closely parallel to the story of Gideon, and in the tragic close (chap. 16); whilst yet the character of Samson, who generally is quite forgetful of his mission, remains much as it had been shaped in rude popular tale in a circle which, like Samson himself, was but dimly conscious of the national and religious vocation of Israel.

Though the name means 'solar,'[1] neither name nor story lends any solid support to Steinthal's idea that the hero is nothing but a solar myth (cp Wellh. *CH* 229 *f.* [and GASm. *HG* 222 *f.*; Wellhausen, whilst he rejects Steinthal's myth theory, also denies Samson's historical character]). He is a member of an undoubtedly historical family of those Danites who had their standing camp near ZORAH, not far from the Philistine border, before they moved north and seized Laish (cp 13 25 with 18 8 11 *f.*). The family of MANOAH (*q.v.*) had a hereditary sepulchre at Zorah, where Samson was said to lie (16 31), and their name continued to be associated with Zorah even after the exile, when it appears that the MANAHETHITES of Zorah were reckoned as Calebites. The name had remained though the race changed (1 Ch. 2 52 54). The narrative of Samson's marriage and riddle is of peculiar interest as a record of manners; specially noteworthy is the custom of the wife remaining with her parents after marriage (cp Gen. 2 24). See KINSHIP, § 8, and DAN, § 3.

After all has been said, the probability of mythic *elements* remains. When we consider the great sus-

2. Mythic elements. ceptibility of the Jews in later times for a folklore containing features of mythic origin, it is intrinsically probable that the beliefs of the early Israelites were also affected by mythology. That this is so in the case of the Samson-story seems likely, if the present text is on the whole correct (cp § 4). If the hero's name was really Samson, and if in the neighbourhood commonly con-

[1] It is worth noting that Samson's tribe or clan bears a name (Dan, *i.e.*, judge) which belongs specially to the Assyrian sun-god, and that there is Egyptian evidence for the existence of a place called Šamšan in the neighbourhood of the southern Dan. See BETH-SHEMESH, 1.

nected with Samson there was really a Canaanitish sanctuary called Beth-shemesh (but known perhaps, as Budde conjectures, in earlier times as Bit-Ninib; see HERES, MOUNT), we may venture to infer the existence of a primitive solar myth. In short, we may in this case surmise that there may have been a solar hero analogous to Gilgameš,[1] who bore the name or title Šamšân, which ultimately attached itself to some real or imagined champion of the Danites, or even of the people of Israel against Philistine oppression. Some of the exploits of the legendary Samson may also have affinities with nature myths; but nature myths had become no more than 'fairy tales' by the time they supplied details to the plastic imagination of the people.

See Steinthal's essay on Samson (1862), translated in Goldziher's *Hebrew Mythology* (by R. Martineau), 392-446, also Goldziher's remarks, pp. 21 *f.*, Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 14-6 72-75 (1898), and references in Moore's commentary, and cp Budde, *Das Buch der Richter*, 109, Van Doorninck, *Th.T*, 1894, pp. 14-32, 1896, pp. 162-167. For mythic elements, see also HERES [MOUNT], JAWBONE, CUTTINGS OF THE FLESH (§ 3), HAIR (§ 2), and cp BEE, FOX, EN-HAKKORE, LEHI, SHARUHEN.

3. A national champion?

Robertson Smith's view that the Samson-story forms a single narrative would perhaps have been modified by him, had he been able to take his part in current debates. It is very possible that the narrative is of composite origin, and that in one of its forms it represented the hero as a national champion. It is true, Moore (*Judges*, 313) contrasts the 'solitary hero' Samson who 'in his own quarrel, single-handed, makes havoc among the Philistines' with Ehud, Deborah and Barak, Gideon, and Jephthah, 'who, at the head of their tribesmen, "turned to flight the armies of the aliens," and delivered their countrymen.' But according to Budde (*Richter*, 92 [1897]), each of the two great sources or strata of early tradition had a national champion: the S. Israelitish source (J) Samson the Danite; the N. Israelitish source (E) Samuel the Ephraimite. Samuel in J (1 S. 9 *f.*) is only Yahwè's messenger to Saul; in the war of liberation he plays no part. In a similar case (Judg. 4; Jabin and Sisera) the redactor effected a fusion of kindred narratives; in the case of the two Samson stories he preserved the individuality of each. Budde also thinks that there were two forms of the Yahwistic story of Samson (J_1 and J_2) which a redactor harmonised. See further, JUDGES [BOOK], and Van Doorninck, *l.c.*; also SHAMMAH, SHAMGAR (the legends of Samson present points of contact with the legends of these heroes).

4. New hypothesis.

Whilst granting that the Samson-legends as we now have them seem to present 'motives' derived from a solar myth, the present writer cannot any longer admit that there were such mythic elements in the original legend of the Danite deliverer.

1. That the *scene* of the legends has been shifted, and that as a consequence the *name* of the hero has undergone modification, seems for several reasons highly probable. A close examination of the text may convince us that this has occurred in other stories in the Book of Judges; indeed warning is already given in Judg. 3 3, if the nations by which Israel was to be 'proved' are catalogued, according to a very probable restoration of the text, as 'the five princes (read רוזני) of the Zarephathites, and all the Kenizzites, and the Misrites, and the Horites that dwell in the mountains of Jerahmeel unto the entrance of Maacath.' The first heroic impulses, we are told in 13 25, came to Samson 'in Mahaneh-dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol.' But the original text may have said, 'between Miṣṣur and Eshtaol,' while for MAHANEH-DAN (*q.v.*), we should read 'Manaḥath-dan'; see 1 Ch. 2 52-54, where the Chronicler, like modern critics, is puzzled at the combination of Manaḥath-dan both with Zorah and Eshtaol and (see Judg. 18 11 *f.*) with Kirjath-jearim; the present writer believes that Kirjath-jearim is simply a corruption of Kirjath-jeraḥmeel, and that all the places referred to lay near together in the Negeb. According to his theory the Negeb was always a 'bone of contention' between the Zarephathites (Philistines) or Jeraḥmeelites (Arammites or Amorites) and the Israelites. The Israelite champion known to us as Samson was known to the earliest narrator only as a Cushamite. There was in fact another place in the Negeb of even more importance than either Miṣṣur or Eshtaol—viz., Cusham. Often its true name is (through a faulty geographical theory) disguised as SHECHEM (*q.v.*, 2); but sometimes (*e.g.*, 1 S. 6 9 *ff.*) as 'Beth-shemesh' (from Beth-cusham[1]). A similar corruption or distortion has occurred in the personal name Shimshai, which comes from 'Cusham.' See, further, SHIMSHAI.

2. To the question, Did the early legend of the Cushamite deliverer present mythic motives? we reply in the negative for two reasons. (*a*) The mythic 'motives' discovered by Winckler in the legends of the other judges rest, according to our theory, upon a precarious textual basis; and (*b*), not only the name Samson but also the story of the foxes, and that of the jawbone, explained by Steinthal and Stucken as mythological, are, we suspect, really based on corruptions of the text of the written story which lay before the narrator.[2] See *Crit. Bib.*

W. R. S. (§ 1); T. K. C. (§§ 2-4).

SAMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, §§ 21, 39, ϲαμογηλ [BℵAQRTL]). I. A prophet, or rather seer, who attained distinction in the period of Israel's transition to regal government.

1. Name.

Narratives respecting Samuel are contained in 1 S. 1 1-16 13 19 18-24 25 1. He is also mentioned in Jer. 15 1 (not 𝔊^A) Ps. 99 6 1 Ch. 10 13 (𝔊 not MT) 6 28 [13] 33 [18] 9 22 11 3 26 28 29 29 2 Ch. 35 18.

On the etymology, see SAUL, § 1; SHEMUEL; SHEM (NAMES WITH). The two etymologies 'asked of God' (1 S. 1 20) and 'lent to God' (*v.* 28) come from the narrators and have only the value of popular etymologies. This is too clear for any trained biblical scholar to deny (see Dr. *TBS* 13 *f.*).

2. Oldest traditions.

1 S. 1 1-16 13 has the appearance of forming a connected account of Samuel. A closer examination, however, shows that this section contains very inconsistent elements. The narratives have been put together from different sources, two of which (the parallel reports fused together in 1 S. 4 1*b*-7 1) make no mention of Samuel, and they have received their present form by a complicated process of redaction. The inconsistencies which they present are to be explained by the transformation which the traditional picture of Samuel experienced in connection with the development of religious ideas in Israel and in the Jewish community. This transformation is no isolated phenomenon. In many another people a variation in the national and religious ideals has produced a corresponding change in the picture of the old national heroes. Since life means continual change, the great men of a people can live on only through a constant modification of the forms which they wear in memory.

The oldest notices of Samuel occur in the section 1 S. 9 10 1-16 13 1 7*a* 16-18 23 14 1-46 (see SAMUEL [BOOKS], § 3). Samuel is there represented as a seer (רֹאֶה), who at the same time officiates as a priest on the *bāmāh* ('high place') of a small country-town in the 'land of Zuph' (9 5)—*i.e.*, the district inhabited by the clan so called. [Cp PROPHET, § 5.]

The name of the town is not given, from which Budde (*ZATW* 8 225) infers that it was certainly not Ramah, which is the name given in the later narratives. But what can have induced later writers to place Samuel's dwelling in Ramah, unless this were the view of the older tradition? For we find other places (Gilgal, Mizpah, Bethel) mentioned as the scenes of his official activity.

At any rate Samuel is a much respected seer, whose predictions are thoroughly trustworthy; but his reputation is only local, for Saul, who dwells at Gibeah in Benjamin, is unacquainted with him, and has his attention called to him for the first time by his servant. The story of the meeting of Samuel and Saul is well known. Saul was in quest of the lost she-asses of his father, and his servant wished him to fee the man of God to tell them where to go. Samuel on his side was already expecting the visitor. He knew by revelation that the destined ruler of Israel would be sent to him, and after announcing to Saul his high destiny, he specified three

[1] See CAINITES, and cp Jastrow, *RBA*, 471.

[1] Cp Shaalabbim or SHAALBIM (near 'Zorah') from Beth-Ishmaelim.

[2] In Judg. 15 4 וַיִּלְכֹּד שְׁלֹשׁ־מֵאוֹת שׁוּעָלִים should be וַיַּךְ יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים; the continuation is given in *v.* 8*a*, which should run ויך אותם [כוש ירחמאל]; 'Cush' and 'Jerahmeel' are glosses. On 'Lehi,' 'Ramath-lehi,' and 'En-hakkore' in *vv.* 9 19, see LEHI. Similar corruptions abound; see, *e.g.*, SODOM, § 6, n. (correction of Gen. 14 14).

striking experiences which he would have as he returned home. These were to be the sign of the truth of the announcement. Not long after, the first exploit of Saul marked him out to the people as their king (1 S. 11). The narrative contains two mentions of Samuel; but the words 'and after Samuel' in *v.* 7 and the whole of *vv.* 12-14 are later insertions. Saul and the people are the two parties in the great ceremony whereby Saul is made king 'before Yahwè' at Gilgal.

3. Later traditions. The later strata in the Book of Samuel are distinguished from this old tradition by the increased importance which they attribute to Samuel. They represent him, not as a seer of merely local reputation, but as an authority for the whole of Israel; and, so far as they have not a deuteronomic colouring, they regard him as a prophet (נָבִיא). We turn first to the two narratives in (*a*) 1 S. 1 1-28 2 11-26 3 1-20 (transpose *v.* 20 and *v.* 21; see 𝔊), and (*b*) chap. 15. The former describes the youth of Samuel, bringing him into connection with the old sanctuary at Shiloh. He was the son of the Ephraimite (or, more precisely, the Zuphite)[1] Elkanah and of his favourite wife Hannah, who had long been childless, and had vowed to give the son who might be born to her to Yahwè (1 S. 1 11).[2] He grew up at Shiloh, where he acted as Eli's minister, and became the true heir of Eli's spirit, the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, being worldly and degenerate. While still young he learned by revelation the impending fall of the house of Eli, and afterwards he became known as a prophet whose words came true, 'from Dan even to Beersheba.'

The narratives in (*b*) regard Samuel as a prophet whose home was in Ramah. The command to exterminate the Amalekites was transmitted by him to Saul, who obeyed, but, in violation of the ban (*ḥērem*; see BAN), spared the Amalekite king (see AGAG) and the best of the animals taken. A revelation then came to Samuel to the effect that Yahwè repented that he had made Saul king. The prophet announced this to the disobedient king at the Judæan Carmel, and then hewed Agag in pieces before Yahwè's altar (1 S. 15). The chapter presupposes the tradition in 1 S. 9 10 1-16, since Samuel expressly refers (*v.* 1; cp *v.* 17) to his having anointed Saul. The author must have lived in the time of the first literary prophets, or at any rate have shared their circle of ideas. Samuel confronts Saul very much as Isaiah confronts Ahaz (Is. 7), and the saying in 1 S. 15 22 *f.* is entirely in the prophetic manner.[3] Much as we sympathise with this fine utterance, the following verses place Samuel in an extremely unpleasing light from our modern point of view. Vatke does not mince matters when he says (*Die Religion des AT*, 1835, p. 300), 'Samuel appears here as a stern and obstinate zealot'; but his words are true. The passage in question is largely responsible for unfavourable judgments on Samuel's character.

4. Dt. Narratives. The deuteronomistic narratives (1 S. 7 2-8 22 10 17 27 12 1-25) show a further tendency to glorify Samuel. This hero of tradition now becomes the last of the Judges of all Israel in succession to Eli. Like Eli, he is also a priest of Yahwè, and it is he who brings the Israelites back to the worship of Israel's God. It is Samuel too who delivers Israel from the yoke of the Philistines, gaining a brilliant victory as the reward of a national repentance and reformation[4] (see EBEN-EZER, BETH-CAR). In his

[1] 1 S. 1 1 should run thus, 'There was a certain man of Ramathaim, a Zuphite of the hill-country of Ephraim.' See Dr. (*TBS* 1 *f.*), We., Klo., Ki., Bu. [but cp RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, ZUPH]. On the genealogy, cp ELKANAH, JEROHAM.

[2] That is, Samuel was to be a priest (not a Nazirite).

[3] [Cp Che., 'A Study of 1 S. 15 22 23,' *Biblical World*, April 1894, pp. 281-290.]

[4] [Kittel is of opinion (*Hist.* 2 108) that, though 1 S. 7 in its present form is 'decidedly unhistorical,' there is an element of early tradition in it (similarly Budde). He therefore accepts the assembly at Mizpah under the presidency of Samuel issuing in a religious reform as historical. To Stade such a distinction

old age he appoints his sons to be judges. Their gross misconduct is given as the reason why the chief men of Israel desire a king. It is, however, a foolish and wicked desire, and in obedience to a divine command Samuel warns the Israelites of the hardships to which the subjects of a king are liable. Their request, nevertheless, is granted. At Mizpah a religious assembly of the people is held. The sacred lot falls upon Saul, who receives the admiring homage of the people. Before transferring the reins of power to Saul's hands, however, Samuel makes a solemn 'apologia' to the people, coupling this with a farewell charge. How the writer of chap. 12 harmonised his representations with 7 15, indeed whether he himself noticed the inconsistency (Josephus, *Ant.* vi. 13 5, certainly did not) we have not the means of judging.

5. Post-Deut. embellishments. Subsequently to the time when the historical books underwent the deuteronomistic redaction, three narratives arose as the result of reflection on the traditional narrative. Their late origin is shown both by the nature of the contents and by their very loose connection with the surrounding narratives. (*a*) One is the story of the early anointing of David by Samuel in accordance with a divine command (1 S. 16 1-13), which is inconsistent with the traditional account in 2 S. 2 4. To remove this contradiction, or at any rate to justify the statement in 2 S. 2 4, the Chronicler assumes that the anointing at Hebron was in obedience to the word of Yahwè by Samuel (1 Ch. 11 3). (*b*) Another is the account of the very early rejection of Saul (1 S. 13 7*b*-15*a*), inserted in the account of Saul's war against the Philistines. This passage is merely an anticipation of chap. 15. (*c*) A third is an anecdote in which Samuel appears, like an Elijah or an Elisha, as the head of the prophetic community in Ramah, with which David seeks refuge (1 S. 19 18-24). See DAVID, § 1 (end).

In one of those passages of the Book of Jeremiah which betray the hand of an editor (Jer. 15 1; not 𝔊A)[1] we find Samuel placed beside Moses as an intercessor for his people and a hero of prayer. The same view of him, which is clearly due to exegetical study of the Book of Samuel (see, *e.g.*, 1 S. 7 9 8 6 12 18), is given in Ps. 99 6 (post-exilic). The Chronicler even makes Samuel a member of the tribe of Levi because, according to the Book of Samuel, he offers sacrifices; in 1 Ch. 6 22-28 [7-13] and 33-38 [18-23] he gives us two genealogies which trace Samuel's descent back to Kohath.[2] Some very singular statements respecting Samuel 'the seer' will be found in 1 Ch. 9 22 26 28.

6. Summing up. To assign an equal weight to all these documents is of course impossible. The oldest are the most trustworthy, and wherever the later notices are inconsistent with the earlier and can be understood by that inevitable modification of traditional pictures of which we have spoken, they must be rejected. This at once compels us to set aside those narratives which represent Samuel as a leading prophet for all Israel, or as a zealous advocate of the exclusive worship of Yahwè, or as a judge and a deliverer of Israel from the Philistine yoke. They contradict the surest facts of the beginning of the regal period. Take the deuteronomistic narratives.[3] The transformation of facts is here radical. The presuppositions are those of an age which had no kings, and regarded kingship as opposed to the will of God, and as the means by which Israel was turned away from its true mission. Its own ideals were once, it believed, those of Israel; but by desiring a king Israel fell to the low level of the other peoples. To this we may add that if these narratives were based on an old tradition, the rise of another tradition which made Samuel a seer of merely local celebrity would be inconceivable, whereas, granted the

appears unsafe. See his *GVI* 1 206, and cp his review of Budde's disposition of the text of Samuel in *SBOT*, *Theol. LZ*, 1890, col. 9.]

[1] See Stade, *GI* 1 647 end of note.

[2] See the proof in Bertheau, *Chronik*(2), 60 *ff.*

[3] [On the suggestive but unhistorical idyll of Samuel's youth in 1 S. 1-3 see We. *Prol.* ET 270, and cp his *CH*(3) 238 n.]

priority of the simpler story, the growth of the deuteronomistic account is perfectly natural.

Really trustworthy material for a picture of Samuel we must seek first of all in chaps. 9 10 1-16. The tragedy in the fate both of peoples and of individuals springs from uncomprehended circumstances and neglected opportunities. The greatness of leading personalities consists in this—that they comprehend the national aspirations and turn to account favouring circumstances. Only thus can impending ruin be averted and the road to progress and prosperity be opened. Others besides Samuel may have conceived the idea that the deliverance of Israel from the Philistines was possible only for a king; but it is his inalienable merit to have found in Saul the man who appeared equal to the task, and to have awakened in him the consciousness of his divine mission. The people itself, too, comprehended the situation, and gave this a legal expression by a solemn choice of Saul at Gilgal (1 S. 11 15).

This view of the historical significance of Samuel is in perfect harmony with the statement that his course of action was determined by Yahwè, who pointed out to him Saul as the future king of Israel. Ideas which burst upon a man suddenly and seem to have no links with his other thoughts belong to modern as well as ancient experience; to the ancients it was natural to regard them as given by inspiration. When Saul's imposing form came before the seer, revealing doubtless already something of that impetuous energy which marked Saul as king, the idea may have flashed through his mind that here was Israel's king. There is no reason to doubt that Samuel became accidentally acquainted with Saul, and then anointed him king over Israel (cp SAUL, § 1).

On the other hand it is not so certain whether the account of the details of the first meeting of Samuel and Saul in chap. 9 10 1-16 is based on an exact knowledge of facts. They spoke together without witnesses, and upon Saul's accession his grown-up son Jonathan was already his best support. It is therefore very improbable that at this important moment he was but like a superior servant who could be sent out to seek for runaway asses, and that such a person should find, not indeed the asses, but a kingdom. Surely this representation is but part of the literary vehicle of the tradition.

Besides the kernel of chap. 9 10 1-16 we may regard as historical the central facts of chap. 15 1-23 32-35 [see SAUL, § 3]. The expedition against Amalek would of course not be undertaken without an oracle, and Saul's earlier relations to Samuel make it intelligible that the oracle would come from that seer. The violation of the ban corresponds to the egoistic character of the Israelites of that time, and the slaying of Agag before the altar is consistent with their religious usages. Nor need we doubt that Samuel himself hewed Agag in pieces. Probably enough, too, difficulties may have arisen between Samuel and Saul in consequence of the violation of the ban [cp SAUL, § 3]. The influences of the later period when the narrative was written will be confined to the description of the attitude of Saul on his meeting Samuel, to the statement that Samuel on this occasion made known to Saul his rejection by Yahwè, and to the fine prophetic saying ascribed to Samuel.

According to 1 S. 28 3, Samuel died and was buried at Ramah, to which 25 1 adds that his grave was in his own house, which corresponds to the early custom (cp 1 K. 2 34). This of itself shows that the late tradition which placed his dwelling-place and sepulchre at Neby Samwil is wrong. See MIZPAH. Nothing is said of Samuel's age at the time of his death. The number 20 in 1 S. 7 2 is obtained by artificial means. This is also true of the statements in Josephus (*Ant.* vi. 13 5 14 9) and in the Midrash. They depend on exegetical inferences which, from the nature of the sources, are destitute of any sure foundation.

B. S.

SAMUEL (BOOKS)

Name (§ 1).	Later additions (§ 5).
Literary history (§ 2).	2 S. 9–1 K. 2 (§ 6).
Samuel, Saul: 1 S. 1-15 (§ 3).	Summary (§ 7).
David: 1 S. 16–2 S. 8 (§ 4).	Literature (§ 8).

1. Name. That the two books of Samuel, like the two books of Kings, originally formed one book, is explained elsewhere (CANON, § 10). The idea of dividing the respective books of Samuel and Kings comes from 𝔊,[1] where, however, the divided books are recombined as the four Books of Kingdoms (βίβλοι βασιλειῶν). It is true that the greater part of the Book of Samuel refers to the regal period, and that the gap between 2 S. 24 and 1 K. 1 is less prominent in the 𝔊^L arrangement (cp KINGS, § 1). But the older Palestinian-Hebrew arrangement has the advantage of reflecting the fact that Samuel and Kings arose by editorial redaction out of two different older works, the limits of which were only effaced when two chapters which originally belonged to Samuel were attached to the Book of Kings (1 K. 1 *f.*). The Book of Samuel derives its name from the fact that it opens with the story of Samuel's birth (cp the names Genesis, Exodus, etc., which correspond to the Jewish custom of naming books with reference to their commencement). In reality it describes the origin of the Israelitish kingdom, and the fortunes of Saul, Ishbaal, and David.

2. Literary history. A book, in the modern sense, Samuel can no more be said to be than any other of the historical writings of the OT. It is a compilation from older works which has passed through repeated redactions, and the final redaction of all can have occurred only after the close of the Pentateuch, in connection with the formation of the prophetic canon. Like the Torah, however, and like the other books of the 'former prophets,' the Books of Samuel attained in essentials their present form as a result of the great 'Deuteronomistic' literary movement (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 7). In the book which immediately precedes Samuel this movement has left only too many traces of its influence. In Samuel, however, we are happily in a position to indicate a series of vivid and ancient narratives which is only at certain points interrupted by later insertions and additions. We must infer from this that the deuteronomistic editor or editors found this connection already in existence; in other words, the basis of our Samuel was formed by a pre-deuteronomic redaction of older works.

The insertions and additions, however, are to a great extent derived neither from the deuteronomistic nor from the final redaction. Not only do some relate to the time between both redactions, but in certain cases it seems possible that they may have been brought into their present connection before the deuteronomistic redaction occurred. The history, therefore, of the origin of the Books of Samuel, in spite of the great predominance of the ancient sources, is very complicated. It is, however, only what might have been expected, when we consider the manner in which the OT writings have come down to us; the processes of copying and of exegetical study were, in the case of Samuel, combined with redactional alteration of various kinds, and, more particularly, with additions of new materials and insertion of explanatory matter.

The Books of Samuel fall into three main divisions. (1) The history of Samuel and of Saul down to the rejection of the latter, 1 S. 1-15 (§ 3); (2) the history of David during the reigns of Saul and Ishbaal, and his own reign at Hebron, 1 S. 16-2 S. 8 (§ 4 *f.*); (3) the history of David at Jerusalem, 2 S. 9-24 (§ 6).

3. Samuel and Saul: 1 S. 1-15 Part I. has for its nucleus two sections: (*a*) 1 S. 4 1-7 1, a fragment—the original beginning and end are now wanting—recounting the subjugation of Israel by the Philistines and the captivity of the ark of Yahwè; (*b*) 1 S. 9 1-10 7 10 9-16 11 1-11 14 *f.* 13 2-7*a* 17 *f.* 23 14 1-46, which describes the anointing of Saul by Samuel, Saul's victory over Ammon, his election as king, and his first encounters with the Philistines.

The first-mentioned section (*a*)—a torso (for it introduces the reader abruptly into the midst of the Philistine wars, and does not complete the account of the fortunes of the sanctuary at Shiloh and of the ark)—gives the necessary premises for the section which follows,

[1] There is a trace of 1, 2 S. and 1, 2 K. having been each one book in 𝔊^B where the first words of 2 S. and 2 K. are also made the last words of 1 S. and 1 K.

according to which the kingship is Yahwè's way of interposing to save Israel from the Philistines. The two sections, however, are from different pens. The former is made up of two parallel accounts, one Yahwistic, the other Elohistic.[1] But, first of all, to satisfy the reader's curiosity respecting the central figure of chap. 9 *f.*, a description of Samuel's childhood has been inserted (1 1-28 2 11-26 3 1-21), which bears throughout the stamp of a later age than the two parallel narratives, but may quite well be pre-exilic. The substance of the narrative thus produced has undergone much drastic revision at the hands of the deuteronomist.

A specimen of this is met with in 1 S. 2 27-36—where an unnamed man of God foretells the doom of Eli and his house and his supersession by a 'faithful priest'—*i.e.*, collectively, Zadok and his house (cp 1 K. 2 26 *f.*, see ZADOK). According to Kuenen, Yahwè's revelation to Samuel in the night (1 S. 3 11-14) was also worked over by D; but it sufficiently meets the case if we regard 3 12 as a redactional back-reference to 2 27 *ff.* On the notice of 4 18*b*, added by the last deuteronomistic redactor, see below, § 7.

The second narrative (*b*) has been much more profoundly modified by inserted deuteronomistic passages (1 S. 7 2-8 22 10 17-27 12 1-25). In fact, the account of the rise of the monarchy contained in these sections directly contradicts the original story at every point. Samuel is Israel's last judge. Under his leadership repentant and converted Israel throws off the Philistine yoke (7), and in order to be like other nations requests Samuel to give it a king. This Samuel does at the command of God (8). At Mizpah the sacred lot falls on Saul (10 17 *ff.*). Samuel then reproaches the people with ingratitude towards Yahwè (12). The links which connect this narrative with the older account are 10 25-27 11 12 *f.*

Critics are not agreed as to whether we have before us here a narrative written with full knowledge of the older account in 9 10 1-16 11, but with the deliberate intention of altering its scope (We., Kue.)—in which case the links just mentioned may be derived from the writer himself—or whether we have an independent source which has been brought into connection with the older narrative by means of these same links, which on this hypothesis must be attributed to the hand of a redactor (Co., Bu.). The first of these assumptions is in harmony with the known habits of deuteronomistic writers, and not less so is the wording of 8 20 12 12, which plainly suggests that we have before us a deuteronomistic narrative, dependent on the older account. Cornill and Budde fail to perceive the character and age of these deuteronomistic pieces, holding them to be pre-deuteronomic and assigning them to an Elohistic source.

The old version of the story of Saul has, however, undergone other expansions. The oldest of these (it is perhaps pre-exilic) occurs in 15 1-23 32-35 (Saul's war against the Amalekites and his rejection by Samuel). Verses 24-31, which describe Saul's self-abasement before Samuel, are a later embellishment to this narrative. To another late writer, however, it seemed that Saul's rejection did not occur early enough, and he has therefore in 1 S. 13 8-15 carried back this occurrence, which is most awkwardly accounted for, to the beginning of Saul's reign, preparing the way for it by means of 10 8. These additions are later than the deuteronomistic portions, for they regard Samuel as an authority superior to Saul. A later interpolation also is 13 19-21, with its incredible statement that the smith's craft was suppressed by the Philistine overlords throughout the land of Israel. The Song of Hannah (1 S. 2 1-10) was interpolated at a still later period,[2] and probably owed its introduction here to a mistaken interpretation of the figure (*v.* 5) of the barren woman. It is a post-exilic psalm, which gives expression to the belief of the Jewish Church in the compensating Messianic judgment of Yahwè.

In Part II. (1 S. 16 1-2 S. 8 18) the pre-exilic sources

[1] Cp St. *GVI*(2) 1 202 *f.*; Mez, *Die Bibel des Jos.*, 62 *ff.* (1895).

[2] [So Cheyne, *OPs.* 57, who points out that the fortunes of Sarah and Hannah were regarded as types of those of Israel. Budde, however, finds in 2 1-10 the thanksgiving-song of a victorious king, which must therefore be pre-exilic (*Ri. Sa.* 197).]

SAMUEL (BOOKS)

are present in almost a larger proportion. The passage contained in 1 S. 16 14-23 is old. Saul is seized with melancholy; David is brought to the court to cheer him with his harp. The narrative is brought by 14 52 into connection with that of Saul's election and his struggles with the Philistines. The continuation of 1 S. 16 23 is to be sought, not in 17 1 *ff.* (WRS *OTJC* 433)—for what is there related is irreconcilable with 16 18—but in 18 6-8*a* (Saul's jealousy of David's growing popularity). Between these two sections is interpolated a narrative, compounded from two independent but both much later sources, describing David's victory over Goliath and his friendship with Jonathan (17 1-18 5). Chaps. 17-18 rank among the most interesting of all the sections in the Book of Samuel, for here we have alongside of MT a shorter text in 𝔊B where 17 12-31 41 50 (in *v.* 51, 'and he drew it out of its sheath') 55-18 5 8*b*-11 12*b* 17-19 are wanting—a statement that is unaffected by the presence of 18 9 in B. The critics are not at one on the question whether it is the original that has come down to us in the Greek recension, or whether we have to do with an abridgment made in harmonistic interests.[1] The main argument that makes for the abridgment view is that 20 8 seems to take account of the bond of brotherhood between David and Jonathan spoken of in 18 3 (Kuenen). But this, doubtless, was one of the constant themes of the older history, and we can all the more readily imagine 20 8 to have referred to some passage which has not come down to us, inasmuch as between 16 23 and 18 6 it is probable that a piece of ancient narrative has dropped out. But, further, the question as to the character of the text of 𝔊 does not quite dispose of the question as to its composition, inasmuch as abridgment with a view to obviating contradictions is an operation that might very well have been performed precisely upon the later portions in chap. 17 *f.*

4. David: 1 S. 16-2 S. 8.

The view that the shorter recension (𝔊B), 17 1-11 32-40 42-49 51 (in part) 52-54, constitutes a narrative, complete in itself, which has been broken up in MT by fragments of a parallel account (*vv.* 12-31 41 50 *f.* [in part] 55-58), is supported by the fact that *v.* 54 marks the conclusion of a narrative, and that *v.* 32 admits of being joined on to *v.* 11, whilst *v.* 12 is plainly the beginning of a new story. The same phenomena show that *vv.* 55-58 also, and 18 1-5, which form the immediate continuation of the fragmentary narrative, proceed from another source than the main narrative. At the same time it must be allowed that the close of the fragmentary narrative was perhaps originally 18 2, and *vv.* 3-5 an addition; for *v.* 2 separates *v.* 1 from *v.* 3.[2]

The connecting link by which the two parallel narratives are held together is constituted by 17 14*b*-16. Of the two accounts, the main narrative relates the events in the form of a history of the kingdom, whilst the fragmentary narrative has the character of a biography. If we assume that *v.* 36 has not been worked over, and that *v.* 47 is a later addition, both narratives can only be exilic, at the earliest (cp GOLIATH).

The continuation of 18 8*a* is found in *vv.* 12-16. David is removed from the court with honour. His own popularity, and, with it, Saul's fear, go on increasing. The story of Saul and his javelin in *v.* 8*b*-11, viewed by itself, can very well have come from an old source; but it is here out of place.

Verses 17-19 are likewise foreign to the ancient source, as is shown by what comes after: Saul promises his daughter Merab to David, but does not keep his word. This story has grown out of the fragmentary narrative of MT contained in 17 12-31 41 50 55 *ff.*, if indeed it does not actually form part of it. It can very well have come in after 18 2.

Chap. 18 16 has its continuation in 18 20-30. Michal falls in love with David, who marries her in spite of Saul's malignant plot against him. (Verse 21*b* is wanting in 𝔊B and is a later addition). We again come upon old material in chap. 20—one of the accounts of the outbreak of enmity between Saul and David.

[1] On the one side (expansion) are Co., St., WRS; on the other (abridgment) We., Kue., Bu., and others (for references see GOLIATH). We. formerly held an opposite view (*TBS* 104 *f.*).

[2] For the proof see WRS *OTJC*(2), 433.

Jonathan helps David in ascertaining what Saul's true disposition towards him is; *vv.* 4-17 and 40-42 are disturbing insertions of a later hand. As it now stands, this account is without its natural premises; if it comes from the same source as 16 14-23 18 6-8*a* 12-16 20-30, something has dropped out from between them. The continuation is given in 1 S. 21 1-7 (David's flight to Nob), 22 1-4 6-23 (David's sojourn in Adullam, and Saul's vengeance on the priests of Nob), 23 1-14 (David takes refuge in Keilah, but in fear of Saul quits it for the wilderness); 25 (David's life in the wilderness, and the Nabal-episode), 27 1-12[1] (David takes refuge with Achish and receives Ziklag), 28 1 *f.* 29 1-11 (David takes the field with the Philistines against Saul, but is mistrusted and sent back), 30 1-31 (David finds Ziklag plundered and burnt by the Amalekites, but pursues them and recovers the spoil), 31 1-13 (Saul and his sons fall in battle).

In 2 S. the same source is continued: 2 S. 2 1-32 (David is made king of Judah at Hebron, Ishbaal king of Israel at Mahanaim; there is war between them), 3 1 6*b*-39 (Abner's betrayal of Ishbaal; Joab's vendetta on Abner), 4 1 2*a* 5-12 (Ishbaal's assassination—where *vv.* 5 *f.*, on the one hand, and *v.* 7 on the other, show that the section contains remnants of a second parallel account of this occurrence), 5 1-3 17-25 (David becomes king over all Israel and is victorious over the Philistines), 8 (David's wars against external enemies; his officers). Chap. 8, however, in its present form has been much revised and corrected throughout (see DAVID), which opens our eyes to the fact that what comes after is derived from another source. If we have already found, in chap. 4, traces of an ancient parallel narrative, we are able to point out other elements also which interrupt the thread of the narrative. 2 S. 1 1*b*-4 11 *f.*, is old; an Israelite warrior escaped from the battle brings David the news of Saul's death. That the source here is not the same as before is shown by the joining in *v.* 1*a*, and by a comparison of *v.* 4 with 1 S. 31 2. Verses 5-10 13-16, according to which the messenger is a chance Amalekite who happened to be on the battlefield, are a later interpolation, of the nature of Midrash, based upon 2 S. 4 10 not rightly understood. 2 S. 5 6-12 is also old, but from another source than the adjacent portion. David conquers Jebus and enters into relations with Hiram of Tyre; and in chap. 6 David brings the ark to Jerusalem. Both these passages perhaps come from the same source as that which we afterwards come upon again in chap. 9.

Part II. has undergone excessive expansions. Probably we ought to assign to a later date (1) both the parallel accounts of David's adventure in the wilderness of Ziph: (*a*) 1 S. 23 19-24 23 [22], (*b*) chap. 26. The Ziphites betray David to Saul. He escapes Saul's pursuit, however, and spares him when chance has brought him into his power. Both passages are brought into connection with one another and with the subsequent interpolation, 23 15-18, describing a visit of Jonathan to David, by means of 23 19*b*. The expressions 'in the strongholds' and 'in the wilderness of Ziph' bring them into relation with the older section. (2) 28 4-25 (Saul's visit to the witch of Endor).

5. Later additions.

1 S. 17 and the later portions of chap. 18 have already been considered. 19 1-16, one of the variants on the outbreak of enmity between Saul and David, takes account of these (see *v.* 5). Jonathan, we hear, attempts the part of mediator, but in vain. Then a victory of David's brings Saul's hatred to a crisis; he throws his javelin at his rival, who with Michal's help succeeds in making his escape. Co. and Bu. mark *v.* 2 *f.* as a later addition, but with doubtful justification; for this would involve the deletion of the whole of *v.* 7, which, however, is necessary for the connection.

The following are the sections in this part which are of later origin: (1) 16 1-13 (Samuel, after the rejection of Saul, anoints the youthful David at Bethlehem as king). This was written specially for the place where it now occurs, for it stands in immediate connection with chap. 15 (cp *v.* 1 *f.*), aims at correcting the narrative of 1 S. 16 14-23, and in *v.* 12 takes account of 17 42. It is probable that the parenthesis in *v.* 19 ('which is with the sheep') comes from the same hand. (2) 19 18-24 (David flees from the presence of Saul to the school of the prophets at Ramah). This is a probably post-exilic development, in the nature of Midrash, from the proverbial saying 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (3) Apart from the passage, already referred to, in 1 S. 23 15-28, the old theme of the friendship of David and Jonathan occurs in another variant in 1 S. 20 40-42. (4) 21 11-16 [10-15] (David flees from Nob to Achish of Gath, and, to save his life, feigns madness). Kuenen conjectures this to have been intended to take the place of 1 S. 27, where David's real relations to Achish are set forth. (5) Particulars about David's family: (*a*) 2 S. 3 2-5 (his children born in Hebron); (*b*) 2 S. 5 13-16 (the wives he married in Jerusalem and the children born to him there). Late interpolations in any case are also the following poems: (1) David's lament (2 S. 1 17-27) over Saul and Jonathan, the genuineness of which is doubtful. It has come into its present position from the 'Book of Jashar' (see JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2). (2) David's lament over Abner (2 S. 3 33 *f.*); 34*b* in particular, which is rendered superfluous by *v.* 32*b*, betrays the interpolation (cp DAVID, § 13, col. 1035).

2 S. 7 is also an instance of deuteronomistic expansion in Pt. II.

David desires to build a house for Yahwè, and is encouraged in his purpose by Nathan. Afterwards Nathan is commanded by Yahwè to prohibit David from doing so. David is not to build a house for Yahwè, but Yahwè for David—the stability of his dynasty being meant. Verse 13, which conflicts with *v.* 16 and destroys this point (Wellh.) by making the prophecy of Nathan refer to the building of Solomon's temple, is a gloss.

Chap. 7 is certainly a later addition, for it connects the accounts of David's building of a house (2 S. 5 11 *f.*) and of the removal of the ark to the city of David (2 S. 6 1 *ff.*), and is occasioned by these. It is rightly held by Wellhausen and Kuenen to be deuteronomistic; cp the reference to the appointment of judges and the dark days of the period of the judges, also *vv.* 1 and 11 with Dt. 12 9 1 K. 5 4 [18] 8 56.

It is impossible, however, to agree with Wellhausen in holding the passage to have been written while the kingdom of Judah still subsisted, perhaps under Josiah, or with Kuenen in holding it to be manifestly pre-exilic. The promise of the perpetual kingship of the house of David had also, as Ps. 89 shows, a meaning for the Messianic faith of the post-exilic period, and *v.* 10 betrays acquaintance with the exile.

It is no longer possible to determine how this deuteronomistic interpolation is related in point of age to the latest interpolations previously referred to, or how many of these are of later date. So far as the poetical pieces and the Midrash narratives are concerned, it may be assumed with some degree of confidence that they did not find their way into the book until after the deuteronomistic interpolation had occurred.

It is in Pt. III. that the greatest amount of old material has been preserved, and here also, accordingly, the impression of literary unity is greatest. The narrative in 9-20 is continuous, exhibits the same peculiarities of style throughout, and must therefore be attributed to one and the same writer; it is but rarely that the original thread is interrupted by glosses and expansions. It describes Meribaal's succession to the heritage of Saul (9), David's Ammonite wars and his sin with Bathsheba (10-12), the story of Amnon and Tamar (13), Absalom's revenge and banishment, and the revolts of Absalom and Sheba (14-20). To it also belongs 1 K. 1 *f.*, containing Adonijah's proclamation as king, the death of David and Adonijah's downfall. The narrator, one of the best in the OT, apparently wishes to show how it was precisely that Solomon should

6. David: 2 S. 9-1 K. 2.

[1] 1 S. 27 8-12 was rejected by St. *GVI*(1) 252 (after Wellh., in Bleek, *Einl.*(4) 220=*CH* 253) as a later addition. But in *Gesch.*(2) Stade withdrew this view. Cp Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 232.

have come to be David's successor. He dwells by preference on the more intimate affairs of the court, and depicts the different characters with admirable skill. Later insertions, however, are not altogether wanting. Among these are certainly the notes upon the dress of kings' daughters (13 18*a*) and upon Absalom's beauty (14 25 *f.*), and the reference to the Levites in 15 24. This reference, which is post-exilic, needs no explanation; the other two notes owe their origin to the antiquarian interests of some reader, and are, at the earliest, exilic; cp 14 26 ('the [Babylonian] king's weight'). The account of David's war against Hadarezer (Hadadezer) in 10 15-19*a* is also liable to suspicion (see DAVID, § 8 [*b*]); and Schwally (*ZATW* 12 153 *ff.*) even regards the whole of 12 1-15*a*, including the parable of Nathan, as an addition (see JEDIDIAH, NATHAN). Whether we accept the latter view or not, it is beyond doubt that 12 7*b* 8, the first clause of *v.* 9, and *vv.* 10-12 were inserted at a later date. This is especially clear in the case of *vv.* 10-12, for these verses disagree with the tenor of the denunciation by which they are followed, and are a *vaticinium ex eventu*.

This section also, as is shown by 1 K. 1 *f.*, has undergone deuteronomistic revision. In 2 S. 14-20, indeed, it is impossible to establish traces of such redaction; but the gradual amplification of the old sources can here be demonstrated with exceptional clearness. The connection between 2 S. 20 and 1 K. 1 is, in the first instance, broken by the interpolation of those old sections, 2 S. 21 1-14 (the vengeance of the Gibeonites on the house of Saul) and 2 S. 24 (the numbering of the people, the pestilence, the establishment of the sanctuary on Ornan's threshing floor). Both are from the same pen and may have been introduced here even by a pre-deuteronomic editor. The connection thus constituted (2 S. 9-20 21 1-14 24 1 K. 1 *f.*) is again broken up by the introduction of the anecdotes of the encounters of David and his worthies with the Philistines (2 S. 21 15-22), and the list of these worthies (23 8-39). These portions were probably first introduced into the book after it had been deuteronomistically edited. It is also advisable to assume this for 22 1-51 (a psalm expressive of the Messianic faith of the post-exilic community, here introduced as a song of David's), and for 23 1-7 (David's last words, which were not introduced here till after the narrative had been expanded by the addition of 21 15-22 23 8-39, and, in point of fact, themselves interrupt this addition).

Thus four strata are observable in the narrative of Samuel as it now stands. At the foundation lies a series of pre-exilic narratives relating to the origin of the kingship, and its earlier history. It is possible that in its oldest form this series may have contained pieces which disappeared in later revisions. In particular there is some reason to conjecture that after 1 S. 7 1 there at one time stood an account of the downfall of the sanctuary at Shiloh. We have no means of determining the date at which the narratives embodied in the succeeding record became incorporated with the pre-exilic part of the book. Equally in the dark are we as to whether the process of redaction involved in this led to excisions of old material. This was certainly the case when the deuteronomistic revision was made; cp what has been said above on 1 S. 4 1-7 1. By means of this last revision Samuel was brought into line with the series of historical books which, in continuation of the Pentateuch, describe the history of Israel from the conquest of Canaan onwards. It is probable that more than one hand had a share in this deuteronomistic redaction. The deuteronomistic portions are partly edifying amplifications (1 S. 2 27-36 2 S. 7), partly contexts and substituted passages intended to correct the course of the history (1 S. 7 8 10 17 *ff.* 12). At the same time the narrative was conformed to the chronological system of the deuteronomistic recension of the Book of

7. Result of analysis.

Judges. The traces of this process are to be found in 1 S. 4 18*b* 27 7 2 S. 2 10*a f.* 5 4 *f.*, and its connection with the work of the deuteronomist appears in 1 S. 7 2. If 𝔊^BA (cp 𝔊^L) has preserved the more original form of the narrative in omitting 1 S. 13 1, this kind of work must have continued much later. Regarding the additions made to the text in the further course of its transmission, we cannot always be sure whether they were inserted directly by some redactor or made their way in from the margin. Some of these have been already indicated. To the same class belong 1 S. 6 17 18*a* 9 9 24 13 [14] 30 5 9*b* 2 S. 3 30 4 2*b* 3 11 21*a* and perhaps other passages.

It has been already remarked that the exact date of these additions often eludes us. At the same time there is good ground for the belief that the poems (1 S. 2 1-10 2 S. 1 17-27 3 33 *f.* 22 23 1-7) and those additions which have the characteristics of Midrash were the latest passages to be inserted. Since 2 S. 21 18-22 is repeated in 1 Ch. 20 4 *ff.* and 2 S. 23 8-39, and 24 in 1 Ch. 11 10 *ff.* 21, the Chronicler (about 300 B.C.) must have used our book in a form agreeing in all important points with the recension that has reached us in the Hebrew text (see CHRONICLES). From the fact that Chronicles does not contain the psalm or the last words of David (2 S. 22 23 1-7) Budde concludes that these were not inserted into Samuel till after the Chronicler's time. That is no doubt possible; but it is not to be proved by such an *argumentum e silentio*. We cannot argue from the presence of the psalm in 1 Ch. 16 8 *ff.* that the Chronicler would not have passed over a Davidic psalm found in his old source, for 1 Ch. 16 8 *ff.* is a later interpolation into the Book of Chronicles. That the Chronicler was acquainted with the present division into Samuel and Kings may be conjectured. Still, the fact that many passages occur with a better text in Chronicles shows that the text of Samuel was not yet in the Chronicler's time quite identical with ours.[1] That the text found now in all Hebrew MSS has not arisen without considerable distortion of the manuscript tradition appears on comparing it with the text of 𝔊; and in many cases it is only when this is done that the Hebrew text becomes intelligible. This undesigned distortion of the text is explained by the fact that the Books of Samuel were never used in the regular service of the synagogue.

8. Literature.

Thenius, *Die Bücher Sam. erklärt*(2), 1864, (3) by Löhr, 1898; Klostermann, *Die Bücher Sam. u. Kön.*, 1887; Wellhausen, *TBS*, 1871; Driver, *TBS*, 1890; Budde, Heb. Text, crit. ed. with notes, *SBOT*, 1894; Ewald, *GVI*(3) 2 576 *ff.* (1865); (3) 3 22 *ff.* (1866); Köh. *Lehrb. der bibl. Gesch. AT* ii. 1 122 *ff.* (1884); Kittel in Kau. *HS*, *Beilagen*, 8 *ff.*; H. P. Smith, *Sam.* (1899); Budde, *KHC* (1902); Nowack, *HK* (1902).[2] On analysis of text, also Wellhausen in Bleek,(4) 206 *ff.* (1878), and *CH*, 1899, 235 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* (2) 1 197 *ff.*, review of Budde's critical edition in *TSL*, 1895; Cornill, 'Ein elohistischer Bericht üb. d. Entstehung des Israelit. Königthums' in *ZKW*, 1885, pp. 112 *ff.*, continued in *Königsberger Studien*, 1 (1888) 25 *ff.*, *ZATW* 10 96 *ff.*, *Einl.* (1892) 105 *ff.*; Budde, *Ri. Sa.* 167 *ff.* (1890); Kittel, review of Budde in *Th. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1892, pp. 44 *ff.*; *Hist.* 2 22 *f.*; Driver, *Introd.*(6); Kautzsch, *Outline of the Hist. of the Lit. of the OT* (1898); S. A. Cook in *AJSL*, 1900, pp. 145-177. For the *text* see Klost. and Bu. (above); Nöldeke,

[1] That it was worked at even after his time is shown by 2 S. 10 6, where the Chronicler did not read אִישׁ אֶלֶף after מַעֲכָה as the MT of 2 S. does.

[2] [H. P. Smith divides most of the contents of Samuel between two main sources, each of which gives an account of Saul and David, one of them including 2 S. 9-20 (the court history of David, relating the story of Uriah, Bathsheba, Amnon, Tamar, and Absalom). There are also two accounts of the denunciation of Eli; the appointment and rejection of Saul; the coming of David to Saul's court, the negotiations for his marriage, his flight, his generosity to Saul, his flight to Achish, and the death of Saul. This constant duplication of incidents is the chief ground for holding the existence of the second source, which is less primitive than the other, and presents 'indications of a comparatively late date—perhaps in or after the exile.' But it should be noticed that, according to H. P. Smith, these two sources are themselves of composite origin. The date suggested for the second main source involves the transference of much material usually regarded as pre-deuteronomic to the period of the deuteronomistic writers.]

ZWT (1873), 117 *f.*; A. Mez, *Die Bib. des Jos.*, 1895; Méritan, *La version grecque des livres de Sam., précédée d'une introd. sur la critique textuelle* (1898, not important); N. Peters, *Beitr. zur Text- u. Literaturkritik sowie zur Erklärung der BB. Samuel* (1899). B. S.

SANAAS (σαναας [A]), 1 Esd. 5 23 RV = Ezra 2 35, SENAAH.

SANABASSAR (σαναβασσαρω [A[a]]), 1 Esd. 2 12, SANABASSARUS, *ib.* 6 18 20 (σαναβασσαρος [A; and B in *v.* 20]). See SHESHBAZZAR.

SANASIB (σαναβεις [B], ανασειβ [A]), a priestly name, 1 Esd. 5 24, wanting in ‖ Ezra 2 36 Neh. 7 39. Possibly a corrupt repetition of Senaah in the preceding verse.

SANBALLAT (סַנְבַלַּט—*i.e.*, San^e^bhallaṭ = Sin-uballiṭ[anni], 'Sin [the moon-god] caused [me] to live'; cp Nabû-[u]balliṭanni; σαναβαλλατ [BNA], αναβ. [twice B, once א], σαλλαβ. [once א], σαναβαλατ [L, twice א]), one of the chief opponents of Nehemiah (Neh. 2 10 6 1 *f.*). He is called a 'Horonite' (Neh. 2 10)—*i.e.*, according to most scholars, a native of Beth-horon or Horon (see BETH-HORON, § 4, and cp ISRAEL, § 55); Winckler (*AOF* 2 228 *ff.*) pleads very earnestly for the view that Sanballat was a Moabite of Horonaim. This view, however, is out of the question if Guthe has rightly emended the text of Neh. 4 2 (3 34), 'And he said in the presence of his brethren (= fellow Samaritans), "Is this (הֲזֶה) the might of Samaria that these Jews are building their city?"' (following $\mathfrak{G}^{BNA}$, cp $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$). It is also generally held that Sanballat's daughter would not have been taken to wife by a grandson of the Jewish high priest (Neh. 13 28), if he had not been, at any rate, of a N. Israelitish stock. Josephus, certainly, calls him a Cuthæan (cp 2 K. 17 24), and states that he was sent by the last Darius as governor to Samaria, and that he married his daughter Nicaso to Manasseh, brother of Jaddua the high priest (*Ant.* xi. 7 2).

1. Earlier theories.

If the geography of MT is correct these arguments are very strong. If, however, as can be made probable with regard to many other narratives, the received text has been produced by editorial manipulation, and if the opponents of the Jews come from the N. Arabian region where (on the present writer's theory) the Jews had languished in captivity, the question of Sanballat's ethnic connection (and, indeed, that of his name as well) passes into a new phase. חרני will then naturally be read Ḥarani, 'the Ḥaranite' (there being, according to the theory in question, a southern as well as a northern Ḥaran). Certainly the passage quoted above in Guthe's text may be more plausibly read thus, 'And he said before the Jerahmeelites in Shimron, What do the Jews?'[1] Now, too, there is considerable reason for questioning the name 'Sanballat.' Very possibly it is the coinage of the redactor; the original name may have been Nebaiothi (man of NEBAIOTH). Corresponding emendations of the names of Sanballat's companions must also be made. For 'Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem (or Gashmu) the Arabian,' we should possibly read, 'The Nebaiothite, the Haranite, the Tubalite, the Jerahmeelite, the Cushamite, the Arabian.' The true opponents of the Jews were not merely individuals but masses of men representing the N. Arabian borderland—*i.e.*, the story of Nehemiah has very possibly been rewritten on the basis of a very imperfect text. Josephus's phrase, 'a Cuthæan as to race' (*Ant.* xi. 7 2) is not so far wrong as it may seem, for 'Cuth' in 2 K. 17 30 is doubtless an editorial manipulation of 'Cush' (*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Cush). See TOBIAH, and cp SHESHBAZZAR.

2. New theory.

On the chronological questions involved in the earlier theories, see CANON, § 25; ISRAEL, § 65, and SAMARITANS. T. K. C.

SANCTIFICATION (αγιασμος). See SAINT.

SANCTUARY. See, generally, TEMPLE. The words are:—

1. קֹדֶשׁ, *ḳōdeš*, usually rendered 'holy place'; used (*a*) of the tabernacle or temple generally; (*b*) of the 'holy place' in the technical sense; (*c*) of the 'holy of holies' (Lev. 16 2 *f.* etc.). 𝔊 has τὸ ἅγιον (cp Heb. 9 25 13 11, τὰ ἅγια).

2. מִקְדָּשׁ, *miḳdāš*, often; in Am. 7 13, AV 'chapel'; see BETHEL, § 3, with n. 2.

3. ἁγίασμα, 1 Macc. 1 37 3 45 etc.—*i.e.*, the νεώς or ναός.

4. νεώς, 2 Macc. 6 2 9 16 10 3 5 13 23 14 33, AV 'temple,' RV 'sanctuary' throughout.

5 and 6. ναός in Mt. 23 35 27 5, and οἶκος in Lk. 11 51, where AV has 'temple,' but RV 'sanctuary.' The Holy, and the Holy of Holies are meant, the 'house of God' (Mt. 12 4). 'How vividly does it set forth the despair and defiance of Judas that he presses even into the ναός itself' (Trench, *NT Synonyms*, 14)! But, as B. Weiss points out, the form of the narrative is suggested by Zech. 11 13, 'in the house of Yahwè.'

SANDALS. 1. נַעַל, *na'al*, Cant. 7 1 [2], RV, and 2. σανδάλια, Mk. 6 9 Acts 12 8. See SHOES.

SANDAL WOOD (אַלְמֻגִּים), 1 K. 10 11 RVmg., EV ALMUG.

SAND FLY (כִּנִּים), Ex. 8 16 RVmg., EV LICE.

SAND-LIZARD (Lev. 11 30 RV). See LIZARD, 5.

SANHEDRIN (סַנְהֶדְרִין). See GOVERNMENT, § 31, and SYNEDRIUM.

SANSANNAH (סַנְסַנָּה; σεθεννακ [B], σανσαννα [A], σεεννακ [L]), a remote city of Judah (Josh. 15 31 †), corresponding to HAZAR-SUSAH in Josh. 19 5. The name *seems* to mean 'palm-branch'; but there are parallels enough for the view that it is really a corruption of שמשמה = כושם (Cusham), cp Hazar-susah = Hazar-cusham, another name of the same place, and see MARCABOTH. T. K. C.

SAPH (סַף), 2 S. 21 18; in 1 Ch. 20 4 SIPPAI.

SAPHAT (σαφατ [A]). 1. 1 Esd. 5 9 = Ezra 2 4, SHEPHATIAH, 7.
2. 1 Esd. 5 34 RV, AV SABAT, 1.

SAPHATIAS (σοφοτιου [B]), 1 Esd. 8 34 = Ezra 8 8, SHEPHATIAH, 7.

SAPHETH (σαφυθι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 33 AV = Ezra 2 57, SHEPHATIAH [*q.v.*, 8].

SAPHIR, or, rather, as RV, SHAPHIR (RV שָׁפִיר, 'glittering, beautiful'; καλως [BAQ]), a place mentioned in Micah's elegy on towns of Judah (Mic. 1 11). Generally identified with Shamir or Shaphir in the mountains of Judah (Josh. 15 48). See SHAMIR.

Eusebius, however, places σαφειρ between Eleutheropolis and Ascalon (*OS* 293 37 151 27); he says that it is in the mountain district, but this is because he supposes it to be the σαφειρ (cp $\mathfrak{G}^{AL}$) of Josh. 15 48, which is reckoned among the cities of the mountains. The σαφειρ of Eusebius may possibly be one of the three villages called Sawâfir in the Philistine plain, SE. of Ashdod. But it is not likely (Gath being—see *Crit. Bib.*—very probably a misreading in Mic. 1 10) that Micah troubled himself about Philistine cities. There were doubtless several places called Shaphir; es-Ṣâfirîyeh, near Bēt Dejan (BETH-DAGON), may be one of them. The latter place is too far from Mareshah to be meant; but there is one spot which has a good claim to be called Shaphir, 'the glittering,' and may be the place meant by Micah, even if it be also the Mizpeh (המצפה) of Josh. 15 38, and that is that tall white cliff which commands the entrance to the Wâdy es-Sanṭ from the Philistine plain, known to the Crusaders as Blanche Garde, and to Arabic speakers of to-day as Tell eṣ-Ṣâfiyeh, 'the shining hill.' See MIZPEH, 1. The prophet perhaps foresees that the 'brilliance' (שִׁפְרִיר) of the far-shining fortress will 'pass into captivity' (עָבַר בַּשְּׁבִי). At the same time, another view (see below) is more probable, if the criticism summed up in MICAH (BOOK), §§ 3 *f.*, PROPHET, § 38, be in the main correct.

On the text see Che. *JQR*, July 1898, and *Crit. Bib.* Nowack admits that what MT gives must be incorrect. On the root שפר, 'to glitter' see G. Hoffm. *ZATW* 2 68 (1882).

It will be noticed that both Mizpeh in Joshua and Shaphir in Micah stand near Zenan or Zaanan and Lachish. It is not improbable, however, that the lists in Josh. 15 33 *ff.* (in part?) and also the elegy Mic. 1 10 *ff.* referred originally to the Negeb. This affects the situation of Shaphir. See ZAANAN.

T. K. C.

[1] אחיו וחיל and האמלים *must* come from ירחמאלים (Jerahmeelites). שמרון is the Shimron mentioned in Amos (see PROPHET, § 8).

SAPHUTHI (ϲαφυθι [A]), 1 Esd. 5 33 RV=Ezra 2 57, SHEPHATIAH, 8.

SAPPHIRA (ϲαπφειρη=Syr. *šappīrā*, 'beautiful,' cp the frequent male name שפיר and the Sin. שפרו [Dalm. 130, n. 1]), Acts 5 1, the wife of ANANIAS, *q.v.* (10).

SAPPHIRE (סַפִּיר; ϲαπφειροϲ [BAL][1]), mentioned as a much-prized stone in Ex. 24 10 28 18 39 11 Job 28 6 16 Cant. 5 14 Lam. 4 7 Is. 54 11 Ezek. 1 26 10 1 28 13 Tobit 13 16; to which we can now add, from the self-evidently correct Hebrew text, Ecclus. 43 19 [of the hoar-frost], 'he makes it to bloom with flowers like sapphire,' and in NT Rev. 21 19, where RVmg. has 'lapis lazuli.' The marg. rendering just cited is correct; wherever 'sapphire' occurs in the above passages we should mentally interpret 'lapis lazuli.' That lapis lazuli was the sapphire of the ancients is plain from Theophrastus (p. 692) and Pliny (*HN* 37 38 *f.*). Theophrastus states that it is *ὥσπερ χρυσόπαστος* (as it were sprinkled with gold dust), and Pliny says, Inest ei (cyano) aliquando et aureus pulvis qualis in sapphiris, in iis enim aurum punctis conlucet (cp xxxiii. 31 aurum in sapphiro scintillat). Such a description would be quite inappropriate to any variety of the modern sapphire, but applies very well to the lapis lazuli, which frequently contains disseminated particles of iron pyrites, easily mistaken by their colour and lustre for particles of gold.

Lapis lazuli was so much prized by the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Egyptians (see LAPIS LAZULI) that we should expect to find it sometimes, or even often, referred to in the old Hebrew writings. We must, however, omit from the list of occurrences Job 28 6 (see below), Cant. 5 14,[2] and Lam. 4 7. The identification of *sappir* with this stone throws light on the description of the appearance of the Most High in Ex. 24 10 (J) and Ezek. 1 26. According to J, where the divine form stood, it was 'as the very heaven for clearness, like a paved work of sapphire stone' (see PAVEMENT); according to Ezekiel, the base of the throne of God was something like a firmament (see 𝔊), above which was a sapphire-coloured pavement (see Toy, 'Ezekiel,' *SBOT*). In fact, the 'gold dust' on the deep blue of the lapis lazuli made this stone a most appropriate symbol of 'this brave o'er-hanging firmament, this majestical roof fretted with golden fire.'

This, however, is merely a plausible interpretation; the text does not expressly refer to the star-like, gold-like particles which add lustre to the deep blue of the lapis lazuli. It has been thought by some (Hitz., Bu., Du.) that such a reference is to be found in a section where, if anywhere, we should certainly expect to find it, viz., in Job 28. This is how Duhm renders *v.* 6,—

His stones are the place of the sapphire,
Which has grains of dust of gold.

If this is right, we need not have hesitated elsewhere (see OPHIR) to connect 'Ophir' with Ass. *epru*=Heb. עָפָר. But the truth is that עפר properly means, not dust, but a lump of earth; עַפְרֹת is not the word which a Hebrew poet would have chosen for the 'aureus pulvis' of which Pliny speaks. The passage needs very careful treatment. ספיר, 'sapphire,' should be כֶּסֶף, 'silver.' See GOLD, § 1, col. 1750, foot.

The name by which our modern sapphire was known to the ancients is *ὑάκινθος* or *hyacinthus*, the stone which forms the eleventh foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21 20). See JACINTH. The colourless sapphire may perhaps be intended by the *ḥašmal* (ḥalmiš ?) or *taršīš*. See TARSHISH (STONE OF), STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 4 *c*, (2), 11. T. K. C.

SARA, RV SARAH. 1. On Heb. 11 11 see SARAH, § 1, end.

[1] סַפִּיר in Tg. is שַׁבְזִיזָא, سبز. See Pott in *ZKM* 4 275.

[2] In Cant. 5 14 an intolerable hyperbole is removed by reading פְּנִינִים, 'red coral'; in Lam. 4 7, we should read, 'Their skin glitters like coral, (even) the bright colour of their flesh' (פְּאֵרוֹ for סַפִּיר; cp LAMENTATIONS, § 5).

2. *Σαρρα* [BאA], the daughter of Raguel and the heroine of the book of TOBIT [*q.v.*] (Tob. 3 7 *f.*). Seven of her bridegrooms were killed by the evil spirit ASMODEUS [*q.v.*], and she finally became the wife of Tobit.

SARABIAS (ϲαραβιαϲ [BA¹]), 1 Esd. 9 48, in Ezra 8 18 SHEREBIAH.

SARAH (שָׂרָה, § 44; ϲαρρα; *sara*), and SARAI (שָׂרַי; ϲαρα; *sarai*), wife of Abraham.

1. Traditions. There is but one reference to Sarah in the OT outside the Pentateuch, viz. in Is. 51 2, which is hardly of earlier date than the age of Ezra. (There is a play on *ăbānīm* 'stones' and *bānīm* 'sons'; cp Mt. 3 9). The three most conspicuous features of her story are: (1) her twofold relation to Abraham as his wife and his sister (12 12 *f.* [J], 20 12 [E]), on which see § 2; (2) her long barrenness (11 30, 16 1 *f.*), a feature paralleled in the story of Rebekah and of Rachel, of Samson's mother and of Samuel's, and, in Babylonian legend, of the wife of the hero Etana (cp ETHAN); and (3) her extraordinary beauty, which is mentioned to account for the danger from which the destined mother of Isaac so narrowly escaped (12 10 *ff.* 20). The change of her name from Sarai to Sarah is related (by P), together with that of Abram to Abraham, in connection with the announcement of the birth of Isaac (17 15 *ff.*). The Priestly Writer avoids attributing unbelief to so favoured a woman; but the Yahwist, with perfect simplicity and with true insight into the heart of woman, reports that Sarah 'laughed within herself' (18 12 *ff.*; cp ISAAC). According to P, she died at Hebron (23 2), an event which led to the purchase by Abraham of the cave of Machpelah (cp 23, 25 10, 49 31). According to J, if 24 67 is correct, Isaac brought his bride Rebekah 'into his mother Sarah's tent,' and 'was comforted after his mother's death.' But the text is plainly incorrect, and must originally have run thus, 'And Isaac brought her into *the tent* . . . and Isaac was comforted after his father's death.'[1]

Reference is made to Sarah in Heb. 11 11, in 1 Pet. 3 6 (cp Gen. 18 12), and in Gal. 4 21-31, where she becomes a type of the heavenly Jerusalem (cp HAGAR, § 3), just as in Is. 51 2 Sarah appears as the mother of the true Israel. One could almost venture to believe that the writer of the passage in Gal. used a book of extracts from the prophets, in which chap. 51 (with its pointed reference to Sarah) and chap. 54 (with its encouraging address to childless Zion, soon to become the antitype of Sarah) were brought into close proximity.

2. Origin of legend. Various opinions have been held as to the meaning of Sarai, which, according to P (Gen. 17 15), was the earlier name of Abraham's wife (see Di. on Gen. *l.c.*). It is plausible to hold that Sarai is an old form of Sarah[2] (ـَى = ـָה, as in Arabic; cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 40 183 42 484; Lag. *Uebers.* 92 *f.*), and that Sarah means 'princess,' or rather (through Assyrian), 'queen.' W. R. Smith, however, thought that Sarah and Israel had the same origin (*Kinship*, 30), and to those who question the mythological origin of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob this view will commend itself most. Since some conjecture must be offered, we may venture to suppose that just as Jacob's marriage with Leah symbolises the union of the Jacob clan and the Levi clan (see JACOB, § 3), so Abraham's marriage with Sarah expresses the union of a Jerahmeelite clan (אברהם for אברהם; see JERAHMEEL, § 4 [*y*]) with a clan calling itself by the name which underlies Israel; thus Sarah would correspond to Israel as LEAH [*q.v.*] probably corresponds to Levi. The explanation of 'Sarah' as 'princess' or (Ass.) 'queen,' is usually thought to be paralleled by Milcah=Malcah, 'queen,' and the mythological interpretation of 'queen' as 'queen of heaven' by Assyrian and Babylonian titles of goddesses, especially of the consort of Sin, the moon-god of Ḥarran, who is called *šarratu* (Sumerian

[1] See We. *CH* 29 *f.*; Kautzsch-Socin, *Genesis*, 53; Bacon, *Gen.* 150, 246.

[2] Jensen, *ZA*, 1896, p. 299.

nin-gal).[1] The present writer's objection to this otherwise plausible view is that he regards 'Milcah' in Gen. 11 29, etc., as certainly corrupt, and that (if we feel compelled to hold that there is only one Ḥaran—viz. in the north) the correctness of 'Ḥaran' seems to him to be in the stories of the patriarchs also open to suspicion (see HARAN ii., MILCAH). It is true, Winckler is of opinion[2] that the twofold relation of Abraham to Sarah as husband and brother is undoubtedly of mythological origin. Following Stucken, he regards the rôle of Abraham as analogous to that of Tammuz-Adonis in relation to Ištar (see the legend of the Descent of Ištar, and cp TAMMUZ); Sarah in fact is the Hebrew Ištar. Their father is Teraḥ, or, more probably, Jeraḥ, 'the moon'; he comes from one centre of moon-worship, Uru, and dies in another, Ḥaran (see TERAH). But the textual basis of this hypothesis is not less doubtful, or rather, being broader, even more doubtful than that of Jensen already mentioned. Baethgen, without criticising the text, is equally opposed to mythological theories of this sort. He thinks (*Beitr.* 157) that, as applied to the wife of Abraham, the name Sarah is simply an appellative. Both Abu-ramu and Sarai or Saraia[3] (Sa-ra-a-a) occur as names of individuals on Babylonian tablets. But, plausible as Baethgen's view may at first appear, it is not really probable. To hold that Abraham and Sarah are historical characters, is a perfectly unnecessary concession to apologetic arguments, which, if permitted to have consequences, would destroy historical criticism and carry us back to the unsympathetic attacks and the uncomprehending defences of the theologians and rationalists of the pre-critical period (cp ABRAHAM). We are therefore driven back to the theory first mentioned. The marriage of Abraham and Sarah symbolises a union of tribes. Sarah represents the Israel clan which joins a Jeraḥmeelite clan, whose centre is, according to our text, at Hebron, but, according to a corrected text, at REHOBOTH [*q.v.*]. The variation of tradition as to Abraham's relation to Sarah is exactly parallel to the variation as to Nahor's relation to Abraham in Gen. 11 24 and 27.

Von Gall's attempt (*Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 57 *f.*) to combine two opposite theories, representing Sarai as the *numen* of Machpelah, and Sarah as the consort of the divinity Abram, implies that the arguments for the two theories are equally balanced, which is hardly the case. T. K. C.

SARAH (שָׂרַח, pausal form for שֶׂרַח), Num. 26 46 AV, RV SERAH.

SARAIAS. 1. (ϲαραιου [BAL]), 1 Esd. 5 5 = SERAIAH, 7.

2. (σαραιου [AL]), 1 Esd. 8 1 = Ezra 7 1, SERAIAH, 7.

SARAMEL (1 Macc. 14 28), RV ASARAMEL.

SARAPH (שָׂרָף, a kind of serpent; see SERPENT, § 1 [9]; ϲαια [B], ϲαραφ [AL]), a name in an obscure Judahite genealogy, 1 Ch. 4 22.

SARCHEDONUS (ϲαχερδονοϲ [Bℵ], δαν [A]), Tob. 1 21 EV, AVmg. ESAR-HADDON; see ACHIACHARUS, 1.

SARDEUS, 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27, AZIZA.

SARDINE STONE (ϲαρδιοϲ), Rev. 4 3 AV, RV SARDIUS.

SARDIS (ϲαρδειϲ), Rev. 1 11 3 1 4. The oldest form of the name in Greek is Σάρδιες (Ionic), accusat. Σάρδις; the Attic form is Σάρδεις; hence the Latin *Sardes* or *Sardis*; the later Greek form is Σάρδις as in Ptol. and on coins, *e.g.*, Σάρδις Ἀσίας Λυδίας Ἑλλάδος μητρόπολις (see Head, *Hist. Numm.* 553).

1. Geography and history.

Sardis lay at the foot of Mt. Tmolus (mod. *Boz-dagh*), on a spur of which its citadel was placed (Herod. 1 84). It was an old city, perhaps the last western outpost of that early non-Aryan empire (of the Hittites?) which extended to Carchemish on the Euphrates. The valley of the Hermus was the centre of a monarchy which for a long time owed allegiance perhaps to the Phrygian kingdom farther inland, when that arose through the incoming of the Aryan Phryges from Europe, according to Greek tradition (Herod. 7 73). The Cimmerian invasion which broke the Phrygian power (about 720 B.C.) enabled the Lydian kingdom on the Hermus to play an independent part under the dynasty of the Mermnadæ, beginning with Gyges (see LYDIA). Sardis was the capital of the Lydian kingdom.[1] Lying as it did on a strong hill about 4 m. S. of the river Hermus, commanding the fertile plain (Strabo, 626), and the commencement of the old Hittite route through northern Asia Minor (later the royal road of the Persian empire), the city was marked out for a great career. In addition to its other advantages, the gold-bearing stream of the Pactolus flowed through its agora past the temple of Cybele on its way to the Hermus, and was for long a source of revenue (Herod. 5 101 1 93; Strabo, *l.c.*). Yet the Greek cities on the coast constituted an obstacle to its progress, and held the chief share of the wealth derived from the trade with inner Asia. Hence the first task of the monarchs of Sardis was the subjugation of these cities, and especially the utter destruction of Smyrna, the nearest and most formidable rival of their capital. Under Crœsus (about 560 B.C.) Sardis was at the height of her prosperity. From her mint were issued rudely executed electrum[2] staters as early as the reign of Gyges—the first European coinage (Herod. 1 94; Xenoph. *ap.* Jul. Poll. 9 83)—and later, in the time of Crœsus, pure gold and silver coins bearing figures of the lion and the bull, symbolical perhaps of the worship of the sun and the moon (see Head, *Hist. Numm.* 545 *f.*).

The trade of the city must have been largely concerned with the manufacture of woollen goods. The art of dyeing wool is said to have been invented at Sardis, and the city was the centre for the distribution of the woollen goods, the raw material of which was furnished by the vast flocks of Phrygia (Herod. 5 49). We have frequent allusion to the excellence of the dyed stuffs of Sardis (cp Aristoph. *Pax*, 1174; Sappho, *frg.* 19, Bergk; Athen. 2 30).

After its conquest by Cyrus, Sardis became the residence of the Persian satrap (Paus. iii. 9 5; cp *Anthol. Pal.* 9 423). During the three centuries following the death of Alexander the Great its history is obscure; but under the Romans it became again important. It was the centre of a *conventus juridicus*, which embraced Philadelphia. Its position made it a natural knot in the Roman road-system; from it a road ran NW. through Thyatira (36 R. m.) to Pergamos; another W. to Smyrna (54 R. m.); a third E. through Phrygia; a fourth SE. through Philadelphia (28 R. m.) to the important towns of the Mæander valley; a fifth SW. to Ephesus, crossing Mt. Tmolus and the valley of the Cayster (about 63 R. m.).[3] We have in this fact the explanation of the position of Sardis as one of the Seven Churches of Asia. (Note that the order of names in Rev. follows the line of the Roman road, N. from Ephesus through Smyrna to Pergamos, where it turns and runs down S. along the great road going through Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia to Laodicea, taking the towns in their true geographical order.)

[1] Jensen, *ZA*, 1896, p. 299. Hence Winckler (*GI* 2 72) regards both Abraham and Sarah as originally lunar deities. This is methodical; only the mythological interpretation seems to the present writer to be in this case forbidden by the results of a careful examination of the text.

[2] *GI* 2 23; cp Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 1 11.

[3] Sa-ra-a is given as the name of a *Jewish* woman on a Babylonian tablet (K. 1274), of the Sargonide period, translated by Johnston, *Assyrian Epistolary Literature*, Baltimore, 1898, p. 174.

[1] Sardis is an old Lydian word meaning 'year' (Joh. Lyd. 39 [Rams. *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 121]). The modern name is *Sart*.

[2] Cp Soph. *Antig.* 1037, τἀπὸ Σάρδεων ἤλεκτρον. Cp Herod. 1 50.

[3] For the Roman roads, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geogr. of AM* 167 *f.*

In 17 A.D. Sardis suffered fearfully from the great earthquake that ravaged Asia Minor in that year (cp *Anthol. Pal.* 9 423).[1] She received a subsidy from the emperor's privy purse, together with remission of taxation for a period of five years (Str. 627; Tac. *Ann.* 2 47). By 26 A.D. the town is again in a flourishing condition (Str. 625, calls it a 'great city'), and vies with Smyrna for the honour of erecting, as representative of the Asiatic cities, a temple to Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 4 55).

As regards the reference to Sardis in the NT, there is little allusion to the special circumstances of the town. The thrice-repeated mention of garments may have been suggested by the staple industry. In *v.* 1 the words 'thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead' throw a light upon the decay of spiritual life in Sardis about 100 A.D. (cp *v.* 2)—perhaps as a result of undisturbed mercantile prosperity leading to luxury and apathy (*v.* 3). In 3 4 the phrase 'which have not defiled their garments,' may well remind us of what we hear from other sources of the voluptuous habits of the Lydians (cp Herod. 1 55 1 79; Æsch. *Pers.* 41; Athen. 12 57).

W. J. W.

SARDITE (סַרְדִּי), Nu. 26 26 AV, RV SEREDITE.

SARDIUS. 1. A precious stone *'ōdem* (אֹדֶם) occurs in P as one of the gems of the high-priestly breastplate (Ex. 28 17 39 10), whence, among others, it is assigned by an interpolator for the adornment of the king of Tyre (or Miṣṣur?) in Ezek. 28 13†. The EV rendering 'sardius' follows 𝔊 (σάρδιον); Josephus also, in describing the sacred breastplate, has σάρδιον in *BJ* v. 5 7, but in *Ant.* iii. 7 6, σαρδόνυξ, 'sardonyx.' RVmg. gives 'ruby,' but with doubtful justification (see RUBY, CARBUNCLE). σάρδιον also occurs in Rev. 21 20, and (so Ti. WH and RV) in Rev. 4 3. The Hebrew gem-name *'ōdem* is usually derived from ארם, 'to be red'; if so, the carnelian may be plausibly identified with the *'ōdem* of the OT. Probably the ancients meant this identification, though the sardius in modern parlance means the brown chalcedony, the red being our carnelian. The meaning of the word carnelian is obvious. The vividness of the red, flesh-like hue[2] determines the estimation in which it is held. In ancient times, as in our own day, this stone is more frequently engraved than any other. Pliny (*HN* 37 7) speaks of the sardius of Babylon as of greater value than that of Sardis. The Hebrews would naturally obtain the carnelian from Arabia. In Yemen there is found a very fine dark-red kind, which is called *el-'aḳīḳ* (Niebuhr, *Beschreib.* 142). The Arabs wear it on the finger, on the arm above the elbow, and in front of the belt. Cp STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 4, *b* (1), 7.

This, as we have said, is the current identification. When, however, we refer to Ezek. 27 16 where among the articles supplied to Tyre (or Miṣṣur?) by Edom (so Cornill, Toy, etc., read, following 𝔊) we find, close together ראמות and כרכר (or perhaps [see RUBY] כרכר), the suspicion grows upon us that (as in Job 28 18, according to TARSHISH [STONE] § 3) ראמות springs from ראמו, and this from אֲרֹמִי, 'Edomite stone,' and כרכר from ירחמאלי, *i.e.*, Jerahmeelite stone (for a parallel, see RUBY), so that we are entirely ignorant of more than the name of the regions from which the people of Palestine derived these stones. If so, all renderings must be purely conventional.

2. שֹׁהַם, *šōham*, is in 𝔊 of Ex. 25 6 [7] 35 9 σάρδιον. See ONYX; STONES (PRECIOUS), §§ 4, *b* (3), 18.

3. σάρδιον occurs also in 𝔊 in Prov. 25 11 *f.*, where it represents apparently both כסף and כתם, but really perhaps only כתם (see col. 499, n. 1).

T. K. C.

SARDONYX (יָהֲלֹם, Ex. 28 18 RVmg.) in modern mineralogy, is a name applied to those varieties of onyx, or stratified chalcedony, which exhibit white layers alternating with others of red or brown colour. The brown chalcedony is known to modern mineralogists as *sard* and the red as *carnelian* (see CHALCEDONY, SARDIUS). The simplest and commonest type of sardonyx contains two strata—a thin layer of white chalcedony resting upon a ground of either carnelian or sard; but the sardonyx of ancient writers generally presented three layers—a superficial stratum of red, an intermediate band of white, and a base of dark brown chalcedony. The sardonyx has always been a favourite stone with the cameo-engraver, and the finest works have usually been executed on stones of five strata. Such, for instance, is the famous Carpegna cameo, in the Vatican, representing the triumph of Bacchus and Ceres, and reputed to be the largest work of its kind ever executed (16 inches by 12). When the component layers of a sardonyx are of fine colour and sharply defined, the stone is known in modern parlance as an 'Oriental sardonyx'—a term which is used without reference to the geographical source whence the stone is obtained. A famous ancient locality for sard was in Babylonia, and the name of the stone may be of Persian origin (see preceding col. n. 2). The sardonyx is frequently stained, or at least its colour heightened, by chemical processes. Imitations are fabricated by cementing two or three layers of chalcedony together, and so building up a sardonyx; baser counterfeits are formed simply of paste. See ONYX.

σαρδόνυξ (Rev. 21 20†) does not occur in 𝔊. But RVmg. unaccountably has sardonyx for yahălōm (יהלם) in Ex. 28 18 (EV 'diamond'), though it passes over Ex. 39 11 and Ezek. 28 13 without remark.

SAREA (*SAREAM, -IAM*), 4 Esd. 14 24, a scribe. The name is doubtless the same as SERAIAH [*q.v.*].

SAREPTA (ϲαρεπτα [Ti. WH]), Lk. 4 26† AV, RV ZAREPHATH.

SARGON

Claim to throne (§ 1).	The North again (§§ 11-14).
Policy (§ 2).	The North-west (§ 15 *f.*).
Early troubles (§ 3).	Ashdod (§ 17).
In the West (§ 4 *f.*)	Babylon (§ 18).
In the North (§§ 6-8).	Closing years (§ 19).
The West again (§ 9 *f.*).	Isaiah (§ 20).

Bibliography (§ 21).

1. Descent; claim to throne.

Sargon (סַרְגוֹן; αρνα [BℵAQΓ], ϲαραγω̄ [Aq. Theod.], ϲαργων [Symm. in Qmg.]; Assyrian, *Šarru-ukîn*, 'He [the god] has established the king') was the successor of Shalmaneser IV. as king of Assyria, B.C. 722-705. He is often called *Šarrûkîn arkû*, 'Sargon the later,' to distinguish him from Sargon of Akkad, one of the earliest and grandest rulers of Babylonia, in the third millennium B.C. Sargon II. had apparently little difficulty in seizing the reins of power, for according to the Babylonian Chronicle (*KB* 2 276 *ll.* 29 *ff.*) Shalmaneser died in the month of Ṭebētu B.C. 722, and Sargon sat on the throne in Assyria on the 22nd of the same month. By what claim he succeeded he nowhere tells us, nor does he ever mention his father or ancestry. His son Sennacherib usually claims descent from him, but on his entry into Babylon seems to have put forward a claim to descent from Gilgameš and the mythical heroes of the past, through a long line of Assyrian and Babylonian kings. Sargon's grandson Esarhaddon put forward a claim to be the remote descendant of Bêl-bânî son of Adasi, an ancient king of Assyria not otherwise known to us. The sons of Esarhaddon, Ašur-bâni-pal and Šamaš-šum-ukîn, adopt his claim to royal descent. We need not contemptuously reject their claim, since it may have come to them through Esarhaddon's mother. On the other hand we are bound to admit his right to be called ***mukîn išdi mâti***, 'founder of a dynasty.' Further, his evident partiality for the old capital Aššur, which he invariably styles 'my city,' and the epithet ***pir'u Aššur***, 'offspring of Aššur,' so often applied to him by his descendants, point to his having come from that city.

Sargon II. certainly represents the return to power

[1] This earthquake destroyed twelve cities of Asia, Plin. *HN* 2 84; Tac. *Ann.*, *l.c.*, where see *note* in Furneaux ed.

[2] The Gk. σάρδιον too has been thought to derive its name from its colour (cp Pers. *sered*, 'yellowish red'?), though the Greeks themselves supposed the name to be derived from Sardis, the place where they first became acquainted with it. See SARDONYX.

in Assyria of the old aristocracy, as the restorer of the ancient burgher rights and privileges in the old capitals Aššur and Ḫarrân, and later the consolidator of his empire by the extension of like freedom to the cities of Babylonia. His scrupulous regard for the claims of ancient titles to land, whether temple endowments or ancestral domains, and his careful restoration of rights taken away by fraud or violence, tyranny or conquest, both in Assyria and (later) in Babylonia, were repeatedly set forth by him as justifications for a turn which he wished to give to his own name Šarrukînu, 'the true king.' The fact that the achievements, which later writers ascribe to Sargon of Akkad, bear such close resemblance to the historical events of Sargon II.'s reign, has tempted some to doubt the historical worth of the earlier parallels. It is not unlikely that Sargon II., who may have taken the name Šarrûkin on coming to the throne, deliberately set to work to revive the glories of the ancient Sargon.

2. His policy.

Sargon II. did not immediately enter into full possession of the empire which Tiglath-pileser III. had conquered and Shalmaneser IV. seems to have retained. The change of dynasty was the signal for a general rebellion of the outlying tributary states. There could not have been much of the year B.C. 722 left when he was acknowledged successor in Assyria; but before the end of his accession year, Merodach-baladan II., a Chaldæan king of Bît Yakin, who had submitted and paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III., had moved his hordes of nomad supporters into Babylonia, and in Nisan B.C. 721 sat on the throne of Babylon. The army of Ḫumbanigaš, king of Elam, invaded N. Babylonia, and Sargon had to meet both. Fortunately Samaria, after a 'three' years' siege, had just fallen, and so probably released an army. Sargon fought with Ḫumbanigaš in the *rêbitu* of Dûrilu, and both sides claimed the victory. Merodach-baladan seems to have arrived too late to engage in battle. Ḫumbanigaš, either incensed at this lack of support, or too shattered to renew the strife even with such reinforcement, returned to Elam. Sargon did not pursue him, or venture to attack Merodach-baladan; but Dûrilu and all N. Babylonia remained in Sargon's hands. Merodach-baladan indeed reigned twelve years in Babylon and the S. of Babylonia, in spite of Sargon, and 'contrary to the will of the gods'; but never did he venture to fall upon Sargon's rear whilst he waged his wars incessantly in every other direction. On the whole the advantage lay with Sargon, who was able to deal with his enemies one by one and crush them in detail, and finally to turn the whole force of his mighty empire on Babylon.

3. Early troubles.

From some of Sargon's own earlier inscriptions there is reason to believe that he did not reckon his own reign from B.C. 722 but from B.C. 720. The historians of Babylon and his own later inscriptions, however, reckoned his regnal years from his acknowledgment in Aššur itself. Left undisturbed by his most formidable enemies in the S. he turned his attention to the reconquest of the W. In the account of the capture of Samaria, and the deportation of 27,290 men, the flower of the nation, Sargon's annals record the settlement there of captives from other lands. In this the scribe surely anticipates what occurred later, for Sargon had won no victories at that time. Certainly Samaria was in a position to join the cities allied with Ilu-bi'di in B.C. 720.

4. Samaria.

Doubtless encouraged by the indecisive appearance of Sargon's battle at Dûrilu, relieved evidently of the Assyrian army then withdrawn to the S., and urged on by the intrigues of Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri, the whole West seems to have struck for independence. Ilu-bi'di (or Iau-bi'di), an upstart, probably a creature of Pir'u, had made himself king of Hamath. Such old dependencies of Assyria as Arpad and Ṣimirra joined him. Damascus and Samaria, only lately captured, and partly no doubt peopled by exiles from other lands, who had nothing to lose and hoped for revenge, joined the conspiracy. Ḫanun of Gaza, once expelled by Tiglath-pileser III., now supported by Sib'e, the Tartan (see So) of Muṣur, had got back his kingdom. But though Ilu-bi'di was able to collect a vast army at Ḳarḳar, Sargon seems to have swept them away with ease. Sargon followed up Ḫanun to Rapiḫu, where he and Sib'e were defeated. Hanno was captured and taken to Aššur, Sib'e fled, Rapiḫu was plundered. Syria and the West remained quiet for some ten years, 720-711 B.C.

5. Hamath and Gaza.

Sargon's most powerful enemies now lay in the N.



Sargon and his principal officers.

and NE. Already Tiglath-pileser III. had subdued Man and placed there a vassal king, Iranzû. Beyond that buffer state, however, lay Zikirtu (Sagartia), probably pressed by the already encroaching Cimmerians, if not themselves an advance guard of that horde of nomad barbarians. Their king Mitatti incited two of Iranzû's subject cities to rebel, and Iranzû appealed to his overlord for assistance. In 719 B.C., accordingly, Sargon captured and destroyed these cities (Šuandaḫul and Durdukku). Three of the cities which had been fortified against Armenia, but had gone over to Rusâ, king of Armenia, the instigator of most of the trouble here, were captured and their people deported to Syria.

6. Minni.

7. Armenia.

In the next year Kiakki, prince of Šinuḫtu, one of the districts in Tabal, had omitted to send tribute. He was captured and taken with most of his people to Aššur. His land was added to that of Matti of Atun (Tun, Tyana), which was subjected to a proportionate increase in tribute. Next year, Carchemish was dealt with. It had retained a shadow of independence, whilst its neighbours had lost theirs, from policy on the part of Assyria. The Assyrian monarch was content with loyalty and a rich tribute, and Pisiris of Carchemish

8. Tabal.

9. Carchemish.

had been loyal to Tiglath-pileser III. Now, doubtless owing to fear, he had allied himself with Mitâ of Muški, and omitted to send tribute. He was deported to Assyria and Carchemish was peopled with Assyrians. In this year, Umma-nigaš, king of Elam, died and was succeeded by Šutruk-naḫunta. The death of Iranzû, king of Man, reopened the north-eastern question.

Azâ, the son of Iranzû, who succeeded his father, was murdered by Bagdatti of Umildiš, Mitatti of Zikirtu and a ruler of Misianda being concerned in the conspiracy, and Rusâ of Armenia being a supporter. Sargon promptly marched into the district, captured Bagdatti and flayed him alive on the spot where he had murdered Azâ. Ullusunu, brother of Azâ, succeeded him on the throne of Man with Sargon's consent. But he clearly distrusted the power of Assyria to protect him against Armenia, and gave up twenty-two of his cities to Rusâ, as a 'present.' Beyond Man, towards Media, lay Karalla and Allabra, two small buffer states, whose kings Ašur-li' and Ittî had been subject to Assyria, if they were not actually Assyrians. Ullusunu fled to the hills and left his capital Izirtu to be captured and burned. Two other cities, Zibia and Arma'id, which resisted were taken. But Sargon had no intention to hold permanently, with Assyrian garrisons, such a remote dependency. He accepted Ullusunu's submission, reinstated him as king, and caused him to resume possession of the cities 'presented,' doubtless in fear, to Rusâ. The allies were severely treated, Ašur-li' of Karalla was slain, his people deported to Hamath, and his land turned into an Assyrian province. Ittî of Allabra, with his family, was deported to Hamath, and a new vassal king set in his place.

Sargon now advanced farther E.

10. The Median cities. Šurgadia, whose governor Šêpâ-šarri had rebelled, was captured and, with Niksamma, added to the Assyrian province of Parsûa. Bêl-šar-uṣur, governor of Kišêsim in W. Media, was captured, his city made an Assyrian colony and called Kâr-Nabû. Then a number of Median cities, Bît Sagbat, Bît Ḫirmâni, Bît Umargi, Kilambâte, Armangu, were taken and constituted a new province. Ḫarḫar, whose governor Kibaba had been expelled by the inhabitants, was captured, repeopled with captives from other lands, renamed Kâr-Šarrûkin, and made the capital of a new province. While settling the affairs of this new district Sargon received the tribute of twenty-eight Median city governors.

These events are related under 716 B.C.; but the scribe seems to have chosen to finish the story of the Median conquests at once, rather than return to it under 715 B.C., when some of the events clearly occurred.

11. Armenia. All this while Rusâ of Armenia had continued to instigate rebellions, which he does not seem to have openly supported, and would not take warning by the fate of his allies. As Ullusunu had deserted his cause, he fell upon the twenty-two cities which had once been presented him, took them by force from Man, and set up Daiukku, a subject of Ullusunu, as a rival king. In 715 B.C., Sargon put down this new kingdom, deported Daiukku to Hamath, took again the twenty-two cities, and put them under Assyrian garrisons. In Ḫupuškia, Sargon now received the homage of Ianzû of Na'iri. Tilusina of Andia, to whom Rusâ had given the twenty-two cities, was now captured. So at last Ullusunu was left in undisturbed possession of his land as a vassal of Sargon's. Ḫarḫar, just made into a province, had already rebelled; so it was again reduced, augmented by Assyrianised territory, and strongly fortified as a garrison against the Medes, on whom a yearly tribute in horses was imposed.

12. Muškê; Cyprus; Arabia. In the NW., Mitâ of Muški (see TUBAL AND MESHECH) had annexed some cities from the land of Ḳuê (cp HORSE, § 3). In 715 B.C. Sargon's troops recaptured them. At this time, probably, Sargon made his influence supreme over Tyre and extended it to the 'Ionian Sea,' perhaps to Cyprus.

In Arabia the tribes of Ḫaiapâ (cp EPHAH, and see *KAT*[(2)] 146 *f.*, 613), Ibâdidi, Marsimanni, and Tamud had been tributaries of Tiglath-pileser III. They had neglected to send tribute to Sargon; for how long does not appear. He now sent an expedition against them. They were easily reduced to order and many deported to Samaria. Pir'u of Muṣur, Samsi queen of Arabia, It'amra of Saba, and some of the kings on the sea coast and in the desert sent rich tribute of gold, precious stones, ivory, incense, spices, horses, and camels.

13. Reduction of Armenia. In 714 B.C., Sargon went back to Man. Ullusunu received him loyally. Dalta of Ellipi sent presents from the S. border of Media. Zikirtu was then attacked. Three fortresses and twenty-four cities were taken and plundered. The capital Parda was burnt, and then Mitatti with his people disappeared. Whether they migrated to the N. of Armenia and joined the advancing Gimirri (see GOMER), or were swallowed up by them, or returned to their old home S. of the Black Sea, does not appear. Now Sargon turned on Rusâ of Armenia and defeated him with great slaughter and carried off 260 of the royal family. Rusâ fled to the hills. Sargon then went through the regions which had owned Rusâ's sway, burnt and pillaged cities, to the number of 140, augmented the dominions of Ullusunu with Ziḫardussu and Umildiš, and reduced Armenia to helplessness. One city deserved special vengeance, Muṣaṣir (Mushitzar), whose prince Urzana had submitted long ago to Shalmaneser IV., taking an oath of fealty to Ašur, but had turned traitor, and gone over to Rusâ.

Muṣaṣir was approached by difficult mountain paths. Urzana fled to the hills, but his city was soon taken. Sargon makes much of this capture, representing it on his sculptures at Khorsabad. Urzana's wife and family, 6000 of the inhabitants, and an immense booty of mules, asses, cattle, gold, silver, bronze, precious stones, magnificent garments, were carried away to Assyria. The city was extraordinarily wealthy. Sargon placed large portions of Armenia, probably all the S. and E., and the districts accessible from Lake Van, under his own rule, garrisoning the towns and appointing Assyrian governors. Rusâ, in despair at the irretrievable ruin of his land, committed suicide, 'like a pig.'

14. Further Median conquests. In 713 B.C., Sargon was recalled to Ellipi, Bît Daiukku, and Karalli. The inhabitants of Karalli had expelled his delegate and set up Amitašši, brother of Ašur-li', as king. Sargon put down this rebellion and further extended his conquests in Media. The regions named are of the highest importance for the early history of the Medes. The Aribi (named by Ptolemy as later in the S. of Gedrosia), the mighty Mandai, were all subdued, and Sargon received the tribute of Ullusunu of Man, Daltâ of Ellipi and Ninib-aplu-iddina of Allabria.

15. Cilicia and Tabal. In the time of Tiglath-pileser the land of Tabal had been conquered and its king deposed. Tiglath-pileser had set Ḫullê, a man of humble birth, on the throne, who seems to have been a faithful vassal till his death. Sargon had added the people of Bît Burutaš to his dominions. When his son Ambaris succeeded, Sargon sent him presents and gave him his daughter to wife and added the city of Ḫilakku to his territory. But Ambaris was a traitor, and was involved in the plots of Mitâ of Muškê and Rusâ of Armenia. Sargon now deprived him of his throne, made his country into an Assyrian province, and deported Ambaris to Assyria with his family and chief nobles.

16. Commagene; Togarmah. In 712 B.C. Sargon punished the intrigues of Tarḫu-nâzi of Meliddu. He had attacked Gunzinanu of Kamman, one of Sargon's faithful vassals. City after city was captured, Meliddu the capital fell, Tarḫunazi was besieged in Tulgarimme, captured, and taken in chains to Assyria. The district was made an Assyrian province, a number of fortresses erected against Armenia, and against Muški, whilst Meliddu was annexed to Ḳummuḫ. Next year, seemingly, Gurgum had to be pacified. Here Mutallu had slain his own father, Tarḫulara, and set himself on his throne. The parricide was soon put down and carried captive to Assyria, and his land made an Assyrian province.

Once more trouble arose in Philistia. Azuri, king of Ashdod, had planned to refuse his tribute, and had begun to negotiate alliances with the neighbouring

states of anti-Assyrian tendencies, when Sargon deposed him, and placed his brother Aḫimiti on the throne (see ASHDOD). The inhabitants, however, rebelled under the leadership of one Yamāni, a common soldier, perhaps an Ionian Greek, or a man from Yemen, and Aḫimiti was expelled (see § 20). Then Philistia, Edom, Moab, and Judah, relying on Pir'u of Muṣri, joined the rebellion.

17. Ashdod.

Sargon swiftly sent his army to the scene, captured Ashdod, Gath, Ašdudimmu, and carried off their inhabitants, their gods, the palace treasures, and Yamâni's wife and children. Yamâni escaped to Muṣur; he was, however, apparently captured by the king of Meluḫḫa, and sent in chains to Ašur. The cities were rebuilt and repeopled with captives from other quarters. Again, for the time, the W. country was quiet, having received a warning that no help could be had from Muṣur.

Those states which, though hoping for Muṣur's assistance, had avoided hostile acts, seem to have been unmolested by Sargon. It is true, this king does once call himself *mušaknis mâtu Iauda ša ašaršu rûḳu*, 'the subjugator of the land of Judah, whose situation is far off' (*KB* 2 36 *f.*). This has been thought either to arise out of a confusion between Israel and Judah, or to refer to the Syrian land of Yaudi, but may possibly point to an otherwise unrecorded submission of Judah, consequent on the fall of Ashdod, in 720 B.C. (See ASHDOD.)

Now came the crowning achievement of Sargon's reign. He had humbled his enemies on every side, secured his rear, accumulated vast treasure, trained a veteran army, and now had at his command the services of countless slave warriors who had proved their valour against him and were now at his disposal. He turned his resistless forces against MERODACH-BALADAN, in Babylon, who had not been able to conciliate the Babylonians. His nomad supporters had been allowed to possess themselves of the lands and property of the old inhabitants, doubtless as a reward for their support. Merodach-baladan was unable, if he wished, to win the affections of his subjects. They looked to Sargon to follow the examples of Tiglath-pileser III. and Shalmaneser IV., and so to restore the old privileges and rights. Sargon first attacked the allies, Aramaic peoples on the borders of Elam. Such tribes as the Gambuli, Ru'a, Ḫindaru, Iatburu, and Puḳudu were subdued and formed into a new Assyrian province with Dûr-Nabû for its capital. Holding this region, Sargon was safe from any movement on the part of Elam, if Šutruknaḫunta had cared to move. When Merodach-baladan sent to Elam to ask for his help, that astute monarch accepted the presents, but gave no help. Merodach-baladan could not depend upon his small band of Chaldæan retainers to face Sargon, and fled when the Assyrians commenced operations in Babylonia by the capture of Bît Dakkuri.

18. The relief of Babylon.

Merodach-baladan seems to have spent the winter in the S., at Iḳbi-Bêl, which he fortified with the greatest care. Sargon made no haste to follow him. Sargon's objective was Babylon. The inhabitants of Babylon welcomed him as a deliverer. They went out in a great procession to Dûr-Ladinna, the capital of Bît Dakkuri, and brought Sargon in triumph into the city of Babylon. There he took possession of the palace of Merodach-baladan, offered the regular offerings to the gods, and received the tribute of the subjugated Babylonian states. Then he set himself to restore order. He cleaned out and rebuilt the ruined canal, from Borsippa, which served as the procession street for Nabû at the Nisan feast. Then in the beginning of the year 709 B.C., he 'took the hands of Bêl' and was legitimate monarch of Babylon.

Next month, Aaru of 709 B.C., Sargon resumed his campaign against Merodach-baladan. The latter had seen all his allies in turn surrender, so he withdrew to his ancestral domain Dûr Iakin on the Euphrates. There he assembled the scattered remnants of his forces. He had carried off in chains some of the notables of the S. Babylonian cities. Now he set out his camp under the walls of the city and protected it by a wide moat filled by a canal from the Euphrates, broke down all the bridges, and 'in the midst of the waters like a swamp hawk' awaited Sargon's attack. Sargon made his veterans 'fly over the waters like eagles.' Merodach-baladan's army was again defeated, under the walls of the city; wounded himself, he managed to escape; but his camp with all its treasures fell into Sargon's hands. The city was soon after taken and destroyed. The captive notables were released and reinstated in their old possessions. The old temple endowments were restored, the worships renewed, the deported gods brought back. The captured districts of Bît Iakin on the Elamite frontier were resettled with captives from Ḳummuḫ, and their inhabitants transferred there. Fortresses were garrisoned against Elam, and the old kingdom of Bît Yakîn became an Assyrian province, attached to the governor of Babylon and Gambuli.

These successes secured Sargon further bloodless triumphs. Upiri, king of Dilmun, in the Persian Gulf, sent presents and an embassy of congratulation. Mitâ of Muški, who had been such a trouble in past years, and was now hard pressed by the governor of Ḳuê, sent in his submission, while Sargon was still engaged in Iatburi. The kings of seven Cyprian cities sent presents. Tyre also seems to have desired friendly relations.

19. Closing years.

Sargon's absence in the S. affected other states somewhat differently. In 708 B.C., Mutallu of Ḳummuḫ, in collusion with Argistis of Armenia, Rusâ's son and successor, threw off his allegiance. An army was sent against him; he dared not meet it, and fled. His family and possessions fell into the hands of the conqueror. Ḳummuḫ became an Assyrian province. In the same year arose troubles in Ellipi. Daltâ had proved a faithful vassal; but on his death his sons Nibê and Išpabara quarrelled over the succession. Nibê obtained assistance from Elam, Išpabara applied to Assyria. An Assyrian army soon besieged Nibê and his Elamite supporters, captured the capital Marubišti, and brought Nibê captive to Assyria. Išpabara was duly set on the throne as an Assyrian vassal.

The inscriptions of Sargon extend no further, and his last three years are somewhat obscure. He died in 705 B.C., some think by the hand of an assassin.

Sargon was a great builder. For the greater part of his reign he lived at Kalaḫ, but he was all the while building the magnificent city of Dûr Šarrûkîn, on the site of the old city of Maganuba, in the *rêbit* (see REHOBOTH-IR) of Nineveh. The vast ruins of Dūr Šarrūkīn with its palaces, now the village of Khorsabad, were excavated by the French under Botta, Place, Oppert, and others. They form the most perfect type of an Assyrian city yet known. There were found the chief inscriptions which give so full an account of Sargon's reign. For a full description of the wondrous halls with their long series of sculpture and endless detail of battle scenes, we must refer to Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninive*. Sargon's inscriptions are full of descriptions of the preparations for the building of this city. He ransacked the quarries and forests of Lebanon, Amanus, and the Syrian hills for wood and valuable stones to beautify his palace. He expended the vast treasures which his conquests gave him in its construction, though for the greater part of the time his swarms of captives were employed there in forced labour. As the *ilku* or *corvée* seems to have ceased in Marḫešwān, 709 B.C., the actual building was probably finished then. In 707 B.C. Sargon returned from Babylon; on the 22nd of Tešrit in that year the gods of Dûr-Šarrûkîn entered their temples.

Sargon also built and restored largely at Kalaḫ and other cities in his kingdom. Nineveh was then com-

paratively insignificant; but he restored the temple of Nabû there. C. H. W. J.

20. Sargon and Isaiah. Is. 20 1 is the only OT passage which mentions the great usurper by name. The view that מצרים and כוש often stand for the N. Arabian regions of Miṣrim and Cush (see MIZRAIM, CUSH, 2), and the theory that אפרים, 'Ephraim,' is sometimes a corruption, or, at any rate, a synonym of ירחמאל, 'Jeraḥmeel' (*e.g.*, in Judg. 17 1 19 1 1 S. 1 1; cp RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM, MICAH, 2), oblige the present writer to modify or even reject some of the current views on what are called the 'Assyrian prophecies' of Isaiah. According to his theory it becomes in the highest degree probable that the danger which beset the state from N. Arabia was as much in the mind of Hebrew prophets and statesmen as the danger from Assyria, and that some prophecies which have been thought to refer to Assyrian invaders may refer after all to N. Arabians.

1. We will look first at Is. 10 5 *ff.*, and specially at *vv.* 8-10. These verses are usually supposed to refer to the fall of Carchemish, Calno (?), Arpad, Hamath, Damascus, and Samaria, and are thought to indicate as the date of the prophecy some period in the reign of Sargon after 717 (fall of Carchemish). This appears to be a mistake. The places referred to in *v.* 9 are probably not to the N. but to the S. of Judah: Kir-cusham, Jeraḥmeel, Ephrath, Maacath, Cusham, and Shimron —places on the N. Arabian border, of the two latter of which Isaiah had predicted the conquest in a much misunderstood earlier prophecy (see 8 4, where probably 'Dammeśeḳ' [EV Damascus] should be 'Cusham,' and 'Shōmrōn' [EV 'Samaria'] should be 'Shimron'). This critical conclusion, however, does not force us to give up referring Is. 10 5 *ff.* to the reign of Sargon. The prediction of Isaiah in 8 4 (as we can now understand it) was fulfilled, at least to a moderate extent, not by Tiglath-pileser, but by Sargon, who was perhaps starting on his Arabian campaign (see above, § 13) when the prophet put dramatically into the mouth of 'Assyria' the boastful exaggerations of Is. 10 8-10.

2. In passing on to Is. 20, it is almost enough to refer here to ISAIAH [PROPHET], § 5, [BOOK], § 9, and for monumental evidence to the well-known passage in Sargon's cylinder text (*KB* 2 64; *Intr. Is.* 120), relative to the treasonable designs of Philistia, Judah, Edom, and Moab, and the inability of Pir'u, king of Muṣri (so Winckler),[1] to help them.

Something may, however, be said about the names of Azuri, king of Ashdod, his brother Aḫimiti, and the popular nominee Yamâni which the present writer regards as probably N. Arabian ethnics; for Azuri cp Azariah and Azareel, where the final *-ah* and *-(e)el* are separate additions, and for Aḫimiti cp Aḥiṭūb, which is commonly misunderstood, and springs from an ethnic, most probably Reḥōbōthi,[2] while Yamâni (hardly 'Ionian') may perhaps be grouped with such popular Hebrew corruptions of the ethnic 'Jeraḥmeel' as יָמִין, יְמִינִי (Yāmīn, Yĕmīnī). Winckler (*KAT*(3) 70, n. 1) compares Yamâni to Omri. Now, in the present writer's opinion, OMRI (*q.v.*) was of Jerahmeelite origin, and from Joab's time onwards (cp ZERUIAH) adventurers from the Negeb made their way to power through their ability in warfare.

3. Now, too, we can understand better Is. 28 1-4, which describes the fall of the 'proud crown' of certain 'drunkards'—surely not the unfortunate brethren of Isaiah in Samaria, but the tyrannical princes of the southern Ephraim—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel; the place intended is probably the capital of the land of Jeraḥmeel, by which so much harm had been done to Israel and Judah. The Jeraḥmeelites, however, must have sent tribute in time to avert the dreaded punishment of captivity; the prophecy of woe was unfulfilled.

4. The attempt of Sayce to explain several passages of Isaiah (*e.g.*, chaps. 1 10 5 *ff.* 22 1-14 and partly 36 *f.*) with reference to the supposed invasion of Judah by Sargon lacks adequate exegetical and monumental basis. On these passages, see *Intr. Is.* especially 3 *f.* (with the references). Even if 'subjugator' (*mušakniš*, see § 17) pointed to a submission of Hezekiah to Sargon in 720 B.C., this would not serve as an explanation of the strong language of Isaiah, who speaks (in so far as the language is really his) of invasion and devastation. T. K. C.

21. Literature. In his *Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (2 vols. 1889) Winckler rearranges the material published by Botta, Place, Oppert, and others, and gives a full bibliography. His own articles (*AOF*, *passim*) and his monograph, *Muṣri, Meluḫḫa, Ma'in* (*MVG*, 1898, 1 and 4) are the chief additional sources. Sargon's Annals are chronologically arranged. The Babylonian Chronicle gives a brief imperfectly preserved summary, and the Canon lists supply a few more particulars. The letters sent to Sargon, or his son Sennacherib, by the governors or generals will, when completely published by Prof. R. F. Harper, add greatly to our knowledge of events, but are not yet available. On the whole, we are better informed about Sargon's reign than about any other portion of Assyrian history.

The chief inscriptions of Sargon are given by Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, Leipzig, 1889. For the literature see there p. 1-3, also *KB* 2 55. Winckler has added several texts in his *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten*, 2, on which see his *AOF*, *passim*. For a fuller text of K. 1989 see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, no. 809. For the History see now Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* 2 148-182, as well as the Histories in ASSYRIA. For a view of events in Armenia in Sargon's reign, of uncertain date, probably during his stay in Babylon, see article by R. C. Thompson, in *AJSL*, July 1901.

C. H. W. J. §§ 1-19, 21; T. K. C., § 20.

SARID (שָׂרִיד), a place on the S. border of Zebulun, Josh. 19 10 12 ([ε]σεδεκ [γωλα], σεδδουκ [B] [εως], σαρθιδ, σαριδ [A], σαρειδ, [σ]αρ[ε]ιδ [L]; Pesh. *Ashdoa*). Reading שריד, we may place the site at *Tell Shadūd*, on the N. edge of the plain of Esdraelon, 12 m. S. of *Jefāt* (Conder, *PEFM* 2 70).

SARON (σαρων), Acts 9 35, RV SHARON.

SAROTHIE (σαρωθει [B], -θιε [A], om. L), a group of children of 'Solomon's servants' (see below) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9, § 8*c*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 5 34 after Pochereth-hazzebaim of ‖ Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59.

According to the ordinary view, an explanation would be hazardous (for the two views, see NETHINIM and SOLOMON'S SERVANTS). If, however, שלמה is 'Salmah' and נתינים is a corruption of איתנים, then we have a right to look to the N. Arabian borderland, and 'Sarothei' (𝔊B), like 'Sophereth' and 'Shephatiah,' may be a corruption of צָרְפָתִי, Ṣārĕphāthī (see ZAREPHATH). T. K. C.

SARSECHIM (שַׂרְסְכִים and שׂר־סכים—the Western and the Eastern readings respectively), apparently the name of a Babylonian prince (Jer. 39 3 ναβουσαχαρ [BℵA], -σαραχ [Q], σαρσαχειμ [Q^mg.]). Schrader (*KAT*(2) 416) offers no explanation. Giesebrecht thinks that the preceding 'Nebo' (in MT) should form part of the name (cp 𝔊), and that the name thus produced is a corruption of NEBUSHASBAN (*q.v.*). The hypothesis, however, that Jeraḥmeelites and Edomites took part (to say the least) in the capture of Jerusalem suggests our reading שַׂר כֻּשִׁים, 'the prince of the Cushites (of N. Arabia).' For the context see NERGAL-SHAREZER. T. K. C.

SARUCH (σερουχ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 35 AV, RV SERUG.

SASH (קִשֻּׁרִים), Is. 3 20 RV. See GIRDLE, 4.

SATAN. Satan appears in the OT, as a distinct superhuman personality, only in three passages (Zech. 3 Job 1 2 1 Ch. 21 1), all of which are post-exilic, the earliest dating from 519, the last from about 300 B.C.

1. Occurrence in OT. In Ps. 109 6 (see Cheyne), as also probably in Ecclus. 21 27 (see ECCLESIASTICUS, § 19), the term is used of a human adversary or opposer. So far as the OT is concerned, three points require discussion; the meaning and usage of the term (§ 2), the origin of the belief (§ 3), and its development (§ 4).

[1] *Muṣri*, etc. (*MVG*, 1898, 1 281 and 25; *KAT*(3) 70; cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*.

[2] The Hebrew name AHIMOTH (*q.v.*) most probably has the same origin.

The root (*śṭn*), which belongs to the old Semitic stock (cp Ar. *šṭn*), signifies 'to oppose another (by putting oneself in his way).' The noun שָׂטָן *śāṭān* occurs in the early Hebrew Literature; in a passage like Nu. 22 22 32, the original sense is still clear—'The angel . . . set himself in the way to be a *śāṭān* to him (Balaam)'; elsewhere the original sense is less prominent (see 1 S. 29 4 2 S. 19 22 [23] 1 K. 5 4 [18] 11 14 23 25, cp Siṭnah, Gen. 26 21). In Ps. 109 6 the word is used of an opponent at law, an accuser. It is with this last shade of meaning that *haś-Śāṭān*, 'the Satan,' is used in Zech. 3 1 *f.*, where for the first time the word becomes the official title of a distinct personality; in Job, where the word is also used with the article, the usage is similar; but in Ch. the article disappears, the word virtually becomes a proper name and the original sense probably loses prominence, although here, as generally elsewhere, 𝔊^BA translates the term by διάβολος; in NT both the translation and the transliteration (Σατανᾶς) are common; the transliteration occurs in the LXX (of the person; sometimes as Σατάν, see Redpath) only in 𝔊^A at Job 2 3, in Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in Zech. 3 1; in Aquila also in Job 1 6. The word used as a common noun is transliterated in 1 K. 11 14 23 25 (with variants) and also in two or three places by one or more of the later Greek versions.

2. Meaning and use.

It has often been suggested that Persian influences have, if not produced, yet affected the development of the Jewish belief in Satan. That the name Satan is borrowed, cannot of course be maintained. It is, as we have seen, a pure Semitic word in early use among the Israelites. Nor can it be asserted that the position of the Satan at all closely resembles that of Angromainyu (Ahriman).[1] Angromainyu is an independent power sharply opposed to Ahura Mazda, the good power; and, like him, concerned in the work of creation. The Satan in the earlier Hebrew passages is completely subordinate to Yahwè. Still, if the Book of Job (including the Prologue) is post-exilic, and later than Zech. 1-8, it is not inconceivable that the Persian belief in Angromainyu may have influenced the further development of the belief in Satan as we find it in Job—a view which would be in perfect accordance with historical analogy. The matter, as here stated, needs a more thorough investigation in the light of biblical and Avesta criticism (cp ZOROASTRIANISM, § 8). But at any rate, the ultimate roots of belief in Satan, as well as of the belief in angels, lie in the early popular Israelitish religion, which, however, of course, cannot be dissociated from the religions of the other Semitic peoples. To that religion the 'sons of the Elōhīm' (ANGELS, § 2)—in post-exilic psalms a term for angels—were apparently native, and it is in the closest connection with these that 'the Satan' quite clearly appears in Job, though it should be added that, unlike the sons of Elōhīm, and unlike 'the Satan' of Zech. 3, 'the Satan' of Job 1 11 is a cosmic personage. May it not be that 'the Satan' owes his origin as a distinct character among the 'sons of Elōhīm' (or angels), partly at any rate, to the growing tendency, manifest in both Zech. and Job, and even as early as Ezekiel (cp *e.g.*, 40 3 *f.*), to distinguish Yahwè's attendants by their functions; and may not at any rate the main reason why he gained a more distinct and enduring individuality than, *e.g.*, 'the man with the measuring line' (Zech. 2 1 [2 5]), or 'the interpreting angel' (Job 33 23), be found in the constant presence of evil and the increasing desire to dissociate it from God? The Satan, at least as far as the kernel of the conception is concerned, may thus be one of those figures due to the crystallisation of temporary functions, which had long before been recognised as performed by Yahwè or one of his spirits, into permanent personalities. In an ancient story (Nu. 22 22 *ff.*) the *mal'akh Yahwè*

3. Origin of belief.

[1] Cp de Harlez, *Les origines de Zoroastrisme*, 301-307.

had on a special occasion become *a* Satan; now a single personality among Yahwè's attendant spirits permanently appears as *the* Satan, whose duty it is to test men or to discharge God's hostile purposes against them. If we would fix more exactly on the origin of the Satan, there is much to be said for Marti's suggestion that he is the personification of the self-accusing conscience of Israel (cp Zech. 3 1-4); see *Theol. St. Kr.*, 1892, pp. 208-245. With the foregoing discussion cp ANGELS, §§ 3 5.

The development of the doctrine moves along two lines; (*a*) from being subordinate to, Satan becomes (largely) independent of Yahwè; (*b*) from being the (not necessarily unjust) accuser he becomes the tempter and enemy of men. In NT both developments are complete, in OT both are in process.

4. Development of belief.

(*a*) In Zech. the chief marks of Satan's subordination are the rebuke administered to him and the complete disregard of his accusation, though, as the reference to the 'filthy garments' = 'iniquity' shows, it was well founded. In Job this subordination is still clear; throughout the book the angels are strictly subject to Yahwè, and the Satan is virtually one of them; he suggests trying Job by calamities, but has no power to inflict them without Yahwè's permission or in excess of the divinely assigned limits (1 11-13 2 5-7). Yet germs of the later independence of the Satan can be discerned; the terms of 1 6*b* 2 1*b* indicate that, whilst closely associated with the 'sons of the Elōhīm,' he is in a certain manner distinct from them ('the Satan came also in the midst of them'): cp Enoch 40 7; again, in Zech. (1 10 *f.* 6 5-7) the angels are *sent* by Yahwè to go up and down in the earth, in Job the Satan appears to do so *on his own initiative* (note the question 1 7*a* 2 2*a*), although the idea is as yet by no means that of 1 Pet. 5 8; and finally he instigates Yahwè to injure Job (2 3*b*)—a significant feature when we contrast 1 K. 22 20, where it is only *at Yahwè's request* that the spirit becomes a lying spirit to entice Ahab. In 1 Ch. 21 1 (= 2 S. 24 1) the independence of Satan has apparently become as complete as it ever became; whereas in Job he moves God against man, in Ch. he moves man against God. In Wisd. 2 24 Satan's independence of and opposition to God is so well-established that, as in NT, men are classified as adherents of God or the Devil (οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου μερίδος ὄντες).

(*b*) The view of Satan as tempter[1] belongs to an advanced stage. Statements attributing temptation to God, which were at first harmless, became impossible in the development of Jewish theology in a more reflective age. Four passages which illustrate the four main stages in the evolution may be quoted in proof of this. Temptation to evil is in 2 S. 24 1 directly attributed to Yahwè; in Job 1 *f.* ultimately to God, but through the medium of Satan; in 1 Ch. 21 1 it is ascribed directly to Satan, and by the Chronicler's alteration of his source, *tacitly* denied of God; and finally in James 1 13 it is directly denied of God. Except therefore in the very latest OT passages temptation to evil is not inconsistent with the character of God; consequently even in Job, far less in Zech., the Satan is not in any distinct manner morally opposed to God; this, at the earliest, he becomes in Chronicles.

This is the main point; how much anticipation of the later moral distinction can be discerned in Zech. and Job is an open question; in Zech. it certainly seems most natural to see in him simply the spokesman for the sternly just demands of God; but the narrative of Job justifies Davidson's sentence, 'He shows an assiduity slightly too keen in the exercise of his somewhat invidious function' (*Job*, p. 7).

The passage already quoted from Wisdom illustrates another important development; the Satan is identified with the serpent of the narrative of the fall. This

[1] How little temptation is suggested by the term is illustrated by Nu. 22 22 32. So far is the angel of Yahwè, who becomes for the nonce a Satan, from tempting Balaam that he actually obstructs him in an evil course.

identification may have been due to foreign influence, either Persian (see Grimm on the passage) or Alexandrian (see Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*, 159, 167). Compare and contrast Enoch 69 6. Another late identification—that of Satan and the depraved will—is altogether exceptional (*Bābā bath.*, 16); cp ECCLESIASTICUS.

Before passing on to the NT doctrine two negative points may be noted; in OT no reference is made to angels attendant on Satan; 'angels of evil'—*i.e.*, angels who inflict injury—are still directly subject to God (cp Ps. 78 49 cp 35 5 *f.* and earlier 1 S. 16 14 *ff.* Judg. 9 23; see ANGEL, 3), nor to any 'fall' or 'punishment' of Satan. G. B. G.

5. In NT. All uncertainty as to the current conception of Satan ceases when we reach the NT. No theory of dramatic or poetic personification can here be maintained. The 'enemy' of the OT is now individualised, the 'Satans' of the book of Enoch are now unified. Satan is now the distinctly personal (Ja. 4 7) originator (2 Cor. 11 3 Jn. 8 44 1 Jn. 3 8 12), instigator (1 Thess. 3 5 Mt. 4 1 *ff.*) and perpetuator (Eph. 2 2) of sin, and the cause of its penalty, death (Jn. 8 44 Heb. 2 14); the personal head of the realm of evil, with the ministers thereof (Eph. 2 2, ἐξουσία, collective), evil bodily (Mt. 12 24 Lk. 13 16) and spiritual (Eph. 2 2 Jn. 12 31 1 Jn. 3 8); and the antagonist generally of God (Mt. 13 39 Acts 13 10) and of man (1 Pet. 5 8 Eph. 6 16 Lk. 22 31 Rev. 12 12).

6. Names. Satan appears under nine distinct names.

1. ἄρχων, 'prince' (Synoptists, τῶν δαιμονίων, Mk. 3 22 etc.; Jn., τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, 12 31; Paul, τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, Eph. 2 2; and cp θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, 2 Cor. 4 4, with the κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου of the Ephesian passage.

2. ὁ πειράζων, 'the tempter,' Mt. 4 3 1 Thess. 3 5.

3. διάβολος, 'accuser,' not necessarily 'slanderer,' of those who sin through his temptation (cp κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν, Rev. 12 10), a title confined to Satan, except when used of human slanderers in the Pastoral Epistles,[1] but generally signifying simply (as in 1 Ch. 21 1 and everywhere in LXX), the 'enemy' of God (Mt. 13 39 1 Jn. 3 10) and of man (1 Pet. 5 8); see Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 45-47.

4. Σατανᾶς (Hebrew transliterated, with Grecised form) 'adversary,' NT *passim*, whether as an adversary (1 Thess. 2 18), a tempter (Mk. 1 13), or the prince of the demons or evil angels (Lk. 11 18 2 Cor. 12 7 [there is some authority for the form Σατᾶν here; see Ti.]).

5. βεελζεβούλ (βεεζεβούλ [אB]), of doubtful derivation and signification (see BEELZEBUB), a name for Satan in the Synoptists alone, and solely in regard to demoniacal possession (Lk. 11 19 compared with Mt. 12 26).

6. ὁ ἐχθρός, 'the enemy' (Mt. 13 39 Lk. 10 19).

7. ὁ πονηρός, 'the evil, injurious one' (Mt. 13 19, cp πνεύματα πονηρά, Lk. 7 21) Eph. 6 16, and especially 1 Jn.).

8. βελίαρ, Syriac and Greek form of BELIAL (*q.v.*), only in 2 Cor. 6 15 (Christ and Beliar, light and darkness, God and idols, contrasted).

9. ὁ ὄφις, 'the serpent' (2 Cor. 11 3), and ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος, 'the old serpent,' Rev. 12 9 (ὁ καλούμενος διάβολος καὶ Σατανᾶς) ὁ πλανῶν, 'that deceiveth' (see Wisdom 2 24 as referred to above). See ANTICHRIST.

7. Works. It will be seen that, though various functions are here and there suggested by these names and passages, they all tend to the same issue, the maintenance and propagation of evil; and the NT writers who contribute to the history of Satan and the description of his doings in no wise contradict one another. If we draw an inference from what is said of evil angels in 2 Pet. 2 4 Jude 6, Satan was not originally evil, but had a first estate which he did not keep, leaving, through sin, his own habitation. His sphere of dominion was now the air or firmament (Eph. 6 12 2 2 Lk. 10 18 Rev. 12 9), whence the Syriac etymology of Beliar (in Bar Bahlūl), 'lord of the air.' From the beginning he has been a man-killer (Jn. 8 44), seducing Eve (2 Cor. 11 3), and bringing sin and death into the world (cp Wisd. 2 24, not opposed to Rom. 5 12), and, by the power of death, keeping men, through fear of it, in bondage (Heb. 2 14 *f.*); enticing men to sin (1 Cor. 7 5) and accusing them when they have fallen (Rev. 12 10); trying to entice Jesus himself (Synn.) but failing, Jn. 14 30, cp Heb. 4 15 2 Cor. 5 21; inflicting upon men misery both bodily and mental, sometimes by 'possessing' them with his 'dæmons' (Mt. 12 24), at other times apparently by direct and ordinary disease (1 Cor. 5 5 2 Cor. 12 7). He is the prince of this world (Jn. 12 31)—*i.e.*, 'the present age (αἰών) with all its evil' (Gal. 1 4)—and as 'god of this age' he blinds the unbelieving (2 Cor. 4 4), and is prince of the spirit that is active in the children of disobedience (Eph. 2 2), the 'children of the devil' (1 Jn. 3 10); and by deceitful wonders and lying prophecy he will lead men astray in the final apostasy (2 Thess. 2 9 *f.* Rev. 20 8).

8. No dualism. But though Satan is opposed to God (Ja. 4 7), and the 'authority of darkness' to the 'kingdom of the Son of God's love' (Col. 1 13),—as darkness to light in the Parsee antithesis,—there is no Parsee dualism in any true sense. True, Satan is not often, as in the OT, a mere angel of destruction used by God (1 Cor. 5 5 2 Cor. 12 7); but, on the other hand, he is no more independent of God or co-equal with him than is man, who can, as he chooses, serve the one or the other. All that can be said in this direction is that the Satanic power is superhuman, and therefore equally superhuman is his capacity for seduction and destruction (Eph. 6 12). But, though Satan is 'strong,' Jesus is 'stronger' (Mt. 12 29, and parallels); he can spoil Satan's 'goods' (Mk. 3 27) and destroy his works (1 Jn. 3 8); Christ will finally bring him to naught and rescue his bondsmen (Heb. 2 14), casting him and his angels into the eternal fire prepared for them (Mt. 25 41 Rev. 20 10 Jude 6), along with the last enemy death (1 Cor. 15 26 Rev. 20 13). This deliverance is, in principle, already begun (Lk. 10 18 *f.* Col. 1 13 1 Jn. 4 4 Jn. 12 31 16 11), but will not be complete till the παρουσία of Christ (Rom. 16 20 1 Cor. 15 26 2 Thess. 2 Rev. 20). G. B. G., §§ 1-4; J. M., §§ 5-8.

SATCHEL (חָרִיט), Is. 3 22 RV, in 2 K. 5 23 BAG (1).

SATHRABUZANES (ϲαθραβουζανηϲ [BA]), 1 Esd. 6 3, EV; AV[mg.] SHETHAR-BOZNAI.

SATRAPS (אֲחַשְׁדַּרְפְּנִים, and ־נִין, *aḥašdarpĕnīm*, *-īn*; ϲατραπαι, but ϲτρατηγοι in Esth. 3 12 [not L[a]]; Vg. *Satrapæ;* AV 'princes,' or 'lieutenants,' RV always 'satraps') are mentioned in Ezra 8 36 (𝔊 διοικηταί) Esth. 3 12 8 9 (𝔊[BALβ] οἰκονόμοι) 9 3 Dan. 3 2 *f.* 27 6 2-5 7 *f.*[1] It is the O. Pers. *khšatrapāvan* (*khšatra*, 'realm, empire' + *pā*, 'to protect'), not to be confounded with the Avest. *šōithrapān*, which has a different meaning. The division of the empire into satrapies is due to Darius I. Hystaspis. Though really bound to an implicit obedience to the king's orders and controlled by other officials, the satraps grew into a kind of viceroys, who exercised in their provinces an all but sovereign power, and in their household imitated the royal court. See, further, PERSIA, § 18, SHERIFFS; and cp A. Buchholz, *Quæstiones de Persarum satrapis* (Leipsic, 1896). C. P. T.

SATYRS is the EV rendering of the Heb. שְׂעִירִים, *sĕʿīrīm*, in Is. 13 21 34 14 (RV[mg.] 'he-goats'; American RV 'wild goats') and RV[mg.] in Lev. 17 7 2 Ch. 11 15 (RV 'he-goats'; AV 'devils').

1. Meaning of the term. In these four passages[2] it is quite clear that the reference is not to the natural animal—the he-goat—which the Hebrew word *śāʿīr* (an abbreviation for the fuller and frequent locution *śĕʿīr ʿizzīm*) generally denotes (cp GOAT, §§ 1 [4] 5). It is

1 Not used in any of the commonly called Pauline Epistles except in Ephesians and the Pastorals.

1 σατράπαι does not occur in Dan. 3 2 *f.* 27 6 7 *f.*

2 And in 2 K. 23 8 which originally spoke of במות השעירים = the bāmōth of the *śĕʿīrīm* (not as MT הַשְּׁעָרִים = the gates); so Hoffmann in *ZATW*, 1882, p. 175, subsequently others (*e.g.*, Kautzsch). For post-biblical references to שעירים, see M. Schwab, 'Vocabulaire d'Angelologie' (*Academie des Inscriptions* 10 [1897] 370 420 (*s.vv.* שעירים and Σιγιμιμ).

true that some scholars (*e.g.*, Hengstenberg; similarly Baethgen in Riehm, *HWB*(2) 'Feldgeister') have retained this meaning by explaining the sacrifices to the *sĕ'īrīm* referred to in Lev. and Ch. as belonging to an Egyptian cultus of the goat (cp Herod. 2 46), borrowed by the Hebrews from the Egyptians and practised by them in the wilderness and revived by Jeroboam after his residence in Egypt. But (apart from the consideration that these two references are exilic and post-exilic respectively) this interpretation fails to do justice to the passages in Isaiah.

The ancient tradition (as preserved in the versions) is substantially consistent and substantially also correct. In all four passages the versions agree in not rendering *śā'īr* by the equivalent of he-goat. They render either by a word denoting demon or false god, or by a term probably implying demons though signifying directly only 'hairy'—a meaning which the Hebrew word possessed (cp Gen. 27 11) and out of which the use of the word for he-goat probably sprang. Thus 𝔊 renders by δαιμόνια or μάταια (in 2 Ch. 11 15 there is probably a 'doublet'; τοῖς εἰδώλοις καὶ τοῖς ματαίοις), Syr. by *šēdā*, Tg. שידין, Vg. *dæmon* or *pilosus*; cp, further, Field's notes in the Hexapla on Is. 13 21 and 34 14.

The suggestion of the versions (see above) that *śā'īr* was a term for demons or a particular kind of demon is confirmed by the contexts of the five passages (including 2 K. 23 8) already mentioned. Thus in Is. 34 14 LILITH (*q.v.*) is also mentioned; and although certain natural animals (*e.g.*, wolves, jackals) are mentioned in the same connection both here and in Is. 13 21, they are not domestic animals like the goat; moreover, we have the same combination of actual animals and demonic beings in an Assyrian description of devastation (G. Smith, *Annals of Ašur-bāni-pal*; see Che. on Is. 13 21). The association of demons with desert places was a prevalent element in popular belief (cp DEMONS, § 3). Note, further, that the *sĕ'īrīm* are described as dancing and calling to one another. In 2 K. 23 8 Lev. 17 7 and 2 Ch. 11 15, where the *bāmōth* of the *sĕ'īrīm* and sacrifices offered to them are mentioned, the term may be used in derision of false and forbidden objects of worship in general—for which abundant parallels could be cited. In Lev. 17 7, however, the association of the *sĕ'īrīm* with the 'open field' (*v.* 5) suggests a connection, direct or indirect, with the custom or rite of sending a goat to Azazel on the day of Atonement (see AZAZEL).

It remains to consider how far the *sĕ'īrīm* were a clearly defined class of demons and what were their special characteristics. We have really little more than the etymology to guide us. It is generally assumed, on the ground of the usual significance of *śā'īr*, that they were goat-shaped. This is not improbable, and if correct, the use of the term 'satyr' is sufficiently appropriate; only it must be remembered that we have no reason for attributing to the Hebrew conception the richer details that characterise the Greek.

2. Characteristics of the sĕ'īrīm.

Some (*e.g.*, Duhm; Marti, *Gesch. d. Isr. Rel.* 236) suggest that Azazel (cp above) was chief of the *sĕ'īrīm*; we might then compare the relation to the Greek satyr. But this is not very probable (see Cheyne's paper in *ZATW*, 1895; and cp AZAZEL). Wellhausen, on the other hand, seems inclined to limit his inference from the etymology to the ***hairiness*** of these beings; see *Heid.*(1) 135 *f.*; (2) 151 *f.* where some Arabic parallels will be found. If *śā'īr* (=demon), in spite of being confined to exilic and post-exilic literature (for which there may be sufficient reason; cp DEMONS, § 1), is actually of early origin, probably it merely expressed the 'hairiness' of the demons; but if late, it was most probably chosen on account of its secondary sense (goat) because these beings were regarded as goat-shaped. Cp in general Boch. *Hieroz.* bk. vi. 7; Ges. *Jes.* 465 *f.*; Baudissin, *St.* 1 136 *ff.* and the article 'Feldgeister' in *PRE*(3); Mannhardt *Wald- u. Feldkulte*, ch. 3 (§ 8 refers to a trace of Syrian goat spirits in a story of Iamblichus). G. B. G.

SAUL

Origin (§ 1). End; character (§ 4 *f.*).
Wars (§ 2 *f.*). Family (§ 6).

Saul (שָׁאוּל, *šā'ūl*, as if 'asked for,' § 56; according to Jastrow [*JBL* 19 (1900) 101] 'devoted,' viz., to Yahwè; but see below [§ 1, midway]; ϲαογλ [BAL]) is traditionally regarded as the first king of Israel. His story has passed through phases little less various than that of David, with which it is so closely interlaced (see DAVID). In its present form, indeed, it raises insoluble problems both of history and of character; neither the outer nor the inner life of the heroic king is intelligible to us. Reluctant, therefore, as we may be to touch narratives which are universally interesting—though the interest partly arises from their enigmas—we cannot avoid criticising them, and we may be well assured that the gain which will result from critical thoroughness will be far greater than the seeming loss. There cannot but be a more potent attraction in narratives which can be read more nearly as they were meant to be read; and if the historical element turns out to be less than we have supposed, we can at any rate use it with some confidence, whilst in a secondary sense even the less historical elements are of documentary value for the period to which the traditions in their present form can be shown to belong (see SAMUEL [BOOKS]).

The traditions agree (and we shall find good reason to accept the statement) that Saul was a Benjamite of Gibeah (1 S. 9 1 10 26 11 4 15 34), though the most ingenious of our modern historians (Winckler) seeks to show that he was a Gileadite.

1. Origin.

The short genealogy in 1 S. 9 1 represents his father KISH as a 'son of Bechorath' (APHIAH which follows is a corruption of 'Gibeah'), and in 10 21 Saul ben Kish is assigned to the family called MATRI [*q.v.*], while in 2 S. 20 1 SHEBA the Benjamite, David's opponent, is called ben Bichri—*i.e.*, a Bichrite (cp BECHER, and see below on the 'Bezek' of 1 S. 11 8). Taking these names Bechorath, Matri, and Bichri together, and noticing 𝔊L's reading μαχειρ in 1 S. 9 1, it is difficult not to see that Saul's family, according to the tradition underlying 9 1 and 10 21, was known as Machirith (cp בכורת=בכירית in 9 1) or Jeraḥme'elith (cp § 6); cp 1 Ch. 8 29 *f.*, where the origin of Kish is traced to Maachah (a corruption of Jeraḥme'el). In other words, the clan and family to which the first king belonged were ultimately of semi-Jeraḥmeelite origin. Nevertheless the early writers were quite consistent in regarding Saul as a Benjamite, for the tribe of Benjamin (as its very name may perhaps indicate) had a strong Jeraḥmeelite element; this is suggestively expressed in 1 Ch. 7 7 *f.* where (by no mere arbitrary fiction) Jerimoth, at once son of Bela and son of Becher, is recognised as a Benjamite; now JERIMOTH is certainly not = 'excelsa' [Ges.] but one of the most unmistakable popular corruptions of Jeraḥme'el.[1]

This theory suggests an explanation of the name of Saul's father Kish, which, in spite of the very plausible connection suggested by Robertson Smith (see col. 2682), is perhaps best explained as a corruption of Cush (כּוּשׁ) or Cushi (כּוּשִׁי). Cush and Miṣṣur (Muṣri) were contiguous regions in N. Arabia; if there were Miṣrite elements in Israel (see MOSES, § 4), there were, of course, equally developed Cushite elements.

The name of the king himself does not admit of as

[1] It may no doubt be asserted that this way of regarding Saul was erroneous. It is said in 1 Ch. 7 14 *f.* of Machir, whose wife was MAACAH (= Jeraḥme'elith), that he was the son of Manasseh, and Winckler holds that Saul was not a Benjamite but a Manassite of Gilead. But surely the right view is that there wefe both northern and southern clans of Machirite (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeelite) affinities. According to 1 Ch. 8 29-33 Kish and Saul belonged to the southern Jeraḥmeelites (MAACAH). This is the theory expressed above.

ready an explanation, and it seems to have been very much misunderstood. The key to it is probably to be found in 1 S. 1 28, where the name שמואל (Samuel) is expressly made equivalent to שָׁאוּל (Saul), and connected (cp *v.* 20) with √שָׁאַל (*šā'al*), 'to ask.' It is at any rate plausible to suppose that Šĕmū'ēl and Šā'ūl (also Ishmael and Shobal?) are modifications of a common original,[1] viz., the southern clan-name Shema (=Sheba, 𝔊B *σαμαα*, Josh. 19 2?) with the afformative ל or אל. It will be remembered that elsewhere Saul (SAUL, 2; SHAUL) is a N. Arabian name, given both to a Simeonite and to a Muṣrite; also that Samuel, according to tradition, was a son of JEROHAM—*i.e.*, belonged to a clan which had Jeraḥmeelite (N. Arabian) affinities. It is even possible that the narrator who worked up the legends respecting Saul's connection with Samuel may have been ignorant of the seer's real name, and have selected for him one of two variants of the traditional name of the first king.[2]

1b. Name and home.

The view of the origin of the name 'Saul' here recommended may help to account for the fact that ancient scribes were liable to confound the two names Saul and Samuel, for evidence of which it is enough to refer to 1 S. 11 7, where the rival readings אחרי שאול ('after Saul') and אחר שמואל ('after Samuel') stand side by side, and 1 S. 28 12, where the cry of the 'witch of Endor' is said to have been called forth by the sight of 'Samuel,' a palpable error (as Perles has pointed out) for 'Saul.'[3]

The true name of the first king, however, has probably passed into oblivion, like so much besides connected with this dim far-off figure.

The true name of Saul's native place is perhaps recoverable. It was most probably not Gibeath-shaul (EV Gibeah of Saul), but Gibeath-shalishah (שאול and שלשה may reasonably be taken to be kindred forms); *i.e.*, Shalishah was the name of the district in which this Gibeah was situated. Near it were (*a*) LAISH, also called in MT Laishah and Zela (both corruptions of Shalishah), and (*b*) Gilgal or Beth-gilgal—*i.e.*, very probably Beth-jeraḥmeel (see § 6). Beth-jeraḥmeel[4] (if we may adopt this name as the true one), which was apparently a walled city of some importance, may be regarded as the centre of Saul's clan. As we shall presently see, it was the city which this hero relieved when in a very critical situation; it was also the place where his married daughter (see MERAB, PALTI) and his grandson (see MEPHIBOSHETH) resided, and where Sheba the Bichrite took refuge with his clansmen when pursued by Joab.[5] The restoration of the true name throws a bright light on a number of passages (cp GALLIM).

1c. Predecessors?

It is a disputed point whether or no Saul was the first to realise the idea of kingly government. According to Winckler (*GI* 2 56 157), the stories of Gideon, Abimelech, and Jephthah were brought into shape as justifications of the claim made by the Gileadite (?) Saul to the sovereignty of western Israel and to the possession of the religious capital—Shechem. This theory is decidedly ingenious; but it is more probable (see ISRAEL, § 10; GIDEON; but cp ABIMELECH, 2) that Gideon was, strictly speaking, the first Israelitish king. It remains true, however, that Saul is the first king of a section of the Israelites of whom fairly definite traditions are preserved, and it is to these traditions, not all equally trustworthy, that we now direct our attention.

1d. Traditions.

Traditions of much interest respecting Saul have come down to us from a school of writers trained under prophetic influence. According to these, it was a seer called Samuel[1] who, by his preternatural insight, recognised in the son of Kish the destined 'captain' or 'prince' (*nāgīd*, see PRINCE) of united Israel (1 S. 9 16). This patriotic Israelite (see SAMUEL) is introduced to us going up to the *bāmāh* of an unnamed city to 'bless the sacrifice' and partake of the sacrificial repast. By a happy accident—as it seems—Saul, on a journey in search of his father's lost asses, appears before him, and timidly asks the way to the seer's house. At once Samuel (who, if a member of a Jeraḥmeelite clan, would perhaps recognise Saul) discloses his identity. He treats his visitor with marked consideration, and on the morrow, in strict privacy, communicates to him a divine oracle respecting him.[2] At the same time he solemnly anoints[3] and then kisses him (see SALUTATIONS). Finally, to strengthen Saul's faith, he specifies three remarkable experiences which the favourite of heaven will have as he returns home. One was that he would meet two men (see RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE) who would give news respecting the lost asses and would mention the paternal anxiety of Kish. Another was that three pilgrims whom he would also meet (see TABOR) would be so struck by his bearing that they would salute him and offer him a present of two loaves. The third sign was that Saul would meet a company of *nĕbī'īm* in a state of frenzy (see PROPHET, § 4), and would be seized upon by the spirit of Yahwè and pass into the same state (calling out perhaps for the advent of Israel's war-god to lead his people to victory). All this, we are told, came to pass; yet it was not this, but the disclosures of the seer Samuel, which transformed Saul's nature, and made him a true king (10 9).

1e. Winckler's theory.

In about a month's time Saul was called upon to justify the seer's selection. So at least the true text of 1 S. 11 1 (preserved by 𝔊)[4] tells us. Winckler, however, rejects the words which assert a month's interval, as not belonging to the original tradition. According to this scholar, it is quite a fresh account of Saul and his origin that we have in 1 S. 11 1-11, the original story having been recast when, to soothe patriotic feelings, the Gileadite hero was converted into a Benjamite. After undoing what he regards as the work of the later editor of the tradition, Winckler arrives at this simple statement of fact which he considers to be authentic. Nahash, king of the Ammonites, was besieging the city of JABESH in Gilead, and pressing it hard. By a bold stroke, akin to that related, Winckler thinks, by anticipation in Judg. 7 (see GIDEON), Saul relieved the city (*v.* 11), which appears to have been his birthplace.[5] The points which seem to Winckler to force upon us the view that Saul was a Jabeshite are three—(1) the tra-

1 For the same idea somewhat differently applied see Wi. *GI* 2 224, *KAT*(3) 225. This scholar's own explanation of שאול is fully set forth in *KAT*(3), *l.c.*; the Hebrew name ('asked') is the literal translation of ***bêl purussê***, 'the oracle-god,' a title of Sin, the moon-god.

2 Cp Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures* (1887), 52. 'Sheba,' too, was hardly the birth-name of the Bichrite mentioned in 2 S. 20 1.

3 Σαμουηλ represents שאול in Gen. 46 10 (A), 1 S. 11 13 (B*) 15 (BA), 15 12 (B), while Σαουλ represents שמואל in 1 S. 15 12 (B).

4 There were, of course, different places called Beth-jerahmeel. Cp GALLIM, SACK (4).

5 The passage (2 S. 20 14 *f.*) should probably be read thus, 'And Sheba passed on to Beth-jeraḥme'el, and all the Bichrites (Jeraḥmeelites) assembled and went in after him. And they came and besieged him in Beth-jeraḥme'el'; hence in *v.* 18 אבל should be {ירח}מאל. In *v.* 14 שבמי (בכל) should be שבע, and ישראל אבלה should be ירחמאלה; the following words ובית מעכה should be בית ירחמאל (an early correction). Other references to 'Beth-jerahmeel' probably underlie certain corrupt words in Am. 1 3 Hos. 10 14 (see *Crit. Bib.*).

1 According to Winckler (*GI* 2 151), Zuph in Mt. Ephraim, whence the earlier prophetic legend brought Samuel, was within the ancient limits of Benjamin. See, however, ZUPH.

2 The relation between the prince-elect and the seer reminds us of the traditions respecting Elisha as a king-maker (1 K. 19 15 *f.* 2 K. 8 13 9 3). No doubt it appeared natural to the prophetic school of narrators. Observe that there is an omission in the MT of 1 S. 10 1 (see *Var. Bib.*) which can be supplied from 𝔊. The sentence dropped out by homœoteleuton.

3 Whether this is historical may be doubted (see Smend, *Rel.-gesch.*(2) 66, n. 1).

4 *καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα* (BA); *καὶ ἐγένετο μετὰ μῆνα ἡμερῶν* (L). MT has ויהי כמחריש (*καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς κωφεύων* [L]); 𝔊L points to a Heb. text in which מחריש and חֹדֶשׁ both had a place at the end of 1 S. 10 26, giving not only a wrong reading but a wrong connection. For clearly 11 1 is a continuation of the narrative which breaks off at 10 16. See H. P. Smith.

5 So, not only *GI* 2 but also *KAT*(3) 227.

dition in 1 S. 31 11-13 relative to the pious care of the Jabeshites for the bones of Saul and his sons, (2) the stand made by Saul's son and heir ISHBOSHETH, as king of E. Israel, at Mahanaim, and (3) the legendary statement in Judg. 21 8-14 that Jabesh-gilead sent no warriors against the offending tribe of Benjamin, and (virtually) recognised the right of ***connubium*** enjoyed by Jabeshites and Benjamites.

Winckler's conclusion, however, though plausible (cp MANASSEH, § 4), cannot well be admitted. As to (3), the statement in Judg. 21 8-14 does indeed imply the currency of a belief in the connection between the Benjamite king Saul and Jabesh-gilead, but in its present form (the text is, in the opinion of the present writer, in need of revision) it is too late to have any critical value. As to (2), Ishbosheth's stand at Mahanaim could only prove that Saul's sovereignty extended in some degree to Gilead. As to (1), the statement in the traditional text of 1 S. 31 11-13 is impossible, if, as the present writer believes, the place where the bodies[1] of Saul and his sons were exposed on the wall was, according to the original tradition, not Beth-shan, but some southern town, such as Eshean (Josh. 15 52), *i.e.*, perhaps Beer-sheba[2] (cp ESHEAN, ASHAN). Who the friends of Saul really were, we shall see later; Jabeshites of Gilead, they most certainly were not.

1f. Cheyne's theory.

Saul therefore was not a Gileadite but a Benjamite. The difficulty arising out of the improbable geographical statement in 1 S. 9 3 *ff.* (see SHALISHA, ZUPH), and out of the statement in the traditional text (rejected) of 1 S. 31 11-13 (so far as it refers to Beth-shan and the Jabeshites), must be met by stricter criticism of the text. Underlying 'Jabesh-gilead' there must be the name of some place easily accessible from Saul's home at Gibeah.[3] What that name is, no one who has studied the errors of the scribes, both in MT and in 𝔊, can doubt for a moment. It is Beth-gilgal, *i.e.*, Beth-jeraḥmeel, a place-name to which we have already been introduced—the city intended was in the S. of Benjamin near Gibeah and Anathoth; and the foes who threatened the city and all Benjamin besides,[4] were not the Ammonites but the 'Amalekites'—*i.e.*, a branch of the Jeraḥmeelites (עמון was miswritten for עמלק=ירחמאל; cp Judg. 3 13), the name of whose king was Achish (אכיש), as we should probably read for 'Nahash' (נחש; see NAHASH). It may be noticed in passing that the danger to which Beth-jeraḥmeel was exposed from the N. Arabians was, in the opinion of the present writer, not always averted; in Hos. 10 14 and Am. 1 3 there is possibly a reference to the cruel conduct of the Salmæans (nearly = Cushites) at their conquest either of this fortress or of a fortress with the same name in the Negeb. See SALMA.

The place where the Israelites mustered in obedience to Saul's summons was Bezeḳ (1 S. 11 8), which on the supposition that the distressed city was in Gilead is suitably identified with Khirbet Ibziḳ. If so, there will appear to be two places called Bezeḳ, for in Judg. 1 4 *f.* we meet with a Bezek[5] which is undeniably in the S. of Palestine (see BEZEK).

If, however, the threatened city was in Benjamin, and the foes were Jeraḥmeelites from the extreme S., it is probable that the warriors who responded to Saul were from Benjamin and from the territory farther S., and that the mustering

[1] On 1 Ch. 10 10 see HEAD.

[2] Not unfrequently in P's lists we find a corrupt variant of a place-name presented as the name of a fresh place.

[3] This has a close bearing on the criticism of Judg. 21 8-14 (referred to above).

[4] 1 S. 11 2 has been thoroughly misunderstood owing to textual corruption. For בְּנִקּוֹר we should certainly read בִּמְקוֹל. The passage then becomes, 'that I stop up to your loss every fountain of Benjamin' (cp 2 K. 2 25). מ and נ can be confounded in Aramaic characters; cp 𝔊BA's [ε]ιαβεις in 1 S. 12 9 for יבין.

[5] 'Adoni-bezek' in Judg. 1 5 *ff.* is probably a combination of two clan-names ארני (from ערני; see PARADISE, § 7) and ברך (see above). Cp 'Adonikam' and 'Adoniram,' where 'kam' and 'ram' represent fragments of 'Jeraḥmeel.'

place was in (or, less probably, to the S. of) the district occupied by Saul's clan. Of 'Bezek' we know nothing; but a southern clan-name ברכי is attested by the name ברכיה and by the place-name בְּרָכָה (near Tekoa). Most probably, however, we should read, for בזק, not ברך, but בכר; BECHER [*q.v.*] was in fact one form of the name of Saul's clan. The proceedings of the heroic leader thus become geographically clear; 'Gilgal' in 1 S. 11 12-15 may be emended into 'Jeraḥmeel,' *i.e.*, Beth-jeraḥmeel, the name of the central place of Saul's clan.

1g. King of Benjamin.

Naturally enough, such an important event as the relief of Beth-jeraḥmeel (Jabesh-gilead) led to the recognition of Saul as king of Benjamin (*v.* 14 is rightly regarded by Driver as redactional, and may be omitted). Possibly other tribes, too, recognised him as in a qualified sense their king by sending him presents, so that they might profit in time of need by his proved ability in warfare; but of this no certainty is attainable. The thoroughly antique action[1] ascribed to Saul in 1 S. 11 7 has been placed in a wrong setting. The compiler gives no hint that the action referred to made the war a holy war, and he represents the pieces of flesh as having been sent throughout all Israel. It is not likely, however, that other clans besides those most nearly connected with Saul and those which were in equal danger from the Jeraḥmeelites (on the significant notice in 1 S. 31 7 [emended text] respecting 'the men of Israel that were in Jeraḥmeelite Arabia' see § 4 *c*) were summoned to his standard. Saul was by no means king of all Israel; that distinction was reserved for David.

Still in such turbulent times even this moderate dominion demanded all the energy and fervent patriotism of the ruler, who was certainly no mere lad at his succession, though his precise age is not recorded.[2] The words in 1 S. 11 7 'whosoever comes not out after Saul,'[3] suggest that Saul was already well-known as a bold warrior. The story in 1 S. 9 3 *ff.*, which presents him as a youthful and modest dependent of his father Kish, does not inspire us with confidence; indeed the whole connection of Saul with an individual called Samuel is historically not free from doubt.

2a. Gibeon.

According to the tradition, Saul now returned to his home at GIBEAH. From 1 S. 13 2 it would seem that one of his first regal acts was to collect a small army of Israelitish warriors. Probably they were chiefly Benjamites under the leadership of Abner; it is a plausible hypothesis of Winckler that Benjamin was at that time by no means 'the smallest of the tribes of Israel' (1 S. 9 21), and that its territory was more extensive than in the later period, after it had been conquered (?) by David.[4] This view of the composition of the army agrees with 1 S. 22 6 *ff.* where Saul is described as in Gibeah, surrounded by Benjamites,[5] when he pronounced an unjust sentence on the priests of Yahwè. It is probable, however, that he had also (like David) a bodyguard composed of foreigners, if *rāṣīm* (*v.* 17

[1] For the archæological origin of the custom referred to see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 402, who illustrates from Lucian and Zenobius, and notices the parallel statement in Judg. 19 29. The narrative in Judg. 19-21 has been much edited, the statement referred to is partly connected with a mythological story relative to creation (see SODOM, § 9), partly with an antique sacrificial rite (cp Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsaltertümer*, 1 54). Those who partook of the sacrificial pieces of flesh which Saul sent round became consecrated persons whom no enemy could harm. The later compilers of the story of Saul had forgotten this; but it is the duty of the historical critic, so far as he can, to get behind their compilation, and restore the original setting of misunderstood traditions.

[2] 1 S. 13 1 gives no sense. Most critics since Wellhausen regard it as a gloss, and read '. . . years old was Saul when he began to reign, and he reigned . . . years over Israel.' The glossator did not venture to fill up the number of years. This involves regarding שתי before שנים as a corrupt duplication of שני. See, however, Driver and Löhr, *ad loc.* Klostermann's theory seems too complicated.

[3] The following words '[and] after Samuel' are a variant, as explained already.

[4] The conquest may be obscurely referred to in Judg. 20. Similarly, it seems, Nöldeke (col. 536, n. 3).

[5] On 1 S. 22 6 see TAMARISK; on 'ye Benjamites,' *v.* 7, see *Crit. Bib.*

'runners') is, as the present writer suspects, a mutilation and corruption of Zārephāthīm (Zarephathites). These foreigners, however, were virtually Israelites; they had adopted Israelitish reverence for the persons of the priests of Yahwè, whom they refused to massacre at the bidding of the enraged king (*v.* 17). It was Doeg an 'Aramite' (see 1 S. 21 8 [7], 𝔊BA)[1] who, according to the narrative, out of hatred for David performed the dreadful act, for which, after David had come to the throne, a stern penalty was (not indeed by David) exacted (2 S. 21).

The historical character of the massacre (apart from the details) cannot be doubted; but the real cause of it is not clear. Had the priestly clan of Gibeon, like Samuel (a typical personage), 'rejected' Saul as king? Had they really espoused the cause of a pretender, and so done all in their power to paralyse Saul's patriotic activity? However that may be, we must not forget the arduous nature of the task to which Saul had braced himself.

2*b*. Philistines.

He had to put an end to the disastrous incursions of a powerful enemy, the name of which is given as Pĕlištīm (ἀλλόφυλοι) or PHILISTINES [*q.v.*]. The correctness of this name is generally accepted, but has, elsewhere by the present writer (see PELETHITES, ZAREPHATH), been questioned. In particular, there are passages in the narrative which is commonly used as evidence for David's outlawry, but may really be a transformed, distorted version of a tradition of a struggle between Saul and David (so Winckler), and also in the account of the closing scene of Saul's life, and of David's subsequent exploits, which force the present writer to hold that the Zarephathites—excluding those who had expatriated themselves and joined Saul's bodyguard—were, together with their neighbours the 'Amalekites,' the true enemies of Saul and for a time at least of David after him (see PELETHITES, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH). In a word, the so-called 'Philistines' are Zarephathites, and their centre was not the 'Philistian sea-coast' but the NEGEB [*q.v.*].

A striking account is given by one of the narrators of the opening of the war against the 'Philistines' (1 S. 13)—of course, before the massacre just referred to. Jonathan (whose relation to Saul the writer assumes to be well-known) had offered an open insult to the 'Philistines' (*v.* 3); we may perhaps suppose that it was an insult which affected their religion.[2] The 'Philistines' mustered in force to avenge it. Affrighted at their appearance, the Israelites took refuge in mountain-hollows, or crossed over into Gad and Gilead. From the camp at Michmash (opposite Geba where the outrage had been committed) the 'Philistines' plundered the country, secure of meeting with no opposition, because few of the Israelites had any weapons (1 S. 13 19-22; cp FORK). Only six hundred men, we are told, remained with Saul at 'the border of Gibeah'; but one of these was no less than Jonathan. This brave man, together with his armour-bearer, is said to have performed a most audacious exploit (1 S. 14; on the text of *vv.* 4 *f.* see MICHMASH). His object was to surprise the outpost of the enemy, whose duty it was to watch the steep ravine between Geba on the S. and Michmash on the N. (the Wādy es-Suwēnīt). The two men went secretly down into the valley below Geba, as if on their way to the caves where the timid Israelites were hidden. There is in fact a line of such caves on both sides of the wady, and they are practically impregnable (cp MICHMASH). Greeted with scoffs by the enemy, who noticed their first movements, Jonathan and his follower afterwards disappeared from view, and climbed up on the other side.[1] The Philistine outpost was thrown into confusion by the sudden appearance of the two men. Jonathan, fatigued as he was with his climb, smote right and left, and his armour-bearer quickly despatched the wounded. The 'spoilers' fled in dismay, and the general panic—so the legend says—was heightened by an earthquake (see EARTHQUAKE). Then Saul, who had (somewhat strangely) been tarrying under the pomegranate tree 'in the border of Geba' (14 2; see GIBEAH, § 1; MIGRON), arose, and discovering the absence of Jonathan and his follower, applied to the priest for guidance. Before there was time, however, for Ahijah to bring forward the EPHOD [*q.v.*], circumstances had made the duty of the slowly moving king clear to him. Promptly he led his little band against the disordered enemy. At once those Israelites who had been compelled to serve with the 'Philistines' withdrew, and joined the patriots. The 'Philistines' were seen hurrying wildly towards Bethel across the watershed and down the steep descent of Aijalon. In hot chase the Israelites followed them. The story is vividly told, and is evidently ancient. How far is it trustworthy? Certainly it cannot be a pure romance; but Winckler has called attention to some very doubtful elements, and to these the present writer must now add the designation of the oppressors of the Israelites by the name of 'Philistines.'

We have also an account of a battle between the Israelites and the Philistines in the valley of Elah (rather, ha-Elah), or, as the scene appears to be otherwise described, in Ephes-dammim (1 S. 17 1 *f.*). The chief point in it, however, is the encounter of David with Goliath, which appears to be a reflection of the story of Elhanan and Goliath in 2 S. 21 19, where the scene of the combat is at Gob (=REHOBOTH). Probably *'ēmeḳ hā-ēlāh* and *ĕphes-dammim* are corruptions respectively of *'ēmeḳ jeraḥme'el* and *'ēmeḳ ărammīm*, synonymous phrases (*ărammim = jeraḥme'elim*) for the valley of Jerahmeel (=the *wādy el-Milḥ?*). It is important to mention this here, to prepare the reader for the change in our view of the localities of the last fatal fight ('Gilboa') necessitated by our criticism of the text (see § 4). As has been shown elsewhere, the period as well as the scene of the traditional fight with Goliath is misstated in 1 S. 18.

According to the statement in 1 S. 14 47 *f.*, Saul had various other wars in which he was uniformly successful.

3. Other wars.

It is doubtful from what source this passage is derived. Evidently the writer is an admirer of Saul, for he does not scruple to transfer exploits ascribed by tradition to David (2 S. 8 12)[2] to his neglected predecessor. The text of the passage needs rectification, and should probably run thus (see *Crit. Bib.*)—

And when Saul had taken the kingdom over Israel [he fought against all his enemies round about, against Muṣur, against the Amalekites, against Jerahmeel-Miṣṣur, and against the Zarephathites, and whithersoever he turned, he was

[1] By Aramite we mean 'Jeraḥmeelite'. There is some reason to think that Doeg was one of the רצים or rather Zarephathites (cp Grätz's view, col. 1124). For some new evidence see *Crit. Bib.* 𝔊L has Ἰδουμαῖος.

[2] 'Garrison' (EV) is not a probable rendering of נְצִיב. Like נצב in the Hadad inscription found near Zenjīrlī, the word might mean either 'prefect' or 'pillar.' The meaning 'pillar' is to be preferred (cp, however, ISRAEL, § 13). Jonathan would have slain more than one person, and נבאש seems to point to some religious insult. Probably we should read וַיַּכֵּת, 'he shattered' (Klo.). A sacred pillar seems to be meant; we need not emend נְצִיב into מַצֶּבֶת (cp JEHOSHAPHAT, n. 2, col. 2352; PHŒNICIA, § 9). In 10 5 for 'the hill of God' (גבעת האלהים) read גִּבְעַת יְרַחְמְאֵלִים 'Gibeah of the Jeraḥmeelites.' 'Jeraḥmeelites' and 'Zarephathites' (='Philistines') are synonymous terms. The sacred pillar of the Zarephathites (Philistines) caused the place to be called 'Gibeah of the Jeraḥmeelites.' From 13 3 it appears that Geba is meant.

[1] Cp Miller, *The Least of all Lands*, 104; also Conder, *Tent-work*, 2 114 *f.*

[2] 2 S. 8 12 should probably run thus, or nearly thus (see *Crit. Bib.*, but cp DAVID, § 8), 'From Aram, and from Miṣṣur, and from the Amalekites, and from the Zarephathites, and from the spoil of Hadad, the Rehobothite, king of Miṣṣur.' On 'Aram' (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel), as an emendation of 'Edom,' cp JOKTHEEL, § 2; REZIN; SALT, VALLEY OF; ZAIR; ZOBAH.

victorious], he showed valour; he smote Amalek, and rescued Israel out of the hand of his spoiler.

Thus in its original form the passage was not the close of a history of Saul (Wellh. *CH* 246 *f.*), but rather an introduction to the story of the campaign against 'Amalek,' which is, in fact, the only war of Saul described at any length in our traditions before the tragedy of Mt. 'Gilboa' (see 1 S. 15, and cp AGAG, BESOR, HAVILAH, SHUR, TELAIM, SAMUEL).

The narrative suffers greatly from the want of preliminary explanations. Are we to suppose that the bands of raiders had already forced their way to Saul's territory? Or should we rather assume that the clans to the S. of Benjamin had appealed for aid to the king's generosity? In order to answer these questions we must read the notice of Saul's expedition against 'Amalek' in the light of the new but indispensable theory (see above) that his warfare was chiefly with the Ṣarephathites (Pĕlištim being a corruption of Ṣārĕphāthīm as 'Amalek' is a distortion of Jeraḥme'elim). It may be assumed that if these raiders penetrated into Saul's kingdom (the territory of Benjamin was then perhaps more extensive than afterwards), the Amalekites (Jeraḥmeelites), whom we can only with some difficulty distinguish from the Zarephathites, were not less successful. It is true, the details respecting Samuel are, from a critical point of view, questionable. But we may perhaps accept the statement (so much more creditable, rightly considered, to Saul than to Samuel) that on a certain point of religious tradition the seers represented by Samuel were more conservative than the king. The statement is that Samuel was highly displeased because, after Saul had 'utterly destroyed' (הַחֲרִים) all 'the warriors' (הָעָם) of Amalek, he spared Agag and 'the best of the sheep and the oxen' (*vv.* 8 *f.*), thus violating the fundamental religious custom (see BAN) of devoting enemies taken in war, and even the animals which belonged to them, to the wrathful God of Israel (cp 1 S. 28 18). Still this, even if correct, was surely not the only or the chief reason why the seer (or the seers?) broke off intercourse with the king. As most agree, there was some other cause for the breach which can only be divined.

We must not, of course, underrate the benefit of the application of methodical criticism to the corrupt proper names in this section (ch. 15); see BESOR, HAVILAH, SHUR, TELAIM, and especially JERAHMEEL. Thus, in *v.* 2 we should do well to read, 'I have marked that which Jeraḥmeel did to Israel' (the hostile section of the great Jeraḥmeelite people is intended), and should emend 'Amalek' and 'Amalekites' throughout accordingly. In *v.* 12 the word 'Jeraḥmeel' has undergone fresh transformations which obscure the narrative. Not improbably we should read, 'It was told Samuel (saying), Saul came to Jeraḥmeel, and, behold he destroyed the Jeraḥmeelites, and went down to Gilgal' (1 S. 15 12; see *Crit. Bib.*). These gains are of the utmost value from the point of view of intelligibility. It is to be feared, however, that no textual criticism can make the narrative quite satisfactory as a piece of history. First of all, the success of Saul's expedition is evidently much exaggerated. If the 'Amalekites' had really been so completely crushed, we cannot believe that they would so soon have recovered from their overthrow. Next, the rupture between Samuel and the king (as was remarked above) is by no means fully intelligible. H. P. Smith considers the 'rejection' of Saul by Samuel in the name of his God to be an imaginary justification of the anointing of David as king; if David was to be anointed, it was clear that Saul must have been rejected. We may also plausibly hold that the 'rejection' seemed to the ancients to account for Saul's subsequent calamity. It remains true, however, that the cause of the 'rejection' given in 1 S. 15 is far from adequate.

As an additional reason it was related (1 S. 13 7*b*-15*a*) that Saul had offered a sacrifice himself instead of waiting for Samuel, and (the object of the narrative in 1 S. 28 4-25 can hardly have been different) that before the fatal struggle on 'Gilboa' Saul applied to a *necromancer at En-dor* (see ENDOR; HAROD, WELL OF)—an act of infidelity to Yahwè which naturally deprived Saul of the protection of his God. A modern historian (Kittel, *Hist.* 2 136) suggests a more critical reason, which, however, is not entirely satisfactory. He thinks that the estrangement of Samuel from Saul may have been caused by Saul's continued inattention to the fate of the ark, and his want of comprehension of the peculiar religious character of Israel.

4a. Saul's melancholy.

It is usual (in spite of the parallel feature in the legend of Alexander[1]) to accept the report of Saul's morbid melancholy alternating with fits of passion as historical, and to connect with it his first acquaintance with David (cp MADNESS). Certainly there was enough in the manifold difficulty of the king's position to affect his mind injuriously; but the circumstances in connection with which it is mentioned do not inspire us with much confidence. The whole story of Saul's relations with David, which has in general been regarded as founded on fact (see DAVID, §§ 1-4), has received a great shock from the investigations of Winckler. Apart from some questionable details in this scholar's criticism, it appears to be at any rate very unsafe to follow the tradition in its present form. That David early became attached to Saul, partly by loyalty, partly by a family tie (cp MERAB, MICHAL), as the narratives represent, is, in the light of Winckler's criticism, very improbable. David appears to have been an ambitious freebooter from the Negeb who sought to carve out a realm for himself (see JUDAH, §§ 4 *f.*), starting first of all from 'Adullam'—*i.e.*, the southern 'Carmel' (Jeraḥmeel)—and afterwards, when that attempt was baffled, renewing his enterprise from Ḥalūṣah ('Ziklag'). Of course, to say this, is not to deny that he may have possessed some attractive qualities in which Saul was deficient, and which not only favoured his ambitious schemes, but also facilitated the idealising process of later narrators. We now hasten on to the pathetic closing scene of the life of the hapless king.

4b. Last battle.

We have two versions of the ancient tradition: *a*, chaps. 28 and 31 belong to one document; *b*, chaps. 27 29 *f.* and 2 S. 1 belong to another.[2] In *a* the camp of the 'Philistines' is placed at Shunem; in *b* at APHEK [*q.v.*]. In *a* we have the strangely fascinating story of the 'witch of Endor'; in *b*, a great deal of interesting information respecting David, who was at that time at Ziklag or rather Ḥalūṣah, a vassal of Achish (or Nahash?), king of Gath or REHOBOTH [*q.v.*] in the Negeb. There are also differences between the two accounts relative to the death of Saul. Neither of the two stories makes it clear what the precise object of the 'Philistines' was. An able geographer holds that they sought 'either to subjugate all the low country and so confine Israel to the hills, or else to secure their caravan route to Damascus and the East from Israel's descents upon it by the roads from Bezek to Beth-shan and across Gilboa' (G. A. Smith, *HG* 402). Hence, when Saul had taken up his position on Mt. Gilboa (or rather Haggilboa הגלבע), which is taken to be the ridge running SE. from the eastern end of the great central plain, the 'Philistines' did not hesitate to attack him on his superior position (see GILBOA; HAROD, WELL OF). To dislodge him was imperative, because from Gilboa he could descend at will either on Jezreel or on the Jordan valley. Before the battle, as one of the documents states, the despondent king, who neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets could obtain any oracle from Yahwè (28 6 15), applied to a female necromancer at En-dor, of whom he had heard from his servants. In former times he had done all in his power to exterminate such magicians from his realm; but now he relapsed into the ancient superstition (see DIVINATION,

[1] Winckler, *GI* 2 172.
[2] See H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, Introd. pp. xxiv *f.*

§ 4). Accordingly the necromancer called up the shade of Samuel, who disclosed the terrible fact that on the morrow the king would die, and his army would be worsted, as a punishment for his disobedience in the matter of 'Amalek.'[1] On hearing this, Saul fell to the ground; it is added that he had not eaten bread the whole day and the whole night, yet he could hardly be induced to break his fast. After this meal, we are told, Saul and his servants 'rose up and went away that night' (28 20-25). It is impossible to decide how far the story is based on fact.[2] As it stands, it appears to be meant as an explanation of Saul's desertion by his God (see § 3). Whether in any degree historical or not, the narrative is highly natural, though considerable doubt attaches to the place-name, En-dor (see ENDOR; HAROD, WELL OF; and the criticism below).

Thus far we have provisionally assumed the correctness of the MT. There is, however, a strong probability that the text of both forms of the tradition is vitiated by a great misunderstanding, and that here, as in many other cases, there is an underlying tradition very different from that represented by the text. The geographical obscurity of the present text of 1 S. 28 *f.* 31, is undeniable; one may therefore naturally suspect corruption. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that the form 'Philistines' is correct in chaps. 28 *f.* and 31, when close by (30 16; see PELETHITES) it has only been introduced by a textual error. The case is very similar to that of a passage in the famous elegy (2 S. 1 20). Whatever we may think of 'Gath' (the name is far from certain—see REHOBOTH), we can hardly say that the mention of 'Ashkelon' was to be expected, and even if we defend 'Philistines,' we cannot assert that 'uncircumcised' forms a natural parallel to it.[3] 'Jezreel' (1 S. 29 1 11) needs no correction; the place intended is the Jezreel in the hill-country of Judah, not far from Carmel (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel), to which David's wife Ahinoam by birth belonged. *But the other names have been partly* corrupted, partly manipulated, by an editor, till a completely false geographical setting of the narrative has been produced. The scene of the military operations has been supposed to be in the N., whereas it was really in the S. It is not the least of the arguments for the correctness of this view that it enables us to emend and explain a historical notice (1 S. 31 7) which has been a great trouble to commentators (see ISRAEL, § 16, and cp HPSm.), but may, with the utmost probability, be read thus:—'And when the men of Israel who were in Arab-jeraḥmeel [*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel in N. Arabia] saw that the men of Saul had fled and that Saul and his sons were dead, they forsook the cities and fled, and the Zarephathites came and dwelt in them.' The cities referred to are the 'cities of the Jeraḥmeelites,' where, according to 1 S. 30 29, 'elders of Judah' had quite lately been residing.

4c. Emendations of names.

We must briefly indicate the emendations referred to; the names form the skeleton of the history. For 'Shunem' (שונם, 1 S. 28 4) and 'Beth-shan' (בית שן, 1 S. 31 10) it is the simplest course to read 'Eshean' (אשען) and 'Beer-sheba' (באר שבע). The same place is no doubt intended by both forms; see ESHEAN. Perhaps בעין (29 1) should be במעון, 'at Maon.' For 'Gilboa' (גלבע) or rather Haggilboa (הגלבע) we should restore 'Amalek' (עמלק) or 'Jeraḥmeel' (ירחמאל); so, too, in 2 S. 1 21. For 'to Aphek' (אפקה, 29 1) we should read 'to Gibeah' (גבעה; the same error is probable in Josh. 15 53; cp also אפיח in 9 1 [see APHIAH]); the 'Gibeah' of Josh. 15 57 (see GIBEAH, 1) or that of Judg. 7 1 seems to be meant. 'The house of Ashtaroth' (בית עשתרות, 31 10) should probably be 'Beth-ṣarephath' (בית צרפת), better known to us as 'Beth-peleṭ' (בית פלט, rather בית פלת, where פלת comes from צרפת [see PELETHITES]); the situation is suitable. 'Jabesh-gilead' (§ 1) should be 'Beth-gilgal'; 'Ziklag' should be Ḥalūṣah, and Endor (עין דור) should be En-'ărād (עין ערד). In Judg. 7 1 En-ḥărōd is combined with Gibeath-hammoreh or rather Gibeath-jeraḥmeel [see MOREH], and in 2 S. 23 25 *f.* a Harodite and a Paltite are mentioned together; Arad and Beth-peleṭ ('En-dor' and 'Beth-ashtaroth') are, if our explanations are correct, mentioned as in the same district in the narrative which contains chaps. 29 31. To pass now to the elegy: the true names in 2 S. 1 20 are Rehoboth, Ḥalūṣah, Ṣārephāthīm, and Jeraḥme'ēlim.[1]

[1] Probably the original tradition represented the 'Amalekites' and the 'Philistines' as allied on this occasion, so that the retribution to Saul would be exactly proportioned to his guilt.

[2] Stade (*GVI* 1 255) rejects the narrative; cp Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 73 *f.* Budde and Kittel, on the other hand, accept it as historical.

[3] The fourth line of the stanza ought, like the others, to contain an ethnic name.

These, then, are in all probability the historical circumstances of the great crisis. The Zarephathites, probably with the aid of the 'Amalekites' (cp 2 S. 16 20), were on their march northwards; David, lord of Ḥalūṣah (ZIKLAG), narrowly escaped accompanying them. Saul and his army went to meet the enemy, hoping to deal them such a blow as would effectually stop their incursions. He encamped, *shifting his position from Maon by Jezreel* (29 1, emended text) to the hills near 'Carmel' (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel), one of which we suppose to have been specially called Gibeah or Gibeath-jeraḥmeel. It was at this Gibeah (certainly not at any place called 'Aphek') that the Zarephathites encamped. Not far off was Arad, whither Saul may perhaps have gone to consult a necromancer; Arad was presumably one of the 'cities of the Jeraḥmeelites' (1 S. 30 29) occupied by the Judahites. The original encampment of the Zarephathites was probably at Beersheba,[2] and it was perhaps on the ridge which runs from the southern 'Carmel' WSW. towards Beersheba that the fate of Saul was sealed. The Zarephathites attacked him fiercely. After a heroic resistance, he gave way, and bade his armour-bearer thrust him through with a sword, on account of a critical blow which had been dealt him by a great stone.[3] His attendant, however, hesitating to do his bidding,[4] the hapless king is said (but this is by no means certain) to have taken his own life (31 4).

4d. Saul's death: Cheyne's theory.

A different tradition is reported in 2 S. 1 (the sequel of chaps. 29, 30), where the fate which in 1 S. 31 4 Saul is said to have deprecated, actually befalls him (cp ISRAEL, § 15). An 'Amalekite' (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeelite), who 'happened by chance upon Mt. Gilboa' (*v.* 6, EV), but who, as the narrator probably means us to suppose, had his own reason for being on the spot,[5] slays Saul. We need not, with Stade (*GVI* 1 258) reject the story altogether, though we must at any rate admit that it has been touched up by the writer who records it. Certainly it is in harmony with the well-known elegy ascribed to David, where the destined successor of Saul is represented as forbidding the sad news to be published in Ḥalūṣah, lest the malicious Jeraḥmeelite women should triumph (see translation in col. 2334, and compare 1 S. 31 4 *a*, 'lest the Jeraḥmeelites come and thrust me through').

In this connection it may be noticed that the elegy says nothing of Saul's 'sons,' which is in accordance with the fact that 2 S. 21 12 speaks only of the bones of Saul and Jonathan his son. Very probably the statement in 1 S. 31 2 respecting

[1] For גַּת, חוצת and אַשְׁקְלוֹן, פְּלִשְׁתִּים, עֲרֵלִים. See JASHER, BOOK OF, § 2.

[2] Both locations (reading 'Gibeah' for 'Aphek,' and 'Eshean' or 'Beersheba' for 'Shunem') are plausible; but Beersheba naturally comes before Gibeah. Beersheba was doubtless more important than Gibeah; hence the omission of 'Gibeah' in one document and the probable reference to Beersheba in 31 10.

[3] Read probably, in *v.* 3, וַיִּמְצָאֻהוּ הַמּוֹרִים בַּחִשְּׁבֹנוֹת וַיְהַלְמֻהוּ בֵּין הַיְּרֵכַיִם, 'and those who cast (stones) with engines found him, and they crushed him between the thighs.' See Che. *Exp. T* 11 137. We can now see the full force of Saul's remark to his armour-bearer, *v.* 4*a*, 'lest these Jeraḥmeelites come and thrust me through,' etc.; ערלים (as often elsewhere) should be ירחמאלים. See *Crit. Bib.*

[4] Unlike the armour-bearer of a grandson of Merodach-baladan in a similar case (*KB* 2 212 *f.*).

[5] The 'Amalekites' (Jeraḥmeelites), as we have seen, had possibly joined the Zarephathites.

SAUL

Abinadab and Malchishua is incorrect (cp § 6). 'Abinadab' seems to the present writer to be a double of 'Jonathan' ('Nathan' and 'Nadab' confounded), and 'Malchišua' to be a development (see § 5) of 'Jeraḥme'el' (whose name is misread Ishbosheth). The latter certainly did not fall on the field of battle. On the contrary he lived to succeed his father on the throne. Tradition not impossibly said that he was lame (see MEPHIBOSHETH).

The story of the death of Saul in its present form is a narrative of the heroic but useless sacrifice of the king's life for the deliverance of Israel from the Philistines. That we have had to interfere with it may be a subject for regret, but not for surprise. The story of Saul and of his relations with David was of course told and re-told, edited and re-edited, and could not but be considerably modified in the process. Textual corruption, too, naturally increased the confusion. The story becomes to some extent intelligible only when the textual errors have been removed by a methodical criticism. We have also to consider alterations due to later hands. It was the editor who placed the story of the 'witch of Endor' where it now stands. Endor (or En-harod?) is in the N.;[1] but the scene of the great battle was in the S. The account of the indignities offered to the bodies of the king and of his sons (*vv.* 9 10; see *Exp. T* 10 522), however, has the impress of truth, and we can well believe that fierce resentment arose in the city so gallantly liberated by Saul. All night the warriors of Beth-gilgal[2] in Benjamin are said to have journeyed. Not the northern fortress of Beth-shan, but more possibly Beer-sheba was their goal; there they found the dead bodies of the heroes fastened to the city walls. Piously they took them down and brought them to Beth-gilgal, where they raised a fitting dirge over them,[3] and gave an honoured burial to the bones beneath the sacred tree (see TAMARISK). Afterwards, we are told, David sent his warrior Benaiah[4] for them, and they were reinterred in the family grave at Shalisha (not 'Zela') near Beth-gilgal (see ZELAH, and cp RIZPAH).

There is a third reference to this generous action in 2 S. 2 4*b*-7 which needs elucidation. *Vv.* 4*b* 5 should probably run thus,—'And they told David, "The men of Beth-gilgal have buried Saul under the Asherah" (תַּחַת הָאֲשֵׁרָה; cp 1 S. 31 13, above). And David sent presents (שְׁלָמִנִים) to the men of Jabesh-gilgal,' etc. In *v.* 6 EV's 'will requite you this kindness' should be 'show you this friendliness.' David sends presents, nominally to acknowledge the generous act of the men of Beth-gilgal, but really to induce them to work for the extension of his sovereignty over Benjamin. 'Your lord' means 'the lord of Benjamin,' not 'the lord of Gilead.'

The impression which Saul produced on the later editor of the tradition was not on the whole favourable.

5. Saul's character. His fine physical gifts, his ardent patriotism, and his inextinguishable courage were readily acknowledged (1 S. 10 23 *f.* 11 11 18 7 17 32 *f.* cannot be quoted on the other side); but we also hear of fits of passion and cruelty (1 S. 20 27-34 22 6-19), of a dangerous religious scrupulosity (1 S. 14 36-45),[5] and (cp § 4) of sudden accesses of a disturbing melancholy (1 S. 16 14 18 10 19 9). This mental disturbance is described (in 18 10) by the same phrase (צלח על) that is used elsewhere for that heightening of the physical powers under the influence of rage against Yahwè's enemies which characterised the successful great warriors and athletes. Was it a melancholy produced by a wild longing for battle?[1] Was it 'but the morbid reflex of the prophetic inspiration of Saul's heroic period'?[2] Does the story of the witch of Endor suggest that it was a frenzied anticipation of evil for Saul himself and his people? Or is it historical at all? May not the statement be due to the influence of a wide-spread Oriental tale (see § 4)? At any rate it is connected with statements respecting David which, if our criticism is justified, cannot be even approximately correct. Tradition has in fact been at once too kind to David and too unkind to his predecessor. That Saul had good cause to oppose David has been stated already (§ 4), and even if we consider the loyalty of the men of Beth-gilgal (1 S. 31 11 *ff.*) to be largely the result of clan-loyalty (since Jabesh-gilead = Beth-gilead = Beth-jeraḥmeel), it is plain that nothing had been done by Saul which seemed to his fellow-clansmen to be unworthy of a great Israelite. Kittel (*Hist.* 2 135 *ff.*) has given an eloquent and sympathetic portrait[3] of the heroic king to all of which one would gladly subscribe if the historical evidence were slightly stronger. The chief difficulty connected with Saul is his massacre of the priests of Gibeon ('Nob'); but we cannot say that we know the circumstances sufficiently well to pass a peremptory judgment.

The best attested names in Saul's family are those of his concubine Rizpah and his son Jonathan, unless

6. Saul's family. indeed Jonathan was originally represented as Saul's brother.[4] ABINADAB and MALCHISHUA, however (1 S. 31 2; cp 1 Ch. 8 33 9 39, and see above, § 4), are suspicious. Abinadab is probably a variant of 'Jonathan,' Malchishua a corruption of 'Jeraḥme'el [bĕnê] Shā'ūl.' The names of the two sons of Rizpah (2 S. 21 8), Armoni and Mephibosheth, are also doubtful. Armoni is probably a corruption of 'Abinadab'; Mephibosheth seems to be borrowed from one of the two historic 'Mephiboshesths.' Tradition probably did not preserve the names of the two hapless sons of Saul and Rizpah. The present writer has suggested that both Eshbaal (1 Ch. 8 33) and Ishbosheth may be corruptions of Jeraḥme'el or Ishmael, and a similar origin may with reasonable probability be assigned to the current name of Saul's grandson (see MEPHIBOSHETH, and cp *Crit. Bib.*).

It is remarkable that, according to a new theory which fits in with a well-supported theory of the course of the history of Israel, no less than eleven of the personal names connected in MT with the family of Saul are corruptions of Jeraḥmeel and Ishmael, or of fragments of those names. These are—MERAB, MICHAL, PALTIEL, ADRIEL, MEPHIBOSHETH, ESHBAAL, ISHBOSHETH, MERIBBAAL, MICHA, MACHIR, AMMIEL. This theory throws doubt on the genealogy in 1 Ch. 8 33 *ff.* 9 39 *ff.*, which was possibly inserted to gratify a post-exilic family professedly descended from Saul. It is obvious that some of the names must be variants of the name of the same person; also that the names Jeraḥmeel or Ishmael were given, sometimes at least, as a substitute for the true name which had been forgotten. Jerahme'el or Jeraḥme'elith was in fact most probably the name of Saul's clan (see § 1), and Beth-jeraḥmeel that of the chief seat of the clan. Here probably 'Mephibosheth' resided, not in 'the house of Machir, the son of Ammiel, in Lo-debar'[5] (2 S. 9 4). See § 1, and cp MEHOLATHITE, SHEBA.

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[1] Of course there is the possibility that *dor* of En-dor (עין דור) may have come from 'Arad (עֲרָד), and that the original story may have been recast in accordance with a later view of the scene of the conflict. This may be the simplest solution of the problem.

[2] Not Jabesh-gilead (see § 1).

[3] Reading וישפדו להם (Klo. Budde). H. P. Smith's objection is of no weight; the mourning is naturally mentioned before the burial (Klo. refers to 25 1 28 3). W. R. Smith's suggestion (*RS*(2) 372), that the burning (וישרפו) may have had a religious intention, is ingenious; but see MOURNING.

[4] 2 S. 21 12 𝔊; see Klostermann, *ad loc.*

[5] Saul, it appears, had tabooed all eating before sunset. The only person who tasted food was Jonathan, who had not heard Saul impose the taboo. Yahwè was believed to be offended by this transgression. By the sacred lot (see URIM AND THUMMIM) Jonathan was found to be the culprit, and condemned by his father to death. But 'the people *ransomed* Jonathan that he died not' (*v.* 45, MT). How this was effected, we are not told. Ewald supposes that it was by the substitution of another human life of less value; Kittel (*Hist.* 2 116) and Driver (note *ad loc.*) modify this view. But 𝔊's προσεύξατο περί points to the reading וַיְפַלְלוּ אֶל, 'and they acted as arbitrators concerning (Jonathan),' *i.e.*, they mediated between Jonathan and the sacred custom or law. So Klostermann, who paraphrases, 'they imposed a fine on Jonathan.' [Winckler, *GI* 2 163 *f.*, assumes a mythological basis for the detail.]

[1] Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, 1 105.

[2] Budde, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*, 95.

[3] See also Tiele, *Vergelijkende Geschiedenis van de Egypt. en Mesopotam. Godsdiensten* (1872), 607 *ff.*

[4] This is a startling suggestion of Winckler (*GI* 2 191), based on 2 S. 1 22 *f.* Compare the doubt (SODOM, § 10) whether Lot was not originally Abraham's brother.

[5] The repetition of the elaborate description in 2 S. 9 5 is suspicious. Note here, to supplement LO-DEBAR, that בר in לו דבר may have arisen out of בית, and לוד out of גלעד, which

2. (RV SHAUL). An early Edomite king (Gen. 36 37 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 48 *f.*). Was he, however, an Edomite or a Jerahmeelite? ארם and ארם are so much alike that we may choose that reading which best suits the circumstances. On the whole, ארם, *i.e.*, ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), best accords with the notices of the kings, though a connected examination of these would be required to make this appear as probable as it really is. To suppose that this Shaul was a foreign conqueror and founder of a dynasty,[1] is a serious error. Certainly it is plausible at first sight to identify 'the river' (in the phrase 'Rehoboth by the river') with the Euphrates (see Onk.), and to compare the Rehoboth-Ir of Gen. 10 11. Sayce (*Hibb. Lect.* 55) would even identify our Rehoboth with Babylon, and make Saul the Hebraised form of Savul or Sawul (cp § 1), which he regards as a name of the Babylonian sun-god;[2] Furrer, however, thinks of a place called *Raḥaba*, on the W. side of the Euphrates (Riehm's *HWB* 1291). But all this is even hazier than the speculations about Rehoboth-Ir in Gen. 10 11. הַנָּהָר and נְהַר מצרים (Gen. 15 18) may both mean 'the stream of Muṣri,'—*i.e.*, some wādy in the Negeb, perhaps the Wādy el-'Arīš, the border-stream of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri (see EGYPT, BROOK OF; ABEL-MIZRAIM, but cp SHIHOR), so that 'Rehoboth' is er-Ruḥaibeh, the REHOBOTH (*q.v.*) of Gen. 26 22, SW. of Beersheba. Cp BELA, PETHOR. See also SHAUL.

See WMM *As. u. Eur.* 134 (*RP* 2 115). An ancient Egyptian text mentions Ra-ph and R-ḥu-bu-ra-ti next to Naharu (the 'stream'). The Robotha in Gebalene (*OS* 286 77; 141 75) is not to be compared. T. K. C.

SAVARAN (ΑΥΑΡΑΝ [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 6 43, RV 'Avaran.' See ELEAZAR, 9; MACCABEES i., § 3 [2].

SAVIAS (CΑΟΥΙΑ [A]), 1 Esd. 8 2 = Ezra 7 4, UZZI [1].

SAW. The saws of the Egyptians, so far as known, were all straight and single-handed; but the double-handed saw seems to have been known to the Assyrians (Layard, *Nin. and Bab.*, 195), and we suppose from the reference in 1 K. must have been known to the Hebrews. Cp HANDICRAFTS, § 2 *f.* On the Egyptian saws see especially Petrie, *Temple of Gizeh*, 173 *ff.* Petrie infers that the blades of the saws were of bronze, and that jewel-points were sometimes fixed in the teeth. Circular saws were also employed. According to Schliemann (*Tiryns*, 264 *f.*) the ancient Mycenean saw took the form of an ordinary knife or blade. See, further, *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'serra,' and for Egyptian saws, Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 261, and illustration, 1 401 (nos. 7, 8).

The OT words for 'saw' are:—

1. *maššōr*, מַשּׂוֹר, πρίων, *serra*, used for cutting wood, Is. 10 15†.

2. *mĕgērāh*, מְגֵרָה, 2 S. 12 31 ∥ 1 Ch. 20 3*b* (in 1 Ch. 20 3*c* it is usual to emend מגרות into מגזרות, 'axes,' after 2 S. 12 31 [so already EV]); used for cutting stone, 1 K. 7 9 (ἐκ διαστήματος = במגרעה, cp 6 6). See AXE, 6.

[There is a remarkable difference of expression between 1 Ch. 20 3 and 2 S. 12 31. The 1 Ch. passage has וַיָּשַׂר בַּמְּגֵרָה, 'and he sawed (them) with saws' (the verb corresponding to משור), διέπρισεν [𝔊ᴸ ἔκρισεν ἐν] πρίοσιν; Vg. *fecit super eos tribulas . . . ita ut dissecarentur et contererentur.* 2 S. 12 31 has וַיָּשֶׂם בַּמְּגֵרָה, καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐν τῷ πριόνι (𝔊ᴸ διέπρισεν ἐν πρίοσι); Vg. *serravit.* That the Chronicler's statement gives a gross caricature of David, is becoming more and more generally admitted, and G. Hoffmann's explanation ('he set them at the saw and at the iron pickaxes,' etc.) gains ground. The difficulties in this explanation are referred to by Driver (*TBS* 228 *f.*); but the corruptness of the whole passage, perhaps, has not been adequately realised, except by Klostermann. That able critic's restoration, however, does not produce very good Hebrew. If we take due account of the three verbs הוציא, וישם, and והעביר, the general meaning of the passage ought to be clear. The people of Rabbah of the b'ne Jerahmeel (not Rabbath-ammon) were 'brought out' from their city, and 'placed' in other parts of David's realm; so he 'made (them) to pass' from Jerahmeel.[1] מגרה must, therefore, be a place-name.[2] This fits in with other results of a more searching criticism of the history of David and Solomon. Cp SOLOMON, and see *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.]

was a corruption of גלגל. Cp 'Jabesh-gilead' in 1 S. 11 for 'Beth-gilgal.' Also that לא דבר in Am. 6 13 is most probably a corruption of בית גלעד (Beth-gilead). The two cities conquered by the Israelites appear to have been Beth-gilead—*i.e.*, Beth-jerahmeel—and either Mahanaim or Horonaim. See further MAHANAIM, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

[1] See Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 47.

[2] To illustrate Sayce's theory, see Schr. *KAT*(2) 576 (= *COT* 2 256). Del. *Ass. HWB* explains *samullu*, 'a tree or plant.' The same ideograph elsewhere = *nūru*, 'light.'

SCAB. 1. גָּרָב, *gārābh*, Dt. 28 27 AV, RV 'scurvy.' See DISEASES, 8.

2. יַלֶּפֶת, *yallépheth*, Lev. 21 20 22 22†. See DISEASES, 4.

SCAFFOLD (כִּיּוֹר, ΒΑCΙC, *basis*) in EV of 2 Ch. 6 13 denotes the specially-made platform or stage of bronze on which Solomon stood and kneeled at the dedication of the temple. *Kiyyōr* is elsewhere rendered pot, basin, or laver; and interpreters, therefore, have been led to suppose that Solomon's platform also was 'probably round, bowl-like in shape' (so BDB, *s.v.*); this, however, is not a likely shape, nor is it suggested by the terms of length, breadth (each 5 cubits), and height (3 cubits) in which its dimensions are given. Klostermann followed by Oettli (*ad loc.*) proposes, therefore, to emend to כִּיּן (√כן); cp 𝔊, Vg. (cp also כֵּן, used of the laver; כיור, itself, is sometimes written כיר).

With the measurements cp the description of the 'base' in 1 K. 7 27 (see LAVER, § 1); *four* (𝔊, Jos. five) cubits long, the same in breadth, and three (𝔊, Jos. six) high. The position, too, would correspond with P's statement (see LAVER, § 2), as also would the inference that there was only *one* base in the temple. Finally, it should be noticed, that ויעמד עליו, for which EV has 'stood upon it,' means equally naturally 'stood by the side of it' (on this not infrequent use of על, see BDB *s.v.* 756 *a*), in which case the MT כִּיּוֹר may refer to the 'laver' itself, and no emendation is necessary.

2. מעלה, AVmg., Neh. 9 4. See STAIRS, 3.

SCALL (נֶתֶק, Lev. 13 30 *ff.*). See LEPROSY, § 2.

SCAPEGOAT (עֲזָאזֵל), Lev. 16 8 *ff.* AV, RV AZAZEL.

SCARECROW (ΠΡΟΒΑCΚΑΝΙΟΝ), Baruch 6 70 [69]. See GARDEN, § 9 (end). Ewald, Graetz, Giesebrecht, etc., restore the 'scarecrow' in Jer. 10 5 (late), and RVmg. accordingly renders כְּתֹמֶר מִקְשָׁה, 'like a pillar in a garden of cucumbers.'

SCARLET is used in EV as rendering the following words and phrases:—

1. *šānī*, שָׁנִי (Gen. 38 28 and many other places), a common word of uncertain etymology, which may be connected either with Ar. *sana*—according to Philippi (*ZDMG* 32 79) this root has for its original sense 'to be bright or shining'—or with Ass. *šinītu*, 'a dyed cloth. The plur. *šānīm* is found twice, Is. 1 18 Prov. 31 21.

2. The fuller *šĕnī tōlă'ath* (שְׁנִי תוֹלַעַת, lit. 'worm-scarlet') occurs in Lev. 14 (five times) and in Nu. 19 6. 3. Another equivalent phrase is the *tōlă'ath šānī* (תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, lit. 'scarlet-worm') so frequent in Exodus, as well as (4) the shorter *tōlā'* (תּוֹלָע) of Is. 1 18 (EV 'crimson') and Lam. 4 5. 5. A Pu'al participle, *mĕthullā'īm* (מְתֻלָּעִים, derived from *tōlā'*), occurs once (Nah. 2 3 [4]) to signify 'clothed in scarlet.'[3]

[1] מלוכה (*v.* 26), מלכם (*v.* 30), and מלבן (*v.* 31; prefixed ב should be מ) all probably come from ירחמאל.

[2] מגזרות (cp ASA, 6) is a variant to מגרה. Read, perhaps, גְּשׁוּרִים or גִּרְזִים '(the land of) the Geshurites' or 'Girzites.

[3] But see SHOE, § 3, and cp *Crit. Bib.*

6. *κόκκινος* in Mt. 27 28 Heb. 9 19 Rev. 17 3 has, no doubt, the same meaning as *šānī*, of which it is 𝔊's rendering. See CRIMSON.

7. *argĕwānā*, ארגונא, the Aram. equivalent of ארגמן, is in Dan. 5 7 16 29 rendered 'scarlet' in AV (AVmg. RV 'purple'), and AVmg. suggests the same rendering for the Hebrew word in Ezek. 27 7. See COLOURS, § 14; PURPLE. N. M.

SCEPTRE. 1. שֵׁבֶט, *šēbeṭ*, cp Ass. *šibṭu*. In Nu. 24 17 (EV) we read of a 'sceptre' which shall smite Moab. The translators apparently take 'sceptre' as a symbolic expression for 'king.' Here, however, as also in Ps. 2 9 (EV 'rod'), *šēbeṭ* seems to denote rather a warlike instrument—a mace. For Egyptian representations of such a weapon see Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 216 *f.* 3 frontispiece; some, too, will remember the large heavy maces of limestone with relief sculptures, of the period before the sixth dynasty, exhibited lately (1900) in London, and found by Mr. Quibell at Kōm el-Aḥmar (Hierakonpolis). An 'iron *šēbeṭ*' is referred to in the traditional text of Ps. 2 9; such a weapon was, at any rate, known to the last editor of the Psalter (cp the *σιδηρείη κορύνη* of *Il.* 7 140). For a representation of Ašur-naṣir-pal holding a short staff or sceptre see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Ass.* 2 123; and for another of Sargon with a long one, see SARGON. In Ps. 125 5 'sceptre' is adequate (so RV, AV 'rod'); in Is. 14 3 (EV sceptre) we seem to need 'staff' as a parallel to 'rod.' Less common are:—

1. Terms.

2. שַׁרְבִיט, *šarbīṭ*, a late form of *šēbeṭ*, perhaps influenced by *σκῆπτρον* (Kö. *Lehrgeb.* 2 152), only in Esth. 4 11 5 2 8 4.

3. מְחֹקֵק, *mĕḥōḳēḳ*, √חקק, Nu. 21 18 RV† (‖ משענה), Gen. 49 10 RV (‖ שבט): Ps. 60 7 [8] RV (= Ps. 108 8 [9] RV). In all these three passages, however, Cheyne suspects that the text is corrupt. In Nu. 21 18 and in Ps. 60 7 [8] מ' has probably come from ירחמאל Jeraḥmeel (Che.), and in Gen. 49 10 מ' means a ruler (read, in ‖, שֹׁפֵט). See SHILOH, 1, Che. *Ps.*(2), and *Crit. Bib.*; but cp Moore, *Judges*, 153 (on Judg. 5 14).

As to the form of the sceptre, it is plausible to hold that it was a reminiscence of the shepherd's staff or perhaps crook (cp Ass. *re'ū* = רֹעֶה, [1] shepherd, [2] ruler). Koran, *Sur.* 20 17 *f.* may be quoted in illustration. 'What is that in thy right hand, O Moses?' Said he, 'It is my staff on which I lean, and wherewith I beat down leaves for my flock, and for which I have other uses.' We find the shepherd's crook (combined with the whip—mistaken by Diod. Siculus [3 3] for a plough) as an emblem of Egyptian royalty and vice-royalty; see Erman, *Eg.* 60, 63, also Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 3 371 (early, and Seti I.) and 3 128 (Ah, son of Athor), 1 183 (no. 7). As the emblem of Hebrew royalty we find not only a 'rod' or staff (Ezek. 19 11 14) but a spear (*ḥănīth*, from *ḥānāh*, 'to bend, curve, bend down'), 1 S. 18 10 22 6; in Is. 2 4 Joel 3 10 the 'spear' is parallel to the 'pruning-hook,' out of which it might conceivably, according to the writers, be made.

2. Form.

To illustrate the 'golden sceptre' of Esth. 4 11 5 2 8 4, see Middleton in *EB*, *s.v.* 'Sceptre'; *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*, *s.v.* 'Sceptrum'; and Frazer, *Paus.* 5 210 *ff.*

SCEVA (ϹΚΕΥΑϹ), 'a Jew, a chief-priest,' whose seven 'sons' (or disciples [Baur]) practised exorcism at Ephesus, with the results described with reference to two of them (*v.* 16 *ἀμφοτέρων*, but TR *αὐτῶν*) in Acts 19 14-17. See EXORCISTS. Schürer thinks that *ἀρχιερέως* (gen.) in *v.* 14 means 'member of a high-priestly family.' More plausibly we might read *ἀρχισυναγώγου*; the *ἱερέως* of D seems too slight an emendation. As to the name Sceva, it may be a Græcised Latin name (Blass). T. K. C.

SCHOOLS. See EDUCATION.

SCIMITAR (ΑΚΙΝΑΚΗϹ), Judith 13 6 16 9 RV, AV 'fauchion.' See SWORD, WEAPONS, § 1.

SCORPION (עַקְרָב, *'aḳrāb*, ϹΚΟΡΠΙΟϹ). Scorpions are especially common in the peninsula of Sinai and the desert of et-Tīh (cp Dt. 8 15, and see AKRABBIM), and the Arabian desert generally.

'Scorpions lurk under the cool stones,' says Doughty; 'I have found them in my tent, upon my clothing, but never had any hurt. I have seen many grown persons and children bitten, but the sting is not perilous; some wise man is called to "read" over them' (*Ar. Des.* 1 328; Doughty's statements about Arabia must not be taken too generally; cp § 3). The form of expression, therefore, in Lk. 10 19 ('I empower you to tread upon serpents and scorpions') is not quite so striking as that in the ‖ passage, Ps. 91 13 𝔊 ('Thou shalt go upon the asp and the basilisk'), and in the description of the locusts from the 'pit of the abyss' the weakest part may seem to be the detail of their 'tails like (those of) scorpions' (Rev. 9 10, see RV). From a picturesque point of view, however, this detail is quite in place; it is indeed a formidable appearance which the 'appendages' of the scorpion present.

1. References.

Ezekiel apparently likens bitter words to the sting of a scorpion (Ezek. 2 6); so, perhaps, Ecclus. 26 7. In 1 K. 12 11 14 (2 Ch. 10 11 14) 'whips' and 'scorpions' are parallel, but the 'scorpions' intended are worse than those of nature (see WHIP).[1] In 1 Macc. 6 51 the forcible term *σκορπίδια* ('little scorpions') is used for instruments for hurling darts; cp Cæs. *Bell. Gall.* 7 25, 'scorpionem.' The term, weakened by EV into 'pieces' (without mg.), arose from the resemblance of part of the instrument to the uplifted tail of a scorpion.

There is also a reference to the scorpion in Lk. 11 12, which needs fresh investigation. The saying of which, in Lk., it forms part, occurs also in Mt. 7 9-11; but there a hungry son appears asking his father for a loaf, or a fish, confident that he will not get a stone or even a serpent, whereas in Lk. (in the ordinary texts) the son is also represented as asking for an egg, sure that he will not get a scorpion. There is good evidence (cod. B, Vet. Lat., Syr. Sin.) for the omission of the loaf and the stone in Lk., and Plummer and Jülicher accept this form of the text, the insertion from Mt. being, it is urged, more probable than the omission. But how *can* Lk. have been satisfied with such a form of the saying? The hungry child's first request is for bread, and the connection in which the saying stands being more original in Lk. than in Mt., we have a right to presume that Lk. did not omit the loaf and the stone. But there is this prior difficulty to meet. How came Lk. to suppose that one of the antitheses of Jesus was *egg* and scorpion? One commentator suggests that 'scorpion' may mean the egg of a scorpion; another, that when it is dormant, a scorpion is egg-shaped. Tristram passes over this point, and remarks (*NHB* 1 302) that Jesus adopts a current Greek proverb, 'a scorpion instead of a perch' *ἀντὶ πέρκης σκορπίον*); similarly Jülicher (*Gleichnisreden*, 239). But if we compare this Greek proverb, we are bound to show either that *ᾠόν* can mean 'fish' or some kind of fish, or that *ᾠόν* can have been corrupted out of some Greek word meaning fish. The second alternative alone is feasible; *ᾠόν* may be a corruption of *ὄψον*, which does not indeed occur in the NT, but might occur just as well as *ὀψάριον*.[2] The third pair of objects thus becomes 'fish' (*ὄψον*) and 'scorpion' (*σκορπίος*). These are variants to 'fish' (*ἰχθύς*) and 'serpent' (*ὄφις*). There are two pairs, not three, and the trouble of explaining the egg is removed. 'Scorpion' is probably correct.

2. Criticism: Lk. 11 12.

Scorpions are nocturnal in habit, and carnivorous, living on the juices of insects, spiders, etc., which they kill with their pointed sting borne on the last joint of their tail. When the animal is running about, the tail is often carried turned forward over the trunk. Scorpions are provided with a pair of small clawed appendages on the head, and these are followed by a large pair of nippers or

3. Species, etc.

[1] The עקרבים may refer to scarifying instruments (Ass. *zukākipu*, syn. *aḳrabu*); so Uhnpfund, *BA* 4 224.

[2] Both words are used in the Greek Tobit.

jointed claws which resemble those of a lobster and which serve to catch and hold their prey. Behind these are four pairs of walking legs. The sting is very painful, and if it occurs in such a part of the body as the throat, or if the sufferer be out of health, may cause death.

Zoologically scorpions belong to the group Scorpiones of the Arachnida. The following species are described from Syria, Palestine, and Sinai, *Buthus australis*, *B. crassicauda*, *B. bicolor*, *B. judaicus* confined to these regions, *B. occitanus*, *B. quinquestriatus*, *Butheolus melanurus*, *Nebo hierochonticus*, *N. flavipes*. Numerous other species are recorded from Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor.[1] T. K. C., § 1 *f.*; A. E. S., § 3.

SCOURGE, SCOURGING. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12. The words are :—

1. שׁוֹט, *šōṭ*, 1 K. 12 11 14 2 Ch. 10 11 14 Prov. 26 3 Nah. 3 2. Metaphorically, of the tongue (Job 5 21), and of a divine judgment, Is. 10 26 28 15 (here, of invasion), Job 9 23. Cp WHIP.

2. שׁוֹטֵט, *šōṭēṭ*, Josh. 23 13† (metaphorically; cp 'plague').

3. בִּקֹּרֶת, *bikkōreth*, Lev. 19 20,† AV 'she shall be scourged,' AVmg. (following Mishnah) 'there shall be a scourging,' RV 'they shall be punished,' RVmg. (probably rightly) 'there shall be inquisition' (*i.e.*, judicial inquiry).

The NT words are :—

4. *μάστιξ* (Mk. 3 10, etc), *μαστιγόω* (Mt. 10 17, etc.), *μαστίζω* (Acts 22 25). See SYNAGOGUE, § 4 (*a*).

5. *φραγελλόω* (Mt. 27 26 Mk. 15 15), *φραγέλλιον* (Jn. 2 15); Lat. *flagello, flagellum*. Cp LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

SCREECH OWL (לִילִית), Is. 34 14, RV 'night-monster,' RVmg. LILITH.

SCREEN (מָסָךְ; ΕΠΙΣΠΑΣΤΡΟΝ), Ex. 26 36; see TABERNACLE.

SCRIBE. To do justice to this heading it is not enough to register and explain the three Hebrew words rendered 'scribe' in AV and RV taken together. We are bound to notice the fact that 𝔊 sometimes renders שֹׁטֵר (*šōṭēr*) as well as סֹפֵר (*sōphēr*) by *γραμματεύς*, and to consider the sense which this queen of the versions gives to that Greek word. The two Hebrew words will illustrate what is said elsewhere in this work on writing, literature (in its various branches), and government; in studying them we shall see how *sōphēr* came to mean 'theologian,' and *šōṭēr* came to signify 'official.' The strange word *ṭiphsar* (טפסר), rendered 'scribe' in RVmg. at Nah. 3 17, will also have to be considered; the discovery of the meaning of this word suggests literary influences, which are likely to receive more and more justification.

1. Terms.

For a hardly less strange word, *ḥarṭōm* (חרטם), rendered 'sacred scribe' in RVmg. at Gen. 41 8, etc., see MAGIC (§ 3); the rendering of RVmg. is not very probable, and has no ancient support (but cp Ges.-Bu. *s.v.*).

2. The sōphēr and šōṭēr.

Sōphēr (Ass. *šāpiru*) seems to be a denom. of *sēpher* (Ass. *šipru*), and to judge from the Assyrian usage *sēpher* may originally have had a very wide sense, including every sort of message, and even permitting the rendering 'command.' It is a question whether *sōphēr* in Judg. 5 14 should not be taken in accordance with this (possible) early usage as 'commander'; but to this we will return presently. The root-meaning of *šṭr*, on the other hand, is 'to write'; the distinction should be remembered—*šapâru* in Ass. = 'to send'; *šaṭâru* = 'to write,' cp Aram. *šeṭârâ*, 'document.' In Heb. 'to write' is not *spr* (ספר) or *šṭr* (שׁטר), but *ktb* (כתב) (see the Lexicons), a word not found in Ass. Presumably, therefore, *sōphēr* (also, of course, *sēpher*; cp EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 5) and *šōṭēr* were borrowed from Assyrian or Babylonian. We find the Ass. noun *šâpiru* used as a syn. of *aklu*, 'secretary'; one or the other term was often wanted, for the most different classes needed secretaries to prepare legal documents and other business records. So, doubtless, among the Israelites. In Judg. 5 14, as also in Is. 33 18, we meet with a *sōphēr* in the army (the Isaiah passage, being a late literary work, may be used as a *Jewish* record). There were, no doubt, different grades of military *sōphĕrīm*; the highest would be the military adjutant who enrolled the warriors, and who might even (but this is an uncertain inference[1] from 2 K. 25 19) be the same person as the 'captain of the host' (cp Ass. *šapiru*, 2, 'ruler'). The king, too, naturally had his *sōphēr* (2 S. 8 17 20 25 2 K. 12 10 [11], etc.), EVmg. 'secretary' (see GOVERNMENT, § 21). Only twice do we find the sing. *šōṭēr*—viz., in Prov. 6 7 (between *ḳāṣīn* and *mōšēl*) and in 2 Ch. 26 11 (of a military enroller, syn. with *sōphēr*).[2] Repeatedly, however, the *šōṭĕrīm* are mentioned either next to the 'elders' of the people (Nu. 11 16 Dt. 29 9 [10] 31 28 Josh. 8 33 23 2 24 1), or beside the 'judges' (Josh. 8 33 23 2 24 1 Dt. 16 18). Proclamations or orders in time of war were made known through them (Dt. 20 5 8 *f.* Josh. 1 10 3 2).

In Ex. 5 6 10, etc., the Israelitish overseers appointed by the Egyptian taskmasters are designated *šōṭĕrīm*; 𝔊 gives *γραμματεῖς*; cp 𝔊's rendering of *šōṭēr* in Prov. 6 7, *τὸν ἀναγκάζοντα*. The term also occurs six times in Chronicles (1 Ch. 23 4 26 29 27 1 2 Ch. 19 11 26 11 34 13). Evidently *sōphĕrīm* and *šōṭĕrīm* were synon. terms, and could be used of any subordinate office which required ability to write. No doubt, too, in 1 Macc. 5 42 *γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ* = שֹׁטְרֵי הָעָם.

3. Later use of sōphēr.

Thus the later Jewish meaning of *sōphēr* (see SCRIBES AND PHARISEES) must be kept carefully apart, when we are considering the old and very slowly forgotten meaning of the term. When the plur. *sĕphārīm* took the new sense of holy writings (Dan. 9 2, *βίβλοι*, 𝔊 Theod.), it was natural that *sōphēr* should come to mean theologian or 'lawyer' (so EV for *νομικός*). But the older meaning was precisely that which was most natural to Alexandrian Jews. Both under the Pharaohs and under the Ptolemies a 'scribe' was a government clerk, or registrar—in short, an official (see HISTORICAL LITERATURE, §§ 3, 5). He was not a theologian; the priests were the theologians. He was not properly a military man, for he was exempt from military service. Hence in Judg. 5 14 *šēbeṭ sōphēr* (שבט ספר) becomes *διηγήσεως γραμματέως* (𝔊B), 'the report of an official' (?), and in Is. 33 18 *sōphēr* becomes *οἱ γραμματικοί*. Under the Ptolemies, it is true, the term 'scribe' received a military colouring; but, for clearness' sake, it was usual to fill out the phrase and put *γραμματεὺς τῶν μαχίμων* or *τῶν δυνάμεων*.[3]

Δυνάμεις is actually found once in 𝔊, which gives in Jer. 52 25 (see note 1) *τὸν γραμματέα τῶν δυνάμεων*, reading סֹפֵר הַצָּבָא. The term *γραμματοεισαγωγεύς* in 𝔊, Ex. 18 21 25 (not in B in these two passages) Dt. 1 15 16 18 29 9 [10] 31 28, awaits explanation from the papyri.

4. Tiphsar.

The third and most difficult word remains—a word on which 𝔊 throws no light,[4] and for which our revisers in their uncertainty give two renderings—'marshal' and 'scribe.' 'Marshal,' no doubt, was chosen for *ṭiphsar* or (Nah.) *ṭaphsar*, because this sense suited Jer. 51 27. But it can be shown that it does not suit Nah. 3 17, and in Jer. (*l.c.*) we expect the name of a country; here טפסר is probably corrupt (see *Crit. Bib.*). In fact, *ṭiphsar*, as Lenormant first showed,[5] is the Ass. *dup-šarru*, 'tablet-writer,[6] which

1 Kraepelin, 'Scorpiones u. Pedipalpi,' *Das Thierreich*, 8 Lief., Berlin, 1899.

1 MT reads here הַסֹּפֵר שַׂר הַצָּבָא, but 𝔊 presupposes סֹפֵר, whilst L reads סָפָן (*τὸν Σαφαν*) and Vg. *Sophēr*, both as proper names. סֹפֵר, too, is MT's reading in Jer. 52 25 (𝔊 does not express שַׂר). 'Saphan' is adopted from 𝔊L (Kings) by Klo.; 'scribe of the general' is also a possible rendering in Jer., and is preferred by Kamph. in Kau. *HS* and Nowack (*Arch.* 1 360). Otherwise שר הצבא will be a gloss (but cp Giesebrecht).

2 𝔊, however, gives *κριτής* for *šōṭēr*, *γραμματεύς* for *sōphēr*.

3 Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 106 (1895).

4 In Jer. 𝔊 gives *βελοστάσεις*, a mere guess (?); in Nah. *ὁ συμμικτός σου*, which seems to represent ערבך, a possible variant to כארבה, which in 𝔊's Heb. text supplanted וטפסריך, owing to the similarity of ריך to רבך.

5 *La langue primitive de la Chaldée*, 365 (1875); *Études sur syllabaires cunéiformes*, 186 (1876). So Schrader, *KAT*(2) 424.

6 Halévy (*Origine de la civ. Bab.* 235 [1875]) compares *duppu*, 'tablet,' with New Heb. דַּף, column (of a scroll) or page. Cp also Syr. *dappā*, 'plank,' 'board' (*e.g.*, Acts 27 44). *Duppu* also = 'letter'; see EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 5.

is of Sumerian origin, but occurs countless times in the contract-tablets. See TARPELITES. The proof of the correctness of this explanation is that a similar one is equally needful for the parallel word מנזריך (EV 'thy crowned'; so Kimchi, unsuitably) which is perhaps corrupt in one letter (ז for ד), and should be read מִנְדָּדַיִךְ (so P. Ruben). *Mindidu*, like *dupšarru*, occurs often in contract tablets; it means one who is legally empowered to measure wheat, dates, etc. These two officers are naturally mentioned after the merchants (Nah. 3 16).

The same words (*tiphsar* and *mindidu*) have been recognised by the present writer in Is. 33 18, where, for איה ספר את־המגדלים we should read אַיֵּה מְסַפְּרִים אַיֵּה מִנְדָּדִים, 'where are the tablet-writers? where are the measuring clerks?' (Che. *SBOT* 'Isa.' [Heb.]), and *mindidu* is probably to be found also in Zech. 9 6, where 'a *mamzēr* (EV 'bastard'; see MAMZER) shall dwell in Ashdod' should be 'a *mindīd* shall dwell in Ashdod'—*i.e.*, Ashdod shall be subject to Assyrian (or foreign) civil functionaries (Che. *PSBA*, May, 1900). This is at any rate at once a possible and a suitable explanation. T. K. C.

SCRIBES AND PHARISEES

In NT (§ 1 *f*.). Name and position (§ 3 *f*.). Character and beliefs (§§ 5-10). Earlier history (§§ 11-16). Assidæans = Pharisees (§ 17). Later history (§§ 18-20). Bibliography (§ 21).

1. Incidental references in NT. It is too often forgotten that the gospel narratives make only incidental references to the Scribes and Pharisees. The stern reproofs uttered by Jesus against their arrogant self-righteousness, narrowness, and deadening spiritual pride, were undoubtedly well deserved as applied to the later form of Pharisaism; but they do not aid us in discovering, either the fundamental principles of the school, or the causes which produced such a religious development. Our present object must therefore be, first, to ascertain what the two classes of Jews, designated in the NT Scribes and Pharisees, really represented in the current theological thought, and thus to determine, as nearly as possible, the character of their party, and secondly, to trace their historical development down from its beginnings at the time following the Babylonian exile.

2. Usage of writers. The usage of the terms 'Scribes' and 'Pharisees' throughout the Gospels shows that a conscious distinction was made between them, as may be seen, for example, from the common expression 'Scribes and Pharisees,' *passim*. It is significant that the word 'Scribe' is not used by any evangelist with reference to single individuals. It is in every instance applied to a literary class, as in Mt. 7 29 Mk. 1 22 (more specifically Mt. 15 1 Mk. 3 22 'the Scribes who came from Jerusalem,' who naturally were the most important and most influential members of the party). Where single scribes are meant, the writer usually designates them 'some of the Scribes' (Mt. 9 3 12 38 Mk. 7 1), or else classes them with the Pharisees, as just indicated. On the other hand, the term 'Pharisees' is frequently used in passages where the writer evidently means to refer to individual members of a certain school (Mt. 9 11 34 12 2 14 24 Mk. 2 18 24, etc.).

Josephus also refers to the Scribes as 'those learned in the law' (ἱερογραμματεῖς, *BJ* vi. 5 3), and as 'expositors of the law' (πατρίων ἐξηγηταὶ νόμων, *Ant.* xvii. 6 2), whereas by the term 'sophists' (σοφισταί, *BJ* i. 33 2 ii. 17 8 *ff*.), he may mean the members of the distinctly Pharisaic party, some of whom taught law. Josephus, who uses the regular expression φαρισαῖοι much more often than any of the other terms, neglects to inform his readers (for example in *Ant.* xiii. 10 6) of the close connection between the Scribes and the Pharisees, probably because it was too well-known a fact to require explanation.

There can be no doubt that in the NT, especially in the many speeches of Jesus directed against the Scribes and Pharisees, the term 'scribes' (usually γραμματεῖς) is used of those learned persons who made a special study of the law ('the lawyers,'[1] Lk. 14 3; 'doctors, teachers of the Law,' νομοδιδάσκαλοι, Lk. 5 17 Acts 5 34), and that the expression 'Pharisees' always means the peculiar body of men who affected to live according to the letter of the law. In spite of this evident distinction, however, it is quite clear that wherever the Scribes and the Pharisees are mentioned side by side in the NT they were purposely brought together as the representatives of the same intellectual tendency (cp Mt. 5 20 12 38, etc.). Furthermore, in Mk. 2 6, in the account of the cure of the palsied man, we find the term 'Scribes'; but in the parallel passage Lk. 5 21, the expression 'Scribes and Pharisees' is used in an evidently synonymous sense. Finally, the application of both terms to the same school of thought is found in the later Jewish literature, where the earlier Scribes of Maccabæan times are generally made to call themselves *ḥăkāmīm*, 'learned men,' but are also referred to as 'Pharisees,' especially in passages inspired by hostile Sadducee sentiment (*Yādaim*, 4 6 *ff*.; *Bab. Sōṭ.* 22 *b*). Cp ISRAEL, §§ 81 *ff*.

3. Name Pharisees. The meaning of the name Pharisees (Φαρισαῖοι) is perfectly clear. Its original Heb. form פְּרוּשִׁים, *pĕrūšīm* (Aram. פְּרִישַׁיָּא פְּרִישִׁין) can signify only 'those who have been set apart'—*i.e.*, from the mass of the people (עַם הָאָרֶץ). The opprobrious sense in which the word was often used was imposed upon it by enemies. In itself the term means simply a school of ascetics[1] and is really quite in harmony with the general character of the Pharisees, who may have used it of themselves at first. Their own term for themselves was *ḥăbērīm*, 'brethren'—that is to say, members of the true congregation of Israel.

4. Relations of Scribes and Pharisees. Our data regarding the Scribes and Pharisees would appear to indicate that, while the Scribes were a class of *literati* devoted to the study and exposition of the Law, the Pharisees were more properly a distinct religious party, most of whose members belonged to the class of Scribes. The object of the Pharisees was, clearly, to live according to the Law, which the orthodox Scribes interpreted. It follows, therefore, that from the very inception of the Pharisaic party, its leaders must have been orthodox Scribes. As the Sadducees also followed the written Law, there must have been Sadducee Scribes as well, and it is highly likely that there were also Scribes who belonged to neither party. This explains the distinctive expressions 'Scribes of the Pharisees' (Mk. 2 16 Acts 23 9); 'the Pharisees and their Scribes' (Lk. 5 30), from which it is evident that not all the Scribes were Pharisees. It is probable also that some of the Pharisees, owing no doubt to lack of education, belonged only nominally to the scribal class and practised blindly the precepts laid down for them by their more scholarly scribal leaders.[2] At the time of Jesus, we almost always find Scribes in judicial positions; thus, wherever the high priests and elders are mentioned, the Scribes are generally included—without, however, any specification as to whether they belonged to the Pharisees or the Sadducees, or whether they were merely neutral scholars (cp Mt. 16 21 Mk. 11 27 Lk. 9 22, 'the elders and chief priests and scribes'; Mt. 20 18, 'the chief priests and scribes,' Lk. 20 1 . . ., 'with the elders'; Mt. 26 57 Acts 6 12, 'the scribes and elders').

5. Pharisees not a sect. It is certainly an error to characterise the Pharisees as a religious *sect*,[3] because that word implies a divergence in creed from other followers of the same cult. This was distinctly not the position of the Pharisees, as they were really from their first development representatives of orthodox Judaism

[1] Νομικοί; cp Mt. 22 35 Lk. 7 30 10 25 11 45 52 14 3.

[1] The abstract form פרישות is used in the sense 'abstinence, continence,' *Yōm.* 74 *b*.

[2] Wellhausen's statement (*Pharisäer u. Sadducäer*, 11) that the Pharisees were the party of the Scribes needs some qualification.

[3] EV's rendering in Acts 15 5 26 5 is unfortunate; αἵρεσις means here 'a party which professes certain philosophical principles,' in fact, 'a school.' Cp Sext. Emp. 1 16. See HERESY.

who distinguished themselves from the mass of their co-religionists rather by the strictness of their observances than by any deviation from accepted doctrine. The words of Jesus in Mt. 23_2 clearly prove the Pharisees' position; 'the scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all things, therefore, whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe'; but, he adds, as a reproof to their externalism, 'do ye not after their works, for they say and do not.' The sole object of the Pharisees' religious life was to fulfil, regardless of consequences, the requirements of the law which they believed to be the clearly expressed will of Yahwè. According to Josephus, when Petronius asked the Pharisee leaders whether they were ready to make war against Cæsar without considering his strength and their own weakness, they replied: 'we will not make war with him; but still we will die rather than see our laws set aside.'[1] This short sentence expresses most characteristically their fundamental principles.

6. Dogmas: oral law.

The Pharisaic dogmatic peculiarities, as outlined in § 2 *f.*, all tend to show how fully their religious position was in accord with orthodox Judaism, and to what an extent their opponents the Sadducees had remained behind and apart from the current religious development. The chief point in the Pharisees' code wherein they differed from the Sadducees was their insistence on the validity of a mass of oral tradition (Mt. 15_2 Mk. 7_3) which had accumulated in the course of centuries as a supplement to the written law. The Pharisees held that this traditional matter, regulating and explaining the observance of the written law, was as binding on the Israelites of every generation as the law itself (*Sanh.* 11_3), whereas the Sadducees rejected all such oral traditions and held strictly to the written Mosaic ordinances (*Ant.* xiii. 10_6). Herein the Pharisees, rather than the Sadducees, represent the natural religious development, because traditions, both oral and written, recording, for example, precedents for the interpretation of the law are a necessary and logical supplement to a fixed code, and, whilst they should not be accorded the same authority as the code itself, are undoubtedly a permissible and normal growth.[2] In the case of the Pharisees, however, their reverence for traditional precepts gradually degenerated into a slavish regard, first, for the text of the law itself, and, secondly, for a purely arbitrary supplementary oral code which had exceeded the legitimate functions and authority of tradition.

This oral matter had largely originated among the scribes since the time of Ezra,[3] although most of the literary class undoubtedly believed that it descended from Moses. They consequently even went so far as to lay down the principle that, in case of a contradiction between a written and an oral precept, the preference must be given to the oral. Their observance of law and tradition became, finally, so thoroughly formal, that the Pharisees actually seemed to have lost sight of the contents of the Law in their endeavour to carry out its demands in proper form.

7. Resurrection.

The Pharisees believed in a resurrection of the body and in a future state of rewards and punishments (Acts 23_8, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1_3).

The resurrection referred to in Dan. 12_2 is most probably confined to the Israelites; probably the author of Daniel did not believe in eternal life for the heathen. The resurrection of all human beings, however, is announced in Enoch 22, and was the prevailing orthodox dogma in the time of Jesus. The author of Dan. 12 also teaches the doctrine of future rewards and punishments for the Israelites, and for the first time uses the expression 'everlasting life'[4] (Dan. 12_2).

The Sadducees denied both resurrection of the body and a future life (Mt. 22_{23} Mk. 12_{18}, Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 1_4). See SADDUCEES, § 6.

The Pharisees, unlike the Sadducees, believed in the existence of angels and spirits (Acts 23_8). This was a doctrine which had been part of orthodox Judaism since the days of Zechariah (Zech. 7_{17}; 520 B.C.), and had in later times become expanded into a definite hierarchical system (cp Dan. 10_{13} Tobit 12_{15}, and the Book of Jubilees). Here, also, the Pharisees were undoubtedly the representatives of orthodox opinion. See ANGELS, DEMONS.

8. Other points.

Furthermore, the Pharisees held in general the doctrine of predestination, which was a natural outgrowth of their strict literalism, attributing the origin of everything, even of evil, to the far-seeing wisdom of Yahwè. Unlike the Essenes, however, they made a distinction between such actions as were controlled entirely by fate (Yahwè's will) and such as were, to some extent, directed by man's will, which, according to their theory, was permitted to operate within certain fixed limits—*e.g.*, τὸ πράττειν τὰ δίκαια, 'to choose the right' (Jos. *BJ* ii. 8_{14}, *Ant.* xiii. 5_9, xviii. 1_3). The Sadducees, on the other hand, held that man's own will regulated all the events of human life and determined his happiness or unhappiness.

The Pharisees were the most eager cultivators of Messianic ideas. They longed for and awaited the temporal Messiah of the earlier Israelitish hopes (see MESSIAH). They therefore, quite naturally, were among the most bitter opponents of the more spiritual teachings of Jesus, which they regarded as a dangerous departure from their point of view. Their ideal of a personal Messiah may be gathered from Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 2_4 where the author relates that the Pharisees were involved in an intrigue of Pheroras against his brother Herod, and that they sided with Pheroras, in order to accomplish the overthrow of Herod and place Pheroras on the throne. This statement is, without doubt, based on a misunderstanding of the Pharisees' motives.

In the first place, the prophecy which they made to Pheroras that Herod's government and dynasty should cease was uttered quite openly. This would hardly have been done had the Pharisees really been plotting directly against Herod with the aim of supplanting him by another. Secondly, they are said to have told Bagoas the eunuch that the new king would have control over all things and would be able to restore to him his powers of procreation. Such a statement could scarcely refer to Pheroras, a mere human monarch, but was plainly an allusion to the expected Messiah whose reign, according to Is. 66, should be a time of miraculous fruitfulness.[1] It was quite natural that such an idea should arise among the Pharisees at a time when the impious Herod was sitting as an usurper on the throne of David.

9. Defects.

Jesus' frequent and bitter denunciations of both Scribes and Pharisees because of their intense immovable bigotry and cold formalism, show very clearly their intellectual attitude in his time. They bound heavy burdens and laid them on men's shoulders (Mt. 23_4 Lk. 11_{46})—*i.e.*, they laid the utmost stress on a minute external observance of details. Such a formalism, although originally the product of a true desire to stand in the right way and follow the injunction of Yahwè, was certain to become the most crass externalism in a very short space of time. According to this system, the man who fulfilled to the letter all the physical requirements of the law, such as fasting, wearing the prescribed dress, etc., was technically 'righteous,' quite irrespective of his true inner feelings. This position is admirably illustrated by the well-known comparison between the Pharisee and the publican (Lk. 18_{9-14}). Such externalism could only breed a love of religious show, a tendency to display their formal 'righteousness' before the world, and was certain not only to kill all appreciation of the spiritual meaning which underlay the various forms (Mt. 6_1 23_5), but also to engender a spirit of casuistry which manifested itself whenever the strict requirements of an ordinance became unpleasantly onerous.

This cannot perhaps be better illustrated than by citing the extraordinary means adopted by the later Pharisees to obtain a greater degree of freedom on the Sabbath than was allowed by the written law.

[1] *Ant.* xviii. 8_3.

[2] Schürer in Riehm, *HWB* 2_{1209}.

[3] The oral law was regularly codified in writing in the second century A.D. Cp LAW LITERATURE, § 23.

[4] It is identical with the ζωὴ αἰώνιος of the NT, and must not be confused with חיים עד העולם of Ps. 133_3, 'eternal life' for Israel as a nation.

[1] On this discussion see Wellhausen, *Phar. u. Sadd.* 25.

According to Jer. 17 21-24 (post-exilic) it was forbidden to convey or carry anything on the Sabbath from one place to another. It is clearly stated in Jer. that the ordinance refers, not merely to the city gates, but also to private houses out of which nothing might be carried. The Pharisees, whose tradition used the word *rĕšûth*, 'district,' to define the limit in which carrying was legal, deliberately enlarged the *rĕšûth* artificially according to their own pleasure. Thus, if it was desired to fetch and carry on the Sabbath within the limits of a street or large space, they barred the street at either end or enclosed the space on four sides with beams or cords, thus making technically a legally defined limit (*rĕšûth*) within which the labour of carrying or loading might go on![1] Cp SABBATH, § 4, notes.

It is not surprising then that Jesus stigmatises the Scribes and Pharisees as hypocrites 'who paid the tithes but neglected the weightier matters of the law'; 'men who cleansed the outside of the cup and platter, but within are full of extortion and excess'; 'whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear beautiful but inwardly are full of dead men's bones' (Mt. 23 23 *ff.*).

The following Jewish classification of the Pharisees is an interesting confirmation of Jesus' estimate of them.

10. Jewish classification. Certain Rabbinical writers divided the Pharisees under seven heads:[2] (1) the shoulder Pharisee, who wore openly on his shoulders a list of his own good actions. (2) The temporising Pharisee, who begged for time in order to perform a good deed. (3) The calculating Pharisee who said: 'my sins are more than counterbalanced by my many virtues.' (4) The saving Pharisee who said: 'I will save a little from my modest fortune to perform a work of charity.' (5) The Pharisee who said: 'would that I knew of a sin which I had committed, in order that I might make reparation by an act of virtue.' (6) The God-fearing Pharisee (Job). (7) The God-loving Pharisee (Abraham).

Of these, only the last two may be understood in a good sense. In spite of the general self-righteous tone of the party, such epithets were not infrequently applied to Pharisees. It must not, of course, be supposed that every member of the party was of necessity a spiritless formalist, dead to all true religious feeling. We need only remember the case of the righteous Nicodemus, and especially the words of Jesus already quoted (Mt. 23 2 *f.*), confirming the Pharisees in their principle of observing the law, but attacking their insincere and external manner of carrying out their own precepts. Paul himself boasts that he followed the Pharisaic ideas regarding the law (Phil. 3 5), thereby implying that he recognised the authority of both the written and the oral law.

In considering this subject, it is necessary to seek the reason why the Pharisees enjoyed such an ascendancy

11. Growth of scribal party. over the people, and to examine into the causes which had produced such a lamentable state of religion among the Jews of the time of Jesus. These are all to be found in the history of the gradual rise, after the Babylonian exile, of the scribal class, and in the account of the development of the distinctively Pharisaic party from their ranks.

As both Josephus and the NT writers, whose statements regarding the Scribes and Pharisees are certainly the most important that we have at our disposal, were familiar with this school of thought only when it was in an advanced state of development, their account is of use chiefly in showing the character of the party in later times. The sources which are most instructive, however, for the study of the origin and growth of the scribal party are the OT Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, especially the Psalter of Solomon. Besides these, the canonical books of Ezra, Neh., Dan., Ch., and Esther are of great value in indicating the beginnings of the tendencies which produced the post-exilic literary and religious development.

It is useless to seek the origin of religious parties as far back as the period of the Babylonian exile.

[1] See Schürer in Riehm, *HWB* 2 1207.
[2] See Levy, *NHWB* 4 142.

The capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonians had of course completely shattered the Jewish political organisation, so that

12. Pre-exilic times. whatever differences of thought there had been before that event could hardly have survived in a concrete form under the radically changed conditions which obtained afterwards. In the pre-exilic days the people had been led, on the one hand, by the priests and priestly families, who were the real literalists and ritualists, and, on the other hand, by prophets who claimed to speak in the name and with the special commission of Yahwè, and who, as spiritual reformers professing to guide Israel through the crises of her history,[1] were, in general, opposed to the more formal and worldly priestly caste. As it is impossible to trace here any of the differences between the Pharisees and the Sadducees already noted, the rise of all of them must be sought in the post-exilic times.

Directly after the return, we find the people divided, as shown by many passages in Ezra and Nehemiah,

13. Two exilic schools. into two hostile schools, of which one approved of uniting by marriage with the neighbouring peoples, especially with the Samaritan mixed race which they did not regard as heathen, and the other opposed such amalgamation most strongly, urging the necessity of keeping Yahwè's favoured nation intact (cp Ezra 9 1 *f.* 10 2 18 *ff.*). Both Ezra and Nehemiah were most zealous upholders of a strict observance of the law (Neh. 8 1 *ff.* 14 *ff.*), and the bitterest opponents of the tendency manifested by all classes of Jews to contaminate themselves by foreign alliances. Ezra's and Nehemiah's earnest efforts to spread a knowledge of the law met, therefore, with only partial success (Ezra 10 15 Neh. 6 7 10-14 10 30, etc.). The worst offenders against their injunctions were among the prominent high-priestly families who constituted the aristocracy, and in many cases had already allied themselves with outsiders seeking admission into the Jewish nation (note the relationship in Neh. 6 18, between the Persian official Tobiah and a prominent Jew, and in 13 28, between Sanballat and the son of the high priest Eliashib). It should be said in all fairness that the position so strongly taken by Ezra and Nehemiah was not necessarily the strictly legal one, as their opponents could cite many precedents from the earlier history which justified a considerate treatment of such strangers as wished to live at peace and in union with Israel (Lev. 24 22 Nu. 15 16, etc.; cp STRANGER, § 10). In fact, in the earlier law it was only marriage with the Canaanites that was expressly forbidden (cp Ex. 34 16, but see Judg. 3 6, etc.). This being the case, the rise of two post-exilic parties at bitter feud with each other can easily be understood. The one consisted of the high-priestly families, the real aristocracy (Ezra 10 18), who were anxious to connect themselves with another aristocracy in order to increase their own strength, not, as some scholars thought, to form an anti-Persian alliance. The pious leaders, on the other hand, were the strictly Jewish party, who sought to follow the Law as they understood it. These latter formed the beginnings of the class of scribes whose founder was Ezra 'the priest and scribe' (Ezra 7 11 Neh. 8 1). It should be remarked that the Book of Ruth, which derives the house of David from a Moabitish stock, is now considered by many to be a conscious polemic against the extreme position of Ezra with regard to foreign marriages (but cp RUTH [BOOK], § 7).

From this time onwards, a circle of Jewish scholars, many of whom were of priestly[2] (not high-priestly) race,

14. Juristic students. applied themselves with increasing devotion to the study of the law from a juristic point of view. Among these men began and developed the system of oral tradition already mentioned which eventually took rank in their minds with the law itself. Between the time of Ezra and the period of Antiochus Epiphanes (520-175 B.C.) the differences became even more accentuated between this student class and the aristocratic high-priestly party whose policy of associating themselves with the nobility

[1] Cp Briggs, *Messianic Prohpecy*, 26.
[2] For priestly Pharisees, see Jos. *Vit.* 1 *ff.* 39; and in the Mishna, *'Edûyôth* 2 1 *f.* 8 2; *Abôth* 2 8 3 2.

of the adjacent or dominant heathen people (Samaritan, Persian, Greek) remained unchanged. By the time the Græco-Syrian domination began, the scholarly class, who edited and circulated the historical and prophetical Scriptures, treating them from the same minute dogmatic-ethical point of view as they did the law, had founded many schools.

Into these schools gathered great numbers of students who, of course, assisted in promulgating the peculiar orthodox doctrines already described. In these schools it was especially laid down as the imperative duty of the faithful student to remember accurately the principles which he had learned and to transmit them with equal accuracy to others. This is fully illustrated by two characteristic maxims of the Talmud :—(i.) 'To him who forgets a precept it is accounted by the scribe as if he had deliberately forfeited his life.' (ii.) 'Every one is bound to teach with the exact words of the teacher.'[1] In spite of these prescribed lines which the faithful student should follow, we find the caste of the Scribes at the time of Christ divided into two distinct schools, viz., the school of Hillel and the school of Shammai, which differed from each other, however, more on minor questions of interpretation than on any serious points of doctrine. In general, the school of Hillel was more lenient than that of Shammai (cp CANON, § 53, n. 3).

The Scribes were undoubtedly the originators of the Synagogue service which was a natural result of their religious position.[2] Separated as they were from the high-priestly class, the teachers in these synagogal schools developed of necessity into a well-defined independent order of religious leaders called Rabbis, whom Sirach, writing at the beginning of the second century B.C., praises most heartily (39-40). It is doubtful whether the Scribes had crystallised into a distinctly political party as early as the time of Sirach.[3]

15. Assidæans.

The first thing which tended to turn the religious students called Scribes into a fierce politico-religious faction was the attempts of Antiochus Epiphanes, so bitterly stigmatised in the book of Daniel, to Hellenise the entire Jewish people. In this, Antiochus was aided by the aristocratic party which, from the beginning of his reign, had manifested marked phil-Hellenic tendencies. Among the opponents of the Hellenistic movement we find a party calling themselves ASSIDÆANS [*q.v.*] or the 'pious,' and representing the most rigid development of the ideas of the Scribes.

They were strict observers of the law (1 Macc. 2 42), and in particular so rigid in their views of the Sabbath that they even refused to defend themselves on the holy day (1 Macc. 2 32 *ff.*). That they were ascetics in their mode of life may be inferred from 1 Macc. 1 62 *ff.*, and that they were evidently a well-organised body is seen from the unanimity with which they acted together (1 Macc. 7 13). See ASSIDÆANS.

It is interesting to notice that the author of Daniel shows many Assidæan tendencies. We need observe only the stress which he lays on the necessity of observing the law, and the indifference with which he regards the Maccabæan rising, calling it only 'a little help' (11 34). This is probably an allusion to the fact that many of the Maccabæan combatants attached more importance to the political than to the religious aspect of the question at issue.

16. The popular rising.

The reasons for the rebellion of the Assidæans against Antiochus Epiphanes must not be confounded with those which produced the popular rising of the Maccabees. The fundamental impulse of the Maccabæan rebellion was a pure patriotism, a true feeling for the miseries which the common people were undergoing (1 Macc. 2 7 *ff.*). The Assidæans were much more selfish in their aims, as they were perfectly willing to recognise the dominion of the heathen king, as long as they were left undisturbed in the observance of the law. They accordingly took part in the contest only long enough to insure their own religious freedom and, as soon as this seemed safe, promptly surrendered to Alcimus the Hellenistic high priest.

[1] See Schürer in Riehm, *HWB* 2 1453.

[2] See SYNAGOGUE. Cp Sieffert, 'Die jüd. Synagoge zur Zeit Jesu,' in *Beweis des Glaubens*, 1876, pp. 8 *ff.*; also Kuenen, *Over de Mannen der Groote Synagoge* (Amsterdam, 1876).

[3] Cp Sieffert, *RE*(2) 13 220.

The statement in 2 Macc. 14 6 that the Assidæans were the real Maccabæan war party is in direct contradiction to the data in 1 Macc. regarding them. In order to explain this, Hitzig (*GVI* 417) considers 1 Macc. 7 13 as an interpolation. The probability is, as was suggested by Sieffert (*RE*(2) 13 223), that 1 Macc. was written from a Maccabæan, and 2 Macc. from a Pharisaic point of view. The Pharisees wished to claim for themselves the credit of the Maccabæan victories. The true attitude of the Assidæans is probably given in 1 Macc. 7 13 (see also Wellhausen, *l.c.* pp. 79 *ff.*; cp MACCABEES i., § 4).

17. Assidæans = Pharisees.

There can be little doubt that these Assidæans were practically identical with that party of the Scribes[1] which came to be called Pharisees under Johannes Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.). As soon as the Maccabæan dynasty had become established, the new rulers assumed the high-priesthood, and so the ancient aristocratic and high-priestly families who, up to that time, had been the kernel of the phil-Hellenic party, were now forced to relinquish their position as political leaders. They retained a great part of their influence, however, as party leaders of their own faction which continued under the name Sadducees with essentially the same principles.

18. Rupture with Hasmonæans.

At the time of Hyrcanus, we find the Pharisees opposed to the Maccabæan or Hasmonæan family, with whom during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes they had temporarily made common cause.

It is not difficult to account for this change of attitude. As has already been stated, the Assidæans cared little for political freedom and were therefore not in sympathy with the Maccabees as to the main issue. It was only natural, therefore, that, as soon as the Maccabees had succeeded in founding a temporal dynasty, they should begin to drift apart from the stricter scribal religious class who had now quite evidently assumed the leadership of their own party. The first rupture between the royal family and the Pharisees occurred in the reign of Hyrcanus who, although himself a Pharisee at first, deliberately left that party and became a Sadducee (cp ISRAEL, § 78).

The son and successor of Hyrcanus, Alexander Jannæus (104-78 B.C.), inherited his father's spirit, and waged a six years' war against the now powerful Pharisaic party. On the death of Jannæus, however, his widow and successor Salome Alexandra (78-69 B.C.), realising the futility of attempting to resist the Pharisees, who were becoming stronger and stronger under opposition, made peace and allied herself with them (*Ant.* xiii. 6 1). It was at this period that the Pharisees gained over the minds of the people the ascendancy, retained without interruption until the days of Jesus, which appears so plainly in the pages of the NT. Indeed, their opponents the Sadducees never again became prominent as a political party after the advent of the Romans, who in 63 B.C. appointed the Pharisaic Hyrcanus, son of Alexandra, as their vassal-king, giving him the preference over his Sadducee brother, Aristobulus (cp Ps. Sol. 2).

19. As leaders.

The Pharisees now appear as the leaders of Jewish national religious feeling, although they must not be regarded as forming the kernel of the people, nor as being the people's party. This is true in spite of their violent opposition to Herod, with whom the Sadducees had allied themselves. The Pharisees naturally hated all religious oppression and were therefore on the people's side. Their position, like that of the earlier Assidæans, was purely religious, however, and their object can be said to have been political only in so far as they desired to establish the theocratic idea. The Pharisees hated the Romans, therefore, with perfect consistency, because it was from them that the anti-legal exactions came. Extremists

[1] Sieffert denies the identity of the Assidæans and Pharisees, claiming that they were merely alike in principle, and not necessarily the same party. He finds it therefore impossible to trace the Pharisees farther back than the time of Hyrcanus (*l.c.* 226). It seems quite clear, however, that the party divisions of the Hasmonæan period were merely continuations of early differences and, as long as we can note in the Assidæans the chief characteristics afterwards found in the Pharisees, there is every reason to see in the later party the logical development of the earlier.

like the Scribes refused, accordingly, to pay the foreign tax and were consequently in a constant state of friction with the Roman provincial authorities whom the Sadducees, ever true to their foreign predilections, supported. It cannot be said, however, that the later Sadducees like their phil-Hellenic predecessors were entirely anti-national.

There can be no doubt that this bigoted theocratic nationalistic tendency, which the Pharisees never ceased to preach, eventually caused the disastrous anti-Roman rebellion that ended so fatally for the Jewish nation. Indeed, according to Josephus (*BJ* iv. 3 9 *ff.*, *Ant.* xviii. 1 1), it was the Zealots, a distinctly Pharisaic development, who were the instigators and ringleaders of this movement. It happened then that those who wished to lead the people to righteousness and to the realisation of the Messianic hopes of centuries became, through their own blind pride, the chief instruments in the downfall of their nation and religion. The Pharisees' bigotry and narrow short-sightedness, therefore, which Jesus had condemned so frequently and so vehemently, were punished in the most terrible manner conceivable.

20. Rebellion.

The literature on the subject is very extensive. Among the modern publications the following should be mentioned:—Cohen, *Les Pharisiens* (Paris, 1877); Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*,(3) 3 357 *ff.* 476 *ff.* (1864); Geiger, 'Sadd. u. Phar.' in *Jüd. Ztschr.* 2 11 *ff.* (1863); Gfrörer, *Das Jahrhundert d. Heils*, 1 309 *ff.* (1838); Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*,(2) 71 *ff.* 455 *ff.* (1863); Hamburger, *Realencycl. für Bibel u. Talmud*, ii. 1038 *ff.* (1882); Hausrath, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* 1 76 *ff.*, Krüger, 'Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Pharisäer u. Essener' in *Theol. Quartalschr.* 85 431-96; Kuenen, *De Godsdienst van Israel.* 2 342 *ff.* (1869); *Volksreligion und Weltreligion*, 206 *ff.* (Berlin, 1883); Reuss, *RE* 11 496 *ff.*; Schenkel, *Bibellex.* 4 518 *ff.*; Schürer, *Gesch. des jüd. Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, 2 248 *ff.* 314 *ff.* (1886); in Riehm's *HWB* 2 1205-1210 1451-54 (1894); Sieffert, *PRE*(2) 13 210-44 (1884); Wellhausen, *Pharisäer u. Sadducäer* (1874).

21. Bibliography.

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SCRIP. 1. יַלְקוּט, *yalkūt* (cp Ass. *lakâtu* = לקח, 'to take together'; or Ar. *ḳal'atun*, 'pouch, satchel, knapsack'), 1 S. 17 40† (ϹΥΛΛΟΓΗ).

2. ΠΗΡΑ, Mt. 10 10 Mk. 6 8 Lk. 9 3 10 4 22 35 *f.* (RV WALLET). A scrip is a pouch or wallet used by shepherds (Milton, *Comus*, *l.* 626); cp CATTLE, § 6. But the *yalkūt* was also used by travellers. It is probably the πήρα of Judith 10 5 13 10 15 (EV 'bag'), and of Mt. 10 10, etc.; ילקוט or (ה)קלעת may (Che.) also be restored in Judg. 5 26 (MT יָתֵד), where it would mean a household box or bag (see JAEL).

SCRIPTURE, SCRIPTURES. 1. In Dan. 10 21 the seer's supernatural visitant is reported as saying, 'I will show thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth' (AV), or rather (RV), 'I will show thee that which is inscribed in the writing of truth'—*i.e.*, in the book in which the destinies of mankind are written down beforehand. The expression stands in close relation to the growing interest of the later Jews in the 'last things.' Prophecy in the grand old style having ceased, it became necessary to look to the source of all true knowledge of the future—viz., to God—or more specially to those seers and sages of primitive times whom Yahwè, it was believed, favoured by giving them special revelations, either directly, or by one of those angels who 'see his face' (Enoch, Seth, Daniel, etc.). The phrase in its context is important for the comprehension of those late writings to which the name of some one of those primitive seers is prefixed. It is, of course, related to such an expression as the 'book of life,' or, 'of the living,' Ps. 69 28 [29], cp Dan. 12 1, but very much more closely to the conception of the 'heavenly tablets' (πλάκες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, see *Test. xii. Patriarch.*; Enoch, 81 1 *f.*), which are the Jewish equivalent of the tablets of Marduk. The idea survives in the popular Jewish view of the Jewish New Year's Day (= the Zakmuk festival at Babylon), according to which God holds session on that day with a book before him in which he inscribes the fates of men (Jastrow, Karppe). For the later Jewish references see Charles, *Enoch*, note on pp. 131 *ff.*, and for the origin of the tablets of Marduk see the Babylonian Creation-story, 1 33 4 131, and the first myth of Zu, *KB*, vi. pt. i. pp. 47 *ff.*, and cp Jastrow, *RBA* 428, 540.

2. αἱ γραφαί (some eighteen times in NT—*e.g.*, Jn. 5 39, of OT), see CANON, § 2; γραφαί ἅγιαι, Rom. 1 2; ἡ γραφή, Mk. 12 10 15 28(?) Lk. 4 21 Jn. 2 22 7 38 42 10 35 13 18 17 12 19 24 28 36 37 20 9 Acts 1 16 8 32 35 Rom. 4 3 9 17 10 11 11 2 Gal. 3 8 22 4 30 1 Tim. 5 18 Ja. 2 8 23 4 5 1 Pet. 2 6 2 Pet. 1 20; πᾶσα γραφή, 2 Tim. 3 16; τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα (AV, the holy scriptures; RV, the sacred writings) 2 Tim. 3 15; cp 1 Macc. 12 9 (τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια); 2 Macc. 8 23 (τὴν ἱερὰν βίβλον).

Observe that in 1 Pet. probably, and in Jas., Jn., and 2 Pet. certainly, ἡ γραφή is used of the Scripture as a whole. In 2 Tim. 3 16, however, RV is doubtless right in changing AV's 'all scripture (is given by inspiration of God, and is)' into 'every scripture (inspired of God is also).' γραφή means here, as also in Paul, any single passage of Scripture. 'The writer shares the Jewish view of the purely supernatural origin of the Scripture in its strictest form, according to which "theopneustia" is ascribed directly to the Scripture' (Holtzmann, *Lehrb. der NTlichen Theologie*, 2 261). Cp the Jewish belief in the heavenly origin of the Torah, the denial of which made a man an 'Epicurean' or apostate, and excluded him from the future age (*Sanhedrīn*, 90 *a*).

SCURVY (גָּרָב), Lev. 21 20 22 22 Dt. 28 27†; see DISEASES, 8.

SCYTHE. For Jer. 50 16 AVmg. (מַגָּל), see AGRICULTURE, § 7. For Is. 2 4 Joel 3 [4] 10 Mic. 4 3 [all AVmg.] (מַזְמֵרָה), see PRUNINGHOOK. For 2 Macc. 13 2 ('scythe-bearing,' δρεπανηφόρα), see CHARIOT, § 11.

SCYTHIANS. The LXX contains some apparent references to the Scythians.

In 2 Macc. 4 47 Antiochus IV. Epiphanes is charged with such injustice as would not be found in a Scythian court, and in 3 Macc. 7 5 the servants of Ptolemy IV. Philopator are accused of cruelties after the fashion of Scythians. The city of BETH-SHEAN (*q.v.*) is called Scythopolis (Σκυθῶν πόλις) in Judg. 1 27 Judith 3 10 2 Macc. 12 29 *f.* Symmachus translated עילם (Elam) in Gen. 14 1 9, Σκυθῶν.

1. Σκύθης in 𝔊 and NT = Scythian?

Moreover 'Scythian' (Σκύθης) is mentioned with 'barbarian' in TR of Col. 3 11.

It is not certain that in any of these instances the reference is to the historic Scythians.

Jason of Cyrene in the days of Cæsar, and the author of 3 Macc. at the time of Caligula, may indeed have had in mind such descriptions as those in Herod. 4 62-69 or some proverbial sayings based on them. It is also possible, however, that they used the term 'Scythians' only as a synonym for 'barbarians.' According to Georgius Syncellus (*Chron.* 1 405) the origin of the name Scythopolis for BETH-SHEAN, also known to Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 8 5 [§ 348]), Eusebius (*OS* 237 55), and others, was the presence in that city of a body of Scythians remaining from the invasion in the time of Psammetichus. The name, however, does not occur on an inscription before 218 B.C. Pliny states (*HN* 5 74) that Scythopolis formerly had the name of Nysa. Whilst it is not in itself improbable that some Scythians in 625 B.C. remained as an enclave in Beth-shean and played as important a part there as the exiles from Cutha seem to have done in Samaria, it is also possible that the name is due to the settlement of some people deported by Ašur-bani-pal, such as the Parthian Dahae (Ezra 4 9, where Hoffmann's conjecture דהוא is more ingenious than convincing). Symmachus may have used Scythian for Parthian.

In Col. 3 11 the text is clearly not in order. It probably read originally 'Jew and Gentile' (Ἰουδαῖος καὶ ἐθνικός; Syr. *Ihūdhāyē w-'Armāyē*; Eth. *Ayhūdawē wa 'Alamāwē*; Lat. *Gentilis et Iudæus*), 'circumcision and uncircumcision, Greek and barbarian' (περιτομὴ καὶ ἀκροβυστία, Ἕλλην καὶ βάρβαρος; Syr. *Yaunāyē w-Barbrāyē*; cp Ignatius, *Philad.* 6, Ἕλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάροις, δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος); 'Scythian' (Σκύθης) seems to be a gloss to 'barbarian.'

It is exceedingly probable that in MT the Scythians are referred to as Ashkenaz[1] (𝔊 Ασχαναζ) in Gen. 10 3 1 Ch. 1 6 Jer. 51 27.

[1] [The question of the origin and meaning of the name 'Ashkenaz' and the related names needs to be re-examined in connection with the 'Jerahmeelite theory.' See *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10 2-4.]

SCYTHIANS

Originally the Hebrew word may have been pronounced Aškunza (אַשְׁכְּנֻז, אַשְׁכְּנוּ, אַשְׁכְּנוּ, אַשְׁכְּנוּ); it is as Delitzsch has pointed out (see ASHKENAZ) identical with Aškuza and Iškuza occurring in Assyrian inscriptions (see § 6). In the Behistūn inscription the Saka chief Shuka is called, in the Susian version, Iskunka. Already Vater (*Comm.*, 1802, p. 100) observed that a name beginning with Sc would be suitable on account of the prosthetic A, E, or I. The essential part of the name seems to be Sku: cp Σκυ-λης, Σκο-λοτοι, Σκω-πασις, Chinese Szū, Persian Sa-ka. Aškuza-Skuza is apparently the origin of Σκύθης.

2. Ashkenaz = Scythian.

In Gen. 10 3 the Scythian is, then, regarded as a son of the Kimmerian (GOMER, Gimirra, Gamir, Κιμμέριοι) and a brother of Riphath and Togarmah, whilst in Jer. 51 27 he appears as the companion of the Mannæan and Urartæan. The author of Jer. 50-51 58, whose production is largely a patchwork of quotations, seems to have used in 51 27 some old writing now lost, since the connection of MINNI and ARARAT (*qq.v.*) with Ashkenaz reflects a definite historical situation centuries before his own time (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 20, viii.). Whether Riphath and Togarmah were current designations of certain countries in the N. at the time of the priestly editor of the Pentateuch, or likewise drawn from some older source, must be left in doubt.

It has also been maintained that the Scythians are alluded to under the names Gog and Magog. Magog was interpreted as Scythians by Josephus (*Ant.* i. 6 1 [§ 123]), Jerome, Theodoret, and others. The fact that Gomer (Kimmerian), Madai (Mede), Javan (Greek), Meshech (Moschi), Tubal (Tibarenes), and Tiras (Turša, Tyrrhenians) are so manifestly names of famous nations renders it quite certain that, if the word has been accurately transmitted, or formed at all a part of the original text, Magog must also represent the name of a well-known people. It must be confessed that the absence of so important a name alike in cuneiform and classical sources makes one suspect the correctness of the name.

3. Gog and Magog.

This has led Cheyne to suppose a dittography of גֹּמֶר in Gen. 10 2, and a corruption of מִגְרוֹן in Ezek. 38 *f.* (see GOG AND MAGOG, n.). The interpretation of ARMAGEDDON (*q.v.*) by this scholar is indeed as plausible as it is brilliant. It seems doubtful, however, whether the new-found chthonic divinity will be of service in Ezek. 38 (cp textual corrections in col. 3881, n. 1, and for the opposite view that a great historic personage is reflected by the Gog of Ezek. 38 see § 5). A simpler suggestion as to Gen. 10 2 would be that Magog (מגוג) was miswritten for Gog (גוג) under the influence of 'Madai' (מָדַי), as a consequence of a changed conception of Gog, because at one time it was customary to contract the Assyrian māt Gag into Magag (Streck), or as a designation of a people akin to the Scythians and derived from Gog (מגוג), such as the Sarmatians or Massagetæ. It is interesting that Saadia in this place has יאגוג (ed. Derenbourg), the customary rendering of גוג at his time; cp Ḳur'ān 21 96 and Arabic writers quoted by Herbelot. In Ezek. 38 2, 'land of the Magog' (ארץ המגוג) is apparently an interpolation (Stade), and in Ezek. 39 6 the original seems to have been Gog (𝔊BQ). [On Ezek. 38 see further *Crit. Bib.*] In Targ. Jer. 1 to Nu. 11 26 מלכא סליק מן ארעא דמגוג, 'a king shall arise from the land of Magog,' depends on Ezek. 38 2, while in Targ. Jer. 2 גוג ומגוג וחילוותיה 'Gog and Magog and his armies,' ומגוג is probably an interpolation; but Magog seems to be the name of a king, as it certainly is in Targ. Jon. to 1 S. 2 10.

Amenḥotep III. (*Am. Tab.* 1 38 *f.*) mentions three countries—Gag, Ḫanigalbat, and Ugarit. Ḫanigalbat is probably Melitene, and Gog is likely to have been situated NE of Commagene (Streck, *ZA* 15 321). A people called Gag, or Gog, was thus known in the fifteenth century B.C. Concerning its ethnic relations we as yet know nothing. In view of the marked Iranian character of some names in the Amarna letters (see § 13), it is not too bold an assumption that Gag may have been a forerunner of Aškenaz in Anatolia belonging to the same family. Like the Muški, the Kaški, the Tubali, and the Ḫaldi, the Gagi may have been driven N. by new invaders; and it is significant that, in the days of Strabo, there was a province Gogarene immediately E. of the territory occupied by the Moschi, the Colchians, the Tibarenes, and the Chaldæans (*Geogr.* 11 14, pp. 452 *f.* ed. Didot). In the time of Ašur-banipal *Gagi* still lingered in the neighbourhood of Urarṭu as the name of a chief of Saḫi (Cyl. B. 4 1 *f.*). That the memory of Gog as a people was not lost is shown by Rev. 20 8. Ewald rightly felt that the phrase 'Gog and Magog' was not the creation of the NT apocalytic. After the name Gogarene had attached itself to the territory occupied by Scythians, at least since the beginning of the seventh century B.C., Gog naturally was understood as a Scythian people, whatever its original character may have been.

As, according to Ezek. 38 17, the coming of Gog, prince of Meshech and Tubal, had been predicted by the former prophets, Jerome looked for such a prophecy and found it in Nu. 24 7 where 𝔊 and Sam. with Aq. Sym. read 'his king shall be higher than Gog.'[1] There can be little doubt that this is more original than MT, though the whole verse is probably a late interpolation. [Cp OG, col. 3465.]

4. 'King Gog.'

Peyron (*Sur les prophètes*, 1693, p. 136 *f.*) called attention to Am. 7 1*c* where 𝔊 read 'and behold, one caterpillar, king Gog,' and made this passage refer to a Scythian invasion. Here, too, the Hebrew text gives no satisfactory sense, and Nowack rightly rejects it as a gloss.[2] 𝔊 probably reproduces more nearly the words of the glossator; but it may be questioned whether the original read מלך גוג, 'king of Gog,' or גוג המלך, 'Gog, the king.' If 'king of Gog' was the reading, 'Gog the king,' and with it 'king Gog' himself, may have originated in a misunderstanding of this marginal comment to Am. 7 1. But the idea of this king may also have been suggested by descriptions of Gagi, ruler of Saḫi, given by some of Ašur-bani-pal's Syrian colonists, unless it should ultimately prove to have its roots in Babylonian mythology, where a divine messenger Gaga figures in the *Inuma ilîš* epic, 3 2 *f.* 67. That the descriptions of Jer. 4-6 and Zeph. 2 (see § 6, and ZEPHANIAH, § 4) cannot by themselves have led to the definite conception of king Gog, is sufficiently evident from Jewish and Christian exegesis, which so long has been satisfied (but see § 27, and *Crit. Bib.*) with seeing in these passages references to the Chaldæans only.

That, with all its apocalyptic character, Ezek. 38-39 reflects the career of a great historic personage, was already felt by Polychronius (about 427 A.D.) who thought of Antiochus III. He was followed in this by Grotius, whose commentary gives a detailed application of the text to the history of the Seleucid king. Winckler most ingeniously interprets the prophecy as occasioned by the career of Alexander (*AOF* 2 160 *ff.*). But neither Antiochus nor Alexander would naturally be designated 'prince of Meshech and Tubal,' and there is in neither case any motive for the feeling of hostility displayed, whilst there is evidence of a different disposition toward these kings on the part of the Jews. The present writer would suggest that the conqueror whose career inspired this prophecy is far more likely to have been Mithridates VI. Eupator Dionysus of Pontus.

5. Mithridates = Gog of Ezek. 38.

Mithridates alone could rightly be entitled 'prince of Meshech and Tubal,' his seat of power being where the Moschi and the Tibarenes lived, and his sway extending over the territory once associated with those names. None could more aptly be considered as the coming Gog than the proud conqueror of Scythia who reigned over all the coast-lands of the Black Sea and brought from the farthest N. his armies. No other ruler of these realms had with him Paras, Cush, and Put, Gomer, Togarmah, and the extreme N. than Mithridates, whose general Pelopidas could justly boast of the Persian auxiliaries, Egyptian ships, Cappadocian troops, Armenian contingents, and Scythian, Sarmatian, Bastarnian, and Thracian hordes that swelled the king's forces. Mithridates' dark intrigues, his boundless ambition, his insatiable greed, the 'Ephesian vespers' with their 80,000 victims, the persecutions of the Jews in Cos and elsewhere, who were at the time warm friends and allies of Rome, must, in 88 B.C., have filled many a heart in Palestine with fear of an invasion, hatred, and abomination. But, in an age of eschatological hopes, the confidence could not fail that, should he invade the 'navel of the earth' where quiet and prosperity had been restored, and prove indeed to be the predicted Gog, he would there meet with a miserable end. By the sword of the faithful and the wrath of heaven he would perish, and his hosts would be buried during

1 MT אגג: the addition of the prosthetic א may be explained as in Arab. *Ajūj* for גוג in Ezek. 38 2 Ar.

2 [This alternative can, it would seem, be avoided by the course suggested in LOCUSTS, § 3 with note 6. Cp *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*]

seven months in 'the Valley of the Travellers to the Sea' (𝔊 of Ezek. 39 11), whilst for himself would be reserved a famous sepulchre in Israel in this valley of Hamon-Gog (Esdraelon), apparently in the city named after the foreign horde Hamonah (Scythopolis). Thus the king of Scythia would be buried in the city of the Scythians, the new Dionysus in the tomb where Dionysus-Oitosyrus buried Leucothea, his nurse (Pliny, 5 74), who was identified with Artimpasa, the Scythian Diana (Hegesippus 3 19).[1]

It is possible that already Photius understood Jeremiah as referring to the Scythians in 6 22 *ff.*

6. Scythians in Jer. and Zeph.

In his first homily on the Russian invasion in 865 Photius seems to regard himself as speaking of the same northern people that the prophet had in mind. He no doubt shared the view of his contemporary Nicetas who, in his life of Ignatius, speaks of the Russians as a Scythian people (Σκυθῶν ἔθνος λεγόμενοι 'Ρως), as does also the unknown continuator of Theophanes's chronography; see 'De Russorum incursione' in *Lexicon Vindobonense*, ed. Nauck, 203 *f.* and xxiv. *f.*

In modern times, Cramer, Eichhorn, Dahler, Hitzig, Ewald, and most recent critics have seen in Jer. 4-6 Zeph. 2 original references to the Scythians, though admitting subsequent retouching under the impression of Chaldæan invasions. It has seemed to them impossible that Jeremiah should have feared a Chaldæan attack in the thirteenth year of Josiah, whilst the Scythian invasion mentioned by Herodotus (1 103 *ff.*) seems to have occurred about that time. In JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 20, i., it has been suggested that Chaldæan designs upon Syria may have become apparent already in 625, and that the Scythian army may have contained a Chaldæan contingent by virtue of the agreement between Nabopolassar and the Umman Manda prince alluded to in the Nabuna'id inscription. That view must now be somewhat modified, as Winckler's researches have rendered it highly probable that the Umman Manda in this case are the Medes, and that there was an alliance between the Aškuza-Scythians and the Assyrians. A prayer to Šamaš, published by Knudtzon (*Assyrische Gebete*, no. 29), mentions the request of Bartatua of Aškuza for a daughter of Esarhaddon. Winckler identifies this chief with Protothyas, father of Madyas, king of the Scythians (Herod. 1 103), and reasonably supposes that there was effected an alliance which led Madyas to defend Nineveh against Cyaxares. If Madyas was the son of Bartatua who flourished about 675, he is likely to have taken just such a part in the events of 625 as Herodotus indicates. Phraortes had fallen in a battle against the Assyrians 625. To avenge his father, Cyaxares marched against Nineveh and invested the city. It is as natural that he should accept the aid of Nabopolassar as that this Chaldæan usurper should be eager to gain an alliance with him by sending an army. In this predicament Madyas came to the aid of Nineveh. The Medes were worsted in the battle, and the city was saved. Another ally of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar had, however, to be dealt with. Psammetichus had long been encroaching on Assyrian territory. Since 639 he seems to have laid siege to Ashdod. The Scythians, therefore, went on from Nineveh to invade Egypt. Their ostensible object was further to defend the endangered interests of Assyria. Hence the absence of any record of violence done. Even in the disorders in Ashkelon, it is distinctly stated that the mass of the army took no part, only a few individuals. Such treatment at the hands of Scythians could scarcely be expected. Prophets like Jeremiah and Zephaniah naturally watched their approach as a new scourge in the hand of Yahwè, amply justified by the moral condition of Judah. That these hordes should quietly come and go in peace, having received their tribute from Egypt, they could not dream. This line of conduct finds its explanation only in the political relations between Scythians and Assyrians. The editor of Jer. 1-20 (see JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 5 *f.*) had an important landmark to go by, and rightly put the beginning of his prophet's ministry in the memorable thirteenth year of Josiah (625).

7. Winckler's criticism.

Winckler assumes that the defence of Nineveh by Madyas occurred at the time when the city was finally destroyed (606), and that the Scythians were then routed. He correctly observes that a parenthesis begins after the statement of the appearance of Madyas, and concludes that only the beginning of Herodotus' account (1 103*a*) and the end of it (1 106, end) were drawn from an older source, the remainder being the historian's own work. But the parenthesis only tells how the Scythians happened to be in Asia, and the narrative manifestly continues with 'Then the Medes fought with the Scythians' in 1 104, end. The rest presents only one difficulty, which, however, may be satisfactorily met. If the twenty-eight years of Scythian rule fell within Cyaxares' reign (625-585), as 1 107 distinctly affirms, they must have extended from 625 to 597; yet the capture of Nineveh in 606 is mentioned after the recovery of the nations ruled before 625. But the restoration of Media's former territory is not unnaturally mentioned first, even though it had not been fully accomplished before 597, and the important addition of Assyria only afterwards with emphasis, though occurring already in 606. There is no evidence that Scythia lost anything but an ally by the fall of Assyria. If the king of the Umman Manda in the Nabu-na'id inscription is Cyaxares, there is no hint in that document of a Scythian army appearing for the defence of Nineveh in 606. Had the Scythian power in Asia Minor been crushed in that year, it is not likely that hostilities between Media and Lydia would have been so long deferred. In 597 the two allies, Media and Chaldæa, seem to have made a great attack upon the W., Media destroying the Scythian power in Armenia and Cappadocia, Chaldæa humiliating Egypt's Syrian buffer state, Judah. They were still united when in 586 Nebuchadrezzar put an end to the Judæan kingdom, and the next year secured for his 'helper,' Cyaxares, an honourable peace after the battle of the eclipse, Cilicia being then the heir to the position and policy of Scythia. Winckler's hypothesis apparently makes the distance too great between Madyas and his father Protothyas, and does not sufficiently recognise the importance of the political situation in 625.

8. Jerahmeelite theory.

Such doubts concerning the first siege of Nineveh by Cyaxares and its attendant circumstances (already expressed by We., *Kl. Proph.*[(1)] 156[(2)], 160), questions as to the reliability of Jer. 46 2 (cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 14), and particularly a searching and much-needed criticism of proper names in MT, finally led Cheyne to look for an invasion from the S. by the Jeraḥmeelites instigated by Nebuchadrezzar in the years immediately before 604 (see PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 40). The Jeraḥmeelite theory unquestionably promises to throw much light on the obscure history of the Negeb. That the Arabian neighbours of Egypt, as well as the peoples E. of Judah, should have been inflamed by Nebuchadrezzar is altogether probable; and that Jeremiah, watching these repeated raids, should have felt behind them the master-hand of the Chaldæan is not incredible. Nor need it be denied that צפון has occasionally been understood as 'the North,' where, in reality, a place-name was intended. It is even possible that the reports of the prophet's earlier speeches have been coloured by the memory of more recent words of his occasioned by such raids by the neighbours. In view, however, of the account by Herodotus of a Scythian invasion of Palestine, following the relief of Nineveh by Madyas, the suggestion in a cuneiform letter of a Scytho-Assyrian alliance already in the time of Bartatua-Protothyas, the occasion for Scythian interference in the accession of

[1] There is nothing in the history of the Hebrew canon that forbids so late a date; see the present writer's articles on the canon in the *Jewish Encyclopædia* and the *New International Encyclopædia* and 'Daniel among the Prophets,' *Hibbert Journ.* vol. i. Nor is there any evidence that this appendix already formed a part of the book that no doubt was translated a generation earlier (preface to Ecclus.).

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Cyaxares forty years before the eclipse of 585, the insurrection of Nabopolassar, dated by Ptolemy's canon in 625, and the united attack of Cyaxares and Nabopolassar upon Assyria, and the assignment of these prophecies to the same year by an editor apparently dependent on an early biographer, it seems safer to adhere to the construction of the history given above. [See, further, *Crit. Bib.*]

At most, little knowledge concerning the Scythians could be derived from these biblical references. If the identification of Aškuza is correct, the Scythians are mentioned in cuneiform inscriptions, such as 1 R. 45 col. 2 27, and Knudtzon, *Ass. Gebete*, 29, 35, in a manner that throws light upon the beginnings of Scythian rule in Asia Minor.

9. Cuneiform, classical, and Chinese sources.

In a Persian cuneiform inscription at Behistūn, Saka humavarka, and Saka tigrakhuda are referred to by Darius, who also speaks of the 'Saka at the ends of the earth' in a hieroglyphic list of nations at the Suez canal. The Scythians are not mentioned by name in the Homeric poems, though they may be referred to as *ἱππημολγοί*, *Il.* 13 5. Strabo (7 3) quotes a direct reference from Hesiod; but whether this was drawn from an otherwise unknown genuine *γῆς περίοδος* or from the third *κατάλογος* written about 600 B.C., as Kirchhoff emends the text, is uncertain. About 600 B.C. the name occurs in a fragment of Alcæus, and that is probably also the date of the poem of Aristeas of Proconnesus. Æschylus refers to the good laws of the Scythians (Strabo, *l.c.*), and Hecatæus of Miletus gave valuable information concerning them. The most important source is Herodotus. His fourth book is devoted to Scythia. Much of his knowledge is derived from native Scythians in Olbia, as well as from resident Greeks. Hippocrates also seems to have visited Scythia, and, like Herodotus, still confined the name Scythians to the Scoloti. Pseudo-Scylax (about 337 B.C.) and Ephorus begin to use it in a somewhat wider sense, though familiar with the character and history of the Scoloti. Some of the representations in art of Scythian life found at Kertsch (Panticapæum), Kum Olba and Altun Olba (see § 11) belong to the fourth and third centuries. The Greek inscriptions of Olbia containing Scythian names are not older than the second century B.C. Diodorus adds little to the earlier sources; but Strabo's geography throws much light upon the Scythia of his day. The changed conditions there inspired him with undue scepticism as to the accuracy of Herodotus. Trogus Pompeius in Justin, Ptolemy the geographer, Polyænus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and others acquaint us with some facts. For the history of the eastern Scythians Ktesias is not without value. Coins give the names of Scythian kings. Of great importance are the Chinese writings of Sse-ma-tsien (about 100 B.C.) translated by Brosset, *Journ. As.* ii. 8 418 *ff.*, and of Panku (about 80 A.D.), both because of their sober descriptions of lands and peoples, and because of the aid they furnish to the chronology.

Whilst, in historical times, there have been important centres of Scythian life in Asia Minor and in Europe, in Margiana, Bactria, Kophene, and India, the people neither considered itself nor was regarded by others as autochthonous in any of these lands. Even in the territory between the Danube and the Don, which might properly be called Scythian, because for so many centuries the seat of a Scythian civilisation, a native tradition declared the Scoloti to be strangers. Many indications point to the region N. of Jaxartes, between the Aral Sea and Lake Balkash, in modern Turkestan and the adjoining Khirgis steppe, as the home of the Scythians in the days when their immediate Iranian kinsmen, the Aryan invaders of India, were still their neighbours S. and SE. in the old Airyanem Vaejo. The presence of Mongolian and Tibetan tribes on the NE. and E., and of the kindred Massagetæ on the SE., occasioned by the expansion of Chinese power, gradually forced a branch of the people across the Ural, the Volga, and finally the Don. The time of this invasion of Western Scythia cannot be determined with certainty; but it may have occurred as early as in the sixteenth century B.C. (see § 14). Another Iranian people, the Kimmerians,[1] occupying the land so far S. as to the Danube, were gradually driven into the Crimea or, at different times and by different roads, into Asia Minor. The Kimmerian invasion that followed the E. coast of the Black Sea in the eighth century was probably the last. Down the W. coast of the Caspian Sea the Scythian tribes E. of the Don followed and established themselves E. of the Kimmerians and N. of Mannæans and Medes, whence they apparently extended their power over all Armenia and Cappadocia. Their old places E. of the Azov Sea were taken by a Median people, the Sauromatæ or Sarmatians, possibly not before the return of Median power. On the plateau through which the Dniester (Tyras), the Bog (Hypanis), the Dnieper (Borysthenes), and the Inguletz (Panticapes) flow, and so far as to the Don (Tanais), the Scoloti took possession of the land, some settling down to agricultural pursuits, others retaining their nomadic life.

10. Home and migrations of the Scythians.

[1] Such names of Kimmerian kings as Teušpa, Tuktammi (Δύγδαμις = Λύγδαμις, Sayce) and Sandrakšatra, occurring in the seventh century, are clearly Iranian.

The arrival of Milesian colonists (Olbia founded about 650) created mixed Græco-Scythian tribes such as the Kallipidæ and Alizones. A kindred Thracian tribe, the Agathyrsi, was subdued. Northwards the territory extended into Ukraine. Beyond their own clans in that direction lived Slavonic tribes, the Neari, the Melanchlæni, and the Anthropophagi (wrongly so called). Up the Volga there were the Budinæ (Permians ?), and across the Ural the Thyssagetæ and Tyrkæ, Finnish peoples, whilst E. of these were the Turkish Argimpaei and the Tibetan Issedones, and their neighbours the Ariamaspæ, fighting with griffins for the possession of gold.

The Scythians do not seem to have been driven out of their home in S. Russia, but rather to have been absorbed in the Sarmatian and then in the Slavonic tribes.

The eastern branch of the people was not allowed undisturbed possession of its lands N. of the Jaxartes. Already in the time of Cyrus and Darius a part of the Scythians had been pressed into Margiana (see § 17), and at the end of the third century another part was forced by the Massagetæ into S. Sogdiana, and somewhat later into Bactria. In Bactria these Scythians found only a temporary home, as they were driven from there by the Massagetæ (Yuechi); but they maintained themselves longer farther east.

In S. Kabulistan, Arachosia, Drangiana, and Sakestan (Kipin), and in Kašmir, Nepal, and Punjab they established themselves. Finally, they were there also submerged by new powers and absorbed in the native population.

That the Scythians spoke an Iranian language, is already evident from Herod. 4 117, where the Sauromatæ, a Median people, are said to speak the Scythian language, though in an imperfect manner. The Scythian words explained by Herodotus are manifestly Iranian, and the many names of persons and places recorded by Greek writers and in the Olbian inscriptions leave no room for doubt. It is the merit particularly of Zeuss and Müllenhoff to have proved conclusively the Iranian character of Scythian speech. That the Eastern Scythians spoke substantially the same language is evident not least from the names of the Çaka kings in India (see Hoffmann, *Syrische Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 139 *ff.*).

11. Language and ethnic relations.

An occasional Scythian loan-word in a neighbouring Slavonic or Turkish dialect cannot affect this result. The discussions of Neumann, Cuno, Fressl, and others, who have tried to invalidate the arguments of Zeuss, would have proved quite futile even if their philological method had been more discriminating. Still, it should not be denied that neighbouring dialects of the same family have a tendency to shade off into each other.

For determining the ethnic relations of the Scythians the pictorial representations on objects found at Kertsch, Kum Olba, and elsewhere on the Kimmerian Bosphorus are of utmost importance.

As the best of these are not later than the fourth century B.C., and were probably made for Scolotian grandees (see Rayet, *Études d'archéologie*, 196 *ff.*), they may be taken to represent fairly the Scythian type. The similarity to Russian mujiks, in dress, hair, beard, and general appearance, due to climatic conditions and the same mode of life, cannot obscure the fact that the features are essentially Iranian. If they all should prove to be likenesses of Sarmatians, as the later ones probably are, this would not weaken the conclusion, since the Iranian character of the Sarmatians admits of no doubt.

Through Herodotus we know that the Scythians worshipped

Tabiti (Ἰστίη, Vesta), goddess of the fire; Papæus (probably Papai or Babai, Zeus), the heaven-father;

12. Religion. Api (γῆ), the earth; Oitosyrus (Apollo, possibly descriptive name of Mithra), the Sun; Artimpasa (Aphrodite Urania), Venus; Thamisadas (Poseidon), the Sea; Herakles and Ares.

The Scythians had no images, or altars, or temples. Their chief sacrifices were horses, which they offered in a peculiar manner; but prisoners in war were also at times offered. Only the god of war had a few great shrines. There is evidence of ancestral cults. Divination by rods or linden bark was practised, and the soothsayers formed distinct classes. A comparison with Persian divinities and religious customs shows a remarkable similarity. Whilst a heptad of divinities occurs (Ἀβδαρδα), there is no trace of Ahura Mazda. Whether any of the E. Scythians accepted the Mazdayasnian faith, is not known.

Buddhism may have made some progress among the Sse in Kipin and Punjab; but the Yuechi king Kaniška (78 A.D.) seems to have been the first monarch officially to embrace that form of religion.

13. Character and civilisation. The earlier Greek writers speak in terms of high praise of the character of the Scythians, giving instances of their justice, sincerity, love of truth, and sharp intelligence.

It is possible, however, that these descriptions have to some extent been coloured by *à priori* reasoning as to the virtues of a nomadic life, such as may still be found in modern works. On the other hand, the less flattering tone of later authors was, no doubt, due in no small measure to their confusion of the Scythians with their ruder Slavonic, Finno-Ugric, and Turkish neighbours. In Roman times, the conflicts with the Sarmatians naturally added bitterness to the references to Scythians.

The Scythians probably possessed, in addition to the general characteristics of all Iranian peoples, some qualities peculiar to that nomadic life so large a part of them continued to lead. The rôle which the Aškuza played in Asia, at a time when the Assyrian empire had reached its greatest extent, and in the days of its decadence, indicates a somewhat highly developed political organisation and a certain adaptability to conditions of settled life, sagacity as well as energy, diplomacy not less than enterprise.

In Russia the long contact of the Scythians with Greek civilisation, at a time when it had attained its very highest development, could not but exercise a profound influence upon them. The antiquities found on the Kimmerian Bosphorus, now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, amply prove what the tastes of Scythian lords were and what enviable means they had of gratifying them. One class of these finds probably represents the work of native artists trained upon Grecian models. These Scythian masters produced a type of art the influence of which may be traced beyond (N. of) the Baltic. Since some tribes had for centuries cultivated the soil, and large numbers of Scythians lived in cities, many nobles undoubtedly had their residences built by Greek architects. King Skyles had a palace in Olbia. Concerning their industrial skill, we have no information, except that they excelled in metallurgy. In Bactria the Scythians became the heirs of another Greek civilisation; and in India they evidently adapted themselves to native and Greek traditions, not without themselves exerting an influence upon the life of Punjab and Sindh.

14. History: earliest period. Concerning the period in which the Scythians still had for their neighbours in the Airyanem Vaejo (Vendidad, 1) the other branches of the Iranian family, before these had passed into Sogdiana, Margiana, Bactria, Hyrcania, Herat, and Kabul, we possess no direct information. The presence of Iranian names in the Amarna Tablets and early Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions indicated by Ball (*PSBA*, 1882, pp, 424 *ff.*), Bezold-Budge (*Tell el Amarna Tablets*, 1892, p. xiv), Rost (*MVAG*, 1897), and especially Hommel (*Sitz.-ber. Böhm. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1898), seems to show that Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Elam had already become acquainted with some members of the Iranian family in the sixteenth century B.C.

According to the native tradition of the Scoloti found in Olbia by Herodotus (4 7), the first king of Scythia, Targitaus, reigned 1000 years before Darius Hystaspis 'and no more.' We have no means of determining on what data this computation rests, and its historical value appears doubtful, Targitaus himself being probably a mythical personage. Hommel connects this story with the accounts of a Scythian conquest as far as the Nile and an invasion of Asia to the borders of Syria by an Amazonian queen (Diodorus, 2 43 46), and regards Strabo's (15 1 6) Idanthyrsus as a mistake for Targitaus. But it is probable that the accounts in Diodorus are only reflections of the invasion in the time of Psammetichus, and that Idanthyrsus has in Strabo received credit for the work accomplished by Madyas. The narratives of the conquest of Scythia by Sesostris (Ramessu II.) are clearly late exaggerations; but Hommel's notable theory, accounting for Iranian names in Kadavaduna (=Cappadocia, a country closely allied to the centre of Hittite power, Melitene, and Cilicia; see Müller, *Asien*, 288, 335) by the Scythian character of its people, also tends to explain this confusion of Hittite and Scythian. The people called Gag may prove to be akin to the Kimmerians and forerunners of the Aškuza. As regards the history of the Scoloti in Russian Scythia before their contact with the Greeks in the seventh century, we have no information.

15. Asianic rule: Protothyas, Madyas. From tablets inscribed in the reign of Esarhaddon (681-668) we learn that Scythians had established themselves N. of Lake Urumiah. Fear is expressed lest the Scythians should break through Mannæan into Assyrian territory, the chief Išpakai is said to be an ally of the Mannæans, and king Bartatua (Protothyas) is referred to as seeking an alliance and the hand of Esarhaddon's daughter. That the alliance was concluded is highly probable, since in 625 Madyas, Protothyas' son, came to the aid of Assyria by defeating Cyaxares, who was besieging Nineveh, and by checking the advances of Psammetichus in Syria. In consideration of these services, it is natural that the suzerainty of Assyria over Urartu acknowledged by Sarduris III. should pass to Scythia, and that such states as Cappadocia, Commagene, and Melitene should become tributary. What the relation of Cilicia to the new power was, it would be interesting to know; but it cannot yet be discerned. The Median border states Atropatene, Matiene, and others are likely to have been subdued. From 625 to 597 Scythian rule in Asia Minor continued. Then the power was broken by Cyaxares. In 591 Scythian refugees from the Median court fled to Lydia for protection; but Scythians continued to live under Median and Persian domination in Asia Minor. There was a Sacastene in Cappadocia as well as in Armenia.

16. Scythians in Russia. Darius claims to have conquered the 'Saka beyond the Sea.' By these he means the Scythians N. of the Euxine. He probably also refers to them as the *saka tigrakhuda*, since the pictorial representations from the Kimmerian Bosporus show that these wore the Phrygian cap. It is to Darius' campaign into Russia in 512 that we owe the elaborate account of the Scythians by Herodotus. That Darius marched as far as to the Volga may be doubted, and some other points in the narrative are manifestly unhistorical.

There is no reason, however, to question the important rôle ascribed to Idanthyrsus, through whose adroit management of the defence Darius was frustrated in his object. His father Saulius seems to have already impressed himself upon the colonists, as his name is especially mentioned. No events of any importance, however, have been recorded by the Greek writers before Herodotus who refer to the Scythians. Whether the use by them of the name Scythian (Σκύθης) shows that their knowledge of the people was derived from the Aškuza of Asia Minor, or that Sku-za was as much a native designation of the people as Sko-lot, cannot be determined.

The Milesian colonists were, of course, tributary to the Scythian suzerain; but the relations seem to have been cordial.

Only when a king like Skylas forgot his native traditions to the extent of taking part in the Dionysiac orgies in Olbia, the Scythians resented his proceeding. Friendly relations also prevailed between Ariapeithes and Teres of Thrace, in the beginning of the fifth century. It is doubtful whether Spartacus (438-432), the founder of the Bosporanian kingdom, was a Greek or of mixed race. There are some indications that the king whose skeleton was found in a tomb at Kertsch (Panticapæum) had Scythian blood in his veins. The Spartacidæ were not a serious menace to Scythian power in the fourth century. Danger threatened first from Macedonia, whose ambitious ruler Philip invaded Scythia and killed in battle king Ateas in 339, and subsequently from the Sarmatians who crossed the Don and made themselves during the third century the most important people in the

territory once claimed by the Scythians. In the beginning of the second century the German Bastarnians made their appearance. A Scythian reaction seems to have occurred under Scilurus who, however, was defeated by Mithridates VI., 105 B.C. After Mithridates (132-163) had conquered the country N. of the Euxine, he could lead armies of Scythians as well as Sarmatians, Bastarnians, and Thracians against the Romans. Later, the legionaries of Rome found Sarmatians as soon as they had crossed the Danube. Finally, the Scythians were absorbed in the prevailing Slavonic population.

17. Eastern Scythians. From their old home the eastern branch of this people was also driven by invaders across the Jaxartes into Chorasmia, Margiana, and Bactria. According to Ktesias, Cyrus fought against these Scythians, and forced Amorges to aid him in his war upon Crœsus (546). There is probably also a nucleus of truth in his account of Cyrus' war with the Derbikkæ, though he has wrongly connected his death with this war. There is no reason for doubting the substantial accuracy of Herodotus' account of his death in the war upon Tomyris, queen of the Massagetæ, though there are as usual some embellishments. The grounds on which Duncker rejected this story are quite insufficient.

Darius had to fight with Scythians whom he designates as *Saka humavarka*. These are probably identical with the Amyrgian Scythians. Fressl may be right in connecting both these words with Margiana. According to Fr. Müller (*WZKM* 7 258) they are the 'Soma-preparing Scythians'; but Ed. Meyer (*GA* 3 110 *f.*) doubts this interpretation. Scythian archers took part in the battle of Marathon, and were also in the army of Xerxes. Where their home was, is not indicated. Alexander came into contact with Scythians only after he had crossed the Jaxartes in Sogdiana. For some time before 138, Scythians had held possession of Margiana.

Through Chang-kian's account of his mission (in Ssematsien), it is possible to trace the political situation in Iran in 128, and to discern some of the events that led up to it. Pressed by the Hiungnu, a Turkish people, the Yuechi (probably Massagetæ) had forced the Szü (Çaka, Saka, Scythians) across the Jaxartes. In 175 the Szü conquered Sogdiana from Eucratides of Bactria. This king defended Bactria against their attack with the aid of Mithridates I. in 160. In 130 the Scythians took most of Bactria from Heliocles. But they were in their turn driven from Bactria, and fled into Kipin, Kashmir, Nepal, and India, where they established kingdoms. Maues reigned in Kipin and Punjab (130-110), Azes (110-80), and Aspavarma, Aziles, and Vanones after 80. Between 70 and 30 Spalahoras, Spalagdames, Spalyris, and Spalyrisis reigned in W. India, though their power was much limited by Hermaios. They were finally overthrown by Kadphizes I. (Kiutsiu-Kio), the founder of the Yuechi dynasty. This dynasty (until 116 A.D.), whose most famous king is Kaniṣhka (70-90 A.D.), was also designated as the Scythian (Çaka), and the Çaka-era begins with the year 78 A.D. The E. Scythians were confused with their kinsmen, the Massagetæ, and other neighbours in India, as the W. Scythians had been confused with their kinsmen, the Sarmatians, and other neighbours in Europe. In India, as in Afghanistan, the Scythians were absorbed in the native population.

18. Literature. (1) On the biblical references see the commentaries on Genesis, Jeremiah, Zephaniah, and Ezekiel, and the histories of Israel [also *Crit. Bib.*]. The best modern history of Mithridates of Pontus is by Theodore Reinach (*Mithridate Eupator*, 1890). (2) For descriptions of Scythia see especially Ukert, *Geog. der Griech. und Römer*, 3 2; Reclus, *Géog. Univ.*; Lindner, *Skythien u. d. Skythen des Herodot*, 1841, and especially Neumann, *Die Hellenen im Skythenlande*, 1855; Baer, *Hist. Fragen*, 1873, and Tomaschek in *Berichte d. Wiener Akademie*, 1888. (3) The most important works on the language are Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, 1837; and Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, 3 (1892). Fressl, *Die Skythen-Saken*, 1886, is not sufficiently critical. (4) For the antiquities see Stephani, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, 1854; MacPherson, *Antiquities of Kertch*, 1857; Neumann (see under 2). Rayet, *Études d'archéologie et d'art*, 1888; Solomon Reinach, *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien*, 1885. (5) For the history, see, in addition to primary sources, Winckler, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, 1878,(5) 2 430 *ff.*; Gutschmid, *EB*(9), artt. 'Scythia' and 'Persia,' discriminating, but wrongly excluding the eastern Scythians; the suggestive discussions of H. Winckler, *AOF* 1 484 *ff.*; the admirable summaries of Ed. Meyer, *GA*, especially 3, §§ 60 *ff.* (1901); Lassen, *Indische Altertumskunde*, 1847-1857; Schröder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, 1887, and Lefmann, *Gesch. des Alten Indiens*, 1890. N. S.

SCYTHOPOLIS (ϹΚΥΘΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΝ), 2 Macc. 12 29; in Josh. etc. BETH-SHEAN [*q.v.*]; cp HAMONAH.

SEA (יָם, *yām*; ΘΑΛΑϹϹΑ). See GEOGRAPHY, § 4; also DEAD SEA, GALILEE (Sea of), MEDITERRANEAN, RED SEA, SALT SEA.

SEA, THE BRAZEN (יָם הַנְּחֹשֶׁת; ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑϹϹΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΧΑΛΚΗΝ 2 K. 25 13 Jer. 52 17 [om. A] 1 Ch. 18 8), THE MOLTEN SEA (הַיָּם מוּצָק; ΤΗΝ ΘΑΛΑϹϹΑΝ [B], Τ. Θ. ΑΥΤΗΝ [A], Τ. Θ. ΧΥΤΗΝ [L], 1 K. 7 23; Τ. Θ. ΧΥΤΗΝ [BAL], 2 Ch. 4 2), or simply THE SEA (1 K. 7 44, 2 K. 16 17, 2 Ch. 4 15), the large bronze reservoir which stood in the SE. angle of the court of Solomon's temple.

1. Size and form. The designation 'sea' is explained by Josephus from the size (*Ant.* viii. 3 5; *ἐκλήθη . . . θάλασσα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος*). According to the description in 1 K. 7 23-26 the 'sea' was round, measuring 10 cubits (17.22 ft.[1]) in width and 5 (8.61) in depth; 'and a line of 30 cubits (𝔊BAL 33 cubits) compassed it round about.' These numbers are of course only approximate—not given with mathematical precision, otherwise to a diameter of 10 cubits would have corresponded a circumference of 31.4159... cubits; failure to observe this has caused commentators needless trouble. The capacity of the 'sea' (1 K. 7 26; 𝔊BL om.) was 2000 baths = 16,010 gallons (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3). 2 Ch. gives 3000 baths (= 24,015 gallons), certainly an impossible figure, even that of 1 K. being too large for the data; a hemisphere of the dimensions given contains only 6376 gallons and a cylinder 10,798 gallons.[2] Even if, in view of what is said about the 12 oxen, we come to the conclusion that the 'sea' must have been more or less cylindrical in shape, not, as Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 3 5, *τὸ ἡμισφαίριον*) will have it, hemispherical, we can hardly suppose it to have held much more than (say) 7000 gallons. There is, however, no recorded ancient parallel even for such a casting. It is one of very considerable magnitude (great bell of Moscow 198 tons; great bell of St. Paul's—largest in England—17½ tons). The ancients no doubt usually did their large castings in pieces; but where possible they preferred hammered work. Solomon's 'sea' may, therefore, it has been suggested, have been a wooden vessel plated with bronze. On the notice in 1 K. 7 46 see ADAM, 1; and for a different view, SUCCOTH, 2.

As to the form of the 'sea' the only further data we have are that the brass was an handbreadth thick, that the brim was wrought like the brim of a cup, like the flower of lily, and that below the brim ran two rows of gourd-like ornaments פְּקָעִים[3] (see GOURD, end). These ornaments, as distinguished from those of the brazen pillars, were cast when the sea itself was cast; in other words we have to think of them as in relief, not as undercut. The sea rested upon 12 brazen oxen arranged in four groups facing the four quarters of the heavens.

On every other point worth knowing—the height of the oxen, the shape of the basin, and so forth—the writer is silent. Nor are we told in what manner the water was supplied or drawn; one naturally thinks of the temple spring or a conduit from it.

Klostermann satisfies our curiosity as to the mode of filling by conjectural emendation of 1 K. 7 23 where he reads 'There were 30 cocks around the sea; 20 were under the brim and supplied it, and at the bottom of the sea were 10 which drained it; the cocks were in two rows and their flow was according to their measure.' The Vss., however, supply no sort of hint towards any such emendation.

According to the Chronicler (2 Ch. 4 6) the sea was

[1] [On the assumption that by *ammāh* is meant the long cubit; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.]

[2] [Prof. Unwin, F.R.S., in a private communication, says: 'I make out that a hemispherical cup, 15 ft. external diameter and 4 ins. thick would require 113.5 cubic ft. of brass, and would weigh 26¼ tons. It would contain 770 cubic ft. or 4805 gallons of water, and this would weigh 21½ tons. A cylindrical vessel would weigh more and contain more—but the spherical shape is the most favourable for possibility.']

[3] עֶשֶׂר בָּאַמָּה in 1 K. 7 24 is usually rendered 'ten in a cubit' (so RVmg. and AV), and accordingly the total number of gourds in each row reckoned to be 300. The words as they stand, however, can only mean 'in a length of 10 cubits'; but this gives no sense. The clause is (with Stade) to be deleted as a gloss (cp Benzinger, *ad loc.*).

for the priests to wash in (cp Ex. 30 19); as to this, all one can say is that the arrangement would be in the highest degree inconvenient for any such purpose. Almost inevitably therefore one comes back to the conjecture that the sea itself had a symbolical meaning, as well as the oxen on which it rested. The oxen are to be explained not by the consideration that the ox was the principal sacrificial animal (so Riehm, *HWB*, *s.v.* 'Meer, ehernes') but rather by the symbolic character of the ox as representing deity, in Canaanitish-Israelitish religion. Kosters (cp *Th. T*, 1879, pp. 455 *ff.*) explains the sea itself as a symbol of the subterranean ocean, the *tĕhōm*. He recalls the many traces to be found in the OT of acquaintance with the Babylonian creation-myth and the struggle of the gods with Tiāmat (cp Gunkel, *Schöpfung*, 153, and see DRAGON, LEVIATHAN, RAHAB, SERPENT). It is this Tiāmat—who was held to represent the waters of chaos, and to have been vanquished by the gods—that according to Kosters was represented by the 'sea' upon the oxen (these last symbolising Marduk). In view of the admitted fact that the Babylonian creation-myth determined the form of the Israelitish cosmogony, one cannot deny that such a view may be correct, even though the OT itself does not directly support it. Cp CREATION, §§ 13, 19, 22; NEHUSHTAN, § 2.

2. Significance.

[Gunkel refers to the *apsu*, or primæval sea, made by king Ursina of Lagaš and the *tâmtu*, or sea, of Agum (1500 B.C.); cp *KB* iii. 1 13 143; Del. *Ass. HWB* 114; Muss-Arn. *Dict.* 80; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 233 *ff.*, 511, and pl. 3. See also Sayce (*Hibb. Lect.*, 1887, p. 63, and *RP*(2) 1 65), who points out the connection between the sea and the large basins called *apsi* in Babylonian temples. What this acute scholar did not remark was the connection of these basins with the Babylonian creation-myth, in which *apsu* (the *απασων* of Damascius; see CREATION, § 15, end) designates the ocean which 'in the beginning' was, or filled, all things.]

At all events no other satisfactory explanation has been proposed. How the worshippers of Yahwè interpreted or (if it came from Babylon) adapted this symbol, we have also no information from the OT. But that the original meaning of the 'sea' did not quite accord with later Yahwistic ideas, may be inferred with great probability from the fact that the later period either explained it in an impossible manner (so the Chronicler; see § 2, begin.) or eliminated it altogether. In Ex. 30 18 40 7 30, instead of the molten 'sea' P has merely a brazen laver or basin (כִּיּוֹר) for the priests to wash their hands and feet. So also the post-exilic temple has only a basin of the same sort, not to be compared in point of size with Solomon's 'sea.' In Ezekiel it would seem as if the temple fountain were to take the place of the molten sea, which does not otherwise seem to be represented in the temple; in its place we find a fountain to the E. of the temple (note the agreement, partly verbatim, between the expressions of 1 K. 7 39 and of Ezek. 47 1). As regards this fountain too we can see that it is not primarily intended to provide an arrangement for the priests to wash their hands, but has a symbolical meaning (see the comm. *ad loc.*).

Of Solomon's brazen sea we are further told that King Asa took it down from off the oxen, and put it upon a pavement of stones (see PAVEMENT). Like other brazen appurtenances of the temple, the oxen were made available for paying the tribute exacted by the king of Assyria (2 K. 16 17). The sea itself fell into the hands of the conquering Babylonians, who broke it in pieces and carried off the fragments (2 K. 25 13 16 Jer. 52 17 20—where the twelve oxen also are erroneously reckoned among the spoils of the Babylonians).

See the Archæologies and Dictionaries, also the commentaries on Kings by Thenius, Keil, Klostermann, Benzinger, and Kittel. See also Perrot and Chipiez, *Sard.*, *Jud.* etc. 1 258-264; *Phœn. and Cypr.* 1 289-292; Renan, *Hist. Peup. Isr.* 2 156 *f.* Consult fig. in Masp. *Struggle*, 110. I. B.

SEA CALVES (תַּנִּין), Lam. 4 3 AVmg., RV JACKAL (1).

SEAL (חוֹתָם), 1 K. 21 8. See RING, § 1.

SEALSKINS, Ex. 25 5 etc. RV, AV BADGERS' SKINS.

SEAMEW (שַׁחַף), Lev. 11 16 Dt. 14 15, AV CUCKOW.

SEA MONSTER (תַּן*), Lam. 4 3 AV, AVmg. 'sea calves,' RV JACKAL (*q.v.*, 1); cp WHALE.

SEAT. See THRONE.

SEBA (סְבָא; σαβα [BℵAL, etc.], -τ [B once]; in Is. 43 3 σοηνην [BℵAQ], συηνην [Γ]; in Is. 45 14, pl. סְבָאִים, EV SABÆANS (*q.v.*) σαβαειμ [B], σαβαειν [ℵ*], σεβωειμ [A], σεβωειν [ℵc.a c.bQ*], σαβωειν: οι γ' σαβαειμ [Qmg.]; ܣܒܐ), first in order of the sons of Cush, Gen. 10 7 [P], 1 Ch. 1 9. Mentioned also in other late passages—*e.g.*, Is. 43 3 (with Mizraim and Cush), 45 14 (in pl., with same companions); Ps. 72 10 (with Sheba), where, however, Bickell, Cheyne, *Ps.*(2), regard it as a later insertion. This last passage may simply indicate a locality in the far S.; the other passages favour Africa, and the neighbourhood of Ethiopia (but cp CUSH, 2). Dillmann (on Gen. 10 7) thinks it safest to regard Seba as a branch of the Cushites or Ethiopians settled eastward from Napata, on the Red Sea or Arabian Gulf, a view which Baethgen (on Ps. 72 10) and Duhm (on Is. 43 3) accept.

The name is not found in Egyptian; but Dillmann cites τὸ σαβαϊτικὸν στόμα, λιμὴν Σαβα, Σαβαι πόλις εὐμεγέθης, from Strabo, xvi. 4 8 10 and Σαβαστρικὸν στόμα, σαβατ πόλις ἐν τῷ Ἀδουμικῷ κόλπῳ from Ptol. iv. 7 7 *f.*; Josephus, and many following him, identify with Meroë; but this does not seem to be elsewhere distinguished from Cush. See also CUSH, 2; MIZRAIM. F. B.

SEBAM (שְׂבָם), Nu. 32 3 RV, in *v.* 38, RV SIBMAH.

SEBAT, RV SHEBAT (שְׁבָט, Zech. 1 7). See MONTH.

SECACAH (סְכָכָה; αιχιοζα [B], αιοχ· [Ba], σοχοχα [A], σχαχα [L]), a city in the wilderness of Judah (Josh. 15 61†), mentioned between Middin and Nibshan. Assuming the ordinary view of the sites mentioned in Josh. 15 61 *f.* (see BETH-ARABAH), we might suppose Secacah to be the name of a fort erected (with cisterns) on the plateau above the W. coast of the Dead Sea to keep the nomad tribes in check (cp 2 Ch. 26 10).

The caution, however, given elsewhere (MIDDIN, *ad fin.*) may be here repeated. P may have led subsequent ages into a great misunderstanding by putting 'En-gedi' for 'En-kadesh.' Secacah was probably a place in the far south (Negeb); possibly Khalaṣah is meant. See NIBSHAN. T. K. C.

SECHENIAS (σεχενιας [AL]). 1. 1 Esd. 8 29 = Ezra 8 3, SHECANIAH, 2.

2. 1 Esd. 8 32 = Ezra 8 5, SHECANIAH, 3.

SECHU, RV **Secu** (שֶׂכוּ), a corrupt reading in 1 S. 19 22 (in the same late narrative referred to under NAIOTH). In the place so called in EV we are told that there was 'a great well' (AV) or 'the (well-known) great well' (RV). Unfortunately *bōr hag-gādōl* cannot properly be rendered either way. 𝔊BL not only suggests the right reading, *bōr haggōren* (הגרן for הגדל), 'the cistern of the threshing-floor,' but also completes the correction by the very appropriate בַּשְּׁפִי, 'on the (bare) height.' A treeless height where there would be cool breezes was the natural place for a threshing floor; cp Jer. 4 11 and see AGRICULTURE, § 8. (𝔊, ἕως τοῦ φρέατος τοῦ ἅλω τοῦ ἐν τῷ σεφει [B], ἕ. φρ. τῆς ἅ. τῆς ἐν σεφι [L], φρ. τοῦ μεγάλου τοῦ ἐν σοκχω [A], *Socho* [Vg.].) S. A. C.

SECRETARY (סוֹפֵר), 2 S. 8 17 EVmg., etc., EV SCRIBE.

SECT (αιρεσις), Acts 24 14 RV, AV HERESY.

SECUNDUS (σεκουνδος [Ti. WH]), a Thessalonian, who accompanied Paul for (at least) a part of the way from Europe on his last recorded journey to Jerusalem (Acts 20 4).

SEDECIAS, RV **Sedekias** (σεδεκιας). 1. b.

Maasias, an ancestor of BARUCH [*q.v.*] (Bar. 1 1); cp '*Zedekiah* b. Maaseiah' Jer. 29 21 *f.*
2. In Bar. 1 8; elsewhere called ZEDEKIAH, 1.

SEDUCERS, RV 'Impostors' (γοητες), 2 Tim. 3 13. See MAGIC, § 4.

SEER (רֹאֶה, 1 S. 9 9; חֹזֶה, 2 S. 24 11); see PROPHET, § 5.

SEGUB (שְׂגוּב, σεγουβ). 1. b. Hezron; father of JAIR [*q.v.*] (1 Ch. 2 21 *f.*, σερουχ [B]). See CALEB-EPHRATAH, REUBEN, § 11.

2. The youngest son of HIEL [*q.v.*] (1 K. 16 34; Kr. שְׂגִיב; ζεγουβ [B; om. L]). Cp REUBEN, § 11. In 𝔊 of Josh. 6 26 it may be his name that is rendered *διασωθέντι*; the translator apparently misread שׁיב (Aram. 'to save').

On the name, see NAMES, § 57, and for S. Ar. analogies, Hommel, *Südarab. Altertümer* (1899), 21. But the theory that it is an ethnic like Jair, Hezron, and Machir is attractive. 𝔊[3] in 1 Ch. 2 21 *f.* implies שְׂרוּג, and this comes probably by transposition from גְּשׁוּר (cp SERUG). Abiram, the brother of 2, also probably bears an ethnic name. 'Ram,' if not also the fuller form Abiram, comes (like 'Jericho') from ירחם=ירחמאל (Che.). See *Crit. Bib.*

SEIR (שֵׂעִיר), the reputed ancestor of the Horites (Gen. 36 20 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 38 *f.*). See SEIR, MOUNT.

SEIR, MOUNT (שֵׂעִיר, either lit. 'hairy' [Lag. *Übers.* 92], or trop. 'overgrown' [Nö. *ZDMG* 40 165 n. 2]; 𝔊 always *σηειρ*, except Josh. 11 17 *σηειρα* [A]; 12 7 *σεειρα* [AF], *ασσεειρα* [L]; 1 Ch. 1 38 *σηθιρ* [A]; Ezek. 25 8 [om. BQ]; Dt. *passim*, Ch. [except 1 Ch. 1 38] *σειερ* [L]).

The name of a mountain district occupied by Esau and the Edomites, Josh. 24 4 (E), Gen. 36 8 *f.* (P), Dt. 2 5 etc., but by the Horites in Gen. 14 6 (on text see especially Buhl, *Edomiter*, 28). The name 'land of Seir' (אֶרֶץ שֵׂעִיר) also appears in Gen. 32 4 (J) 36 30 (P; where, however, 𝔊 has *εδωμ* [ADEL, B lacking]), and (often) simply 'Seir,' Judg. 5 4 Gen. 33 14 16 (J), Nu. 24 18 (JE; where, however, 𝔊 has *ησαυ* [BAFL]), Dt. 1 44 etc.

The mountain region of Seir (mod. *eš-Šarāh*) extends 15 or 20 m. E. from the 'Arabah (S. from the Dead Sea), which it skirts nearly to the Gulf of 'Aḳaba (the terms 'land of Seir' and 'Seir,' are sometimes applied to the plateau W. of the 'Arabah); Zimmern (*ZA* 6 257 n. 13) doubtfully suggests a connection with the district of *Šeri* mentioned (with Gintikirmil) in an Amarna letter from Jerusalem (Wi. *KB* 5 182 [B 105] 26). On early traces of the name Seir, and on its meaning, see EDOM, §§ 2, 3.
F. B.

'Edom' and 'Seir' are terms which are often used interchangeably as the designation of a region occupied by Esau and his descendants (Gen. 32 3 36 1 8 *f.* 19 21 43 Nu. 24 18 Dt. 2 5 8 29 Josh. 24 4). 'Mt. Seir,' the range of mountains running S. from the Dead Sea, on the E. of the 'Arabah, was a main feature of 'Edom' (Gen. 14 6 36 8 *f.* Dt. 2 8 Josh. 24 4); but 'Seir' (Gen. 33 14 Dt. 1 44) and 'the land of Seir' (an ancient variant to 'the country [or field] of Edom,' Gen. 32 3), are terms which are clearly not limited to, nor, indeed, are commonly, if ever, identical with, 'Mt. Seir' in the OT text. Sometimes שעיר 'Seir' appears to be miswritten for מצור, 'Miṣṣur' [Che.]. The practical question therefore is, What portion of the country westward of the 'Arabah was included in 'Seir' and in 'the country of Edom,' in the days of the Israelites' wanderings?[1] Cp EDOM, § 5. Trumbull answers, 'The extensive plain eṣ-Ṣīr, bounded on the S. by Wādy el-Fiḳreh, a wādy which ascends south-westerly from the 'Arabah, from a point not far S. of the Dead Sea, and separates Palestine proper from the 'Azāzimeh mountain-tract, or Jebel Maḳrāh group. The northern wall of this wādy is a bare and bald rampart of rock, forming a natural boundary as it 'goeth up to Seir'; a landmark both impressive and unique, which corresponds with all the OT mentions of the Mt. Halak', *Kadesh-barnea*, 99 *f.*[2] Cp HALAK, MOUNT.

[1] Trumbull, *Kadesh-barnea*, 84 *f.*
[2] See, further, Palmer, *Desert of Exodus*, 404 (es-Sirr), and note that Rowlands (Williams, *Holy City*, 1 465) had already connected 'Seir' with es-Serr (*sic*).

SEIR, MOUNT (הַר שֵׂעִיר; ορος ασσαρ [B], ο. ασσαρες [B[ab]], ο. σηειρ [A], ο. σιειρ [L]), one of the landmarks on the boundary between Judah and Benjamin (Josh. 15 10), between Kirjath-jearim and CHESALON [*q.v.*], and therefore in the neighbourhood of the rocky point of Sārīs, 2 m. W. by S. from *Ḳaryet-el-'enab* (so Robinson). With Sārīs may be identified the Sores of 𝔊, Josh. 15 60 (*εωβης* [B], *σωρης* [A], *-εις* [L]); see Buhl, *Pal.* 91 167, and BENJAMIN, JUDAH.

SEIRAH, but AV **Seirath** (הַשְּׂעִירָתָה), the place to which Ehud fled, where he 'blew the trumpet in the hill country of Ephraim' (Judg. 3 26, σετειρωθα [B],[1] σεειρωθα [A], σηρωθα [L]). The name has greatly puzzled critics.[2] Winckler (*Alttest. Unt.* 55 *ff.*) even supposed some unknown place on the E. of Jordan to be meant; in *GI* 2 100 he prefers the 'Mt. Seir' of Josh. 15 10. If, however, we use the key supplied by a number of the narratives, in which, as the evidence tends to show, the scene has been transferred from the Negeb to the tribal territory of Ephraim, we shall see a way out of this perplexity. Eglon was king of Miṣṣur, and the city he took was a place called Jerahmeel—*i.e.*, either Jericho (see JERICHO, § 2) or more probably the capital of the Jerahmeelite Negeb (possibly Kadesh). After his exploit Ehud escaped to Zarephath (צרפתה), and mustered the Israelites who dwelt in the southern Ephraim—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelite highlands. Ehud himself was probably a Benjamite of the Negeb.
T. K. C.

SELA, or (AV 2 K.) **Selah**, or once [see § 2] PETRA (סֶלַע, πετρα in Is.; הַסֶּלַע, η πετρα in Judg. 2 K.), Judg. 1 36 (RV[mg.]) 2 K. 14 7 (EV) Is. 16 1 (AV[mg.] Petra) 42 11 (Hitz., Del., Duhm). Commonly supposed to be the Hebrew name of the later city of Petra (see § 2). The name of Séla' indeed is parallel to the Arabic name Sal', which Yāḳūt gives to a fortress in the Wādy Mūsā, where Petra stood (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 25 259).[3] Wetzstein (in Del. *Jes.*(3) 696 *ff.*) thinks that Séla' is another name for BOZRAH [*q.v.*]; the full name of the Edomite capital being Bozrath has-séla', a view which has not much to recommend it. Nor is the simpler view that a city on the site of Petra was known to the Hebrews as Séla' or has-séla' ('the rock') exegetically tenable; there is in fact no city called Séla' mentioned in the OT. See, however, EDOM, § 7.

1. No city called Sela in OT.

'From Séla',' (מֵהַסֶּלַע), in Judg. 1 36 should rather be 'from the rock' (הַסֶּלַע); the reference may be to some striking cliff near the S. end of the Dead Sea, fitted to be a landmark, such as that now called eṣ-Ṣāfieh (so Buhl, Moore). In 2 K. 14 7, it may be 'some castle on a rock unknown to us' (Kittel) that is referred to. In Is. 16 1 מִסֶּלַע, 'from the rocks' (collectively; cp Jer. 48 28), is generally taken to describe the route taken by the Moabite ambassadors, which would run through the rocky country of Edom. Is. 42 11 should be rendered 'Let the inhabitants of the rocks (סלע collectively) sing'; cp Ob. 3. It should be added, however, that though as against 'Séla'' the above summary of current interpretations will stand, the views of the geography of the texts which are proposed seem open to question. The redactors themselves were sometimes the authors of confusion (see *Crit. Bib.*).

Of all these passages the only one which can with any plausibility be thought to refer to Petra is 2 K. 14 7. But in the ‖ passage, 2 Ch. 25 12, we only read of a 'rock,' nor does Joktheel occur anywhere as the name of an Edomite city; JOKTHEEL [*q.v.*] is very probably connected with 'Maacath' or 'Jeraḥmeel.' The misinterpretation (for such, as Kittel has shown, it is) arose partly from the supposed mention of the Edomites, partly from the comparatively early confusion between Petra and Kadesh. Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 286 71 145 9) distinctly assert that Petra, a city of Arabia in

[1] 𝔊B's *σετειρωθα* may, perhaps, be a corruption of *σεγειρωθα* (T and Γ confounded).
[2] See Budde, Moore, and cp van Kasteren, *MDPV*, 1895, pp. 26-30.
[3] WRS, *Ency. Brit.*, art. 'Petra.'

the land of Edom, surnamed Joktheel, is called Rekem by the Assyrians (so Eus., but Jer. 'Syrians'). Still, as elsewhere they appeal to Jos., they may not be speaking here on their own authority. Jos. (*Ant.* iv. 4 7 7 1) says that Petra, the capital of Arabia, was called *αρκη* or *ρεκεμη* from its founder Rekem, a Midianite king. But Targ. Onk. and Targ. Jon. apply רקם to Kadesh-'barnea,' Gen. 16 14 20 1. רקם is supposed to be connected with √רגם, 'to stone'; it is probably, however, as applied to Kadesh, a corrupt fragment of 'Jeraḥmeel,' whilst, as applied to Petra, it may perhaps, as Wetzstein suggests, be derived from the Greek *ῥῆγμα*, 'a cleft in the rocks.'

Wellhausen (*De Gentibus* [1870], 39, n. 2) doubts whether Rekem as the name of Petra is derived from the variegated colours of the rocks about Wādy Mūsā or from a tribe dwelling in the Edomite region called Rekem, and virtually mentioned in 1 Ch. 2 44. The present writer is convinced, however, that the REKEM of Chronicles, which is the name of a tribe of S. Palestine, is really a mutilation of Jeraḥmeel.

See Wetzstein in Del. *Isaiah*,(3) 696-707; Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 34-37; Kittel, *HK*, on 2 K. 14 7; Lury, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 28 *f.*; Robinson, *BR* 2 653 *ff.* (n. 36). T. K. C.

2. Petra. Petra (ἡ Πέτρα; αἱ Πέτραι), however, which gave its name to the province Arabia Petræa (ἡ κατὰ Πέτραν Ἀραβία, Agathemerus), became famous under the NABATÆANS (*q.v.*); but, to judge from the advantages of its situation, it was doubtless a city or fortress before that time. Its ruins are in the deep valley called Wādy Mūsā (from its connection in in Mohammedan legend with Moses), which is in the mountains forming the eastern wall of the great valley between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of 'Aḳaba. Wādy Mūsā lies just N. of the watershed between the two seas, in 30° 19′ N. lat. and 35° 31′ E. long.[1] Travellers coming up the 'Arabah usually approach the ruins from the SW. by a rough path, partly of artificial construction;[2] but the natural entrance is from the E. down a narrow defile more than a mile long called the Sīk ('shaft'). The Sīk is a contraction in the valley of a stream which comes down from the E., rising in the so-called Fountain of Moses ('Ain Mūsā),[3] and passing between the villages of Eljī and 'Aireh (Palmer). Both these places are ancient; the latter is the fortress Wo-'aira of Yāḳūt,[4] whilst Eljī, mentioned by Edrīsi, is the 'Gaia urbs juxta civitatem Petram' of the *Onomasticon*.[5] Below these and above the ravine the characteristic rock-cut tombs and dwellings of the Nabatæans begin to appear.

Not only was Petra a place of refuge and a safe storehouse, it was also the great centre of the Nabatæan caravan trade. It was the place where the Gaza road branched off from that to Bostra, Palmyra, and N. Syria, and it commanded the route from Egypt to Damascus. From Petra, too, there went a great route direct through the desert to the head of the Persian Gulf. Thus Petra became a centre for all the main lines of overland trade between the E. and the W., and it was not till the fall of the Nabatæan kingdom that Palmyra superseded it as the chief emporium of N. Arabia.

See Léon de Laborde and Linant, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Pétrée* (1830); Duc de Luynes, *Voyage d'exploration à la mer morte (s.a.)*; Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 440 *ff.*; Visconti, *Viaggio in Arabia Petrea* (1872); Libbey, *PEFQ*, 1902, p. 412 *f.* T. K. C., § 1; W. R. S., § 2.

SELA-HAMMAHLEKOTH (סֶלַע הַמַּחְלְקוֹת; πετρα η μεριcθειcα [BAL]; cp Driver's note), the name of a mountain where Saul and David 'played hide and seek' (1 S. 23 28 *f.*). Saul hurries along on one side of the mountain, thinking to overtake the unseen David, and David on the other flies (as he thinks) before the unseen Saul. There is danger of their coming into collision, which is averted by the news of an inroad of the Philistines; Saul turns aside from the chase. The narrator must have explained Séla'-hammaḥlĕḳōth so as to suggest this 'hide and seek' game. But neither 'rock of divisions' (EVmg.), nor 'rock of escaping' (an unjustifiable rendering) can be right. Though the name is confirmed on the whole by the certainly corrupt form חכילה (see HACHILAH), we are almost driven to suppose that the original form was סֶלַע הַמְּחֹלוֹת, 'the rock of the *mĕḥōlōth*' (circling dances). Meholah, like Hachilah, may come from 'Jerahmeel.' T. K. C.

SELAH (סֶלָה) occurs seventy-one times in forty psalms, and three times in Habakkuk (3 3 9 13). Mostly

1. Data of MT and versions. it occurs in the middle of a psalm; but in four psalms (3 9 24 46) also at the end. Usually it occurs only once in a psalm; but there are several cases of two Selahs, and in some psalms we find three (3 32 46 66 68 77 140); Ps. 89 actually presents four. In 55 20 [19] 57 4 [3] Hab. 3 39 Selah occurs in the middle of a verse. The accents connect it closely with the preceding word; Aq., Jer., Tg. also imply that it forms part of the text. These three versions take it to mean 'always' (ἀεί, *semper* and *jugiter*, לעלמין, but also תדירא). So Ps. 9 17, Theod. and ἄλλος give ἀεί; Quinta εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας; Sexta διαπαντός. 𝔊, however, gives διάψαλμα, a word of somewhat uncertain signification (Theodoret, μέλους μεταβολή); it occurs more frequently than the Hebrew 'Selah.'

Various conjectures as to the etymology of Selah have been offered (see Ges. *Thes.* 955; and the commentaries

2. Use and meaning. of Delitzsch and Baethgen); even a Greek origin (ψάλλε) has been suggested (Paulus Cassel; see Siegfried-Stade, *Lex.*). Parisot (*Rev. bibl.*, Oct. 1899) approves the theory that Selah represents a musical interlude. Briggs suggests that when a section of a psalm or a prayer was used apart from its context in liturgical service it was followed by a doxology, and that 'Selah' divides a psalm into sections for liturgical use.[1] By an inductive process Miss E. Briggs arrives at results of much interest (*AJSL* 16 1-29). These partly depend on the correctness of the MT; but Grimme has shown that in some cases (and the present writer, Che. *Ps.*(2), has added considerably to the number) the סלה of MT is due to corruption of the text.

Attractive as the view that סלה is properly a musical indication may be, it will have to be reconsidered if

3. Conjectured origin. the other so-called musical notes in the headings owe their existence to textual corruption. In that case it becomes plausible to hold that סלה is a corruption of *šallēm* (שַׁלֵּם), 'supplement,' or *lĕšallēm* (לְשַׁלֵּם), 'for supplementing.' The note may either be a direction to supplement the MS at a defective place from another MS, or an intimation that an editor at this point has made an insertion in the psalms. Possibly the old traditional interpretation 'always' points to a reading עלם or לעלם, which was itself a corruption of שַׁלֵּם or לְשַׁלֵּם. For another view see B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 129 *ff.*

As to the meaning of 𝔊's διάψαλμα: for the opinions of the Fathers see Suicer, 1 890; Lag., *Novæ Psalterii Græci Editionis Specimen*, 10; B. Jacob, *ZATW* 16 (1896) 173-181. The result is that all the various explanations are pure guesses. What, then, is to be offered in place of them? We cannot suppose that the Alexandrian translators coined διάψαλμα; but it is very

[1] The latitude and longitude are taken from De Luynes's map. Ptolemy, who, according to Olympiodorus, spent some time in Petra, and doubtless owes to this fact his excellent information about the caravan-routes in Arabia, gives the latitude, with surprising accuracy, as 30° 20′.

[2] Cp Diod. 19 97.

[3] This seems to be the fountain mentioned by Nowairi (in Quatremère's *Mélanges*, 84), which flowed with blood and was changed to water by Moses. The name Od-demā, which gave rise to this legend, may possibly be a relic of the old name of Edom.

[4] Perhaps also the 'Irām of Gen. 36 43 [see IRAM].

[5] See Tuch, *Gen.*(2) 271 n.

[1] 'An inductive study of Selah' (*JBL* 18 132 *ff.*). Briggs thinks it probable that סלה is an imperative cohortative, 'lift up a benediction or doxology.'

possible indeed that διάψ. only exists through textual corruption. διχάψαλμα and ἀνάψαλμα have been suggested (*ap.* Schultens, *Lex. in LXX* [1820] 1 146), but neither word exists. It remained to suggest that διάψ. may be a Græcised Hebrew word; לשלם (see above) might become first δασαλμα and then, for euphony, διάψαλμα. T. K. C.

SELED (סֶלֶד; αλс. саλаδ, [B], с. [A], -εδ [L]), b. Nadab b. Shammai, a Jeraḥmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 30.

SELEMIAS (*i.e.*, Shelemiah). 1. (сελεмιас [BA]) 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 39 SHELEMIAH, 6.
2. (*Selemiam*) a scribe; 4 Esd. 14 24, RV **Selemia.**

SELEUCIA (сελευкιа, Acts 13 4, Ti. WH; 1 Macc. 11 8). One of the four chief cities of northern Syria (the others being Antioch on the Orontes, Apameia, and Laodiceia) which together were spoken of as the tetrapolis of Seleucis (Strabo, 749). They were the foundation of Seleucus Nicator (died 280 B.C.). Seleucia lay on the southern skirts of Mt. Coryphæus (the Pieria of Strabo, 751)—a spur of Mt. Amanus[1]—separated from it by a ravine (see description in Pol. 5 59). The town extended to the sea, and was surrounded by cliffs, except towards the W., where the site was more open; here lay the mercantile buildings (ἐμπορεῖα). The upper town could be reached only, from the seaward side, by an artificial ascent cut in the rock like a stair (κλιμακωτήν). Seleucia was the port of Antioch, which was distant 16 m. by land; the distance by the Orontes, which fell into the sea about 5 m. to the southward of Seleucia, was still greater (Strabo, 751). Being strongly fortified (Strabo, 751, ἔρυμα ἀξιόλογον καὶ κρεῖττον βίας) Seleucia was the key of Syria (cp Pol. 5 58). In 1 Macc. 11 8 there is a reference to the capture of 'Seleucia which is by the sea' by Ptolemy Philometor VI. (146 B.C.). Its remains are still great. In consequence of the resistance it made to Tigranes, the Roman Pompeius declared it a free city, and this was its condition in Paul's time (Pliny, *HN* 5 18).

Paul, with Barnabas, sailed from Seleucia on his first missionary enterprise (Acts 13 4), and to Seleucia in all probability he returned (Acts. 14 26; for the expression 'sailed to Antioch' need not imply a voyage up the river: cp the expression 'sailed away from Philippi' in Acts 20 6). Probably also Paul's passage through Seleucia is implied in such places as Acts 15 39, and 15 30 (with which contrast the land journey summarised in 15 3). In this connection it is interesting to note that two piers of the old harbour bear the names of Paul and Barnabas, with whose work they are probably coeval. W. J. W.

[1] Hence the town was called Σελεύκεια Πιερία, or Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐν Πιερίᾳ, to distinguish it from other towns of the same name (Strabo, 749).

SELEUCIDÆ

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF KINGS

Alexander II. (§ 17).	Antiochus IX. (§ 19).	Demetrius III. (§ 22).
Antiochus I. (§ 3).	Antiochus X. (§ 21).	Philippus I. (§ 22).
Antiochus II. (§ 4).	Antiochus XIII. (§ 23).	Seleucus I. (§ 2).
Antiochus III. (§ 7).	Demetrius I. (§ 11).	Seleucus II. (§ 5).
Antiochus IV. (§ 9).	Demetrius II. (§§ 12, 14, 16).	Seleucus III. (§ 6).
Antiochus V. (§ 10).		Seleucus IV. (§ 8).
Antiochus VI. (13).		Seleucus V. (§ 17).
Antiochus VII. (§ 15).		Seleucus VI. (§ 20).
Antiochus VIII. (§ 18).		Tryphon (§ 13).

Bibliography (§ 24).

1. Origin.

'Seleucidæ' is the general name applied to the kings of Syria, who were so called from Seleucus I., the founder of the monarchy. This empire is alluded to as 'the kingdom of the Greeks' in 1 Macc. 1 10 8 18, and in the phrase 'the diadem of Asia' in 1 Macc. 11 13. The Syrian kings claimed to rule over the Asiatic portion of Alexander's empire, and to interfere in the affairs of every country from the Hellespont to India; but the territorial limits were gradually reduced, the border-lands of India being first lost, and then Asia Minor and Egypt effecting their withdrawal from Seleucid sway. Egypt under the Ptolemaic dynasty became in fact a standing rival, disputing with the Seleucidæ the possession of Palestine. The hold of the Seleucidæ upon Asia Minor was precarious, owing to the peculiar characteristics of the Greek cities there, and the rise of new powers (*e.g.*, Pergamos and the Attalid dynasty). Here nothing can be attempted more than a few general remarks upon salient features of the monarchy. Syria was its intellectual centre; for Seleucus abandoned his capital at Babylon (which was in truth suitable only for the undivided world-wide empire dreamed of by Alexander), and transferred his permanent abode to Antioch on the Orontes (see ANTIOCH, 2). This transference also calls attention to the constant striving, as constantly thwarted, of the Syrian empire, to become, not so much a military, as a naval power. Its wealth, indeed, came from commerce, which partly depended upon command of the sea, and partly also upon keeping open the old trade routes leading into inner Asia. The latter condition was found to be more easily realised than the former, for the rise of Egypt and of Rhodes, with other powers, prevented the realisation of the designs of the Syrian dynasty. As regards its internal characteristics, the Seleucid empire is well described by Holm (*Gk. Hist.* ET 4 112) as an artificial creation—in its essence an attempt to found in the E. a state based on Greek views. 'That Seleucus tried to promote the Hellenising of Asia in the spirit of Alexander appears from the many cities (about 75) which he founded'; and the progress of Greek life is seen from the fact that eventually Syria proper breaks up into a number of city communities almost entirely. It is precisely through their continuation of Alexander's work on this line, of controlling Asia by a policy based upon a preference given to the Graeco-Macedonian civilisation, that the Seleucidæ come into violent contact with the peculiar institutions of the Jews. It was especially in Seleucia on the Tigris that the Greek life of Mesopotamia and Babylonia centred, to such an extent that this city completely overshadows the other Greek communities in these regions.

2. Seleucus I. 312-280 B.C.

Seleucus I., Nicator (312-280 B.C.), one of the best of Alexander's generals, was made chiliarch by Perdiccas upon Alexander's death. Perdiccas invaded Egypt, and being checked upon the Nile by Ptolemy was murdered by his own officers, among them being Seleucus. Subsequently Babylon was assigned to Seleucus; but he was soon compelled to flee for his life from his satrapy, to avoid Antigonus, and took refuge with Ptolemy (316 B.C., cp App. *Syr.* 53). In the war with Antigonus that followed, Seleucus bore a distinguished part, at first as commander of Ptolemy's fleet, and afterwards in the operations in Syria which culminated in the battle of Gaza (312 B.C.), in which Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, was completely defeated. Seleucus in consequence with a small force recovered his satrapy, and the era of the Seleucids dated from the capture of Babylon (1st Oct. 312 B.C.).

The career of Seleucus is very obscure during the ten years which followed; his name is not even mentioned in the peace concluded in 311 B.C. between Ptolemy Cassander and Lysimachus on the one side, and Antigonus on the other; but the record of that peace may be incomplete. It seems clear, at any rate, that Seleucus was left to extend his conquests in the E. undisturbed, and that in a series of successful campaigns he recovered all the eastern provinces of Alexander's empire between the Euphrates, the Oxus, and the Indus. He was obliged, however, to acquiesce in the cession of the territories beyond the Indus to king Tchandragupta (Sandracottus, Strabo, 724) in return for five hundred war-elephants.

In 306 B.C. Seleucus followed the example of Antigonus and Demetrius in adopting the title of 'king'; and from that date his coins are so inscribed, whilst Alexander's types are gradually abandoned in favour of new devices, such as his own head with bull's horn—

an emblem of divine strength, probably also bearing allusion to the story told by Appian (*Syr.* 57); as an adjunct symbol in the field occurs an anchor, the badge of the family (cp Justin, 15 4).

When Ptolemy Cassander and Lysimachus again combined against Antigonus, Seleucus also joined the coalition, and was largely instrumental in winning the decisive victory at Ipsus in which Antigonus fell (301 B.C.). Seleucus consequently received a great extension of territory—all Syria, and Asia Minor as far as Phrygia (with the exception also of Cilicia). Hence the Seleucidæ are spoken of as kings of Asia (*e.g.*, 1 Macc. 8 6; though in other passages, such as 1 Macc. 11 13, it is doubtful whether the term Asia should be restricted to Asia Minor).

Seleucus reigned over the largest kingdom that had been carved out of Alexander's empire. The direct government of the provinces beyond the Euphrates was in the hands of his son Antiochus. In 281 B.C., by the defeat of king Lysimachus at Korupedion in Phrygia, Seleucus became heir by gage of battle to the crowns of Thrace and Macedonia, and appears to have intended to hand over his Asiatic possessions to his son, and spend the remainder of his life (he was now about seventy-two years old) as ruler of his native country, Macedonia, from which he had been so long absent. He set out for Europe, but was murdered at Lysimachia by Ptolemy Ceraunus, the exiled elder son of Ptolemy I. Ceraunus took possession of Thrace and Macedonia; Antiochus succeeded to his father's Asiatic sovereignty.

Seleucus was undoubtedly an able administrator of what his generalship secured for him. He was a patron of art, fostered trade, and by his foundation of many cities encouraged the spread of Hellenic civilisation through his dominions; he was, in fact, perhaps the only one of Alexander's successors that showed an appreciation of Alexander's true policy ('I should be inclined to call him a true disciple of Alexander,' Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 131).

Not much is known of the reign of his successor, Antiochus I., Soter (281-261 B.C.). It was occupied partly with attempts to assert himself in Asia Minor, as a prelude to making good his claims to the Macedonian crown, and partly in endeavours to render effective the Syrian rule over Cœlesyria, as against the claims of Egypt to those territories (the so-called First Syrian War).[1] In Asia Minor he was defeated by the Bithynians, at the beginning of his reign; and by Eumenes, king of Pergamum, towards the end of it.[2] The intermediate years show him engaged in warfare with the Gauls who poured into Asia Minor (277 B.C.) and founded the state of Galatia (see GALATIA, § 1). He won a victory over them (App. *Syr.* 65), and in consequence assumed, or was given, the honourable title of Soter ('Saviour') and a festival was founded in his honour.[3]

3. Antiochus I. (281-261 B.C.).

In 261 B.C. Antiochus was killed in battle by a Gaul (Celt); but whether he was actually then fighting the Celtic invaders is doubtful. He seems to have been a brave and energetic prince; history knows nothing to his discredit, and he deserves praise for his attempts to carry on his father's Grecising policy by means of city foundations.

Antiochus II., Theos (261-246 B.C.), son of the preceding and Stratonice, married Laodice, daughter of Antiochus I. by another wife (Polyæn. 8 50).

4. Antiochus II. (261-246 B.C.).

Practically our knowledge of him is confined to the statements that 'he was a debauchee and addicted to drink, that he left affairs in the hands of unworthy favourites, that he waged war in Thrace, that he earned his surname by liberating the Milesians from their tyrant Timarchus, and that he was generally popular in the cities of Ionia' (Holm, *op. cit.* 4 188).

Of the second Syrian war which he waged with Ptolemy Philadelphus, we know little. This led indirectly to his death; for to put an end to the strife Ptolemy gave his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus, who put away Laodice. After a time, however, Antiochus changed his mind and recalled Laodice, who immediately poisoned him and murdered Berenice and her infant son, and her own son ascended the vacant throne. It has, however, been suggested that this dark history was an invention of the Egyptian partizans of Berenice, and that Antiochus really died a natural death. According to the traditional interpretation, Dan. 11 6 refers to this king (Jerome, *in loc.*); but the text is corrupt (see DANIEL, § 6 *f.*).

Seleucus II., Callinicus[1] (246-226 B.C.), was the eldest son of the preceding by his first wife, Laodice. From the moment of his accession Seleucus II. was engaged in warfare with Ptolemy III. Euergetes, who invaded Syria to avenge the death of his sister Berenice (the third Syrian War). This war is as mysterious in its course and results as the two previous conflicts between Egypt and Syria. Ptolemy, we learn, drove Seleucus beyond the Taurus, captured Antioch, made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia, and penetrated even beyond the Euphrates; the Egyptian successes are sketched in even more extravagant terms, which make them tantamount to the recovery of all Alexander's empire.[2] Seleucus summoned to his aid his younger brother Antiochus Hierax, promising him the regency of Asia Minor. Ptolemy was indeed obliged to consent to a peace; but Seleucus soon found himself at war with his own brother (Justin, 27 2). Antiochus was at first victorious, with the help of the Galatai (Celts); but they deserted him, and when their co-operation was again bought, both they and Antiochus suffered repeated defeats at the hands of Attalus of Pergamum, who seized the opportunity of the strife between the two brothers to strengthen his own position in Asia Minor. Antiochus Hierax was at last driven from the country into Egypt; but Ptolemy imprisoned him, and when he escaped he was slain by brigands (227 B.C., Justin, 27 3).

5. Seleucus II. (246-226 B.C.).

Seleucus apparently owed his title Callinicus to an eastern expedition in which he vanquished Arsaces of Parthia (Strabo, 513; Justin, 41 4). Afterwards, however, Arsaces defeated Seleucus in a great battle which the Parthians long celebrated as the foundation of their independence. 'The title to the surname of Callinicus was therefore as well made out as is necessary for an Oriental monarch, and the subsequent foundation of a city called Callinicum in his hereditary territory on the Euphrates by the hero who had been fortunate enough to escape from the Parthians, no doubt made a great impression on the surrounding inhabitants' (Holm, *op. cit.* 4 215).

In 226 B.C. Seleucus lost his life by a fall from his horse.

Seleucus III., Ceraunus, or Soter (226-223 B.C.), was the elder son and successor of Seleucus II. He invaded Asia Minor in order to put down Attalus. He was assisted by his skilful and energetic relative Achæus. Soon, however, he was murdered by one Nicanor and a Gaul named Apaturius (Polyb. 4 48).

6. Seleucus III. (226-223 B.C.).

Seleucus III. seems to have left a son Antiochus, mentioned only in an inscription, to whom are attributed coins bearing on one side the image of an infant Antiochus (see Head, *op. cit.* 640, and cp *CIG* 4458, and Droysen, *Gesch. d. Hell.* iii. 2 121).

Antiochus III., the Great (222-187 B.C.), the younger son of Seleucus Callinicus and Laodice (Pol. 5 40), was only twenty years old when he came to the throne, and for some time he was entirely under the influence of his minister Hermeas. The condition of Egypt, then governed by Ptolemy IV. Philopator, a weak and vicious monarch, invited attack. A rebellion in Persis and Media weakened the blow; but when that had been put down, and the king had freed himself from the evil influence of Hermeas by executing him (Pol. 5 56) the war with Egypt was resumed. At first

7. Antiochus III. (222-187 B.C.).

1 Alluded to only in Paus. i. 7 3.

2 See Strabo, 624. It occurred near Sardis.

3 See decree of thanksgiving from Novum Ilium, *CIG* 3595 = Hicks, *Manual*, no. 165, with notes thereto added.

1 He was also called Pogon, the Bearded, from his habit of wearing a beard, which, like Demetrius II., the only other bearded king of Syria, he probably adopted during his sojourn in Parthia (cp Head, *Hist. Numm.* 639).

2 See the Adule inscription preserved by Cosmas Indicopleustes in his *Topographia Christiana* = *CIG* 5127 (and cp Jer. on Dan. 11 5; also Polyæn. 8 50, who says that he pushed his conquests μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς).

Antiochus carried all before him, and made himself master of Phœnicia and the territory on both sides of the Jordan (Pol. 5 68 *f.*), and wintered in Ptolemais. In the following year, however, he was utterly defeated at Raphia, the most southerly Syrian city (217 B.C.), and compelled to cede to Egypt all Cœlesyria and Phœnicia. In the meantime Achæus had raised the standard of revolt in Asia Minor, and it cost a two years' warfare round Sardis to overcome him (Pol. 7 15 *f.*).

Then followed an expedition to the east, in which Parthia and Bactria were invaded; these successes gained the king his surname (209 B.C.). When Ptolemy Philopator died and Ptolemy V. Epiphanes ascended the throne (204 B.C.), Antiochus III. combined with Philip V. king of Macedonia, for the partition of the Egyptian kingdom (Livy, 31 14; Pol. 15 20). In pursuance of the scheme Antiochus invaded Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, and overran Palestine (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3); and though a diversion caused by Attalus of Pergamum enabled the Egyptians to reoccupy Palestine, they were defeated (198 B.C.) by Antiochus himself near the sources of the Jordan, and driven out of the country. Jerusalem itself fell into the hands of Antiochus (Pol. 16 39). A peace was concluded in which it was agreed that Epiphanes should marry Antiochus' daughter, Cleopatra, who should receive Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, and Palestine as her dowry (on this peace, see Holm, *op. cit.* 4 339, and note on p. 368). Antiochus then commenced operations in Asia Minor, with a view of recovering the Greek cities there as a whole, and more especially those of the S. and W. coasts, which had long been reckoned to belong to Egypt, but had recently been occupied by Philip under the terms of the secret alliance with Syria above-mentioned.[1] The defeat of Philip by the Romans at Cynoscephalæ brought Antiochus also face to face with the power of Rome (197 B.C.).

Antiochus claimed not only sovereignty over the cities of Asia, but the throne of Thrace also, in virtue of the victory of Seleucus over Lysimachus a century before him. The tension between him and Rome was increased when Hannibal, a fugitive from Carthage, sought asylum at the Syrian court (App. *Syr.* 4). After long negotiations war was declared between the two powers in 191 B.C. The decisive battle took place in the autumn of 190 B.C. at Magnesia on the Hermus, and the motley host of Antiochus was utterly defeated; the Roman legions were never actually called upon, and the victory which gave them a third continent cost but 24 horsemen and 300 light infantry (Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, ET, 1881, 2 270 *f.*).[2] Allusion is made to these events in Dan. 11 10, and 1 Macc. 1 10 8 6 *f.* (see ANTIOCHUS, 1). Antiochus was compelled to renounce all his conquests N. of the Taurus range, which had in fact always been the boundary of effective Syrian power in this direction (Pol. 21 17; Diod. Sic. 29 10; Livy, 37 45). In consequence of this defeat and loss of prestige Armenia fell away from the Syrian empire (Strabo, 528). In 187 B.C. Antiochus himself, marching into Elymais, at the head of the Persian Gulf, in order to plunder a temple of Bel to replenish his treasury exhausted by the enormous war indemnity, was slain by the natives of the district (Strabo, 744).

8. Seleucus IV. (187-175 B.C.).

Seleucus IV., Philopator (187-175 B.C.), son and successor of Antiochus the Great, came to the throne in difficult times, when Armenia had already revolted and the prestige of his country was dimmed. The power of Rome also overshadowed the East, and freedom of policy was almost impossible. Thus he was compelled

[1] It was probably at this period, or perhaps earlier, that Antiochus sent 2000 Jewish families from Mesopotamia into the cities of Lydia and Phrygia, securing their loyalty by grants of land and immunity from taxation. See Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 4.

[2] 'With the day of Magnesia Asia was erased from the list of great states; and never perhaps did a great power fall so rapidly, so thoroughly, and so ignominiously as the kingdom of the Seleucidæ under this Antiochus the Great' (Mommsen, *l.c.*).

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to forego the opportunity of interfering beyond Mt. Taurus, in assisting Pharnaces of Pontus against Eumenes of Pergamum (179 B.C., see Diod. Sic. 29 24). Yet he concluded a treaty of alliance with Perseus of Macedonia. With Egypt he lived outwardly at peace, though his minister HELIODORUS (*q.v.*) interfered in the affairs of Palestine. One APOLLONIUS (2), son of Thraseas, being governor (στρατηγός) of Cœlesyria and Phœnicia, induced the king to send Heliodorus his chancellor ('treasurer,' AV) to plunder the temple of Jerusalem.

This attempt, and the supernatural (?) means by which it was baffled, are related in 2 Macc. 3 1 *f.* (cp 4 Macc. 4 1 *f.*, where the attempt is ascribed to Apollonius himself). In 175 B.C. this Heliodorus murdered Seleucus, and tried to seize the Syrian throne, but was driven out by Eumenes and Attalus of Pergamum (Appian, *Syr.* 45; Livy, 41 24).

Seleucus IV. left two children, Demetrius, who subsequently ascended the throne (see § 11), and Laodice.

9. Antiochus IV. (175-164 B.C.).

Antiochus IV., Epiphanes[1] (175-164 B.C.), was the son of Antiochus III. and Laodice (daughter of the Pontic king Mithridates II.). After the battle of Magnesia he had been sent to Rome as hostage (Appian, *Syr.* 39). At Rome he remained nearly fourteen years, and then Seleucus IV. who was on the Syrian throne secured his exchange for the heir apparent, Demetrius (Appian, *Syr.* 45; cp Justin, 34 3).

On his way home Antiochus visited Athens, and displayed his phil-Hellenic sympathies by accepting the post of first *strategus* (στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα, see coins; cp Reinach, *Rev. ét. Gr.*, 1888, p. 163 *f.*). He also contributed to the completion of the Olympieum (Pol. 26 1), and placed a golden ægis over the theatre (Paus. v. 12 4). He presented gifts to the temple of Zeus at Olympia, and to those of Apollo at Delphi and Delos, as well as to many Greek cities—Rhodes, Cyzicus, Tegea (theatre), and Megalopolis (contribution to walls). His favourite cult was that of Olympian Zeus (cp MAUZZIM), to whom he erected a temple at Daphne near Antioch on the Orontes (see ANTIOCH, 2), with a statue which was a replica of that made by Phidias for Olympia.[2] It was his thorough-going programme of Hellenisation which gained him his notoriety in Jewish annals (Tac. *Hist.* 5 8: 'rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnisus').

While he lingered in Athens Antiochus received news of the murder of Seleucus IV. by Heliodorus and, being supported by the king of Pergamum, he expelled the usurper, and gained the crown in defiance of the rights of his nephew Demetrius (Appian, *Syr.* 45; cp Fränkel, *Inscr. of Pergamon*, 1 160; 1 Macc. 1 10). He showed himself soon even more enterprising than his father. For the death of his sister Cleopatra, the widow of Ptolemy V. Epiphanes (173 B.C.), opened the whole question of the ownership of Cœlesyria, which the Egyptians claimed as the dowry of the dead queen (Pol. 27 19), whereas she had only enjoyed a portion of the revenue derived from that country (Pol. 28 20). Antiochus forestalled the Egyptian attack (2 Macc. 4 21). At the end of 171 B.C. the contending powers came into decisive conflict on the Egyptian frontier between Mt. Casius and Pelusium (1 Macc. 1 17). The Egyptians were utterly defeated. Antiochus even secured the person of the young king Ptolemy Philometor, and was himself crowned king of Egypt at Memphis. There was a Seleucid party among the Egyptians themselves (Diod. 30 14); but upon the withdrawal of Antiochus (1 Macc. 1 20 *f.*) the national party in Alexandria rose and placed the young Ptolemy Physcon upon the throne of Egypt. Antiochus therefore invaded Egypt a second time (2 Macc. 5 1; Pol. 28 19), nominally at first in the interests of Philometor.[3] He demanded the cession of

[1] Ἐπιφανής, 'illustrious,' called also Ἐπιμανής, 'mad,' from his actions, Pol. 26 1, Athen. 10 52. On coins his titles are Ἐπιφανής, Νικηφόρος, and Θεός. Cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5 5. See ANTIOCHUS, 2.

[2] The figure of Zeus Nicephorus enthroned appears on some of his coins in place of that of Apollo. He seems to have considered himself a manifestation of Zeus; and perhaps his name Epiphanes really means that. On some of his coins his own portrait occurs, in the character of Zeus. See Head, *Hist. Numm.* 641. The nimbus on the diadem of the Seleucidæ originates with him. See the remarks of Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4 399.

[3] The wars of Antiochus IV. with Egypt are complicated, and it is doubtful whether he made three or more invasions (so

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Pelusium and of the island of Cyprus which was now practically his through the treachery of Ptolemy Macron (2 Macc. 10 13). Antiochus' victorious career in Egypt came to an abrupt ending. For at this moment the Roman victory at Pydna (168 B.C.) changed the whole face of affairs in the East.

Popilius Lænas, the Roman envoy, a harsh, rude man, demanded in the name of the senate that Antiochus should restore his conquests and evacuate Egypt within a set term. Antiochus asked time for consideration; but the envoy drew with his staff a circle round the king and bade him answer before he stepped beyond it (Pol. 29 27, Livy 45 12). Antiochus yielded. 'Like Macedonia in the war just waged by Perseus, the Seleucidæ had made in the war regarding Cœlesyria a final effort to recover their earlier power; but it is a significant indica ion of the difference between the two kingdoms, that in the former case the legions, in the latter the abrupt language of a diplomatist, decided the controversy' (Momms. *Hist. of Rome*, 2 309).

It was upon his return to Syria after finding the prize of Egypt, so nearly within his grasp, thus forever snatched from him, that Antiochus committed those outrages in Palestine which earned him the undying hatred of the Jews, and for which he is pilloried in the books of Daniel and Maccabees as the very personification of impiety. Already upon his first return, in 170 B.C., he had captured Jerusalem, slain and enslaved thousands of Jews, entered the Holy of Holies, and despoiled the temple (1 Macc. 1 20 *f.* 2 Macc. 5 11 *f.*; see ANTIOCHUS 2, JASON, MENELAUS). Now the king determined to carry through the Hellenisation of Palestine. A royal edict made the practice of Jewish rites punishable by death; the temple was dedicated to Zeus Olympios (168 B.C. See 1 Macc. 1 41 *f.*, 2 Macc. 6 1 *f.*).[1] These persecutions led to the revolt of the Maccabees. The outbreak of Mattathias at Modin (167 B.C.) seems to have attracted little attention at the capital. It was not until the death of Mattathias and the assumption of leadership of the movement by his son Judas (166 B.C.), who defeated several detachments (that of Apollonius, 1 Macc. 3 10; that of Seron, 1 Macc. 3 13), that 'his name came near even unto the king,' and energetic measures were taken to suppress the insurrection (1 Macc. 3 27). The general conduct of the operations was entrusted to LYSIAS (*q.v.*), 'an honourable man, and one of the seed royal' (1 Macc. 3 32); but the victories of Judas at Emmaus and Beth-zur secured the practical evacuation of the country, and gave opportunity for the purification and rededication of the Temple (1 Macc. 4 36 *f.*, 2 Macc. 10 1 *f.*). Antiochus was unable apparently to direct upon Judea the whole force of the empire, before which the Jewish national party must undoubtedly have succumbed. He was engaged beyond the Euphrates (1 Macc. 3 37), not, as the Jewish narrative puts it, to 'take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money' (1 Macc. 3 31), but more probably in safe-guarding his frontiers against the growing power of the Parthians (cp Tac. *Hist.* 5 8: 'rex Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnisus, quominus tæterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est').

The sequence and extent of his operations in this quarter are unknown. After making an attempt to plunder a temple of Artemis in ELYMAIS (*q.v.*, see also NANEA), Antiochus died of disease at Tabæ in Persia; some said that he died mad (Pol. 31 11, Appian, *Syr.* 66); the professedly circumstantial narratives of 1 Macc. 6 1 *f.* and 2 Macc. 9 1 *f.* are mutually contradictory and of no historical value (cp in general MACCABEES, FIRST, § 10, SECOND, § 2 *f.*). When, in fact, we compare the last episode of this king's life with that of his father, we may well doubt whether the tradition is not a confusion partly suggested by and founded upon the nickname Epimanes applied to Antiochus IV.

Wilcken, *s.v.* 'Antiochus' in Pauly's *Realencyc.*, ed. Wissowa), or only two (so 2 Macc. 5 1; see Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, 336 *f.*). His usurpation of Egypt was marked by the Seleucid anchor on the copper coins, and also by a new issue of copper coins with his own name.

[1] Perhaps the savage outbreak at Jerusalem upon the second occasion was due to some more personal grievance than mere resistance to innovations. The nationalists of Palestine may have been in part responsible for the delay and failure of his Egyptian expedition, as Mahaffy suggests, *op. cit.* 341.

10. Antiochus V. (164-162 B.C.).

Antiochus V., Eupator (164-162 B.C.), son of the preceding, was either nine or eleven years old at his father's death (Appian, *Syr.* 46; Eus. *Chr.* 1 253). In 166 B.C. Antiochus Epiphanes, on the eve of his departure to the east, appointed Lysias 'to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again' (1 Macc. 3 32 *f.*); see LYSIAS. On the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, Lysias declared Antiochus his son king, with the title Eupator, 'on account of the virtues of his father' (1 Macc. 6 17; cp Appian, *Syr.* 46). The young king and his guardian then led an expedition to the relief of Jerusalem, where the citadel was hard pressed by Judas Maccabæus. The armies met at Beth-zacharias, near Beth-zur, and Judas was defeated and his brother Eleazar slain (1 Macc. 6 28 *f.*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 4; but 2 Macc. 13 16 *f.*, representing the Jews as victorious, is clearly unhistorical). The victory of Antiochus enabled him to invest Jerusalem (1 Macc. 6 48 *f.*), and famine was already doing its work when the king's troops were recalled by the news that Philip, the foster-brother of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 9 29), was approaching Antioch with an army (1 Macc. 6 55 *f.*). Philip had, in fact, been appointed by the dying Epiphanes as guardian of the young Antiochus (1 Macc. 6 55). Peace was made with the Jews on the terms that 'they shall walk after their own laws, as aforetime' (1 Macc. 6 59; 2 Macc. 13 23); but Antiochus in spite of this destroyed the fortifications of the city and imprisoned the high priest (1 Macc. 6 62, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 9 7). Returning to Syria, he found no difficulty in expelling Philip from Antioch (1 Macc. 6 63). In 162 B.C. Antiochus himself was betrayed, along with Lysias, into the hands of Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, and rightful heir to the Syrian throne, and was by him put to death (1 Macc. 7 2 *f.*, 2 Macc. 14 1 *f.*, Polyb. 31 19 *f.*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 1 *f.*). See ANTIOCHUS, 3.

Demetrius I., Soter (162-150 B.C.), son of Seleucus IV. Philopator.

11. Demetrius I. (162-150 B.C.).

As a boy he had been sent in 175 B.C. to take his uncle's place as a hostage in Rome (Polyb. 31 12, 1 Macc. 1 10). When his cousin inherited the crown which his father Epiphanes had usurped, Demetrius, who had then lived nearly twelve years practically a state prisoner in Italy, begged the Roman Senate to recognise his claim to the Syrian throne, but in vain. It suited the Senate better that a mere boy should rule, rather than one who had reached his twenty-third year. At last he made his escape in a Carthaginian vessel and landed in Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 1, 2 Macc. 14 1). There seems no ground for the opinion that the Senate really connived at his escape (so Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4 416 ET).

After putting to death Antiochus V. and Lysias (see above), the first object of Demetrius was to gain the recognition of the senate (Polyb. 32 4 *f.*, Diod. 31 29). It was only after a long time that he gained the grudging and half-hearted recognition he sought. Timarchus, who under Antiochus Epiphanes had been satrap of Babylon (Appian, *Syr.* 47), revolted, and declared himself king, and ruled Babylon with an iron hand. Him Demetrius put down, being given for this service his title Soter ('Saviour') by the grateful Babylonians. The relations of Demetrius with the Jews are sufficiently set forth elsewhere (DEMETRIUS, 1, and in the references there given).

The foreign policy of Demetrius was not skilful; indeed it is difficult to see the object at which he aimed. First, he attempted to get his sister Laodice, the widow of Perseus, married to Ariarathes V. of Cappadocia, possibly in order to form an anti-Roman league in the east. Failing in this, he married her himself, and in revenge encouraged a claimant to the Cappadocian throne in the person of Orophernes, brother of Ariarathes (Polyb. 32 24). The only result was to raise against Demetrius the enmity of both Rome and Attalus of Pergamum (Polyb. 3 5). Attalus II. in return supported the claims of a pretender, Alexander Bala, or Balas, to

the Syrian throne; ALEXANDER (*q.v.*, 2) made himself out to be a son of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Alexander Bala appeared at an opportune moment, as Demetrius had completely alienated his subjects by his tyranny and excesses (153 B.C.), whilst at the same time he had given way to love of drink, the hereditary vice of his house (Polyb. 33 19). In addition to this, an attempt to secure the island of Cyprus by treachery had indeed failed, but had earned the Syrian monarchy the hostility of Ptolemy Philometor (Polyb. 33 5). The result was that, though a party at Rome (perhaps that of the Scipios) was favourably inclined to Demetrius, the Roman Senate, upon grounds of policy, and also upon more sordid grounds, was induced to recognise the impostor Alexander (Polyb. 33 18), who was also supported by Attalus Ariarathes and Ptolemy Philometor. Consequently, in 153 B.C., Alexander appeared with an army in Syria.

Both Demetrius and Alexander made bids for the favour of the Jews, who were now under Jonathan (1 Macc. 10 1 *f.*). The king recalled his garrisons from all the towns except Jerusalem and Beth-zur, and gave Jonathan power to raise an army and to liberate the hostages. The various taxes and royal claims upon the Jews were also remitted (see the instructive list given in Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2 2 *f.*).[1] The impostor, however, was more successful in appealing to Jonathan's personal ambition, nominating him high-priest, and sending him the insignia of royalty, with the title of 'king's friend' (cp FRIEND). The decisive battle was fought in 150 B.C., and Demetrius fighting heroically was slain (Justin, 35 1, Polyb. 3 5, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 2 4). In spite of the fragmentary and obscure character of the record, we may well doubt whether this Demetrius was not one of the most gifted of the Seleucid dynasty (*v.* Gutschmid, *Iran*, 43).

Demetrius II., Nicator (145-139 and 129-125 B.C.), the elder of the two sons of Demetrius I., had been sent by his father for protection to Cnidus when Alexander invaded Syria (Justin, 35 2), and remained there for some years in exile until he became aware that the usurper had forfeited the goodwill of his subjects by his negligence of state affairs and his self-indulgence (Livy, *Epit.* 50). In 147 B.C. he landed on the Cilician coast with a force of Cretan mercenaries (1 Macc. 10 67). Ptolemy VI. Philometor had given his daughter Cleopatra Thea ('one of the most impudent women produced by the Ptolemy line, which had no lack of such characters,' Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4 417) in marriage to Alexander, and at first came to his assistance, but afterwards transferred his favour to Demetrius II., to whom also he transferred his daughter.

12. Demetrius II. (first reign: 145-139 B.C.).

Ptolemy's *volte-face* was accounted for by a story that Alexander had attempted his life (1 Macc. 11 10); but the true motive was probably the desire to take advantage of the intestine strife to annex at least Palestine and Cœlesyria (1 Macc. 11 1). According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 4 5 *f.*), Ptolemy actually at Antioch assumed the 'diadem of Asia' (so also 1 Macc. 11 8 *f.*, where, however, the motive assigned for Ptolemy's conduct differs). On this episode, see Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, 364 *f.*

The opportune death of the Egyptian king on the third day after he had gazed upon the severed head of Alexander Balas, removed a formidable rival from the path of Demetrius (1 Macc. 11 18; was he murdered? Strabo, 751, says that he died from a wound received in the battle on the Œnoparas, near Antioch, fighting against Alexander). Having thus won back his father's kingdom by arms he received the title Nicator ('Conqueror'; Appian, *Syr.* 67, ὡς νόθον τοῦ γένους ἄνδρα νικήσας).[2] The entire country, in fact, had rallied to him, with the exception of Judæa, where the ambitious Jonathan had inflicted defeat upon his adherent Apollonius, governor of Cœlesyria (1 Macc. 10 69 *f.*). Demetrius was, indeed, fain to purchase the acquiescence of Jonathan by confirming him in the high-priesthood, and by the abolition of taxes (1 Macc. 11 20 *f.*), and the surrender to Judæa of three Samarian districts.

When peace was assured Demetrius disbanded the native troops and retained only his Cretan mercenaries. This led to risings in Antioch, which were put down by the mercenaries with the aid of 3000 Jewish troops sent by Jonathan. Confiscations and executions alienated the goodwill of the people (1 Macc. 11 38 *f.*). This emboldened one Diodotus, a native of Kasiana, brought up at Apamea on the Orontes (Strabo, 752; cp *id.* 668), to declare a young son of Alexander Bala king as Antiochus VI. Dionysus.[1] This was in 145 B.C. The Jews profited by this revolt, for Demetrius had not redeemed his promises to withdraw his garrisons from Judæa. The disbanded troops also rallied to the standard of his rival, and Demetrius was compelled to evacuate Antioch and to retire to Seleucia (Livy, *Epit.* 52) or to Cilicia (so Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 4). Jonathan and his brother Simon mastered all southern Syria (for the details of the operations, see 1 Macc. 11 60 *f.*).

Seleucia, near Antioch, remained true to Demetrius, along with Cilicia and the eastern provinces generally,[2] so that the young Antiochus never ruled over more than a small part of Syria. His reign soon came to an end, as he was murdered by Diodotus, who usurped the throne under the name of Tryphon.

13. Antiochus VI. (145-142 B.C.) and Tryphon (142-138 B.C.).

The date is disputed; probably it was in 143-142 B.C.; so the coins (see Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*, 131 *f.* and cp 1 Macc. 13 31). On the other hand, according to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5 11 7 1) the murder of Antiochus occurred *after* the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians. (On this much disputed point see the authorities referred to in Schür. *Hist. of the Jews*, ET, i. 1 177, and Cambridge Bible, *First Book of M.* in *l.c.*).

The usurper made himself detested for his cruelties. Chiefly he alienated the sympathies of the Jews, and earned their active hatred, by the capture and execution of Jonathan when he had all but established the independence of his country (1 Macc. 12 39 *f.*).

The three or four years of the reign of Tryphon are almost destitute of incident, save for a few isolated notices. His headquarters seem to have been at Coracesium in Cilicia Aspera, a robbers' eyrie on a precipitous crag by the sea. Strabo (668) attributes to him the rise of the piratical power in Cilicia, which afterwards attained such extraordinary dimensions. The generals of Demetrius, in Mesopotamia and Cœlesyria at least, retained their ground before those of Tryphon, whilst Simon, who had succeeded to the leadership of the Jews (1 Macc. 13 8), entered into negotiations with Demetrius, who granted all his demands, including even exemption from tribute (1 Macc. 13 36 *f.*). Though the Jews thus did not gain absolute independence, but had still to recognise the suzerainty of the Syrian kings, they adopted a new era, and Simon ruled as ethnarch, or vassal prince (1 Macc 13 41 *f.*; cp Justin, 36 1 3).

14. Demetrius in Parthia (139-129 B.C.).

At this moment the attention of Demetrius was diverted to Babylonia, where he had to face a new peril. Mithridates I. of Parthia,[3] after displaying his power in the E., had conquered Media (147 B.C.), and even Seleucia on the Tigris two years later. The Babylonians appealed for assistance. Demetrius was joined by the Persians, Elymæans, and Bactrians; but in 139 B.C. he was defeated and taken prisoner by the Parthians, and carried about through their territories as a show[4] (1 Macc. 14 1, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 1, Appian, *Syr.* 67. The actual capture was due to treachery). For ten years Demetrius remained a prisoner; but very soon after his capture his treatment improved, and he was even given the king's daughter Rhodogune to wife. Probably the promise of reinstallation in his kingdom would have been realised had not Mithridates himself died, and been succeeded

1 See the remarks of Mahaffy, *Emp. of the Ptolemies*, 182 *f*

2 On his coins he also calls himself Theos and Philadelphos.

1 The coins of this seven-year-old king also bear the title Epiphanes. His mother was the Egyptian princess Cleopatra Thea. In Appian, *Syr.* 68, he is wrongly called Alexander. See ANTIOCHUS, 4.

2 Cp inscr. from Babylon in *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.* 8 110, and inscr. from Paphos in *Journ. of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1880) 230.

3 Mithridates I. reigned 174-136 B.C. He calls himself on his coins King of Kings, the Great, Arsaces, Epiphanes, Euergetes, Philhellen. He was the most considerable of the Parthian monarchs.

4 From this circumstance he was called mockingly Seripides (Eus. *Chron.* 1 256).

by Phraates II. as Arsaces Philopator Epiphanes Philhellen (reigned 136-127 B.C.). It seemed better to this monarch to retain Demetrius in order to be able to use him in case of threatening circumstances.

Whilst Demetrius was a captive in the hands of the Parthians (see above, § 14) his younger brother Antiochus Sidetes, who owed his surname to the fact that he had been brought up at Side in Pamphylia (see SIDE),[1] asserted his claims to the kingdom of Syria (1 Macc. 15 1 *f.*). He was now sixteen years old. His attempt succeeded, perhaps chiefly because he was joined by queen Cleopatra Thea, who, enraged at the union of Demetrius with the daughter of the Parthian king, went over to the side of Antiochus, and surrendered to him the strong tower of Seleucia, near Antioch, which during all these years she had held for Demetrius.

15. Antiochus VII., Sidetes (138-129 B.C.).

Tryphon was defeated and driven into the Phœnician town of Dora, where he was besieged. Thence he escaped to Apamea, but was again besieged, and compelled to end his life by his own hand (1 Macc. 15 10 37; Strabo, 668; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 2; Appian, *Syr.* 68).[2]

Antiochus married Thea ('the objectionable but evidently inevitable adjunct of the Syrian throne,' Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4 419), and acted very vigorously to unite again the severed fragments of the Syrian kingdom (Justin, 36 1). First and foremost came the necessity of dealing with Palestine, which in the turmoil of the past few years had absorbed large tracts of Syrian territory, and attained an almost completely independent position, even entering into diplomatic relations with distant and, in part, hostile powers (1 Macc. 10 59 *f.* 12 1 *f.* 14 16 *f.* 24). In 135 B.C. Antiochus invaded Judæa in person. Already, three years previously, the Syrian king had come into collision with the Jews, who, under Judas and John Hyrcanus, inflicted a defeat upon his general CENDEBÆUS. After the assassination of Simon and two of his sons by his son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Abubus (1 Macc. 16 11 *f.*), John Hyrcanus had become high priest and prince of Judæa. Upon the invasion by Antiochus he was shut up in the citadel of Jerusalem for at least a year, and then forced to capitulate. The walls were destroyed, hostages demanded, with five hundred talents indemnity, and tribute for the cities which had been occupied by the Maccabees (Diod. 34 1, Justin, 36 1, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 2).[3] Syrian suzerainty over Judæa was fully asserted.

Next occurred the final attempt of the Seleucidæ to overthrow the formidable Parthian power which had wrested from them so much of their eastern possessions.

In 130 B.C. Antiochus undertook an expedition against the Parthians. His brother Demetrius was still in their hands, having twice been recaptured when he attempted escape. Three victories gave the Syrian king the possession of Babylonia, and brought to his standard all the peoples who had been reduced under the Parthian yoke.[4] Phraates opened negotiations with Antiochus to amuse him, while he prepared once more to try his fortune in the field (Diod. 35 15); more effective still was the stroke by which Demetrius was at last released from captivity in order to cause the withdrawal of the Syrian forces. In the next collision with the Parthian troops Antiochus fell, bravely fighting (Appian, *Syr.* 68; Justin, 38 10). His entire army was cut to pieces.

The Parthian king, having thus won the victory by arms, keenly regretted having set Demetrius at liberty (see § 14), and tried to recapture him, but failed. He tried next to undo his work by sending into Syria a second pretender, a son of Antiochus, the late king, Seleucus by name, who had fallen into his hands. This also proved of no avail. Demetrius, however, did not long enjoy his change of fortune.

16. Demetrius II., Nicator (second reign, 129-125 B.C.).

[1] 'In Sida urbe educatus, quapropter Sidetes utique vocabatur' (Eus. *Chron.* 1 255). On his coins Antiochus VII. calls himself Euergetes, which was, therefore, his true official title. Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7 1 calls him Σωτήρ. See ANTIOCHUS, 5.

[2] On his coins Tryphon calls himself **Βασιλεὺς αὐτοκράτωρ**, which no other Syrian ruler does.

[3] This Antiochus was not hostile to the Jewish faith, and for his tolerance was called Eusebēs ('pious'), Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 8 2.

[4] For these victories Antiochus received the title Great (Dittenb. *Sylloge*,(1) 244 and 245, **Βασιλέως μεγάλου Ἀντιόχου**, cp Justin, 38 10: 'Magnus haberi cœpit').

He was induced to enter into war with Egypt on behalf of Cleopatra II., sister-wife of Ptolemy Physcon,[1] and his own mother-in-law, who had taken refuge in Syria. The war with which he was thus threatened Physcon evaded by setting up Alexander Zabinas, a pretended son of Alexander I. Bala, to claim the Syrian throne.[2]

Supported by a strong Egyptian army the pretender invaded Syria, where several cities fell away from Demetrius. The decisive battle was fought in 125 B.C. near Damascus, and Demetrius was defeated. He fled to Ptolemais to his wife Cleopatra, who refused to receive him, and, when he tried to enter Tyre, had him murdered (Justin, 39 1, Appian, *Syr.* 68, Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 3).

Little is known of the rule of Alexander II.; but one authority at least passes a favourable verdict.[3] He entered into friendly relations with Hyrcanus, influenced largely, no doubt, by the desire to find support against Egypt, from which power he soon became estranged (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 3). He was, in fact, not left to enjoy his usurped dignity long without rivals. Immediately upon the death of Demetrius II., Seleucus, the son of the murdered king, laid claim to the throne, only to be murdered after a few months by the infamous Cleopatra Thea, his mother, who was indignant that he should have taken such a step without her, and without sharing the power with herself.

17. Alexander II. and Seleucus V.

Cleopatra then put forward the second son of Demetrius II. as heir to the throne; his claim was also supported by Egypt. Alexander II. was defeated and fled to Antioch, and then to Seleucia (Diod. Sic. 35 28, Justin, 39 2). Finally he was captured and brought to Antiochus, who had him put to death. Thus from 125 B.C. Antiochus reigned, in association with his mother, after the fashion common in Egypt. Their joint reign lasted four years.[5]

18. Antiochus VIII., Grypus[4] (125-96 B.C.).

The queen-mother was thrown more and more into the shade, especially after the marriage of her son with Cleopatra Tryphæna, given to him by her father Ptolemy Euergetes II. as a pledge of Egyptian support, and also after 123 B.C. by the victory gained over Alexander II. (cp Justin, 39 2: 'Cleopatra cum huius [sc. Antiochi] quoque victoria inferiorem dignitatem suam factam doleret'). In 121 B.C. she tried to poison him, but was compelled instead to drink the draught herself (Appian, *Syr.* 69).

For some years Antiochus Grypus reigned quietly, and then there arose a claimant to the throne in the person of his half-brother and cousin Antiochus (IX.), son of Antiochus VII. Sidetes and Cleopatra Thea (see above, § 15). Antiochus owed his surname to his having been brought up at Cyzicus (his title on his coins is Philopator), whither his mother had sent him in 129 B.C. upon the return of Demetrius II., her second husband, from his Parthian captivity (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 1). The poisoned cup with which his mother had made him familiar was employed in vain by Grypus to remove this rival. The attempt only precipitated the inevitable struggle (116 B.C.). In the first important battle of the war Grypus was victorious, and took Antioch, where he found his own sister-in-law Cleopatra IV., sister and divorced wife of Ptolemy Soter II. (Lathyrus); having been expelled from Egypt by her mother (*i.e.*, Cleopatra III., Physcon's niece and former wife, who herself married Ptolemy Soter) Cleopatra had married Antiochus Cyzicenus. By command of her sister, Try-

19. Antiochus IX., Cyzicenus (116-95 B.C.).

[1] Ptolemy Euergetes II., or Physcon, reigned 146-117 B.C.

[2] Or, according to another and more probable version (Justin, 39 1), he claimed to be an adoptive son of the dead Antiochus VII. Sidetes. He was really an Egyptian, son of a merchant called Protarchus, though Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 9 3 calls him a genuine Seleucid. He also gives the title as Zebinas. It is translated 'slave' (ἀγοραστός) in Eus. *Chron.* 1 257.

[3] Diod. Sic. 35 22 (34 45), *ἦν γὰρ πρᾶος καὶ συγγνωμονικός, ἔτι δὲ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐντεύξεσι προσηνής. ὧν χάριν διαφερόντως ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἠγαπᾶτο.*

[4] His titles are Epiphanes Philometor (!) Callinicus. The name Grypus = 'hook-nose'—a feature conspicuous on his coins. Grypus is, of course, not an official, but a vulgar title.

[5] Coins bear her portrait, with cornucopiæ. Her titles are Thea and Eueteria ('abundance').

phæna, the wife of Grypus, the unfortunate Cleopatra was put to death (Justin, 39 3). Soon the scale was turned, and Grypus was defeated, and compelled to retire to Aspendus (Eus. *Chron.* 1 257); Tryphæna was put to death in her turn by the victor. In 111 B.C. Grypus returned and won back northern Syria. The result of the struggle was that the Syrian empire, now sadly shrunken in size, was partitioned between the contestants, Grypus retaining northern Syria with Cilicia, and Cyzicenus taking Phœnicia and Cœlesyria with its capital Damascus. Apparently a state of peace did not long continue; but the details of the never-ceasing warfare are hard to trace.

It is clear that the brothers' war in Syria was intimately connected with a similar strife in Egypt, where also Ptolemy Alexander and Ptolemy Soter II. were at enmity, due to the intrigues of their mother the reigning queen Cleopatra III. (cp *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 9 230; Justin, 39 4; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 2; and see Mahaffy, *Empire of the Ptolemies*, 409 *f.*). Grypus held with the party of Alexander, and by way of attaching him more closely thereto Cleopatra sent him as his wife her youngest daughter, Selene, beforetime the wife of the exiled Ptolemy Soter II.

The confusion in Syria was an opportunity for surrounding powers. In 103 B.C. even Rome, by the victory of the Prætor M. Antonius over the pirates, gained a footing in Cilicia (cp Justin, 39 5). By the union of Laodice (Thea Philadelphus), daughter of Grypus, with Mithridates I. Callinicus, the dynasty of Commagene was founded, and the way prepared for the severance of that kingdom from Syria (cp Mommsen in *Athen. Mitt.* 1 27 *f.*). The Jews also, under John Hyrcanus, who had practically thrown off their allegiance since the death of Antiochus VII. (129 B.C.), made great strides forward, investing and destroying Samaria (about 108 B.C.) in spite of all that Antiochus Cyzicenus, even with the help of 6000 troops sent by Ptolemy Soter II., could do to save it (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 2 *f.*). Such successes as the Syrian king won were entirely neutralised and torn from his grasp by the *senatus consultum* secured by Hyrcanus bidding 'Antiochus the son of Antiochus' (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 22; cp *id.* xiii. 9 2) restore all his Palestinian conquests.

In 96 B.C. Antiochus Grypus died, or was murdered by Heracleon (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4; cp Eus. *Chron.* 1 259). He was forty-five years old at the time of his death, and left behind him five sons.

20. Seleucus VI. Epiphanes Nicator (96-95 B.C.).

Seleucus VI., Epiphanes, the eldest son of Antiochus Grypus, on his father's death laid claim to the undivided empire, and proceeded to assert his claims by arms. Antiochus Cyzicenus marched into northern Syria against him, but being defeated killed himself in the battle (Appian, *Syr.* 69; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4 seems not quite accurate). A sketch of the character of Antiochus Cyzicenus is given in Diod. 35 34. We are told that he had to wife Selene, the Egyptian princess, who had been married to his rival Grypus; but whether her marriage to Cyzicenus occurred before or after the death of Grypus is unknown. For a few months Seleucus VI. was master of the whole extent of the Syrian empire, as it then existed, but soon he was expelled by a rival, Antiochus X. Eusebes, Philopator, the son of Antiochus Cyzicenus. He was compelled to retire into Cilicia, where he took refuge in the town of Mopsuestia (mod. *Missis*).

By his violent and tyrannical behaviour, and his extortions, Seleucus raised the inhabitants against him; they fired the gymnasium in which he had taken shelter, and he either perished in the flames, or slew himself to avoid a worse fate (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4; Appian, *Syr.* 69). This was probably in 94 B.C. Mopsuestia was thereafter razed to the ground by Philippus and Antiochus XI., brothers of Seleucus.

21. Antiochus X. (94-83 B.C.).

'Syria now presented the spectacle of, firstly, a contest between two branches of the Seleucids, the descendants of the brothers Demetrius II. and Antiochus VII., but both having the same ancestress [Cleopatra Thea], and, secondly, of squabbles between the members of the first branch, the five sons of Grypus' (Holm, *Grk. Hist.* 4 542). The confusion prevailing is well illustrated by the fact that Antiochus X. married Selene who had first been the wife of Grypus and had then married Antiochus Cyzicenus, his own father.

First, Antiochus X. had to meet the opposition of Antiochus XI. and Philippus I., the third and the second sons of Grypus. After a battle on the Orontes, in which Antiochus X. was victorious, Antiochus XI. lost his life in the river in his flight (Jos. *l.c.*; Eus. *Chron.* 1 261). Philippus then assumed the royal title, and held part of Syria (from 94 B.C.). In the meantime, Ptolemy Lathyrus[1] had sent for Demetrius, fourth son of Grypus, from Cnidus, and had established him as king in Damascus.[2] After hard fighting Antiochus X. was expelled from Syria (or, according to Josephus, lost his life in battle with the Parthians).

According to Appian (*Mithr.* 105) this Antiochus was alive and ruling in 83 B.C. when Tigranes (see below, § 22, end) made himself master of Syria. If this is true, his death in war with the Parthians fell later (it had already occurred in 75 B.C.). Appian (*Syr.* 69) also tells us that he married Selene, his father's widow. His son was Antiochus XIII. (§ 23; cp Kuhn, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Seleukiden*, 33 *f.*).

22. Philippus I. and Demetrius III.

In what way Philippus and Demetrius divided the kingdom is not known; but Demetrius probably ruled Cœlesyria and Antioch. Soon hostilities broke out between them. Demetrius was also engaged with the Jews, who in 88 B.C. called him in to aid them against their tyrant prince Alexander Jannæus. Demetrius defeated Jannæus (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14 1 *f.*); but in the moment of victory Jewish national feeling awoke, and 6000 Jews went over to Alexander from the army of Demetrius. The Syrian king must have shown signs of desiring to reduce Judæa once more to a dependency of Syria. Demetrius then turned his arms against his brother Philippus, whom he besieged in Berœa.[3] Straton, the ruler of Berœa, who supported Philippus, appealed for assistance to the Arab sheik Azizus and the Parthian Mithridates. By them Demetrius was himself beleaguered in his camp, and compelled to capitulate. He died in honourable confinement at the court of the Parthian king Mithridates II. (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 14 3).

After the capture of Demetrius by the Parthians, Philippus made himself master of Antioch, and for a short time was sole ruler of what was left of the Syrian empire (88 B.C.). The intestine strife was soon renewed, for Antiochus XII. Dionysos,[4] the youngest of the sons of Grypus, claimed the throne, and established himself in Damascus (87/6 B.C.). Philippus, indeed, shortly afterwards took the town by the treachery of the governor Milesius, while Antiochus was engaged with the Nabatæans; but he was compelled to evacuate it again. When Antiochus resumed operations against the Arabians, the Jewish despot, Alexander Jannæus, attempted to bar the road through Judæa by constructing a great wall and trench from Joppa to Capharsaba, but in vain (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 15 1). Ten thousand Arab riders surprised the forces of the Syrian king, who, true to the traditions of his house, fell fighting bravely (probably about 84 B.C.).

The end of Philippus is doubtful. In 83 B.C. the Armenian king Tigranes was invited to put an end to the long strife by making himself master of the Syrian kingdom. Neither Philippus nor Antiochus X. (if they were still alive; see above, § 21) could offer any real opposition, and Tigranes made himself master of the entire Syrian kingdom from the sea to the Euphrates, including also Cilicia (Justin, 40 1, Appian, *Syr.* 48). He so ruled for fourteen years, Syria being governed by a viceroy. In 69 B.C. the connection of Tigranes with his father-in-law Mithridates of Pontus led to his own defeat by Lucullus.

[1] Ptolemy Lathyrus = Ptolemy Soter II. (see PTOLEMY).

[2] Demetrius III., Eucærus (95-88 B.C.). Εὔκαιρος, so Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 4, where, however, Niese reads Ἄκαιρος. The coins of Antiochus X. bear the triple title Theos Philopator Soter, or else Philometor Euergetes Callinicus.

[3] A town E. of Antioch.

[4] Dionysos' coins bear also the titles Epiphanes Philopator Callinicus, the title Dionysos being also sometimes omitted.

After the defeat of Tigranes, Syria did not all at once come into the possession of the Romans. The royal house of Syria was not yet extinct, for Antiochus X. Eusebes and Cleopatra Selene had left a son Antiochus.

23. Antiochus XIII. Asiaticus[1] (69-65 B.C.).

The youth of Asiaticus had been passed in Asia Minor (Justin, 40 2, 'in angulo Ciliciæ'), from which circumstance he received his surname (Appian, *Syr.* 70). This Antiochus, along with a brother, appeared in Rome to urge their claim to the kingdom of Egypt, then under the sway of the illegitimate Ptolemy Auletes. This claim was disregarded, and the disappointed princes returned home by way of Sicily, where Antiochus was robbed by Verres of a rich present intended for the Senate (Cic. *Verr.* ii. 4 27). This was about 72 B.C. Three years later Tigranes had lost his Syrian possessions, and Antiochus was received with open arms as the heir to his kingdom (Appian, *Syr.* 49). Lucullus recognised his claim.

In 65 B.C. disturbances broke out in Antioch (Diod. *frg.* 34), and Philippus son of Philippus I. was encouraged to lay claim to the crown. Thus the old strife between the two rival lines was renewed in the third generation. The Arabian chief Azizus (cp § 22) supported Philippus, whilst Sampsiceramus, prince of Emesa (Strabo, 753), supported Antiochus. Into the details of the strife we need not enter. Pompeius, who had taken the place of Lucullus in 66 B.C., took in hand the reduction of this chaos to order. Antiochus, on requesting to be acknowledged as the rightful heir to the throne, 'received the answer that Pompeius would not give back the sovereignty to a king who knew neither how to maintain nor how to govern his kingdom, even at the request of his subjects, much less against their distinctly expressed wishes. With this letter of the Roman proconsul the house of Seleucus was ejected from the throne which it had occupied for two hundred and fifty years. Antiochus soon after lost his life through the artifice of the emir Sampsiceramus, as whose client he played the ruler in Antioch' (Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, 4 135). Syria now became a Roman province (63 B.C.).

24. Literature.

Besides the special articles devoted to Antiochus, Demetrius, etc., and collateral articles, in the present work, Schürer's *Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, ET, should be consulted for a sketch of Syrian history, and for the authorities there cited. The literature of the subject is extensive. Most important are P. Gardner, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum: The Seleucid kings of Syria*; and Babelon, *Rois de Syrie*. Extremely valuable are the articles under the various headings Antiochus, Demetrius, etc., in Pauly's *Real Encyclopädie*, now available in part in the revised edition by Wissowa; in it will be found the fullest collection of recent authorities, to which general reference must here suffice. W. J. W.

SEM (ϲΗΜ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 36, RV SHEM.

SEMACHIAH (סְמַכְיָהוּ, § 29), one of the sons of Shemaiah b. Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 7, ϲαβχειà [B], ϲαμαχιà [L], -ιαϲ [A]). Cp ISMACHIAH, where a religious meaning is suggested. This meaning, however, seems to be due to a redactor. The neighbouring names are surely clan-names of the Negeb (cp OBED-EDOM). Cp SIBBECAI. T. K. C.

SEMEI (ϲεμε[ε]ι). 1. 1 Esd. 9 33 = Ezra 10 33, SHIMEI (15).
2. Esth. 11 2, RV SEMEIAS; elsewhere SHIMEI (10).
3. Lk. 3 26 (σεμεειν [Ti. WH]), RV SEMEIN, a name in the genealogy of Jesus, see GENEALOGIES, § 3.

SEMEIS (ϲεμειϲ [A]), 1 Esd. 9 23 RV, AV **Semis** = Ezra 10 23, SHIMEI, 14.

SEMELLIUS (ϲεμελλιοϲ [A]), 1 Esd. 2 16 = Ezra 4 8 SHIMSHAI.

SENAAH (סְנָאָה), Ezra 2 35; HASSENAAH.

SENEH (סֶנֶּה), in Neh. 3 3, 1 S. 14 4. See BOZEZ, MICHMASH, § 2.

[1] As no coins of Asiaticus are extant, we do not know his official title. The name Asiaticus, of course, belongs to the some class as Grypus, Hierax, etc., which are vulgar in origin, not official. Possibly the official title of this last of the Seleucidæ was Eusebes, which would account for his being confused with his father by our authorities.

SENIR (שְׂנִיר; ϲαν[ε]ιρ; *Sanir*; Dt. 3 9 1 Ch. 5 23 Cant. 4 8 [ϲανιειρ, ℵ] Ezek. 27 5 [ϲενειρ, B]), or sometimes, incorrectly, in AV, SHENIR (Dt., Cant.). Senir (the Amorite name of Mt. Hermon, Dt. *l.c.*) is described in an inscription of Shalmaneser as 'Saniru, the mountain summit at the entrance to Lebanon' (Del. *Par.* 104); Ezekiel says that the Tyrians (but cp TYRE, § 1) sent thither for planks of fir-trees. In 1 Ch. 5 23 Senir is coupled with Mount Hermon. It might be a designation of that part of the Hermon-range which is between Ba'albek and Ḥomṣ, and was known by the same name to the Arabic geographers (*e.g.*, Abulfeda).

Cp *KAT*(2) 159; Halévy, *REJ* 20 [1890] 246; Wetzstein, *ZATW* 3 278. See HERMON, SIRION, and, on the question whether there is once or twice a confusion between a mountain-range in the far N. and one in the far S., bearing a similar name, see *Crit. Bib.*

SENNACHERIB[1] (סַנְחֵרִיב or [2 K. 19 20] סַנְחֵרִב; ϲεννaχηρ[ε]ιμ [BℵAQΓ] -ειβ [Q^mg. Is. 37 21], -χειρ- [L], ϲεναχηρ- [2 K. 18 13 A, 2 Macc. 8 19 V*], -χειρ- [2 Macc. 8 19 15 22, V^a; 3 Macc. 6 5, V], ϲενηρηβ [Is. 36 1, Aq.]; Ass. *Sin-aḫê-erba*, 'Sin has increased the brothers'), son and successor of Sargon, came to the throne on the 12th of Abu, 705 B.C. Sennacherib's own dated inscriptions, the Taylor Cylinder being the latest, give the events of the first fifteen years of his reign, in a chronological order, but arranged according to campaigns, not, like Sargon's Annals, according to years. The Canon Lists, of the second class, which fix some definite event for each eponymy, are defective after his first year. The Babylonian Chronicle, which was exceptionally full for this reign, deals chiefly with what concerned Babylon. The Kings List, a Babylonian document, records the succession of kings who ruled in Babylon during this reign. Some statements preserved in classical authors are to be regarded with suspicion until they are brought to the test of further inscriptions, still unpublished, of this king's. The many contracts of this reign and a large number of letters, now being published, give many incidental references. Hence the last word on the history of Sennacherib from the Assyrian side cannot yet be said. All that can now be done is to summarise the present state of knowledge.

1. Sources for history.

Sennacherib does not seem to have been in a position to proceed to Babylon directly after his accession to the throne of Assyria and there 'take the hands of Bêl,' or become legitimate king of Babylon. Polyhistor relates indeed that Sennacherib's brother reigned there at first, and, on his death, a man named Hagises reigned for one month, till he was killed by Merodach-baladan, who reigned for six months. The Babylonian Kings List assigns one month to Marduk-zâkir-šum, who may be Hagises, and then gives nine months to Merodach-baladan. Whatever means Sennacherib took to govern Babylon in his first two years—whether he ruled by a *šaknu* or governor, or whether he really sent a brother to act as sub-king—his rule was thrown off by an upstart, 'son of a slave.' Merodach-baladan, who had been expelled by Sargon in 721 B.C., although a Chaldæan, was evidently more welcome than Sennacherib, whom the Babylonian Kings List calls a member of the dynasty of Ḫabigal. According to Jensen, this means simply 'Great Rascal.'

2. Struggle for the kingdom.

Sennacherib's own inscriptions ascribe to the commencement of his reign the active hostility of Merodach-baladan, king of Karduniaš, the old name for Babylonia, whom Sennacherib defeated in his first expedition. Merodach-baladan was supported by an army from Elam. These allies were defeated at Kisu (now Hymer), about 10 m. E. from Babylon. Merodach-baladan fled alone to Guzumâni. Sennacherib immediately entered Babylon and took possession of Merodach-baladan's

[1] For a portrait of Sennacherib see col. 729.

palace, acquiring great spoil. He then sent after Merodach-baladan an army which searched the swamps where he had taken refuge; but the wily Chaldæan escaped. Sennacherib then proceeded to conquer the country, city by city. He seems to have had to fight with a number of tribes, Urbi, Aramu, and Chaldæans, who had occupied Erech, Nippur, Kisu, Ḫaršagkalama and Cutha, and boasts of having captured 89 strong cities as well as 820 smaller cities in Chaldæa. On his return to Babylon he had to pacify the country, and rescue it from the hordes of Aramæan and Chaldæan peoples, who would not acknowledge him as king.

Sennacherib enumerates the Tu'muna, Riḫiḫu, Iadâḳu, Ubudu, Kiprê, Maliḫu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Ḫindaru, Ru'a, Puḳudu, Ḫamrânu, Ḫagarânu, Nabatu, Li'tau, Aramu. The number of his captives he puts at 208,000. The nature of these tribes is indicated by the spoil taken from them: 7200 horses, 11,073 asses, 5230 camels, 80,100 oxen, 800,500 sheep. The country was clearly over-run by nomads.

It is evident that Assyria had completely lost control of the country. Sennacherib had to reconquer it. The Babylonian Chronicle and a fragment of the Canon List place a conquest of Larak and Sarabânu in 704 B.C. This doubtless marked the commencement of the reconquest. But the campaign clearly lasted beyond 702 B.C., when Sennacherib set Bêl-ibnî on the throne of Babylon. This prince had been brought up at the Assyrian court, but was of the old Babylonian seed royal, for all the sources acknowledge him as legitimate monarch, and the Babylonian Kings' List ascribes him to 'the dynasty of Babylon,' and gives him a reign of three years. He was, of course, a vassal king.

Sennacherib assigns to this period the submission of Nabû-bêl-šumâte, *ḳêpu* of Ḫararâti, and the destruction of Ḫirimmu. Some of Sennacherib's inscriptions follow the plan of presenting together the events connected with one district. Thus we learn that after Bêl-ibnî had proved faithless or inefficient, Sennacherib once more marched to Babylon and deposed him, setting Ašur-nâdin-šum, his own son, on the throne. The Babylonian Chronicle places the pillage of Ḫararâte and Ḫirimmu in 702 B.C., and associates the accession of Ašur-nâdin-šum with Sennacherib's pillage of Akkad, or Northern Babylonia. Bêl-ibnî was called away to Assyria. It was probably during Sennacherib's absence in the West that Bêl-ibnî became disgraced. Ašur-nâdin-šum was acknowledged king in Babylon according to all sources; but the Kings' List assigns him to the dynasty of Ḫabigal. He reigned six years, 699-693 B.C.

Sennacherib owed Elam a grudge for supporting Merodach-baladan against him. In his second campaign, as he calls it, before September 702 B.C., when the Bellino Cylinder is dated, he marched an army towards Elam. The Kašši, who had once furnished the ruling dynasty of Babylonia, about 1725-1155 B.C., and a neighbouring tribe, the Iasubigalli, on the borders of Babylonia and Elam, who had never been subjected to Assyrian rule, were now ravaged. The neighbouring kingdom of Ellipi, once subject to Sargon, was also pillaged. As in Sargon's case, some distant tribes of the Medes sent presents. Sennacherib boasts that his predecessors had not even heard the names of these peoples. But although Elam was threatened, it does not seem that Sennacherib made any direct attack this time. His hands were soon full in another quarter.

How long the West had been in rebellion does not appear; but Sennacherib calls the campaign in which he proceeded to bring the West to submission his third. This is ascribed by general consent to 701 B.C. Bêl-ibnî was settled in Babylon, and Sennacherib was free to attend to the West at that time; but we have no explicit statement of date from cuneiform sources. The first move was against Tyre. Eululæus, whom Sennacherib calls Lulî king of Sidon, according to Menander, as quoted by Josephus, had gone to Citium in Cyprus to establish his authority. He was thus committing a technical act of war against Sennacherib. The latter does not state the grounds of his quarrel. But doubtless all the West had become very backward in payment of tribute. Sennacherib says that Lulî fled from Tyre to Cyprus and that all his country fell into Assyrian hands. Great Sidon and Little Sidon, Beth-zait, Sarepta, Maḫalliba, Ušû, Achzib, and Accho are named as fortresses captured from Lulî. Sennacherib set up Ethobal as vassal king over a new kingdom of Sidon. Tyre he could not reduce.

The vassal kings and semi-independent rulers of Syria and Palestine now hastened to secure exemption from pillage by tribute and submission. Menahem of Samsimurûna, Abdi-li'ti of Arvad, Urumilki of Gebal, Mitinti of Ashdod, Pudu-ilu of Ammon, Kamuš-nadab of Moab, Airammu of Edom, all called kings of the Martu-land, submitted. Ṣidḳa of Ashkelon stood out, was captured and with all his belongings carried to Assyria. He had apparently come to the throne by a revolution which had expelled Šarru-lûdâri, son of Rukipti, whom Tiglath-pileser III. had set over Ashkelon, about 734 B.C. Hence he probably expected no mercy if he submitted. Šarru-lûdâri was reinstated. Sennacherib then reduced Beth-dagan, Joppa, Benebarḳa, and Azor which had been under Ṣidḳa's rule.

The nobles and people of Ekron had rebelled against their king Padî, a faithful vassal of Assyria, put him in chains, and sent him to Hezekiah, king of Judah, to keep in prison. When Sennacherib advanced against Ekron, he was faced by a great army of the kings of Muṣur, with troops, archers, chariots, and horsemen from Meluḫḫa. This army he defeated at Eltekeh, capturing the sons of the kings of Muṣur and the generals sent from Meluḫḫa. He then stormed Eltekeh and Timnath. Ekron soon submitted. After wiping out the conspirators and enslaving their supporters Sennacherib reinstated Padî, whom he says he 'brought forth out of Jerusalem.'

Sennacherib then proceeded to ravage Judah, capturing forty-six great fortresses and smaller cities 'without number,' 'counting as spoil' 200,150 people. He does not claim to have captured Jerusalem. He says of Hezekiah, 'him, like a caged bird, within Jerusalem, his capital, I shut in, forts against him I raised, and I repulsed whoever came out of his city gate and tore it up'; but there is no mention of capture. The captured cities were annexed to the dominions of Metinti of Ashdod, Padî of Ekron, and Ṣilli-bêl of Gaza. What caused Sennacherib to leave Judah we are not told: but it is nearly certain that troubles in Babylon were again pressing. The army left behind under the Tartan and Rabshakeh would be well able to carry on a siege; but Hezekiah would not push matters to the point of standing a long siege. He did submit, as is evident from the tribute which, Sennacherib says, was sent after him to Nineveh. It amounted to 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, and an enormous amount of precious stones and palace furniture, besides Hezekiah's daughters, his eunuchs, musicians, etc. Sennacherib's account of the submission seems to imply that it was the Urbi, Arabs whom Hezekiah had received into the city to strengthen it, who really gave in, and so forced the king to submit. They may have been a garrison from Meluḫḫa. These events are recorded on Cylinder B, which is dated in the Eponymy of Mitunu, 700 B.C. That the account is complete no one can pretend. It makes no mention of Lachish, although the celebrated scene of Sennacherib receiving the submission of that city shows the great importance attached by him to its capture. Whether Lachish was one of the forty-six great fortresses, or not, it seems probable, as it was only 10 m. or so from Eltekeh, that it was captured in this expedition.

What was the exact nature of Bêl-ibnî's fault we do not know; but Merodach-baladan's activity in the Sea-land and the unrest of Marduk-ušêzib in Chaldæa caused Sennacherib to attack the southern portion of

Babylonia. His principal enemies fled. Merodach-baladan, with his gods, escaped by ship to Nagitu on the Elamite coast of the Persian Gulf; but his brothers and the rest of his people, whom he had left in Bît Yakin, were taken captives. Sennacherib added 15,000 bowmen and 15,000 pikemen from these countries to his army. This was in 700 B.C. Sennacherib calls it his 'fourth campaign.'

Sennacherib now seems to have considered his empire thoroughly subdued, for he embarked on a fancy expedition, what he himself calls his fifth campaign. It can have brought little profit, but he dwells upon it with evident pride and delight. Some of the mountain districts of Cilicia, peopled by the Tamurru, Šarmu, Ezama, Kipšu, Ḫalbuda, Ḳûa, Ḳana, dwelling in cities perched like birds' nests on Mount Nipur, 'were not submissive to my yoke.' So, pitching his camp at the foot of Mount Nipur, with his bodyguards and picked warriors he scaled the mountain peaks, leading the attack in person, 'like a mighty bull.' He goes on to describe the hardships of this raid in a way that shows his own love of fighting. Then he turned to Mania, king of Ukki, at the Mount Anara and Uppa; then against parts of Cilicia, Tulgarimmu, and the borders of Tabal. Everywhere he succeeded, pillaged, burnt, and destroyed. This seems to have been in 699 B.C. Although there seems to have been small value in this move, Berossus seems to have known of Sennacherib's war in Cilicia and ascribes to him the foundation of Tarsus.

3. Other campaigns.

In his sixth campaign Sennacherib struck out a completely new plan. Merodach-baladan's elusive tactics had repeatedly foiled his enemy. He had taken to the ships, for which the Chaldæans were famous, and escaped to Nagitu, whither Sennacherib could not follow. Now Sennacherib determined to strike him even there. So he set his captives from the Phœnician coasts, skilled shipbuilders, to build ships at Nineveh. These he took down the Tigris to Opis, dragged them overland to the Araḫtu canal, and floated them on the Euphrates at Bît Dakkûri. He then embarked his bodyguards and picked warriors, stocked the ships with provisions for the men and fodder for the horses, and sent them down the river, while he marched beside them on land, as far as Bâb Salimiti. The fleet stretched on the shore of the river to the shore of the Gulf, 'two *kaspu*.' At the mouth of the river Sennacherib seems to have stayed behind. He sent on his fleet, however, and after five days and nights they reached a point where he caused sacrifices to be offered to Ea, god of the ocean, and threw a gold ship, a gold fish, and an *alluttu* of gold into the sea. The landing at Nagitu was opposed and the shore was difficult; but at the mouth of the Ulai, where the shore was practicable, a landing was effected and Sennacherib's army swarmed out of the ships 'like locusts.' The Chaldæans were utterly routed, Nagitu, Nagitu Dihibina, Ḫilmu, Pillatu, Ḫupapanu, Elamite cities, were captured. The gods of Bît Yakin that had been carried there, the people, with a number of Elamites, and immense booty, were brought back to Sennacherib at Bâb Salimiti. Sennacherib added to his army 30,500 bowmen, 30,500 pikemen. The rest of the spoil he distributed among his warriors.

In this campaign Sennacherib had violated the territory of Elam. Ištar-ḫundu of Elam had never crossed swords with Sennacherib since the defeat of his army sent to support Merodach-baladan. Probably he was regarded by the more warlike spirits in Elam as pusillanimous. At any rate in 699 B.C. his brother Ḫallušu imprisoned him and took the rule in Elam. How long Sennacherib was occupied over his preparations for the extirpation of Merodach-baladan is not clear; but it was in 693 B.C. that he pillaged Nagitu, Ḫilmu, Pillatu, and Ḫupapanu. This invasion was at once revenged by Ḫallušu. While Sennacherib was triumphing in the S., the king of Elam made a raid into Babylonia, captured Sippara, slew its people, defeated Ašur-nâdin-šum and carried him captive to Elam, whence he seems never to have returned. The king of Elam then set Nêrgal-ušêzib on the throne of Babylon. Nêrgal-ušêzib at once set to work, evidently assisted by Elamite troops, to occupy the country in Sennacherib's rear. In Tammuz he occupied Nippur. He attacked Erech and pillaged its gods and people. His Elamite allies carried off the gods and people. This was on the first of Tešrîtu; but on the seventh he met the victorious army of Sennacherib returning from the S. and was defeated, captured, and carried off to Assyria, after a reign of a year and six months. This was in 693 B.C. At the end of this year Ḫallušu of Elam was killed in a revolution and was succeeded by Kudur-naḫundi. Sennacherib is silent as to the troubles in Babylonia and the fate of Ašur-nâdin-šum. But he appends to the account of the sixth expedition the statement that on his return he defeated and captured Šuzub, son of Gaḫul, who had seated himself on the throne of Babylon. He ascribes this revolution to the Babylonians, who had fled with Merodach-baladan to Elam, and had returned thence to Babylon. Sennacherib then sent an army against the Elamite auxiliaries while he apparently pursued his way to Assyria. His army defeated that of Elam and slew the king of Elam's son.

It was clear that Sennacherib could not pass over such conduct as Elam had shown. In his 'seventh campaign,' Sennacherib raided the land. He claims to have captured thirty-four fortified cities and an endless number of smaller towns, 'the smoke of their burning lay over the land like a cloud.' But Kudur-naḫḫundi would not meet the invader, who seems only to have ravaged the lowlands. Sennacherib states that the king of Elam returned to Madaktu, a mountain fortress. Thither Sennacherib determined to follow and root him out. Kudur-naḫḫundi abandoned Madaktu and fled to Ḫidalu, a remote mountain fastness. Sennacherib attacked Madaktu; but in the hills winter came on so fast and the storms were so severe that he could not press the assault, and returned to Nineveh. Kudur-naḫḫundi did not survive more than three months, and was succeeded by a brother Umman-minânu, whom Sennacherib regarded as a man without sense or prudence.

Sennacherib with his plunder-laden army had passed Babylon by on his return from the S., and though he had captured its king Nêrgal-ušêzib at Nippur and driven the Elamites out of Babylonia, and subsequently raided Elam, he had not yet entered the capital. Doubtless his first efforts had been directed to an attempt to recover his son from Elam, and the place was hateful to him. Now, when he would enter Babylon, he found that the inhabitants had made themselves a new king, Mušêzib-Marduk, another Chaldæan. He is credited with reigning four years—692-88 B.C. Sennacherib calls him a felon who had fled from the prefect of Laḫiri and had collected a band of murderers and robbers, and taken refuge in the marshes. When surrounded by Sennacherib before, he managed to escape to Elam; but when he found there only danger and trouble, he had come back to Babylon and there found means to secure the throne. He broke open the treasure-house of Marduk's temple and sent a bribe to Umman-minânu. The latter giving no heed to the fate which Sennacherib had brought upon Elam in his last campaign, received the bribe and assembled an immense army, drawn not only from Elam, but also from many lands which had once acknowledged Assyrian power. It is interesting to note Parsua, Anzân (afterwards the land of Cyrus), Ellipi, Laḫiru, Puḳudu, Gambulu; also Samuna, son of Merodach-baladan. The forces reached Babylon and effected a junction with Mušêzib-Marduk. It was the greatest coalition that had yet faced Sennacherib. In his eighth campaign he met them at Ḫalulê on the Tigris, and the chronicler

waxes eloquent over the immense array that faced the Assyrian army. They were 'like a great swarm' of locusts. 'The dust of their feet was like a heavy storm cloud which spreads over the wide heaven about to break in downpour.' The account of the battle given by Sennacherib is a masterpiece of description, but too long to quote. He claims to have defeated his enemies with tremendous slaughter and terrible butchery. The Babylonian Chronicle, however, claims the victory for Elam. At any rate Sennacherib returned to Nineveh for a time. It is not clear in which year the battle occurred; perhaps it was in 691 B.C. In 689 B.C. (Nisan the 15th), Umman-minânu had a stroke of paralysis and lost his speech. Sennacherib seized the opportunity to attack Babylon, which was without Elamite assistance. On the first of Kislimu the city was taken, Mušêzib-Marduk was carried away captive to Assyria, Marduk himself was taken to Ašur. Babylon was sacked, its walls razed to the ground, the greater portion of the houses burnt, its inhabitants driven out, or deported, and the waters of the Euphrates turned over the site. For eight years the Babylonian Chronicle and Ptolemy's Canon write the city down as 'kingless.'

Some time after this Sennacherib made an expedition to Arabia. This we learn from a notice by Esarhaddon. Aduma was captured and the gods carried off to Assyria. Winckler sees in this an excuse for postulating a second expedition of Sennacherib to the W., at any rate to Arabia and Egypt. Several fragmentary inscriptions have been published which are consistent with the supposition that there is a cylinder at least partly preserved, which narrated events occurring after 688 B.C. There is no means, however, of dating the events until the remaining historical inscriptions are published. The reference to Azekah, noted by Hommel, may belong to the reign of Sargon. No convincing evidence from cuneiform sources is available to support a second expedition of Sennacherib to the W. All sources are silent as to the last eight years of his reign.

4. Other details. Sennacherib was the maker of NINEVEH (*q.v.*). His inscriptions are very full on the subject of his great buildings there. Some think that it was with a view to make Nineveh supreme that he humbled Babylon so completely; but the trouble it had given him and the memory of his son amply account for his policy.

Besides Ašur-nâdin-šum, king of Babylon, 699-693 B.C., doubtless Sennacherib's eldest son, we know of a son Ardi-Bêlit, crown prince in Nineveh, in 694 B.C.; Ašur-šum-ušabši, a son for whom Sennacherib built a palace at Scherif Khān; Nêrgal-šum-(uṣur?), named in 693 B.C.; Šar-eṭir-Ašur, whom Winckler would make the Sharezer of 2 K. 19 37; and ESARHADDON (*q.v.*), who succeeded him. The mother of Esarhaddon seems to have borne the names Zakûtu and Naḳîa. For an account of a jewel belonging to this queen, see Scheil, *Rec. des Trav.*, and see the article ESARHADDON for her rôle as regent in Assyria. Her sister was called Abirami. Sennacherib also left a daughter called Mattê.

Sennacherib was murdered by his son, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, and the Canon Lists, on the 20th of Ṭebêtu, 682 B.C. On the biblical account of the murder, see ADRAMMELECH, SHAREZER, and NISROCH. C. H. W. J.

5. Relations with Judah. With regard to the history of the relations between Sennacherib and the kingdom of Judah, there is much difference of opinion. The chief points in dispute are (1) whether the Hebrew narratives, except where they coincide with the cuneiform record, can be used at all for historical purposes, and (2) whether these narratives, if based upon facts, relate to one period, or to two, in the reign of Sennacherib. That the first of the three portions, into which Stade and his successors have analysed the Hebrew record, agrees in the main with the cuneiform record, is obvious. That portion consists of barely four verses (2 K. 18 13*b* [from עלה]-16), and probably comes from the royal annals of Judah. It states (so too Is. 36 1*b*) that Sennacherib took 'all' the fortified cities of Judah (Sennacherib himself says forty-six), and exacted a heavy tribute from Hezekiah as the price of forgiveness; two points of difference in the respective accounts, (1) as to the amount of the tribute,[1] and (2) as to the place to which the tribute was sent (Lachish? Nineveh?), need not be dwelt upon. The second and the third portion (*i.e.*, 18 17-19 9*a* and 36 *f.* 19 9*b*-35), however, contain several statements which are unconfirmed by Sennacherib.[2] Thus (1) in 2 K. 19 9 (Is. 37 9)—*i.e.*, in the second narrative—we are told that Tirhakah took the field against Sennacherib, and it is implied that this stood in close relation to the withdrawal of Sennacherib from Palestine. (2) 2 K. 19 35 (Is. 37 36) tells us that 185,000 men in the Assyrian army were destroyed in one night by pestilence—the explanation which the third narrative gives of the failure of Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. (3) 2 K. 19 8 (Is. 37 8) speaks of Sennacherib as engaged in the siege of Libnah when the news respecting Tirhakah reached him—*i.e.*, the third narrative gives the prominence to Libnah which the first and the second (see 2 K. 18 14 17 Is. 36 2) give to Lachish. The first and the second of these statements are commonly supposed to be confirmed by the legend in Herod. 2 141, that when Σαναχάριβος, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, invaded Egypt and besieged Pelusium in the days of the pious king Sethōs, field-mice gnawed the quivers and shield-handles of the invaders, who precipitately fled. Even Winckler and Prašek accept this view, and they find in the passage of Herodotus a support for their theory (which is accepted by Guthe [*Gesch.* 205] and Benzinger) that Sennacherib made a second expedition to S. Palestine and NW. Arabia (in the course of which he actually besieged Jerusalem) some time between 690 and 681, which is referred to in the third narrative, whilst the second narrative relates to the expedition of 701, in the course of which Jerusalem was only blockaded, not besieged.

We shall do well in considering this theory to put aside altogether the material in the second and the third Hebrew narrative, for a close examination of them clearly shows that they are parallel. The two narratives are no doubt inconsistent in some respects; but upon the whole they interlace and are mutually complementary. All depends, therefore, on the justice of the inference drawn from Herod. 2 141. Prašek[3] conceives himself to have shown that the Sēthōs of Herodotus is no other than Tirhakah. That Egypt was a member of the coalition against Sennacherib is shown by the presence of 'kings of Egypt' at the battle of Altaḳu (Schr. *KAT*(2) 302 *f.*), and the designation of Σαναχάριβος as 'king of the *Arabians* and Assyrians' is thought to be a record of the fact (?) that after his successes against the NW. Arabian tribes Sennacherib assumed the title of 'king of Arabia'; lastly, the mouse is said to be the symbol of pestilence. The objection is threefold. (1) As Winckler has shown, it was the kings of Muṣri (מִצְרִים), not of Egypt (מִצְרַיִם), who fought at Altaḳu; (2) We have no occasion to assume that 'Sethos' is written in error for 'Tirhakah'; and (3) there is no trustworthy evidence that a mouse is the symbol of pestilence (see HEZEKIAH, § 2, col. 2059). The second of these criticisms may need some explanation. The reason why scholars equate Sethos with Tirhakah is simply that Herodotus gives his Arabian and Assyrian king the name of Σαναχάριβος. But how if Herodotus or his informant has made a confusion? And how if the king of Egypt really in-

1 See Winckler, in *KAT*(3) 342.
2 Cp *Intr. Is.* 229 *ff.*
3 *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Alt.* 2 11-21.

tended was Seti (the natural equivalent of Sethos)? As Brugsch relates:[1]—

'The wars of Seti towards the E. began in the first year of his reign. The scene of them was the districts and the fortresses on the territory of the Shasu, or Bedouin, "from the fortress Khetam, in the land of Zalu, to the place Kan'ana." . . . The fortress Kan'ana was stormed by Seti and his warriors, and so Pharaoh became the lord of the entire Edomite Negeb.'

The name of the Shasu chief is not given us. It is not unreasonable to suppose that the popular tradition caught up by Herodotus spoke of 'the chieftain of the Arabian Shasu,' and that this became to Herodotus' ears, '[Sennacherib] the king of the Arabians and Assyrians.'

The result, so far attained, is that the only historical accounts of the campaign of Sennacherib against Judah and its capital are to be found in the cuneiform inscriptions of Sennacherib and in the short extract from the Annals of Judah (2 K. 18 13*b*-16). But how is the rest of the Hebrew narrative to be accounted for? We are not bound to answer the question here at length; but some suggestions must be given. According to Marti (*Jes.* 259), the subject of the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib attracted imaginative and didactic writers. This, indeed, is about all that we could venture to say, as the text of the Hebrew narrative now stands. But it is not all that we can say, if we give due weight to critical considerations. We must not exaggerate the imaginativeness of later Hebrew writers, but rather dig deep down for the fragments of genuine tradition in their works. This is by no means a hopeless task because we know that the two powers constantly present to the minds of the peoples of Israel and of Judah were N. Arabia and Assyria; the works of the prophets of the 'Assyrian age' prove this conclusively. We have, therefore, something to direct and restrain us in our application of text-critical methods. Now in the account of the national extinction of Judah two invasions appear to be combined, an Assyrian and a N. Arabian. This leads us to suppose that such may have been the case in 2 K. 18 13-19 37. The king who invaded Judah may have been a king of Meluḫḫa—the same who sent troops to fight against Sennacherib at Altaḳu,—and the Cush, whose king interfered with the invader's progress, may have been the N. Arabian Cush (friendly to Judah?). The names Sennacherib and Tirhaḳah may be explained on the analogy of the erroneous Σαναχάριβος of Herodotus.

The pestilence, if at all historical, may have attacked the N. Arabian army. 'Nineveh,' as in some other passages, may have come from 'Jeraḥmeel,' 'Nisroch' from 'Nimrod,' 'Adrammelech' from 'Jeraḥmeel,' and 'Ararat' (as in Gen. 8 4) from 'Aram'—*i.e.*, 'Jeraḥmeel.' The object of the Asshurite or N. Arabian invasion would be to form one strong united empire in opposition to Assyria. It may be added that the much-disputed and badly transmitted prophecy in Is. 22 1-14 refers most probably, not to an Assyrian, but to an Asshurite siege of the Judahite capital (see VISION, VALLEY OF, and *Crit. Bib.*).

It may be urged in objection to these conclusions that fresh inscriptions of Sennacherib are not past hoping for. That is true; but these inscriptions will not supersede the Hebrew traditions. To attempt to write the history of the Israelites simply on the basis of the uncriticised Hebrew texts and the uncriticised Assyrian inscriptions would be a very grave mistake.

6. Literature. G. Smith's *History of Sennacherib* gives the chief events with the original texts. For additional small items of information see the Histories of Assyria, especially Winckler's *GBA*, R. W. Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Winckler's *AOF*, *passim*, and *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, *passim*.

C. H. W. J., §§ 1-4, 6; T. K. C., § 5.

SENUAH (סְנוּאָה), Neh. 11 9; in 3 3 HASSENAAH.

SEORIM (שְׂעֹרִים), the name borne by one of the (post-exilic) priestly courses: 1 Ch. 24 8 (ϲεωρειμ [BL], -ριν [A]).

SEPARATION. On the water of separation (מֵי נִדָּה), RV^mg. 'water of impurity,' Nu. 19 9 *ff.*, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17.

On the separation of the Nazirite see NAZIRITE.

[1] *Gesch. Ægyptens*, 458-460; cp EGYPT, § 57.

SEPHAR (סְפָר; ϲωφηρα [AEL]) is mentioned in Gen. 10 30 as one of the boundaries of the territory of the sons of Joktan. It has not been identified with certainty. The usual identification—a very appropriate one—is with the σαπφαρα, σαφαρ of Ptolemy, Pliny, and the *Periplus* (*i.e.*, the ancient Himyarite capital Zafar); this again is held by Karl Ritter, Gesenius, etc., to be the same with the seaport of Ḥadramaut, near Mirbāt, the name being now pronounced *Iṣfār* or *Isfār*. The possibility of this may be granted; but it is still uncertain (see Di. *Gen.*(6), 201; Del. *Gen.* [1887], 228). 'The mountain of the East' is too general an expression to give precision to the undefined geographical terms of this verse. [On the textual criticism and the meaning of Gen. 10 30 see further GOLD, § 1 (*c*), PARVAIM.]

[See also Ritter, *Erdkunde*, 14 372; Tuch, *Gen.*(2) 212; Sprenger, *Alte Geogr. von Arabien*, 185; Glaser, *Skizze*, 2 437; Bent, *Southern Arabia* (1900); A. H. Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 70. From Prof. Keane we quote the following lines; his work only appeared as the article OPHIR was passing through the press. 'Dhofar [=Zafār], as Bent tells us, forms a sort of oasis, an extremely rich alluvial plain, extending some sixty miles along the coast a little to the W. of the Kuria Muria islands, and cut off by the Gara range from the sandy wastes of Hadramout. Here still flourish both the myrrh and the frankincense shrub, which have constituted the chief industry of the inhabitants for thousands of years. . . . The harbour of Moscha, now nearly blocked by a sandbank, is still deep, and extends inland about a mile and a half, and there are many ruins about it. Here we have the *Portus Nobilis* of the *Periplus*' (70 *f.*). Here Prof. Keane would place 'the elusive Ophir.' Moscha 'was in fact the port of Ophir, which itself stood a little inland, round about the head of the inlet, which Bent tells us is surrounded by many ruins and was reached "from Mesha as thou goest into Sephar"' (82).]

F. B.—T. K. C.

SEPHARAD (סְפָרַד, in pause for סְפָרֶד [BDB]? εφραθα [BℵA], ϲφραθα [Q*nisi fort 1], ϲαφαραδ [Q^a]; Vg. [*in*] *Bosphoro*, as if the prefixed ב were radical). If the text is right, a place or country in which Jewish captives from Jerusalem resided when Obad. 15-21 was written (Obad. 20). That Sepharad (or Sephared?) is not Spain[1] (Tg. Jon. Pesh.), nor Šipar, or some other Babylonian city (Schr. *KAT*(1) 285; cp von der Hardt, *De Sipphara Babyloniæ* [1708]) need not now be shown. Schrader in *KAT*(2) 445 *f.* identifies it with Saparda, a region in SW Media towards Babylonia mentioned by Sargon (cp *KGF* 116-119). This view is also accepted as most probable by Fried. Delitzsch (*Par.* 249) and G. A. Smith (*Twelve Prophets*, 2 176); it harmonises with the theory that *vv.* 10 (15)-21 are to be referred to the time of the 'Babylonian exile.'[2] But it is also possible to identify Sepharad with Çparda, a province of the Persian empire mentioned in two inscriptions of Darius between Cappadocia and Ionia, and in a third (Behistun) at the head of the list of provinces, immediately before Ionia.[3] In the Seleucidan chronicles from Babylonia this name is applied to Asia Minor as a whole. According to Winckler, the origin of the Jewish captivity of Asia Minor is to be referred to 168 B.C. (Antiochus Epiphanes); if, however, the tradition of a captivity under Artaxerxes Ochus is historical, this period will naturally deserve the preference. W. R. Smith remarks,[4] 'Lydia was a great slave-market, and Asia Minor was a chief seat of the Diaspora at an early date (cp Gutschmid, *Neue Beitr.* 77).'

The text of Obad. 20, however, is very far from trustworthy, and the context does not favour the view that any distant place of captivity or indeed (see OBADIAH, § 5) any place of captivity at all is referred to. We expect some part of the Negeb to be mentioned. It is not too bold to take ספרד as a dittographed צרפת.[5] This is confirmed by 𝔊's reading εφραθα (so the Ar.

[1] From Sepharad thus explained comes Sephardim, the name of the Jews of Spanish origin.

[2] Knudtzon (*Ass. Gebete.* nos. 8, 11, 30) has also found a Saparda, NE. from Nineveh, spoken of in Esarhaddon's time.

[3] So Silv. de Sacy, Pusey, W. R. Smith (see col. 3454), Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 483), Cheyne (*Founders*, 312 *f.*), Wi. *AOF* 2 430. Lassen even connected the name Sardis with Çparda.

[4] *EB*(9), art. 'Obadiah.'

[5] Cp *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. 27 14 (פרדים). That 'ס in Obad. is corrupt is recognised by Wellhausen and Nowack.

version). 'Zarephathites' was a synonym for 'Jerahmeelites.' See OBADIAH, § 5 end, n. 1. T. K. C.

SEPHARVAIM (סְפַרְוַיִם; variously σεπφαρειμ, -ιν, -ειν, -ουαιμ, -ουαιν, ουμαιν [2 K. 18 34, B], -ουν, σεφφαρουαιμ, -ουαιν, -ουν, επιφαρουαιμ, επφ., επφαρενι, εμφαριν σεπφαρουεμ), whence the gentilic **Sepharvites** (הַסְפַרְוִים, 2 K. 17 31*a*, Kt. in *v.* 31*b* ספרים). The references to a place, or places, called 'Sepharvaim' are in 2 K. 17 24 (cp 31), 18 34 (= Is. 36 19), 19 13 (= Is. 37 13). Taking the passages as they stand, in contexts relating to the political intercourse between Assyria and Israel or Judah, we may venture to explain them provisionally as follows, reserving our own judgment to the end.

1. OT references.

1. The passage 2 K. 18 32*b*-35 (Is. 36 18-20), which is plainly an interpolation (see Marti, and cp *Intr. Is.* 218), seems to be based on 2 K. 19 13 (Is. 37 13), which may refer to the Syrian city called in the Babylonian Chronicle Šabarain, which was destroyed by Shalmaneser IV. (see SIBRAIM).

2. The Sepharvaim of 2 K. 17 24 31 (in which passages captives of war appear to be referred to), however, is more plausibly identified[1] with Sipar, or Sippar, the city of Šamaš the sun-god (Σιπφαρα, Ptol. 5 18; Σιππαρηνῶν πόλις, Abyden. *ap.* Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 41), famous from its association with the Deluge-story as given by Berossus, and regarded as one of the *maḫazi rabûti*, or 'great capitals.'[2] This place was one of the three cities which maintained the great Babylonian revolt against Ašur-bani-pal the longest. It was on the left or eastern bank of the Euphrates; the site was identified with the mounds of Abu Ḥabba, about 16 m. SE. of Baghdād, by the explorer H. Rassam, who found here a large stone with a representation of the shrine of Šamaš and short inscriptions, dating from the time of king Nabu-abla-iddina (about 800 B.C.). The builder of the temple was Naram-sin (about 3750 B.C.), whose original inscription was found by Nabu-na'id (about 490 B.C.), one of the royal restorers of the sanctuary. The temple was held in high honour; one of the most constant titles of Šamaš was, 'the great lord, dwelling in Ê-bara, which is within Sipar' (Pinches, *TSBA* 8 *b* 164 *ff.*). But there was also a second divinity, called Anunit, who was specially worshipped at Sipar. In the *Synchronous History* (2 18-21), Durkurigalzu is said to have conquered Sipar of Šamaš and Sipar of Anunitu (*KB* 1 199; Sayce, *TSBA* 2 131); the Anunitu referred to was the consort of the sun-god. We must not, however, use this statement to confirm Schrader's (very natural) explanation of ANAMMELECH (2 K. 17 31) as = Anu-malku, for if Anu (the heaven-god) were designated 'king' in Assyria, the word used would not be *malku* ('prince') but *šarru*.

2. Assyriological evidence.

Dr. W. H. Ward (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1885, pp. 29*f.*) thought that he had found the site of a double city of Sipar (Sepharvaim, dual?) at the mod. el-Anbar, a few miles from Sufeira, WNW. of Baghdād, where, from the appearance of the ruins, it is evident that a canal was conducted from the Euphrates into the heart of the city. Dr. Ward found there a small tablet on which three or four Sipars were mentioned, and he supposed 'Anbar to represent at once Sipar ša Anunitum and Agané (Peters, *Nippur*, 1 176 355 [Dr. Ward's diary]). If so, Sipar ša Anunitum was a more considerable city than Sipar of Šamaš (Abu Ḥabba). But we can hardly admit that the duality of the city which lies under the mound of el-Anbar is made out. Most probably the form Sepharvaim is erroneous. Either the editor confounded 'Sipar' with the 'Sepharvaim' of 2 K. 19 13, or, as Haupt proposes, we should restore the reading סִפַּר מַיִם (or סִפַּר), Sipar (or, Sippar) -maim[1]—*i.e.*, 'Sipar on the stream.' Cp the phrase 'the stream of Sipar,' a title of the Euphrates (*ZA* 1 [1887], p. 267).

There is, however, a threefold difficulty in the above explanation of 'Sepharvaim' in 2 K. 17 24. (1) The Annals of Ašur-bani-pal do not affirm that the king transplanted people from Babylon, Kutu (Cuthah), and Sipar, but only that he 'commanded that they should remain alive, and caused them to dwell in Babylon.'[2] (2) The god specially worshipped at Sipar was neither 'Adrammelech' nor 'Anammelech' but Šamaš. On the other hand, it is equally true that Sargon, who as a fact brought captive populations to Samaria (*KB* 2 43 *l.* 20; cp SAMARIA), did not and could not include any captives from Babylon, Sepharvaim, etc., for the excellent reason that he made none there.[3] And (3) the theory in question requires us to suppose that Avva and Hamath have been introduced into 2 K. 17 24 from 18 34 by R_D,[4] which is a complicated procedure.

3. Objections to current theories.

The question of Sepharvaim is therefore no simple one. At present there is no current theory which satisfies the conditions of the problem. There is a strong *a priori* objection to distinguishing the Sepharvaim of 2 K. 19 13 and 18 34 (with the parallels in Is.) from that of 2 K. 17 24 31, and there are three considerable difficulties in this course, two suggested by Assyriology and one by literary criticism. Let us, then, approach the subject, bearing in mind the gradually accumulating evidence for the apparently destructive but in reality conservative theory that many passages both of the narrative and of the prophetic books have been recast, and provided with a new historical and geographical setting. It is by no means an impossible view that the passages in Kings and Isaiah here referred to have been recast by an editor to suit his own theory of the course of later Israelitish history (see SENNACHERIB, § 5). This view implies that the names of the cities mentioned there have come out of somewhat similar names of places on the N. Arabian border of Palestine.

4. Textual criticism.

Sepharvaim, like Rezeph in 2 K. 19 12 (Is. 37 12), will then be a distortion of Ṣarephath, one of the most important places in that region (see ZAREPHATH), or rather the final letters וים (MT וַיִם, *vayim*) are, together with לעיר (MT לְעִיר, 'to, or of, the city'), הנע (MT הֵנַע, 'Hena'?), and possibly ועוה (MT, וְעִוָּה, 'and Ivvah'?), representatives of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). It is noteworthy that the god worshipped by the 'Sepharvites' receives the double name אדרמלך and ענמלך (2 K. 17 31). In the latter form נ has displaced ר (cp עכור and עכן); probably the best intermediate reading is ארמלך, the original of which is surely ירחמאל (Jerahmeel).[5] The rite of sacrificing children was apparently distinctive of some famous sanctuary in Jerahmeel (see MORIAH, and cp *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 22 2 Jer. 2 34 11 15).

The other passages which have to be considered in this connection are Ezra 4 8-10 (see SHUSHANCHITES) and Is. 10 9 (see *Crit. Bib.*). See also REZEPH.

See especially Winckler, *Alt. Unt.* 100-103; and cp Cheyne, *Exp.T*, 1898, p. 428 *f.* T. K. C.

SEPHELA (σεφηλα [ℵ$^{c.a\ c.b}$], σ. πεδινη [ℵ*V], Vg. **Sephela**), 1 Macc. 12 38, RV 'plain country.' See SHEPHELAH; also JUDÆA, col. 2617.

SEPTUAGINT. See TEXT AND VERSIONS, §§ 46-55.

SEPULCHRE (קֶבֶר, Gen. 23 6 etc.; μνημειον, Mk. 15 46 etc.). See TOMB, RESURRECTION.

SERAH (שֶׂרַח, in pause שָׂרַח, AV SARAH in Nu. 26 46; σαρα [L]), daughter of ASHER [*q.v.*, § 4]; Gen. 46 17 (σααρ [A], σαρρα [*D*]), Nu. 26 46 (καρα [B *v.* 30 σαρα; B^{ab}AF]) = 1 Ch. 7 30 (σορε [B], σαραι [A], -αα [L]).

[1] *E.g.*, by Wi. *Alt. Unt.* 101; Benzinger, *KHC*, *Kön.* 175.
[2] See Wi. *AOF* 2 520.

[1] Cp 𝔊^B, 2 K. 18 34, σεπφαρουμαιν.
[2] *KB* 2 193 (foot); cp Ki. *Kön.* 276.
[3] See Wi. *Alt. Unt.* 99.
[4] *Ibid.* 101 *f.*
[5] The most plausible alternative original is מרדך 'Marduk' or 'Merodach' (cp NISROCH). This is favoured by 'Nergal' in the same list. But it must perhaps be owned that 'Nergal' is only a little less doubtful than ADRAMMELECH [*q.v.*].

'Heber' and 'Malchiel' (=Jerahmeel) both point to the south (cp ASHER, § 4); of Asher's original settlement in the Negeb we may perhaps still possess a record in an early poem (see *Crit. Bib.* on Judg. 5 17). 'Serah' too will be a southern ethnic name; cp זֶרַח, Zerah, and אַשְׁחוּר, Ashhur. We have also Sab. proper names אלשרח, שרחבאל, ישרהאל, with which we might compare יפתחאל (root, 'to open?') the origin of which need not be discussed here.

SERAIAH (שְׂרָיָה, once [Jer. 36 26] שְׂרָיָהוּ, §§ 35, 80, as if 'God strives'; CAPAIA[C] [BAℵL]. Gray [*HPN* 236] argues from the apparent formation with a perf. followed by יה that 'Seraiah' can hardly be an early name. The formation has indeed been questioned, though perhaps without sufficient reason. It is suggested that the name has been adapted from an old ethnic; cp שְׂרִי. Note that in 1 Ch. 4 14 Joab, b. Seraiah, is called the father of Ge-harashim, which is probably a distortion of the ethnic Geshurim, or of Ge-ashhurim [Che.]).

1. David's scribe (2 S. 8 17: ασα [B]), probably miswritten for SHAVSHA [*q.v.*].

2. b. Azriel, one of those whom Jehoiakim commanded to take Jeremiah and Baruch (Jer. 36 26: σαρεα [Bℵ]).

3. b. Tanhumeth, a captain, temp. Gedaliah (2 K. 25 23 Jer. 40 8).

4. b. Neriah and brother of Baruch, mentioned in a passage (Jer. 51 59-61, σαιραια [A*fort once *v.* 59], σαρεας [ℵ once *v.* 59]) which follows a prophecy (50 51 1-58) wrongly ascribed to Jeremiah. He is said to have gone up to Babylon with (or, see below, from) ZEDEKIAH [*q.v.*], carrying a prophecy of Jeremiah on the fate of Babylon, which he was commanded to bind to a stone and cast into the Euphrates, as a sign that Babylon would sink and not rise again. Seraiah bears a title which AV renders 'a quiet prince' and RV 'chief chamberlain' (so AVmg., Rashi, etc. שַׂר מְנוּחָה). 'Prince of Menucha' (AVmg.) is evidently a resource of despair; Menucha = Manahath (!) 1 Ch. 8 6. Another interpretation is 'officer of resting-place' = quartermaster (so Hi., Gr., Giesebr.); this strangely poetical title is assumed to have belonged to the officer who arranged the halting-places of the royal train.[1] More probably, however, Seraiah's office was that of commissary of the tribute (שַׂר־הַמִּנְחָה, 𝔊, Tg., Grä., Che.). This view implies a further correction of 'with' into 'from Zedekiah.' Note that Jeremiah's interest is entirely absorbed in Seraiah (*v.* 61, 'when thou comest, and seest,' etc.).

But is this story historical? It has the appearance of being Haggadic, *i.e.*, an edifying romance. See JEREMIAH (BOOK), § 17, and cp Giesebrecht's commentary.

5. b. Kenaz, brother of Othniel and father of JOAB 2 (1 Ch. 4 13 *f.* σαρια [A *v.* 14]). See *ad init.*

6. b. Asiel of SIMEON (§ 9 iii.), 1 Ch. 4 35 (σαραιαν [B]).

7. A chief priest in the time of Zedekiah, who was put to death by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 25 18 *ff.* Jer. 52 24 *ff.* [BℵAΓ om.]). The Chronicler traces his origin to Eleazar b. Aaron (1 Ch. 6 4 *ff.* [5 30 *ff.*]); he is the son of Azariah b. Hilkiah (*v.* 13), and father of JEHOZADAK [*q.v.*]. In Ezra 7 1 *ff.* Ezra, who was perhaps not even a priest at all, is made a son of Seraiah, which betrays the desire of the priestly redactor to bring him into the high-priestly family (cp EZRA, GENEALOGIES i., § 7 [iv.]). The same fragment of genealogy springs up again in Neh. 11 11, where Seraiah b. Hilkiah is called נְגִיד בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים (cp 2 Ch. 31 13), cp also 1 Ch. 9 11, where, however, the name is replaced by Azariah. In 1 Esd. 5 5 2 Esd. 1 1 SARAIAS, EV; but RV AZARAIAS, 1 Esd. 8 1.

8. One of those who came up from Babylon with Zerubbabel (Ezra 2 2 αραιας [BA*?]), in Neh. 7 7 called AZARIAH (17). His name appears in 1 Esd. 5 8 as ZACHARIAS, RV ZARAIAS (ζαραιου [B], ζαρεου [A]).

9. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 2 [3]; cp 12 1. In Neh. 12 12 the house of Seraiah is first on the list, whence we infer that in the mind of the Chronicler his family was considered to be of great importance, and perhaps therefore connected by him with Seraiah (7). See SAREA.

S. A. C.

SERAPHIM (שְׂרָפִים, CEPAΦ[E]IM, -N [BℵAQΓ], CAP. [ℵ* once]), supernatural guardians of the throne of Yahwè, mentioned and partly described in the account of Isaiah's inaugural vision (Is. 6 2-4 6 *f.*).

1. References. 'Above him stood the sĕrāphīm'—*i.e.*, they seemed to tower above Yahwè, who was enthroned in the most sacred part of the temple (the דְּבִיר). Each had six wings; a pair covered the face, another the loins, and the third served for flight, when Yahwè sent his servant on some errand. Responsively they proclaimed the antiphon, 'Holy, holy, holy is Yahwè Ṣĕbāōth; the whole earth is full of his glory,' and so powerful were their voices that the posts (read אַמּוֹת) of the doorway trembled. Then one of the seraphim flew to Isaiah with a 'hot stone' (see COAL, § 1) from the altar in his hand, and touched Isaiah's mouth with it, as a symbol of the purification of his lips. The seraphim are not mentioned again by name in the OT or the NT, though in Rev. 4 6-8 the four cherub-like beings (ζῷα) sing the anthem of Isaiah's seraphim. But in Enoch 20 7 'the serpents' (δράκοντες, Giz. Gk.)—*i.e.*, no doubt the seraphim—are mentioned together with Paradise and the cherubim as under the rule of Gabriel, and in 61 10 71 7 with the cherubim and the ophanim; the latter classification also occurs in the Talmud (cp CHERUB, § 1). And in the Slavonic 'Secrets of Enoch' (first edited by Charles) we find not only cherubim and seraphim mentioned together as orders of angels (20 1 21 1), but also seven six-winged creatures overshadowing the throne of God and singing with one voice (19 6 21 1), who are obviously the same as the seraphim and certain flying creatures that sing called Chalkadri (= 'crocodiles'? cp COCKATRICE), with the feet and tails of lions and the heads of crocodiles, mentioned with the fabulous Phœnix-bird (12 1 15 1). These creatures have twelve wings, and attend the chariot of the sun; evidently they are a modification of the seraphim.

2. Explanations. Passing over the view that the seraphim are merely a class of 'high' or 'noble' angels (Ar. *šarufa*, to be high), we note three possible views as to the original meaning of the name.

1. Fried. Delitzsch and Hommel see a connection between *sārāphim* and Šarrāpu (the burner), which is given as one of the names of the Babylonian solar fire-god Nergal 'in the land of the west'—*i.e.*, in Canaan (5 R. 46, 22, *c.d.*; Jensen, *Kosmol.* 62).

This suggests that Rešeph, the old Palestinian solar fire-god (*CIS* 1 38), also admitted (as Rešpu) into the Egyptian Pantheon, may possibly in early times have been called Śārāph. If Rekūb (one of the gods of Sam'al in N. Syria) were really, as Halévy thought, the same as Kĕrūb, 'Cherub,' this would supply a parallel. The Sārāphīm (not Sĕrāphīm) would in this case be a mythic rendering of the supernatural flames in which this god revealed himself (cp Cant. 8 6 Job 5 7?); the form which they took would naturally be that of the lion (cp NERGAL). And Isaiah's Śārāphīm (?) may have been suggested by mythic forms which perhaps existed in the temple, similar to the *nergalli* or colossal winged lions with human heads which, like the colossal winged bulls, guarded the portals of Bab.-Ass. temples and palaces. We find 'lions, oxen, and cherubim' mentioned together in 1 K. 7 29.

2. Another possibility is that the Śĕrāphim (not *Śārāphim*) were originally, in accordance with Nu. 21 8 Is. 14 29, serpents; Arabian and Hebrew folk-lore placed flying serpents, with burning venomous bite, in the desert, and Hebrew mythographers may have represented winged serpents as the guardians of the dwelling of the Deity. The place of honour given to living serpents in the Egyptian temples, is remarked upon elsewhere (see SERPENT, § 3 [*f.*]), and though to Isaiah the seraphic guards of Yahwè have assumed a higher form of being (see *SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' 139), yet no one who remembers the frequency with which in folk-lore serpents are transformed into human beings, can pronounce such a development impossible. It is true, there is no mention of the seraphim in the Hebrew story of Paradise as it has come down to us. But it is quite possible (see PARADISE, § 11) that the serpent

[1] Several Palmyrene inscriptions state that they have been set up 'in honour of the leader of the caravan (רב משריתא) by the senate and people.'

(*nāhāš*) who held discourse with the first woman was originally represented as the guardian of the wonderful tree in the midst of God's garden. There may have been originally only one seraph just as there may have been only one cherub (cp Ezek. 28 14 16 Ps. 18 10 [11]).

3. It is also possible to regard the seraph as a nobler development of a bird of prey. H. G. Tomkins long ago suggested a comparison with the Egyptian *seref*, which appears as the guardian of graves and as the bearer of the Egyptian kings to heaven on their decease.

The *seref* is met with as early as the pyramid texts; in a late papyrus he is said to 'seize [his prey] in his claws in an instant and take them above the top of the clouds of heaven.'[1] It is a composite animal, and bears a close resemblance to the Hebrew cherub and to the γρύψ or griffin (part lion, part eagle).

The arguments in favour of the second of these views preponderate. It is against the first that we find no trace of שָׂרָף as a divine name, and against the third that it leaves no real distinction between the seraph and the cherub. And it is against both that שרפים is so much more naturally rendered 'serpents' than either 'burning ones' or 'serefs.' It may seem strange that the symbolism of the temple decoration made no use of the seraphim. But the temple did contain one sacred object closely analogous to the original seraphim—the so-called 'brazen serpent' (see NEHUSHTAN). Hezekiah broke it in pieces. The Jewish and Christian imagination did something better with the seraphim inherited from folk-lore; it transformed and ennobled them. See CHERUBIM, § 1. T. K. C.

SERAR (ϲεραρ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 32 RV, AV ASERER = Ezra 2 53, SISERA, 2.

SEREBIAS (εϲερεβιαϲ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 54, AV^mg. = Ezra 8 18, SHEREBIAH.

SERED (סֶרֶד; ϲαρεδ [BAFL]), a clan of ZEBULUN (*q.v.*), Gen. 46 14 (ϲε- [A], εϲρ- [*D*], ϲεδεκ [L], Nu. 26 26), whence the patronymic, AV SARDITE, RV **Seredite** (Nu. 26 26; הַסַּרְדִּי; ο ϲαρεδ[ε]ι [BAFL]).

SERGIUS PAULUS (ϲεργιω παυλω [Ti. WH]), Acts 13 7. See PAULUS.

SERJEANTS (Acts 16 35 38,† EV), RV^mg. LICTORS.

SERMON ON THE MOUNT

Critical presuppositions (§ 1).
In Mt. (§§ 2-4).
In Lk. (§ 5 *f.*).
Sermonic logia in Mk. (§ 7).
Mt.'s Sermon a compilation (§ 8).
Transposition in Sermon (§ 9).
Beatitudes and Woes (§ 10).
Jesus and the Law (§§ 11-13).
New Law (§ 14 *f.*).
Finale (§ 16).
Audience (§ 17).
Historical significance (§ 18).
Bibliography (§ 19).

The Sermon on the Mount is the conventional title given to an address variously reported by the first (Mt. 5-7. *ἀνέβη εἰς τὸ ὄρος*) and the third (Lk. 6 20-49) canonical evangelists, assigned by both to the early Galilean mission of Jesus. The remarkable divergencies and as remarkable coincidences between the reports constitute a problem of some nicety which is bound up with the general synoptic question. How far free editorial revision upon the part of each author extended in the case of these reports of the Sermon, and how far it is feasible not simply to reconstruct the original address as that lay in the Matthean Logia (= Q) or in the Greek recensions of Q used with other material by each writer, but also to estimate its historicity and actual situation in the life of Jesus—these are questions to which no answer can be attempted until a firm foothold has been obtained upon a critical examination of each report and a comparative analysis of their contents.

1. Critical presuppositions. Evidently unknown to the original Mk. ('Ur-Marcus'), the sermon transmitted in Q seems to have simply borne the title 'to disciples' and a general reference to the Galilæan period—to judge at least from the unfettered way in which Mt. and Lk. make a place for it in their narratives.

[1] Revillout, *Révue égyptienne*, 1881, p. 86; see *Proph. Is.*(2) 284, (3) 296.

The idiosyncrasies of the reports, too marked to be explained from the separate use of Q by each editor, necessitate the hypothesis that they had at their disposal different recensions of Matthew's vernacular logia-collection, which had originated in various circles of faith and practice. Translation such as Papias mentions certainly would involve editing; the fluidity of interests in the primitive church, together with the absence of any definite authority upon the biography of Jesus, exposed evangelical collections to considerable vicissitudes, even before they came under the free but neither arbitrary nor doctrinaire handling of an editor with religious aims and prepossessions of his own (see GOSPELS, §§ 120 *f.*), to say nothing of the diverse needs of edification. Upon the characteristics of the recension used by Lk. see P. Ewald, *Das Hauptproblem der Evang.-frage* (1890), 212 *f.*, 216 *f.*; Soltau, *Eine Lücke der synopt. Forschung* (1899), 3-5, and Feine, *Eine vorkanon. Ueberlieferung des Lucas* (1891), 142 *f.*

The place assigned to this *oratio montana*[1] in our first gospel illustrates the literary method which here as

2. In Mt.: setting. elsewhere leads Mt. to produce his effects by means of massing together alternate groups of incidents and of sayings, not infrequently taken from various quarters without strict regard to what may have been their original setting or chronological sequence.

As in Mk., which (substantially) lay before Mt., the baptism and the temptation of Jesus are followed by his return northwards to Galilee and the choice of the first disciples (Mt. 3 1-4 22 = Mk. 1 1-20). So far the two writings generally agree. But whilst Mk. proceeds to narrate the healing ministry of Jesus in detail, Mt. either postpones this till he reaches his cycle of miracles (Mt. 8 14-17 = Mk. 1 29-34 Lk. 4 38-41) or omits part of it altogether as irrelevant to his plan (Mk. 1 35-38 = Lk. 4 42 *f.*), hurrying on to elaborate an impression of Jesus as the prophet and authority of the new religion. The description of a preaching tour in the Galilæan synagogues, which fell here in the primitive document underlying the synoptists (Mk. 1 39 = Lk. 4 44), is expanded by Mt. (4 23-25) somewhat vaguely[2] in order to form an introduction to two separate cycles of (*a*) instruction, and (*b*) healing. The author's plan thus is to represent Jesus successively as teaching and preaching (*διδάσκων καὶ κηρύσσων*: 5-7) and as healing (*θεραπεύων*: 8-9 34, a cycle, for the most part, of ten miracles). The exigencies of this method postpone to the latter phase all the incidents narrated in their proper place by Mk. (1 40-3 12) and Lk. (5 12-6 11 17-19). In historical order these ought to form a prelude to Mt. 5-7, upon which they serve to throw occasionally rays of light.

The inner structure of the address corresponds in part, but only in part, to its setting.[3] Out of the

3. Structure. crowds, Galilæan and non-Galilæan, who thronged Jesus on the border of the lake, his adherents gathered to him as he retired to the hill-slope (5 1 *f.*). What follows is represented as an address delivered to them directly, in the hearing of the larger throng (7 28 *f.*). Jesus seizes the opportunity to proclaim vividly and openly his aims and methods in a *magna charta* of the new reign of God. With large and divine utterance (*ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ*), he at once lays bare the continuity of his message with the religious tradition of the people, and explicitly differentiates what made up the original element in his own ideal as compared with that of current Judaism.

The address opens with a reflective but glowing description of the genuine religious character, in its demands and privileges. The eight beatitudes (5 3-10), of which the last is repeated and specially applied to his hearers (5 11 *f.*), define a spirit of chastened and unselfish devotion towards God and man, rather than a

[1] For the question of the Sermon's ethical originality, which does not fall within the scope of the present article, see especially Titius, *Die NTliche Lehre von der Seligkeit* (Erster Theil, 1895), 197-199; for the teaching on marriage, *ibid.* 67-72, and on man's consciousness of God, *ibid.* 114-117. Further, Ehrhardt, *Der Grundcharakter der Ethik Jesu im Verhältniss zu den messian. Hoffnungen seines Volkes*, etc. (1895), 107 *f.*

[2] The incident in the Capernaum synagogue (Mk. 1 21-28 = Lk. 4 31-37) and the flight of Jesus (Mk. 1 35-38 = Lk. 4 42 *f.*) are both omitted.

[3] Jesus as the deliverer of a new law speaks from a hill at the opening (5 1 *f.*), as at the close, of the gospel (28 16, equally vague). Mt.'s moderate concern for chronology renders it uncertain how far an expansive passage like 4 23-5 1 (Ss. om. 4 24*a*) rests upon some hill-tradition, or is derived and modified from the narrative of Mk. (see the doublet 9 35-10 1). Certainly in 5 1 there is no tinge of contempt for the crowd as composed of *χάμαι συρομένων* (Chrys.).

robust attitude to the world.[1] But Jesus the rabbi hastens[2] to explain that his ideal, so far from being parochial or pusillanimous, involves an unflinching stand before hardship and duty (5 13-16);[3] so little was it a relaxed method of piety,[4] that it demanded from men a loftier and more exacting conduct than that taught or practised by the conventional rabbinical religion of the day (5 17-20).[5] This avowal naturally suggests the new and final attitude of Jesus[6] to the Jewish Law, which is exemplified with brilliant and effective paradox in five or six crucial instances (5 21-48) of the radical antithesis between the new legislation and the old jurisprudence with its ethical limitations. The new rests on motive and inner disposition, summed up in ungrudging charity to one's enemies; thus Jesus rounds off the circle of thought started in the beatitudes, cutting up the poisonous growths of evasion and quibbling by unconditional precepts of incisive brevity.

The principle of inwardness and sincerity is then expounded (6 1-18), pointedly and strongly like all effective principles, in the shape of a triple antithesis to the Pharisaic praxis of almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, which, by their externality, develop ostentation. Jesus then recurs[7] to the positive relation of man to God's fatherly providence (6 19-34, cp 5 45) as a motive for singleness of heart and for freedom from undue worldly anxiety (cp O. Holtzmann's *Neutest. Zeitgesch.*, 1895, p. 229). The loosely joined aphoristic logia which follow (in 7 1-20), are partly resumptive and in the main accessory rather than vital to the body of the address. Warnings against censoriousness (7 1-5) with its attendant hypocrisy, and the opposite (though less common) fault of an undiscriminating temper which is blind to the differences of men (7 6); an encouragement to prayer, based on God's fatherly goodness (7 7-11); a reiteration of the golden rule (7 12); a call to personal effort and independence in seeking life (7 13 *f.*); a warning against being misled by false prophets, whose conduct is to be made their test (7 15-20); these lead up to the epilogue (7 21-27), in which spurious discipleship[8] is exposed, and (by means of a parable) the responsibility of hearers and the wisdom of practical obedience to Jesus' commands are vividly depicted.

4. Characteristics. In style, conception, and arrangement, Mt.'s elaborate and prolonged Sermon shows traces of his workmanship and characteristic traits. It is a composition rather than an actual address. That it was carried in some retentive memory as it now stands, is a perfectly unmanageable hypothesis. The well-known habit of compiling material, which stamps Mt.'s Gospel, is legible all through the *oratio montana*; earlier and later logia are massed together, and even their dexterous union cannot obliterate their heterogeneous nature and foreign sites.[1] Mt.'s Sermon, to a much larger degree than Lk.'s, is neither consecutive in trend nor a unity in time; internal evidence, and the comparative evidence gained from Lk., put this beyond the reach of doubt. The very style shows how the source has been worked over.

In Mt. 5-7 we have the author's favourite 'come unto' (προσέρχομαι) in the introduction (like Lk.'s 'as he was' [ἐν τῷ infin.] 11 1 etc.), and favourite or characteristic phrases throughout the whole—*e.g.*, '(and) then' ([καὶ] τότε: 5 24 7 5 23), 'verily' (ἀμήν: 5 18 etc.), 'say . . . against . . .' (εἰπεῖν τι κατά τινος: 5 11 12 32), 'again' (πάλιν: 5 33 etc.), 'be seen' (φαίνομαι: 6 5 16 18), intrans. 'do' (ποιεῖν) with adverb (5 47 6 2 7 12 = Lk. 6 31), 'be done' (γενηθήτω: 6 10, not in Lk.; Acts 1 20 𝔊), 'it was said' (ἐρρέθη: 5 21 etc., non-Lucan), verbs in -ευειν (νηστεύειν, προφητεύειν, φονεύειν, ἀγγαρεύειν), 'go thy way' (ὕπαγε: 5 24), 'whoever' (ὅστις: 5 39 41 7 15 24 = ὅς, Lk. 6 48), 'till' (ἕως: 5 18 26), 'before [men]' (ἔμπροσθεν: 5 16 24 6 1 *f.* 7 6), 'for so' (οὕτως γάρ: 2 5 3 15 5 12), the simpler pron. for the reflexive (5 29 6 19), πρὸς τὸ ('to') with infin. (5 28 6 1), 'that . . . may' (ὅπως [6 times]), 'as' (ὥσπερ: 6 2 etc.), 'it is profitable' (συμφέρει: 5 29 *f.*, non-Lucan), πονηρός (-όν) of evil (one) = 5 37 39 6 13 (cp 13 19 38; Lk. 6 45 only of men), δῶρον a sacrificial gift (5 23 *f.*), 'raiment' (ἔνδυμα: 6 25 = Lk. 12 23 Mt. 6 28 7 15 etc.), 'in danger of' (ἔνοχος: 5 21 *f.*, non-Lucan), 'altar' (θυσιαστήριον: 5 23 *f.* 23 18-20 35), 'be hid' (κρύπτω; 5 14 etc.), 'reward' (μισθός: 6 1 *f.* etc.), 'only' (μόνον, adv.: 5 47), 'swear' (ὀμνύω: 5 34 36 etc.), 'profess' (ὁμολογέω: 7 23 etc.), 'for this is' (οὗτος γάρ: 3 3 7 12; cp 11 10 AV), 'bring . . . to' (προσφέρω: 5 23 *f.* etc.), 'hypocrite' (ὑποκριτής: 6 2 5 16 7 5), 'wise' (φρόνιμος: 7 24 etc.), besides, of course, the famous *kingdom of heaven* (5 3 10 etc.) instead of *kingdom of God*, and the distinctive (except Mk. 11 25) usage of *Father* (*in heaven*, or *heavenly*) as applied to God (*your Father* occurs in Lk. only 6 36 = Mt. 5 48 and 12 30 = Mt. 6 32, besides 12 32; it is Matthæan). Of Mt.'s 120 *hapax legomena* the Sermon alone contains 12 (βαττολογέω, βροχή, διαλλάσσω, εἰρηνοποιός, ἐπιορκέω, εὐνοέω, ἰῶτα, καταμανθάνω, κρυφαῖος, μίλιον, πολυλογία, ῥακά, ὅρκοι (plur. = vows, 5 33), πληρόω (absol.), ἐθνικός (5 47 6 7 18 17), [βασ. τῶν οὐρανῶν] and ῥαπίζω (5 39 26 67). Phrases like *on that day* (7 22), κρίνειν -μα -σις (in sense of final judgment, 5 21 *f.* 7 1 *f.*) are more frequent in Mt. than in the other synoptics, and traces of the apostolic (Pauline?) age have been more or less reasonably found in expressions such as ἐργαζ. ἀνομίαν (7 23), ἀνομία (7 23), ἀπώλεια (7 13), δικαιοσύνη (5 6 etc.; Lk. 1 75 in OT sense), μωρός (5 22 7 26, etc.), ὀφειλήματα (6 12), παραπτώματα (6 14 *f.*), περισσεύειν (5 20), ἀγαπᾶν τὸν ἕτερον (6 24 Rom. 13 8), etc.

5. In Lk.: structure. Following in the main Mk.'s order during the narrative of the Galilæan mission, though with one characteristic (see below, § 9) transposition (Mk. 3 7-12 = Lk. 6 17-19, Mk. 3 13-19 = Lk. 6 12-16), which was introduced to provide an audience and situation for the non-Marcan address to be inserted at this point, Lk. narrates the choice of the Twelve and the subsequent position of Jesus on some level ground where he was surrounded by (*a*) the Twelve, (*b*) a large crowd of disciples, and (*c*) a large multitude of non-Galilæans.[2] Abbreviating Mk.'s account of Jesus as a healer of diseases, Lk.

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[1] Achelis ingeniously traces missionaries (9) and martyrs (10) suffering, the latter (11 *f.*) generally, the former inside (12) and outside (14-16) Israel. The temper of *vv.* 3-10 resembles, with less eschatological emphasis, that of passages like En. 5 7, 'but for the elect there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth.' Cp Taylor's *Ancient Ideals*, 2 257 *f.* (1896).

[2] The connection of 5 12 and 5 13 *f.* seems to be: as successors to the noble and devout company of the prophets, you must be prepared for hardships which flow from an open stand for religion among the people. Fear of such peril is not to deter you from taking your place, any more than the subtler temptation of false modesty. On the continuity, of which Jesus was conscious in his preaching of God's reign, between himself and the OT psalmists and prophets, see Barth, *Die Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, 58-67 (1899).

[3] Zahn (*Einl.* 2 277 287) actually makes 5 16 the theme of the sermon, emphasising the apologetic aim of the whole Gospel as a defence of Jesus and his religion against current Judaism. Grawert ingeniously tries to detect in the beatitudes a reversed programme of contents: 5 10 = 5 11-16 5 9 = 5 17-26 5 8 = 5 27-37 5 7 = 5 38-48 5 6 = 6 1-34 5 5 = 7 1 *f.* 5 4 = 7 3-6 5 3 = 7 7-11.

[4] The curious variation of 5 15-17 in an early Talmudic story ('I am not come to take away from the law of Moses, but to add to the law of Moses am I come,' accompanied by 'Let thy light shine in the candlestick') is supposed by Güdemann to have been derived from Mt.'s Logia. Cp *Studia Biblica*, 1 57-59 (Neubauer), *Philol. Sacra*, 45 (Nestle), and Laible, *Jesus Christus im Talmud* (1891), 62 *f.*

[5] The *good works* of *v.* 16 are simply the higher *righteousness* of *v.* 20, which (it is implied in *vv.* 26 and 45) reflects and reproduces on earth the character and conduct of the Father in heaven; cp Holtzm. *NT Theol.* 1 71 174 *f.*

[6] Although, in conformity to the historical situation, the claim of Jesus upon the personal life of his followers is not emphasised at this inaugural period of the ministry, and his Messianic rôle is still obscure (cp on 7 21 *f.*), his commanding authority and self-consciousness are evident in words like 'I come . . . I say.' Such language is the utterance of 'a superhuman self-consciousness which, as the secret of Christianity's origin and growth, must be grasped first and foremost as a fact. . . . It is quite impossible for us to conceive such an inner life. Revelation, redemption, forgiveness, help—he has it all within himself and offers it to those who yield to the impression of his personality' (Wernle, *Anfänge uns. Religion*, 24 *f.*, after Baur).

[7] Mt. may, however, have meant 6 19-34 to continue the anti-Pharisaic polemic (cp Mk. 12 40 Mt. 23 25 Lk. 16 13 *f.*).

[8] To imitate God's ungrudging love towards men (5 43-48) or to obey his will (7 21) is as impossible along the road of legal crupulousness (5 20) as it is for mere profession and empty words. On 7 21-23 cp the (too conservative) essay by Schlatter in *Greifswalder Studien*, 85-105 (1895). The citation in 2 Clem. 4 accentuates the logion, 'even though ye be gathered with me in my bosom and do not my commandments, etc.'

[1] Some logia would by their nature be associated with certain places and certain people. Others would be somewhat timeless, either owing to their repetition or to their less local content. Introductory and explanatory comments, by way of setting, must have been retained by many of the primitive logia in passing from oral to written form, just as earth clings to the roots of a plucked plant. But a comparison of Mt. and Lk. shows that whilst Lk. frequently found no setting for his logia, and generally tried to furnish them with a site, Mt. is much less concerned to preserve the local and chronological position even of logia which he found equipped with such a habitation. His Sermon consists of several smaller collections of logia, already compiled, perhaps in part by himself, for catechetical purposes. These, welded more or less skilfully together, make up the splendid summary of the Sermon as it now lies in the gospel.

[2] Mk.'s Galilæans and (so Ss.) Idumæans are omitted. Just as the force of Mt. 5 14-16 is felt when one realises that it was addressed to a crowd drawn primarily from Galilee (4 25), that traditionally inferior and ignorant province (4 15 *f.*), so Lk.'s omission of the logion from his Sermon becomes significant when one recollects that he wrote for a public in the Roman empire when memories of the desperate part played by Galilæans in the recent war (66-70 A.D.) made it inadvisable to dwell upon their connection with the new religion. Jerusalem and Judæa bulk largely in Lk. 2-3; Lk. alone narrates the Galilæans' punishment

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hastens to incorporate an address of his to the disciples (6 20, not to the Twelve).

The address opens with a quartette of beatitudes, apostrophising literal poverty, physical hunger, and actual tears as destined to secure eventually bliss and benefits for disciples in such a present plight of social want and oppression. These beatitudes breathe a spirit of intense sympathy with the poor and downtrodden, which is characteristic of the third gospel. Dives, for example (16 19-31), is not sent to hell simply because he is rich. Yet his riches, it is implied, have not merely aggravated his guilt, but proved a barrier to the conduct which would have saved him. Better without them, is the inference. Better bestow them in alms upon the needy. Lazarus, as this *scriba mansuetudinis Christi* assumes, being a poor man is pious. Similarly, in the good time coming, Jesus promises a complete revolution of the social order, when the destitute will receive compensation for their present ills[1] (cp the deliberate 'now' [νῦν] repeated in *v.* 21; 'is' [ἔστιν], *v.* 20, implies certain, not present, possession). As 6 27 indicates, *vv.* 20-26 are spoken in the hearing of the disciples rather than addressed to them directly. They represent an impassioned monologue addressed to two general classes of individuals whom Jesus, here 'one of the prophets' indeed, sees in his mind's eye. Among the many disciples (μαθηταί) standing round him, there were probably poor men, poor by circumstances or by choice (5 11), hungry people (6 1 *f.*), and sufferers (6 17 *f.*). But at this juncture it would have been neither an appropriate nor an exhaustive description to classify the disciples as a whole under these categories.

This is corroborated by the quartette of woes (אוֹי לָכֶם), in which the reverse side of the picture is sketched (Is. 5 8-23, cp 65 13-16). Like the rest of what is peculiar to Lk. in the Sermon, it is mainly concerned with the perils of authority (37*b*), popularity (26), and especially money (24 *f.* 33 *f.* 38*a*). The second woe is unaccountably omitted in Ss. There is no woe corresponding to the third beatitude, and the fourth woe is addressed to the disciples, rather than to an objective class, thereby resuming *vv.* 22 *f.* and paving the way for the transition in *v.* 27. In his second volume Lk. has stories illustrating the joy felt by disciples under persecution (6 23 = Acts 5 41, etc.), while at the same time he points out that popularity is not invariably (Rom. 14 18) a proof of disloyalty (6 26, cp Acts 2 47). Although the first three beatitudes and woes are rather external and eschatological,[2] the fourth touches a deeper note of experience; yet all are controlled by the same sense that the religious question is bound up with the social, as the OT prophets were never weary of reiterating.

In quieter tones Jesus now proceeds to address not the twelve apostles but the wider circle (6 13 20) of his disciples or immediate hearers (6 27 *f.*), passing from the vehement denunciation of prosperous and proud folk into a persuasive appeal for charity and forbearance among his adherents.[3] The introduction, 'But I say unto you' (ἀλλὰ ὑμῖν λέγω), where 'you' is defined by 'who hear' (τοῖς ἀκούουσιν), corroborates the impression that hitherto in 6 20-26 Jesus has been describing, rather than addressing, certain types of men. At this point the contrast is almost equal to a dropping of the voice. The substance of the discourse, in its second phase, is love to one's enemies or opponents. According to Lk., this humane disposition is to be expressed not simply in blessing and prayer, but heroically in (*a*) a patient, uncomplaining endurance of violence and robbery, and in (*b*) lending money freely—so freely, indeed, that it is a loan merely in name. As usual, the question of money bulks largely in Lk.'s mind. He represents Jesus as counselling the disciples in effective and unqualified aphorisms never to make money an occasion of quarrelling; if it be stolen from them, better acquiesce than retaliate and attempt to recover the loss; if borrowed, neither money nor property is to be demanded back. To this passive *rôle*, an active side is added; money is to be ungrudgingly lent[4] even to one's enemies. One does not need to be rich in order to be robbed or to lend money; but it is obvious that reiterated and prominent injunctions like these would lose much of their point, if the society to which they were addressed consisted of poverty-stricken outcasts. This enforces the view that 6 20 *f.* is not intended to describe the actual condition of the disciples round Jesus, to whom 6 27 *f.* is spoken.

The third phase of the address (39-45) opens with some loosely set logia; the thread upon which Lk. has strung them seems to be as follows. Turning from one's duty to enemies, Jesus dwells on the duty, especially of teaching and instruction, which one owes to the brethren. To give safe guidance (6 39 = Jas. 5 19 *f.*) one must be clear-eyed oneself; to give adequate and complete assistance to the untrained and inexperienced, one must be equipped adequately first of all (6 40). Self-criticism (6 41 *f.*) is the necessary prelude to any sincere and useful criticism of other people. It is the inner state of a man's own heart (6 43-45) that determines the value and virtue of what he contributes to the world. See MINES (col. 3098).

6. Characteristics.

Finally, the epilogue (6 46-49) in parabolic form (which 'might constantly inhabit both the memory and the judgment,' Sir Philip Sidney) sums up the responsibility of hearers; a stable character is built up not on mere verbal admiration of the teacher, but on practical obedience to such commands as he has laid down.

Whatever be Lk.'s method elsewhere in dealing with his sources, the Sermon exhibits traces of considerable freedom on the part of the editor, whose general characteristics of style, conception, and arrangement are fairly conspicuous in 6 20-49. Not merely in the beatitudes and woes (Feine, pp. 112-120), but throughout the whole, the Jewish-Christian circle reflected in Lk.'s sources becomes visible and audible. Whilst Mt. reflects the early church under the strain of opposition at the hands of Pharisaic religion, Lk. reveals indirectly the fortunes and hopes of Palestinian Christians, possibly within the Jerusalem-church (Feine, pp. 142-145) itself, under the overbearing rule and bitter animosity of the wealthy Sadducees (see Renan's *l'Antéchrist*, chap. 3). His sources vibrate with feeling similar in many points to that felt in the Epistle of James, Hermas, etc.[1] Formally, too, his pungent report of the Sermon is shaped into a homily, whereas Mt.'s is built up out of didactic pieces used by catechists of the apostolic age.

In the Lucan beatitudes etc. (6 20-26), the poor (πτωχοί) are first of all blessed (as already in 4 18 Jesus is represented as quoting Isaiah 61 1 *f.* and placing in the forefront of his mission —'to preach the gospel to the poor' [εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς]), several of the Lucan *hapax legomena* occur (*e.g.* γελάω and σκιρτάω), and in the introductory formula (ἐπάρας κ.τ.λ.), as throughout the rest of the address, the style is predominantly Lucan. Favourite or characteristic Lucan terms recur; *e.g.*, κλαίειν (more external than Mt.'s πενθεῖν), κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν (6 23), πλούσιος, νῦν, παράκλησις (6 24 of selfish worldly satisfaction, as opposed to messianic bliss, 2 25, cp 16 25), ἐμπίπλημι (6 25, contrast similarly 1 53), πεινάω (6 21 1 53), πᾶς with ptc. (6 30 47 etc.), πλήν (6 24 35), ἀπαιτεῖν (6 30 cp 12 20), ἀπολαμβάνειν (6 34), καθώς (6 36), κόλπος (6 38), ὁμοίως (6 31, etc.), σαλεύω (in unique sense 6 38), ἐκπίπτειν (6 39, cp Mt. 15 14), ἴδιος (6 41, cp Mt. 7 4; 6 44, cp Mt. 12 33), ἔρχεσθαι πρός (6 47 14 26), ὑποδείξω (6 47 12 5), one instance of his preference for compounds with ἀντί (6 38), ἰσχύω [οὐκ] (6 48), δὲ καί (6 39), εἰμί with dative (6 32 *f.*), the Hebraism ἰδοὺ γάρ (6 23, etc., never Mt.), εἶπεν-αν δέ (6 39, etc.; Mt. 12 47 ?), εἶπεν παραβολήν (6 39, etc., only Mk. 12 12), καὶ αὐτός (6 20, etc.), προσεύχεσθαι περί (6 28 Acts 8 15), ὕψιστος of God (1 32 35 76; 6 35), the common Lucan and Pauline constr. of the article (6 42; only in Mt. once, 7 3), etc. Notable *hapax legomena* are: ἀπελπίζοντες[2] (6 35), ὑπερεκχύννω (6 38), πιέζω (6 38), πλημμύρης (6 48), σκάπτω (6 48), βαθύνω (6 48), τιθ. θεμ. (6 48 14 29), συμπίπτω (6 49), προσρήγνυμι (6 48 *f.*), and ῥῆγμα (6 49). In 6 27 *f.* ἐχθροί and μισοῦντες are paralleled as in 1 71,

by Pilate (13 1-3) and the false charge of sedition (ἀπὸ τῆς Γ. 23 5) made against Jesus by the priests; Galilee plays no part in his Resurrection stories.

[1] Lk.'s Sermon is less true than Mt.'s to the normal position of Jesus towards the future of God's reign on earth; in rightly reproducing the somewhat catastrophic side, which Jesus held in common with his age, he fails to give sufficient prominence to the inner spiritual side, which formed the real contribution of Jesus to the time. Hence the impression left by his Sermon is vivid but limited. See Titius, 177 *f.*, 185 *f.*

[2] This is so far in keeping with the first preaching of Jesus in Galilee, which echoed the eschatological note of the Baptist (Mk. 1 14 *f.* Mt. 4 17 23 *f.*). Both 'holy spirit' (ἅγιον πνεῦμα) and 'fire' (πῦρ) are in the Sermon; but, particularly in Mt., the gracious heavenly spirit predominates, even although Lk. has little or nothing of Mt.'s sweeping anti-legal criticism. Both versions are, from different standpoints, to be regarded as 'good news' (Mt. 4 23).

[3] The connection would be still closer if the wealthy oppressors of *vv.* 24 *f.* were the enemies of *v.* 27.

[4] On the religious economy of alms see 16 1-14, and contrast 12 33 = 18 22 with Mt. 6 19. Like the Epistle of James, Lk. reflects the trading atmosphere of early Palestinian Christians; the dangers presented by property and wealth to the faith (GOSPELS, § 40) are vividly present to his mind. See Peabody's *Jesus Christ and the Social Life* (1901), 197 *f.*, and especially L. Paul's study (*ZWT*, 1901, pp. 504-544), 'Welcher Reiche wird selig werden?' Also Hastings' *DB* 4 19 *f.*

[1] Cp the second-century interpolations in *Test. Jud.* 25; καὶ οἱ ἐν πτωχείᾳ διὰ Κύριον πλουτισθήσονται καὶ οἱ ἐν πενίᾳ χορτασθήσονται . . . οἱ δὲ ἀσεβεῖς πενθήσουσι καὶ ἁμαρτωλοὶ κλαύσονται. The preceding saying (οἱ ἐν λύπῃ τελευτήσαντες ἀναστήσονται ἐν χαρᾷ) reflects an outlook alien to either of the synoptic versions of the beatitudes—a fact which incidentally confirms their historic verisimilitude. When the Sermon was spoken, Jesus had not yet emphasised his second coming or even his death; all the future for him and his lay within the horizon of his lifetime, as yet hardly clouded by opposition culminating in tragedy or delay. Even the allusions to excommunication from the synagogue and other apostolic ills do not obliterate this primitive feature, although they qualify it.

[2] The idea is one of several anticipated in Ps. Sol. (cp 5 15 *f.*). See further, on the meaning, Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, 1894, pp. 52-58.

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and ill-will[1] defined as speech (*καταρ.*) and act (*ἐπηρ.* cp 1 Pet. 3 16).[2] Similar phrases recalling the apostolic age may be seen in the use of Lk.'s favourite (eleven times) *ἅγιον πνεῦμα* (11 13), *ἀγαθοποιεῖν* (6 9 33 35, never in Mt.; cp 1 Pet. 2 15 20 3 6 17), and *θεμέλιον* (6 48, cp 1 Cor. 3 10, etc.), besides phrases like 'Father' 'pitiful' (6 36, cp 2 Cor. 1 3), *παρέχειν* (6 29), *χάρις* (6 32-34, for Mt.'s *μισθός*), *ἁμαρτωλοί* (generic for Mt.'s *ἐθνικοί, τελῶναι*), *ἀχάριστος* (6 35 = 2 Tim. 3 2; cp 8 13 with 1 Tim. 4 1), *ἐλπίζειν* (6 34, etc., only once in quot. in Mt. 12 21), and blind guides (6 39 = Rom. 2 19, which is perhaps a reminiscence of the logion). Similarly, the two other passages (11 1-4 9-13 12 22-34) where Lk. has reproduced matter included in Mt.'s Sermon, show evident traces of the author's style in favourite or characteristic expressions, such as:—*ἀναστάς, ἀναστάντες* (11 7 *f.*), *καθ' ἡμέραν* (11 3), *πρός* of address, very common in Lk. (11 1 12 22), *εἶπεν δέ* (11 2 12 22), *τις* with a noun (11 1 12 16, etc., only once in Mt. 12 11), *ὡς* = where (11 1, *never in* Mt.), *βαλλάντιον* (12 33), *εἶναι* with prep. and art. (11 1).

These linguistic phenomena bring Lk.'s version of the Sermon into line with the rest of his gospel. It cannot be said that Hebraisms or Aramaisms are at all characteristic of the passage, and the inference is that Lk. has either translated from Q with a freedom which makes his rendering something of a paraphrase, or (as is more probable) that like Mt. he has edited and in part rewritten a Greek recension of Q. In this Q, to all appearance, the Sermon lay between the choice of the Twelve and the healing of the centurion's child at Capernaum (Mk. 3 13-19 = Lk. 6 12-16 Mt. 8 5-13 = Lk. 7 1-10). Near (NW.) Capernaum and about midway in the Galilæan period Jesus may be conjectured to have spoken this address. It is much less probable that Lk. had before him not merely the logia but also another independent document containing a discourse which he confused with the Sermon on the Mount.

7. Sermonic logia in Mk.

In three instances our canonical Mk. contains logia equivalent to passages in the Sermon: on retribution 4 24 = Mt. (6 33*b*) 7 2 Lk. (12 31*b*) 6 38, on saltless salt 9 50*a* = Mt. 5 13*a* Lk. 14 34, and on a forgiving spirit with prayer 11 25 [26] = Mt. 6 14 *f.*

The presence of these in Mk. may be due to a redactor of the primitive 'Mk.,' who had become acquainted with the logia; certainly the first two Marcan passages occur in extremely difficult contexts and are in themselves not particularly apposite, whilst the third is distinctly inappropriate to its surroundings (cp Mk. 11 23 from Mt. 17 20). Even were this hypothesis rejected, however, it would not be necessary to presuppose Mk.'s acquaintance with Q. There may have been identical or substantially identical logia in Q and in the Petrine narrative which is practically equivalent to the primitive 'Mk.' There is no reason to believe that these documents were mutually exclusive, and it is natural to suppose that occasionally the same logia in divergent historical settings and linguistic shapes lay in both: *e.g.*, Mt. 5 29 *f.*[3] (Q) = 18 8 *f.* Mk. 9 43 45 47; Mt. 5 32 Lk. 16 18 (Q) = Mt. 19 9 Mk. 10 11 *f.* Similarly it is possible that even within Q itself logia lay in two different connections preserved from heterogeneous traditions. A capital instance is the saying on the lamp and the bushel, which is a pendant to the parable of the seeds (Mk. 4 21 = Lk. 8 16, Jülicher, *Gleichnisreden* 2 86 92; cp GOSPELS, § 134, col. 1875), and also connected with a disciple-logion (Mt. 5 15, repeated and misplaced by Lk. in 11 33). This seems on the whole a preferable hypothesis to that which would confine the logion to the former setting and make its employment elsewhere by Mt. and Lk. an arbitrary displacement and application. Mt. 7 16-18 and 12 33-35 form independent variations of a common idea rather than a doublet, and passages like 3 10 = 7 19 3 7 = 12 34 23 33 may reasonably be taken as reminiscences by a younger man of his first leader's phraseology. These are cases where pure literary criticism requires to be conscious of its limitations.

Happily, in the absence of direct parallels[4] to the Sermon in the fourth gospel, the comparative phenomena of the third gospel enable us sometimes to analyse Mt.'s version of the Sermon, which is obviously composite, into its component parts.

8. Mt.'s Sermon a compilation.

At least seven passages set in Mt. 5-7 appear throughout Lk., although differently edited and applied, in connections which are not merely superior but intrinsically probable from the historical standpoint. These are the logia on (*a*) coming to terms with an opponent (Mt. 5 25 *f.* = Lk. 12 57-59),[1] (*b*) the model prayer (Mt. 6 9-15 = Lk. 11 1-4), (*c*) God and mammon (Mt. 6 24 = Lk. 16 13), (*d*) worldly anxiety (Mt. 6 25-33 = Lk. 12 22-31),[2] (*e*) encouragement to prayer (Mt. 7 7-11 = Lk. 11 9-13), (*f*) the narrow way (Mt. 7 13 *f.* = Lk. 13 23 *f.*), and (*g*) the final rejection (Mt. 7 21-23 = Lk. 13 25-27).[3] Upon the other hand, it must be admitted that Lk. is possibly inferior to Mt. in his setting of other four logia which occur in Mt. 5-7 (5 15 = Lk. 11 33, 5 18 = Lk. 16 17, 5 31 *f.* = Lk. 16 18, 6 22 *f.* = Lk. 11 34-36); although this does not imply that even Mt. preserves them in their original strata. Two instances are neutral—that is to say, Jesus might have uttered the saying upon either occasion or upon both, so far as the evidence available is concerned (Mt. 5 13 = Lk. 14 34, 6 19-21 = Lk. 12 33 *f.*; so *e.g.*, Lk. 6 44*a* = Mt. 12 33*c*, 6 45*c* = Mt. 12 34*b*). In three instances of a doublet in Mt. affecting the Sermon (5 29 *f.* = 18 8 *f.* 5 32 = 19 9 and 7 19 = 3 10 Lk. 3 9), the historic probabilities seem to favour that setting of the logion which is extra-Sermonic.

The Sermon also exhibits several curious instances of transposition (*e.g.*, the temptation-narrative Mt. 4 5-10 = Lk. 4 5-12, Jonah and Solomon Mt. 12 41 *f.* = Solomon and Jonah Lk. 11 31 *f.*, etc.) in passages like Mt. 5 40 (*χιτ. . . . κ. . . . ἱμάτ.*) = Lk. 6 29 (*ἱμ. κ. . . . χ.*), 5 42 44 (liberality and prayer) = Lk. 6 28 30 (prayer and liberality), 5 45 *f.* (sonship and reward) = Lk. 6 32-35 (reward and sonship), Mt. 6 19 *f.* (moth and thief) = Lk. 12 33 (thief and moth), Mt. 6 19 *f.* 33 (treasure in heaven and seeking kingdom) = Lk. 12 29 *f.* 33 *f.* (seeking kingdom and treasure in heaven), Mt. 6 28 (neither labour nor spin) = Lk. 12 27 (neither spin nor weave [Ti. WH$^{mg.}$]), Mt. 7 16 (grapes and figs) = Lk. 6 44 (figs and grapes). Such transpositions occur throughout the three synoptists. If literary variety be considered too artificial a motive to explain their phenomena, we must have recourse to the hypothesis that such divergencies grew up unconsciously during the period of oral transmission, although the freaks of

9. Transposition in Sermon.

[1] Justin Martyr's apology is offered (1 5) *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ παντὸς γένους ἀνθρώπων ἀδίκως μισουμένων καὶ ἐπηρεαζομένων.*

[2] Similarly, in expanding the warning against censoriousness (6 37 *f.* Mt. 7 1 *f.*), Lk. redoubles it by adding *καταδικασθῆτε* (of which, as of *ἀπολύω* = let off, Mt. 18 27, Mt. is content to give a practical illustration 12 7), and presents the positive side as the special form which appealed to him, viz. charity in the sense of liberality or benevolence. The ground of *v.* 35 is shifted; charity now is advocated as certain to win ample return.

[3] *V.* 30 is textually suspect, however (om. D, Ss), and with *v.* 29 is probably placed here by the editor.

[4] The parallels in Jewish thought (*e.g.* Hillel, the Essenes, the *Pirḳē Ābōth*, and the earlier wisdom-literature, including the negative form of the law of love) may be seen in Wünsche, J. Lightfoot, Wetstein, or Rodrigues' *Les origines du Sermon de la Montagne* (for Mt. 6 9-13 see LORD'S PRAYER), and are worked out in more or less detail by critical editors. So far as the Sermon is concerned, the resemblances only serve to accentuate the profound difference between Jesus and the contemporary piety of his age, even when he is using the latter's language and developing germs already present on the higher levels of the OT and of pre-Christian Judaism. Here, from the historical standpoint, Jesus appears engaged not merely in clearing away accumulated rubbish to permit the stream of piety to have free course, but in opening fresh fountains for its supply as well as in disclosing a reach and flow for its waters larger than had been hitherto imagined—much less attained.

[1] As Lk. plainly reproduces the original setting of this logion (cp Weiss, *Matth. Evglm.* 158 *f.*), and as Mt. 5 21-48 represents a homogeneous and fairly coherent address, it is probably right to regard 5 25 *f.* as an interpolation (*e.g.*, Holtzmann, Bruce, Réville). Its insertion was mediated by the well-known connection of debt and sin in the ethnic mind (*Exp.T* 10 54, cp Mt. 6 12 14 *f.*).

[2] The unique 'the nations of the world' (*τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου*: Lk. 12 30), translating an Aramaic or Hebrew rabbinical equivalent (אֻמּוֹת הָעוֹלָם, Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 144 *f.*), is one proof that Lk. stands nearer than Mt. to the original source. Lk.'s retention of Lk. 12 32 balances his omission of Mt. 6 34. Similarly the un-Matthæan *kingdom of God* in Mt. 6 33 (as in 12 28 19 24) shows that Q is reproduced here verbally, as by Lk.; 'and the righteousness' (*καὶ τὴν δικ.*: cp Jas. 1 20) is an editorial explanation (like *πρῶτον*) or gloss upon 'kingdom.' Even were the variant order adopted (*his righteousness and kingdom*), still 'kingdom' would remain as the predominating term. Lk. 12 31 is plainly more faithful to the original. Cp Titius, 82.

[3] Lk. preserves, in an altered and somewhat expanded form, the original reference to unbelieving Jews. Mt., who applies the logion to antinomian adherents of Jesus (possibly ultra-Pauline Christians), is obliged to use the sequel elsewhere (8 11 *f.* = Lk. 13 28 *f.*), as it would not have suited his purpose in the Sermon.

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memory do not seem quite adequate to account for inversions so repeated. Intentional or accidental, they are to all appearance destitute of significance.

Assuming these results and continuing to employ the larger report as more convenient for the purpose of comparative analysis, we now pass to its divisions. As a working hypothesis we may provisionally surmise that the original scheme[1] of the Sermon in Q embraced (*a*) beatitudes, (*b*) a statement of Jesus' relation to the Jewish law, followed by (*c*) a definition of his own *nova lex*, and (*d*) a warning against unreal, idle adherence to it and to himself. If Lk.'s *level spot* (6 17) meant a plateau among the hills, a comprehensive designation of the Sermon both in Lk. and Mt. might be 'the teaching on the hill-side' or 'the hill-teaching.'

10. The beatitudes and woes.

(*a*) The divergence of the beatitudes in style and spirit accentuates at the very outset the general variation of the two reports. Lk.'s four beatitudes are followed[2] by four woes (after Dt. 27 11 *f.*); Mt.'s eight[3] stand alone, save for an expansion or application of the eighth. Lk.'s are more vehement (sec. pers. plur.), Mt.'s (exc. 5 11) employ the quieter third plur. Lk.'s order (poor, hungry, weeping, persecuted) differs from what verbally corresponds to it in Mt. (*poor* in spirit, *mourners*, meek,[4] *hungry* for righteousness, merciful, pure in heart, peacemakers, *persecuted*), much more his general atmosphere and colour. The original Sermon in Q probably contained beatitudes and woes in the second person corresponding to those preserved with somewhat heightened ascetic colouring by Lk.; their number it is impossible to ascertain with any certainty; their nature is as elusive, except that it was less restricted and external than Lk.'s report (see below, on the audience). Mt. 5 11 *f.* = Lk. 6 22 *f.* is apostolic in its present form (cp *for my sake*, the *Name*, and terms of persecution[5]); especially in Mt. 5 11 *f.* it is a comment such as Mt. loves, added here to lead over from the beatitudes into 5 13-16.

As the crucial instance of the first beatitude indicates, the discrepancies of the two reports run back not only to the predilections of the final editors, but to variant renderings of the vernacular in Q: *πτωχοί* and *ταπεινοί* are 𝔊's equivalents for עֲנָוִים in Is. 61 1, a passage applied by Lk. elsewhere to Jesus and his career (4 17 *f.*, where Mt. places the Sermon), and *πραεῖς* is similarly used. Mt.'s beatitudes, therefore, represent variations upon the leading idea of 'the poor being blessed'—'poor' being the devout lower classes in the main. Lk.'s rendering is truer to the letter, Mt.'s to the spirit, of the original.[6] No doubt, language such as that preserved by Lk. would appear ambiguous and unsatisfactory to those who had lost touch with the primitive situation in which the words were spoken, or who had not the same intellectual sympathies. Mt.'s version, figurative and traditional in its use of language hallowed by religious associations, would appeal to a larger circle.

11. Jesus and the law.

(*b*) The attitude of Jesus to the Jewish law would naturally form a cardinal topic in any such inaugural address, especially as popular curiosity must have been already whetted and misunderstanding created by the conflicts between Jesus and the religious authorities. The prospect of a revolutionary attitude upon his part towards the law must have stirred hopes and fears alike unfounded. But the original form of the passage in Q seems to have been expanded by Mt. and abbreviated by Lk. The latter had an obvious motive for omitting anti-legal polemic from his narrative as unsuitable and irrelevant to his audience; his familiarity with most of the logia underlying Mt. 5 13-16 17-20 21-48 is proved by his reproduction of several elsewhere in more or less apt situations (see above, § 8 *f.*). Mt. 5 21-24 27 *f.* 31-48, therefore, is in all likelihood substantially reproduced from Q, filled out by the incorporation of two logia from other places (25 *f.* 29 *f.*).[1] From this passage in his edition of Q, Lk. has merely taken the climax[2] (*i.e.*, the superseding of retaliation by unstinted love), in order to preserve the distinctive assertion of the new law. The linguistic variations seldom affect the sense of the parallel passages materially. Nor does the catechetical form of Mt.'s version with its careful structure, reproduced from the church catechism of Q, imply that Jesus did not use such a method of instruction. He taught as a rabbi. The apostolic churches arranged and used his sayings for catechetical purposes, but in this Jesus had to some degree anticipated them; the five commandments of the lawgiver in Mt. 5 21 *ff.* may well be a specimen of the preaching which Jesus already practised in the synagogues,[3] where part of the service consisted in the reading of OT scriptures from the law and the prophets, followed by comments (Lk. 4 17, cp Acts 13 15; Schür. *Hist.* ii. 2 63 *f.* 81). Cp SYNAGOGUE, §§ 8 *ff.*

12. Mt. 5 13-16.

The transition from the beatitudes into the relation of Jesus to the law was probably mediated in Q by logia (corresponding to those substantially preserved in Mt. 5 13-16 17 20) upon the sphere and function of those whose character had just been described, as well as upon the personal attitude assumed by their leader to the conventional religion. Whether 5 13-16 in whole or part belonged to the original Sermon is doubtful. Were the Sermon addressed to the Twelve (so, *e.g.*, Hahn, Resch, and [Lk.] O. Holtzmann), the passage would be quite in line with 10 41, where the Twelve are also prophets (cp 5 12 and 5 13). Even with an audience of many disciples, as Mt. and Lk. both describe the scene, the appropriateness of the passage is defensible (the prophets as in Jas. 5 10 *f.*). The connection of 5 12 (Lk. 6 23) and 5 17 is excellent; but the intervening sentences may have been an aside

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[1] Feine ('Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältniss der Texte der Bergpredigt bei Mt. und bei Lk.,' *JPT*, 1885, pp. 1-85) finds the original Sermon in Mt. 5 3-10 17 20-22 27 *f.* 33-48 6 1-6 16-18 7 1-5 12 15-18 21 24-27. The Hebrew and Greek reconstruction attempted by Resch (*Aussercanon. Paralleltexte*, 1893-7, 2 62-65 81-102 113 *f.* 3 62-98 101-6; *Die Logia Jesu*, 1898, pp. 18-29) traces the Sermon in 5 1-6 11 *f.* 20-22 27 *f.* 31 33-35*a* 37-48 7 1-5 12 16-18 20 *f.* 24-27; whilst Wendt's outline consists of Lk. 6 20-26 Mt. 5 17-20 21-24 27-29*a* 31-42 7 12 5 43-47 Lk. 6 34 Mt. 5 48 6 1-18 7 1-5 15-19 7 21 (Lk. 6 46) 24-27.

[2] Fourfold woe in En. 95 4-7. Ss. om. Lk. 6 25*a*, *κατηρτισμένος . . . αὐτοῦ* 40, and softens beatitudes from second to third person plural. See J. Weiss, *Predigt Jesu*, 179-187.

[3] Or seven (as *e.g.*, 4 Esd. 7 78-99, where seven woes follow), if 5 10*b* (= 5 3*b*) is supposed to mean a fresh start. It is quite fanciful to see a counterpart to the decalogue in ten beatitudes (Delitzsch, Edersheim). On Mt. 5 3, with its secondary form, cp Klöpper, *ZWT*, 1894, pp. 175-191, with the essay of Kabisch in *St. Kr.* (1896) 195-215; on the general superiority of Lk.'s report, Adeney, *Expos.* 5th ser. 2 361-376.

[4] The alternative order (meek, mourners), even if better attested, would not affect this point.

[5] There was a reasonable ground for anticipating persecution, although Mt. either ignores or fails to emphasise it, in the recent arrest of Jesus' master (Mt. 4 12), as well as in the conflict which had taken place between Jesus and the religious authorities (JESUS, §§ 22 *f.*). The Sermon by no means portrays the flush of an absolute Galilæan success. See § 6, n. 1.

[6] Lk.'s fundamental idea is (cp Feine, 25-35) that no satisfaction will be got in the present age, such are its contradictions and oppressive manners; Mt.'s view is, no satisfaction will be got in this or any age of the world, since the inner needs of the soul cannot be satisfied outside of God. Lk.'s report suits the original situation better. But Mt.'s is truer to the central teaching of Jesus; his beatitudes give rich and vigorous expression to the purest ideal of the Christian consciousness, even although, upon critical grounds, they may not justify their claim to be regarded as the prelude to the historical Sermon.

[1] Possibly *v.* 23 *f.* are also foreign to their context, as that stood in the original Sermon. The superior position of 5 32 at 19 9 might, but does not necessarily, involve that 5 31 *f.* did not belong to its Sermonic context. The omission of 5 47 (with k, Ss.) would contribute to the terseness of the context.

[2] Thus failing in the Sermon to establish (with Mt.) the historical continuity of Jesus with the religious tradition of the past. He had done this already and otherwise (4 16 *f.*). But with Lk. the disciples of Jesus within Judaism have 'somewhat to become' rather than 'somewhat to cast off,' in taking their course of obedience to him.

[3] On the significance of this early ministry among the synagogues of Galilee (Lk. 4 15 4 44 = Mk. 1 39 Mt. 4 23), which was interrupted and checked by the scribes, see Bruce, *With Open Face*, 80-106 (1896). 'Great temporary popularity, little permanent fruit' sums up its effects; but, as the Sermon indicates, it enabled Jesus to come to an issue with the current legal religion, besides inducing him to turn his attention specially to the susceptible disciples (*μαθηταί*) who showed some capacity of mind and soul for the new teaching.

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(for which Mt. has prepared by the words τοὺς πρὸ ὑμῶν), after which Jesus resumed the tenor of his speech. Function depends on character, and privilege implies responsibility; the disciples are an Israel within Israel,[1] whose *raison d'être* is to permeate the people as a whole, instead of preaching an esoteric piety or an Essene-like retirement. The horizon of Jesus was primarily Judaism at this period (Rom. 15 7-9); with a high and devout consciousness of his mission, which was partly to be achieved through his adherents, he sets himself and them (in these logia) to the regeneration of Judaism.[2] Whatever be the origin[3] of 14*b*, the logia 13 and 14*a* (15-16) may quite well have lain side by side (otherwise GOSPELS, § 134) in the original (cp the Roman proverb, *nil sale et sole utilius*), though not exactly in their present form. The traces of editorial handling, however, do not affect the substance of the passage; its parts fit in here at least as well as, if not better than, in their arrangement by Mk. and Lk.; and as a whole this didactic piece vindicates its position in the Sermon. If any 'definite historical situation' (Weizs.) needs to be sought for the passage, its present site affords a motif of sufficient psychological and historical importance.

13. Mt. 5 17-20.

Whilst 5 17 20 is not only an authentic saying but also in its proper place as a vindication of Jesus against the suspicion of laxity and undue mildness raised[4] by his free, daring attitude to the law, 5 18 *f.* is widely accepted as representing a Jewish-Christian gloss which evidently (cp its partial retention in sharper form by Lk. 16 17, Mt.'s ἰῶτα being secondary, Dalman 4-5) belonged not merely to Q^mt but to Q. See GOSPELS, §§ 34 *a*, 112 *c*, 128 *e*; Feine, pp. 25-35; also Moffatt, *Historical New Testament* ((2) 1901, pp. 645 *f.*).

The aim of the OT religion, as expressed by the phrase 'the law or the prophets,'[5] was to be realised by Jesus in the higher Christian 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη), not (as 18 *f.* imply) through the permanent validity of the Mosaic code with its statutory and ritual elements, although the more conservative circles of Jewish Christianity believed that the latter was not merely legitimate but essential to the new faith. It is one thing to say that the law contained a divine revelation; it would have been quite another thing for Jesus to say that the Mosaic law (Leviticus and all) with its injunctions had still a future and a *rôle*. The very qualifications and repudiations of 5 21-44 indicate the irrelevance of 5 18 *f.* to the original context.[6] On the other hand, 5 17 20 define not merely the theme of the Sermon but the permanent attitude of Jesus towards possible abuses and misunderstanding of his gospel (cp Klöpper, *ZWT*, 1896, pp. 1-23). The critical attitude which a reformer finds it necessary to assume towards orthodox opinion and habit in order to clear the road for positive and healthy progress, is generally mistaken for mere iconoclasm; he is impugned as a mover of old landmarks, and one of his first and hardest duties is to show that valid change and advance in religion only knit the bonds of moral claim more tightly on the conscience.

14. The new law.

(*c*) The abruptness with which the *nova lex* is introduced in Lk. (6 27-36) contrasts unfavourably with the fine climax of Mt. (5 43-48),[1] which comes after a smooth and clear series of antitheses to the traditional legislation (21-42).

In Mt. 5 43-48, which Mt. has correctly preserved as the kernel of the Sermon, the new 'righteousness' already sketched is elucidated with respect to (i.) murder and anger (21-24); see RACA and SYNEDRIUM.[2] The form of denunciation (ἔνοχος with gen. of punishment or punishment's source, in Mk. 3 29 of the crime) is said to be common in inscriptions against guilty persons in Asia Minor (Rams. *Exp. T* 10 55 *f.*); *v.* 23 *f.* reflect Palestinian Christianity previous to 70 A.D. and emphasise the duty of reconciliation as paramount, superseding even the claim of sacrifice. Cp Epict. *Diss.* 2 10, 'if you go and blame your brother, I tell you, you have forgotten who you are and what you are called' (*i.e.*, a brother). The same inwardness breathes in the treatment (ii.) of adultery and divorce[3] (27 *f.* 31 *f.*); cp GOSPELS, § 145 *d*; MARRIAGE, § 6. (iii.) Laxity in oaths (33-37), as well as in marriage, had already been checked by the Essenes, and 34 *f.* is a Jewish commonplace (cp, besides Wetstein, *ad loc.*, Charles on Slav. En. 49 1, also Harnack or Conybeare on *Acta Apollon.* 6). A remarkable parallel from a pagan inscription of the Katakaumene is cited by Rams. *Exp. T* 10 109, and Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 264-269) notes the frivolous, lavish use of oaths among the Arabs. (iv.) 'Retaliation superseded by beneficence' (38-42) is put in characteristically Oriental and paradoxical form, though Epictetus also (*Diss.* 3 22) teaches the cynic to practise forbearance, and when flogged to love those that flog him, even yielding his body to the free pleasure of anybody. (v.) Love to one's enemies (43-48), with prayer for them, constitutes the distinctive spirit of the new reign (cp *v.* 20 with *v.* 46 *f.*); the divine ideal is magnanimity, which Jesus inculcates on his adherents as their duty; in short a 'love imperturbable' (Beyschlag), which is not deterred from serving other people by their ingratitude or active opposition,[4] but finds its motive in ardent desire to be like God, and its method in instinctive activity, not in punctilious performance of set duties. See LOVINGKINDNESS, § 4, and NEIGHBOUR.

Lk.'s indifference to the critical attitude of Jesus, which dictated his omission of the logia corresponding to Mt. 5 21-48, leaves him with a report of the *nova lex* (6 27-36) which is, upon the whole, less admirably arranged[5]

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1 5 14, with an instance of Mt.'s partiality for 'the world' (ὁ κόσμος), reflects (as it stands) the universalism which forms one trait of Mt. Originally in Aramaic the logion had a range consonant with the historical situation of Jesus and the disciples (so γῆς, 13 = land, not earth). Cp Dalman's *Worte Jesu*, 1 136 144. The selection of the twelve shows that Jesus already contemplated a vocation on the part of his disciples, which was not confined, of course, to the Twelve (cp Lk. 8 39 Mk. 9 38). Unfortunately Mt., who preserves the logion on vocation, omits to narrate beforehand the incident which helps to elucidate its aptness.

2 It is needless, therefore, to regard 5 13-16 (with Réville, 2 128-130) as a patriotic address to the Jewish people ideally represented by the crowd, whom Jesus exhorts to be faithful to their historical vocation and to show themselves worthy of their religious superiority to the surrounding world. No direct preaching as yet (except for the Twelve? Mk. 1 17 = Mt. 4 19); only the expression of an upright and exceptionally pious life. Cp Titius, 12-17.

3 The Oxyrh. Logion 7 ('a city built upon a high hill and established cannot either fall or be hidden') blends 5 14*b* and 7 24 *f.*, and 5 14-16 was known to the author of the Pastorals (1 Tim. 5 25) as well as to Justin (*Apol.* 1 16).

4 Perhaps already in his younger brother James, who appears in tradition (cp von Dobschütz, *Die urchristlichen Gemeinden*, 112 *f.* 272 *f.* [1902]) as an austere and strict Jewish Christian; certainly in the Scribes and Pharisees, who felt themselves responsible for defending the faith against unsettling tendencies. Even the disciples may already have needed a warning of this kind against rash inferences from sayings like Mk. 2 22*c*.

5 Unless (Wernle) 'or the prophets' (ἢ τοὺς προφήτας) be an editorial gloss (om. Clem. Hom. 3 51). But if Paul could appeal from 'the law' to 'the law and the prophets' for anticipations of that 'righteousness of God' which was realised in the gospel (Rom. 3 21 *f.*), surely Jesus could have done the same. Chrysostom's discovery of a certain reserve and guarded tone in 5 17 (οἰκονομία λόγων) is imaginary. On 'the righteousness of Christ's kingdom' (Mt. 5 17 *f.*), cp Dods, *Expos.* 4th ser. 9 70 *f.* 161 *f.*, also Gardner's *Explor. Evangelica*, 192 *f.*

6 As it stands, however, 5 17-20 reflects Mt.'s apologetic temper, especially in its effort to show the Jews of the Diaspora the spiritual continuity between esteem for the Law as an ethical code and devotion to Jesus its 'end' (τέλος); see Wernle, *ZNTW*, 1900, p. 47 *f.* This tendency has led Mt. to preserve traditions and logia which often seem rather alien to the catholic spirit of his own mind. See Manchot, *Prot. Monatsh.*, 1902, pp. 211-227.

1 'This is not by any means an ideal such as could be derived from the hopes of the future cherished by the Jews, or from their law; it is in the truest sense the possession of Jesus alone' (O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 192). Whilst this is true of 5 48, 5 44 *f.* is not unparalleled; cp, *e.g.*, Seneca (*de Benef.* 4 26, 'si deos imitaris, da et ingratis beneficia; nam et sceleratis sol oritur, et piratis patent maria'), and, earlier still in Judaism, Ecclus. 4 10 ('Be as a father to the fatherless. . . . So shalt thou be as a son of the most High'). See O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* (1895) 226 *f.*, Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 283-287, and *HC* 1 61-62 214 *f.*

2 On 5 22, Field's *Otium Norvic.* (pars tertia, 1899), 3-5; and for Lk. 6 35, *ibid.*, 59. The opprobrious terms of Mt. 5 22 may have been actually thrown at Jesus by the Pharisees and their followers in the heat of controversy.

3 When these are treated separately, the antitheses against the Scribes fall into two sets of three (5 21 *f.* 27 *f.* 31 *f.*; 33 *f.* 38 *f.* 43 *f.*), followed by three anti-Pharisaic in 6 1 *f.* 5 *f.* 16 *f.*, followed by three others in 7 1 *f.* 4 *f.* 12. It is doubtful whether this trim scheme was present to the mind of the editor of Mt.; but even if it was, the arrangement seems artificial rather than spontaneously natural, and forms one reason for doubting whether the connection of 6 1-18 with what precedes is anything more than literary. The last-named passage is certainly less spontaneous than, *e.g.*, Mk. 11 24 *f.* 2 18 22. But the methods of Christ's teaching were versatile, and whilst the passage is misplaced and possibly edited, it seems hardly safe to argue back to 'ecclesiastical piety' as its basis (Carpenter, *First Three Gospels*(2), 1890, p. 356).

4 Another genuine reflection of this evangelic tradition occurs in the two logia (preserved by Jerome) of the 'Gospel to the Hebrews': (*a*) et nunquam læti sitis, nisi cum fratrem vestrum videritis in caritate, (*b*) inter maxima ponitur crimina, qui fratris sui spiritum contristaverit. Jesus left it to common sense to apply the logion on indiscriminate charity; the necessary qualification is explicitly appended in *Did.* 1 6.

5 Resch suggests for 6 40 a place in the address at the Last Supper (after Mt. 20 28 Mk. 10 45). At any rate 6 39 *f.* is irrele-

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and less definite in content (cp, *e.g.*, *sinners* for *pagans* and *tax-gatherers*, χρηστός [6 35] for Mt. 5 45, sons of most High[1] for Mt. 5 48, the omission of 5 38 *f.* 41 43). He has taken Mt. 5 44*a* (in its logia form), expanded it (6 27*b*-28*a*), and reproduced Mt. 5 44*b*-47 in his own style, substituting for 45 logia (6 29 *f.*) roughly answering to Mt. 5 39*b*-40 42. Starting afresh from 5 44*a* he expands it independently, though Mt.'s climax[2] (5 48) becomes with him a transition to what follows (6 36 *f.*), and love is not thrown into relief against the background of formalism. The variations in expression are seldom significant; the main alteration of colour is robbery (Lk. 6 29) for legal proceedings (Mt. 5 40) as an opportunity for displaying the habitual mood of disinterested love.[3]

The law of unflinching love carries with it, as a corollary, abstinence from censoriousness (Mt. 7 1-5 Lk. 6 37 *f.* 41 *f.*). Mt., however, has interpolated two long sections at this point:

15. Mt. 6 1-18 19-34.

(i.) an exposure of the Pharisaic praxis (6 1-18, incorporating unchronologically the Lord's Prayer; see LORD'S PRAYER and Cary, 114-120), which is undoubtedly genuine but misplaced, and (ii.) an appeal against worldly anxiety (6 25-34), which Lk. (indifferent to the former) has preserved elsewhere in a superior context (12 22-31 *f.*), where it is followed by the more positive logion on heavenly treasures (12 33 *f.* = Mt. 6 19-21) used by Mt.[4] rather aptly to connect 6 18 and 6 25.[5] The catechism (i.) upon a Christian's duty to his neighbour, his God, and himself (expressed in rhythmic form, 6 2-4 5 *f.* 16-18), which has a title,[6] 6 1, and a logion, 6 7-9*a*, introductory to the specimen prayer, 6 9*b*-13 (14 *f.*), describes the trinity of normal religious practices for an early Christian,—alms (ALMS, § 4; COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5; cp GASm. *HG* 634), prayer[7] (see PRAYER, §§ 6-7), and fasting (FASTING, § 4)—the two latter combined in *Did.* 8 and *Test. Jos.* 3, etc. (ii.) The following counsel[8] of idealism formed a unity in Q (Lk. 12 22-34 = Mt. 6 19-34). The significant element in the material peculiar to Lk. is μὴ μετεωρίζεσθε (EV 'Be not of doubtful mind': 12 29), the more accurate because simpler form of 31 (= Mt. 6 33), and 32 (originally between Mt. 6 33 and 34). Upon the other hand, 12 33 is Lucan, generalised in order to introduce what follows; 26 is possibly editorial (om. D); while Mt. has preserved 6 34 and the truer *Father* in 6 26.

Of these two pieces (i.) is less certainly than (ii.) foreign to the original Sermon; 6 1-6 16-18 might lie conceivably between the anti-Pharisaic 5 21-48 and 7 1-5 (so, *e.g.*, Neander, Keim, Weiss, Feine, Bruce), but it has all the appearance of an independent piece. And 7 1-5 flows readily out of 5 43-48—so, *e.g.*, Resch after Keim, who regards 6 19-34 as the nucleus of the inaugural popular Sermon (also 7 24-27) which he strangely sees combined with a later sermon to disciples on the Law.

In 6 37-42 Lk.'s expansion of Mt. 7 2*a* is secondary and his insertion of 6 39 *f.*[1] (between 38*c* = Mt. 7 2*b* and 41 = Mt. 7 3) only confuses the original context. Otherwise this injunction to pursue a quiet, inoffensive life (cp *Test. Issach.* 3)[2] lies visibly enough behind the subordinate linguistic variations of the two reports, and in Mt. closer to the original. Jesus speaks in the figurative and proverbial language of popular wit against the vice of censoriousness, suggested by the Pharisaic type of character. Lk. thinks rather of the inner life of the churches, and applies the warning specially to niggardliness or lack of 'charity' in the narrower sense of the word (Ecclus. 29 10 *f.* etc.).

The loose series of sententious aphorisms in Mt. 7 1-14[3] has no connection with the Sermon; 7 6 is evidently an erratic boulder (possibly apostolic), 7 7-11 should follow 6 9 *f.* (as Lk. 11 9 *f.*) or 6 33 *f.*, and 7 12 connects with 5 42 (as Lk. 6 31: Holtzmann, Wendt) better than with 7 1-5 (Weiss), although as it lies it is meant to round off 5 17. Similarly 7 13 *f.* belongs to a later context (Lk. 13 23 *f.*); Mt. has inserted it here for dramatic reasons as a logion[4] suitable for an opening address, adding some expansions (ἡ ἀπάγ. εἰς τὴν ἀπώλειαν, ἡ ἀπάγ. εἰς τ. ζωήν) to bring out his customary eschatological interest (cp Dalman, 130 *f.*).

(*d*) The finale of the Sermon, a warning against spurious forms of discipleship (Mt. 7 16*b*-27 = Lk. 6 43-49), has been expanded by Mt.'s insertion of

16. The finale.

an apostolic logion against false prophets[5] (7 15, which 16*a* connects with what follows) and another logion (7 21-23) presented by Lk. in its true setting (13 26 *f.*). The latter, which represents Jesus as Messianic arbiter of human lives, is plainly proleptic and cannot have been uttered before 16 16 *f.*; like several other passages of the kind, if not apostolic (cp 2 Ti. 2 19, etc.) it is an unhistorical anticipation (at least in its present form, for 'lord' [κύριε] etc. in Lk. 6 46 may represent some Aramaic or Hebrew term for 'master'). Cp GOSPELS, § 20 (iv.). On the other hand, Lk. 6 45 is not specially homogeneous with its context (cp Mt. 12 35), and Mt.'s opening (7 16*b*-18) is superior. The identity and outline of the closing parable[6] are quite

vantly introduced; its logia are correctly placed by Mt. (15 14 = Lk. 6 39, 10 24 *f.* = Lk. 6 40). It is difficult to discover (with Hahn) seven commandments in 6 27-38, or four parables in 6 39-49.

1 On this term see Che. *OPs.* 83 *f.*, Dalman, 162 *f.*, *HC* 1 342.

2 The supposed originals שלם or חסיר, of which τέλειος and οἰκτίρμων are held to be variant translations, do not seem convincing. On Lk.'s superior connection in 6 36 37 see Bousset 82 *f.*

3 The original form of the beatitudes, the presence of traits denoting social oppression and an atmosphere of strain, even of worldly perplexity, together with the absence of Mt. 6 25-34 from the Sermon, render it impossible to regard it as the echo of a Galilæan idyll with pastoral charm, although Mt. lends itself to this impression of summer teaching among the hills. On the real state of Galilee and its population, see GALILEE, § 6, Schür. *Hist.* ii. 1 3-5. It is remarkable that the polemic of the Sermon omits any reference to the Sabbath question, upon which the bitter enmity of the Pharisees had already come to a head against Jesus (Mk. 3 6 Lk. 6 11). Mt. prefers to postpone the Sabbath disputes unhistorically (12 1-8 9-14).

4 The real treasure (6 4 6 18) is secured, not by ostentation, but by inwardness and single-minded devotion to God. Unfeigned and undivided desire for heavenly wealth (6 19-24) is sure of satisfaction (cp Ja. 1 5-8), whatever else fails.

5 The gap is further filled up by means of logia (6 22-24) which—to judge from their erratic and less happy situation (11 34-36 16 13) in Lk.—seem to have had no historical setting in Q. See EYE (col. 1453), also Wernle, *Synoptische Frage* (1899), 74, and O. Holtzmann's *Leben Jesu* (280-2). Mt. 6 24 is echoed in 1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*, and cited in 2 Clem. 6 1, Orig. *c. Cels.* 8 15.

6 The possible interpretation of 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη) as 'alms' (ἐλεημοσύνη: 2 Cor. 9 9 *f.* = Ps. 112 9) would make 6 1 specifically part of 6 2-4.

7 'The house of God abhors much speaking. Pray thou with a loving heart; the petitions of all are in secret. He will do thy business, He will hear that which thou sayest, and accept thine offerings' (from the *Ani* papyrus, *Exp.T* 6 537). Prayer, fasting, and alms in Tobit 12 8.

8 Epictetus, in urging the same trust in providence, adduces the odd consideration that runaway slaves (not birds or flowers) get a livelihood somehow (*Diss.* 1 9 3 26). It is one trace of a certain historic fitness in the evangelic sources or their editors, that figures drawn from the vine (Judæa's characteristic plant) are confined to the Judæan ministry, whilst the corn flourishes naturally enough in the Galilæan tradition. See Bousset 44.

1 Neubauer quotes a Galilæan proverb similar to 6 39 (*Studia Biblica*, 1 52, n. 3). 6 42 corresponds to Oxyrh. Logia 1, and 6 37 echoes a saying of Hillel. No doubt many of these sayings were suggested to Jesus by what he had heard on the lips of Galilæan neighbours and during his recent tour throughout the synagogues.

2 Cp Jas. 4 11 *f.* On Lk. 6 41 Cheyne quotes from a satirical poem in the Arabian Ḥamāsa 5 37: 'I indeed see in thine eye a beam set across, and thou marvellest if thou beholdest in mine eye a mote' (*Exp.T* 4 402).

3 Resch groups 7 6 with a later set of logia on the service of the kingdom, following the agraphon 'be ye wise bankers' (γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται: cp 1 Thess. 5 21*a*) and 1 Thess. 5 21*b*-22. The lapidary style of Mt. 7 1-14 represents one characteristic method of Jesus as a teacher, derived from the gnomic literature of Judaism and practised by most rabbis of his day. The other method, resembling that of the prophets, was a longer impassioned harangue, with sustained appeal and thrust. These, with the dialogue-method, represent the characteristic styles adopted by Jesus, the Sermon being a combination of the first two.

4 For instances of this famous figure in the first century, cp *Test. Asher* 1, *Test. Abrah.* 11, and Epict. *Diss.* 2 11 3 22; for the roads of Galilee, GASm. *HG* 425 *f.*

5 Lk.'s sole mention of 'false prophets' (ψευδοπροφῆται: 6 26) refers to the past; in keeping with the 'political' or social tendency of his eschatology, he omits this trait in describing the apocalypse of Jesus (Mt. 24 24 Mk. 13 22).

6 According to the Talmud (Neub. *Géog. du Talm.* 185,

recognisable under the characteristic style of each editor, Mt.'s version being superior in accuracy. The impression of originality and authority produced by the Sermon (Mt. 7 28 *f.*) naturally corresponds to the weight and length of it in Mt., who has transferred to this place what Mk. (1 22) and Lk. (4 32) narrate as the result of Jesus' earlier teaching in the synagogue.

Much of the discussion upon the audience of the Sermon is misplaced. The dual nature of its contents

17. Audience.

—now touching disciples specifically, now broadening out to the public—together with the deliberately dual description of its hearers (which is not the result of composite tradition), may serve to indicate that too rigid a distinction is usually drawn between teaching (διδαχή) and preaching (κήρυγμα) at this early period of Jesus' ministry. The alternative 'disciples or crowd' is as imaginary as the harmonising expedients are unsatisfactory. A solution of the problem is visible when the collocation of crowds (ὄχλοι, ὄχλος) and 'disciples' (μαθηταί) in the description of the audience (Mt. 5 1 *f.* 7 28 *f.* Lk. 6 19 *f.* 7 1) is held to imply that in Q the 'disciples' were not the restricted inner circle of the twelve, whose election preceded the Sermon, but a wider circle of adherents more or less devoted to the new prophet. His instructions they followed, and to his teaching they professed attention and obedience. This ordinary sense of 'disciples' (μαθητής; cp Mt. 10 24 Acts 6 2 etc.), as employed if not retained by Mt.[1] and Lk., would cover people of varied enthusiasm and position (cp Mt. 10 42 Jn. 6 66), and even men with extremely imperfect ideas of what their new faith involved (Acts 19 1-3). The characteristic which distinguished them in general from the ordinary multitude was sympathy with the propaganda of Jesus—due in many cases to gratitude for the healing received from him—as well as a disposition to favour the new religious leader. Naturally the line between 'disciples' and 'crowd' would not be rigid; although there had been a certain sifting which helped to define the groups more clearly, they did not always lie noticeably apart as yet, like oil and water. Among the crowd there were usually some who were attracted by other motives than mere curiosity or the desire to range themselves behind a fresh and promising and popular guide; these Jesus in the Sermon and elsewhere[2] designed to reach and win.[3] Particularly among the 'quiet in the land,' susceptible and devout souls unspoiled by the hot fanaticism of Galilee with its semi-political zeal for God, or by the chilling formalities of the Pharisaic legalism, Jesus seems to have found congenial spirits.

This unobtrusive piety of the 'meek' (עֲנִיִּים, or עֲנָוִים) is sketched in Enoch 108 7-10, and its resigned semi-ascetic temper breathed through circles of pre-Christian Judaism outside Essenism; see Ps. Sol. 5 13 *f.*, the *Assumptio Mosis*, the character of Simeon and Anna in Lk. 2 and of Nathanael in Jn. 1 45-49 (Rhees, *JBL*, 1898, pp. 21-30), and the later *mansueti et quiescentes* of 4 Esd. (11 42), with the suffering lower classes of James (1 9 27, etc.; Spitta on Ja. 2 5). The picture of poor and needy ones sketched in the earlier wisdom-literature and apocalypses of Judaism reveals a disposition which had certain affinities with that of Jesus and yet was capable of development under his hands. His patient endurance, as taught to these people in the Sermon, was equally devout, but more cheerful; alert rather than resigned. With the quietists, as with the Essenes, Jesus stood in evident if partial sympathy; they were the *Gottesfreunde* of the age. Affinities, however, do not imply alliance or dependence, and the data of the gospels referring to the Galilæan period show that Jesus drew adherents from all classes, particularly from the poor, but not to the exclusion of that middle class which, as Graetz argues (*History of Jews*, ET 2 151 *f.*), was not conspicuously lacking in piety or morals and might have echoed honestly the young ruler's apologia (cp also Mk. 12 32-34). See NAZARETH, § 2, POOR, § 2.

At any rate, the Sermon assumes most of the fundamental principles of the religious consciousness; it was not addressed to a people 'sitting in darkness,' much less to the twelve. Neither esoteric, nor official, nor a call to repentance, it may be presumed to have reached an audience of people morally disposed (owing partly to temperament and circumstances, partly to his preaching) to start on the new road, if they had not already started, people whose cardinal need was encouragement and instruction upon the *differentia* of their new course. That Jesus taught the contents of the sermon during the course of several days (JESUS, § 12), is not impossible. The real Sermon, however, is short enough to have been delivered upon one occasion, and the gospels plainly intend to convey this impression of a single address, although the indefiniteness of Q and the evident absence of supplementary oral tradition did not permit them to sketch any concrete situation for it in time or place.

Perhaps the outstanding features of the address, from the point of view of historical and ethical progress in

18. Historical significance.

Judaism and primitive Christianity (ISRAEL, § 93), are (*a*) the close union between the mutual love of man and man, and the devout aspiration of the soul towards God; (*b*) the genial tenderness with which the conception of God is developed, free from rabbinic intellectualism or mere nationalism; and (*c*) 'the spiritual nomism' (Toy), which conserves the moral essence of the Law and at the same time frees it from legal dryness (JESUS, §§ 11-13, 17 *f.*). The last-named point is of cardinal importance to the historian, as the pivot upon which the relation of Jesus to Judaism finally turned. 'The expansion of the law quantitatively amounts,' as Baur remarked, 'to a qualitative difference.' There is no reason to doubt that even during the Galilæan period Jesus was conscious of issues in his message which transcended the current and traditional environment of religion among the Jews. But revelation, like nature, is never brusque. As yet the transition had not become so acute as it did at a later stage, and one main concern of Jesus in the Sermon, while defining and urging the new revelation with perfect decisiveness (Brandt, *Die Evangelische Geschichte u. der Ursprung des Christenthums*, 1893, pp. 449-455), is to avoid needless misunderstanding and prevent his freer views from being abused to the detriment of morality.[1] Both in the apocalyptic and in the nomistic

Stud. Bibl. 1 52), Galilæans were noted as wandering preachers who excelled in expositions of the biblical text, couched in parabolic form. Whilst Lk.'s access to a Jerusalem-cycle of traditions or even sources enables him to give Jerusalem a considerable rôle in the account of Jesus' early days, as indeed suited his literary predilections, Mt. singularly ignores the capital. So far as Mt. is concerned, Jesus had never been there when he delivered the Sermon; his ministry had been purely Galilæan. Jerusalem in Mt. 1-4 (cp 4 5) is merely indifferent if not antipathetic to Jesus (2 3), though susceptible to John (3 5, from Mk. 1 5).

[1] Mt.'s characteristic 'to disciple' (μαθητεύειν: elsewhere in NT only in Acts 14 21) includes (28 16-20) instruction in the words of Jesus (*e.g.*, 5 21 *f.*) as the norm of life (cp 6 21-24); in 27 57 the word is substituted for 'awaiting the reign of God,' in the description of Joseph of Arimathæa, and the important logion of Mt. 13 52 indicates the continuity and advance of Jesus' teaching (Dalman, 57). Thus the conception of discipleship, especially in Mt., corresponds to the aim of the Sermon (as in Mt. 5-7); it means adherence to the teaching of Jesus as the consummation of Judaism and the independent rule of a new faith. See further J. Weiss, *Nachfolge Christi* (1895) 2-13.

[2] Cp Mt. 23 1 and Mk. 8 34 (Lk. 9 23, yet Mt. 16 24), although the latter allusion to the crowd has its own difficulties (Carpenter, 227, Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, pp. 138 *f.*). The less determinate conditions of Jesus' actual ministry may, of course, have been somewhat sharpened in the process of tradition.

[3] Even although Jesus is proleptically represented in the Sermon as Messianic judge, the fidelity of the evangelic sources appears in the fact that as yet the adherents or disciples are pointed not to himself but to God as the supreme object of imitation (cp Xen. *Mem.* i. 6 3, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοὺς μαθητὰς μιμητὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύουσιν).

[1] Cp L. Jacob, *Jesu Stellung zum mosaischen Gesetz* (1893). The sensitiveness of Jesus upon this point has been already noticed (see above, § 13). Max Nordau quotes Mt. 5 17 as the last word in his exposure of modern *Degeneration* (ET 1898, p. 500); it is to him a profoundly penetrating maxim upon the truth that 'whoever preaches absence of discipline is an enemy of progress.' The preservation of such logia in Mt. and Lk. was necessary in view of their audiences in the Diaspora and the outside empire, to whom the Law was an ethical ancient code. Now that the Pauline strife had passed, the later generation (cp 1 Tim. 1 8 *f.*)

tendencies of the age he found support.[1] Neither of these wholly anticipated his genius, and to neither did he yield himself; yet in each material lay ready for the new reconstruction of religion to which, in 'the Sermon on the Mount,' Jesus is represented as having for the first time seriously addressed himself.

19. Literature. In addition to the essays and monographs already cited, consult the critical editors on Mt. (especially Weiss, *Das Matthäus-evang. u. seine Lukasparallelen*, 1876, pp. 130 *f.* 202 *f.*, also in Meyer's comm.,(9) 1898; and *Die vier Evangelien im berichtigten Text*, 1900; Schanz, *Komm. über des Ev. des heilig. Mt.*, 1879, pp. 156-246; Baljon, *Comm. op het Ev. van Mt.*, 1900), or Lk. (Schanz, *Komm. über das Evg. des heilig. Lucas*, 1883; Godet, *Comm. sur l'évangile de S. Luc*,(3) 1888; Colin Campbell, *Crit. Studies in St. Luke's Gospel*, 1890, pp. 209 *f.*; Hahn, *Das Evg. des Lukas*, 1 [1892] 414 *f.*; J. Weiss in Meyer's Comm.,(8) 1892; A. Wright, *St. Luke's Gospel* [1900]), or both (de Wette, *Exeg. Handbuch zum NT* 1 66-113 2 53-58; Holtzmann, *HC* vol. i.(3) 1901; Bruce, *Expos. Gk. Test.* vol. i.; G. L. Cary, *Internat. Hdbks. to NT* [1900], 1 95-138), besides the patristic annotators of whom Augustine (*de sermone Domini in monte*; Bened. ed. tom. iii.) and Euthymius Zigabenus are the most penetrating. The subject is handled by most writers upon the biography of Jesus—*e.g.*, Keim, *Jesu von Nazara* (ET) 3 12-39 281-335; Neander, *Life of Christ*, 1837 (ET), pp. 240-256; Didon, *Jésus Christ*, 1 316-339; Renan, *Vie de Jésus*, ch. 10; A. Réville, *Jésus de Nazareth* (1897), 2 29-60; Weiss, *Leben Jesu* (ET 2 139-162); and O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu* (1901), 185-193. On the religion and ethics of the Sermon, see Baur's *Das Christenthum u. die Christliche Kirche der drei ersten Jahrhunderte* (1853), ET 1 27-36; Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* (ET 1 154 *f.*); Weizsäcker's *Das apost. Zeitalter*(2) (ET), 1 35 *f.* 2 46 *f.* 55 *f.*; Ritschl, *Die altkatholische Kirche* (1857), 57 *f.*; R. Mackintosh, *Christ and the Jewish Law* (1886), 84-108; Wellh. *Sketch of Hist. of Israel* ((3), 1891), 207 *f.*; C. H. Toy, *Judaism and Christianity* (1890), 415 *f.*; Denney on 'Law in NT' (Hastings' *DB* 3 73-83); besides *Ecce Homo*, chs. 10-13; Edersheim's *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, 1, ch. 18; Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum* (1887), 489-501, cp 432-435; Tolstoi's famous *My Religion*, chs. 1-6 (1884), and Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines* (1884), 4 42-60. On the critical question add especially Holtzmann, *Die Synopt. Evang.* (1863), 174-178, and *Neutestamentliche Theologie* (1897), 1 150-160; Bovon, *Neutest. Théologie* (1893), 2 377 *f.*; Briggs, *Messiah of Gospels* (1894), 171 *f.*; Bruce, *The Kingdom of God* ((5), 1893), 1-12 *et passim*; Bartlet on Matthew's gospel, Hastings' *DB* 3 296-305; Robinson, *Saviour in Newer Light*,(2) 1898, 92 *f.* 146 *f.*; Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion* (1901), 23-69 *et passim*; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu* ((2), 1901; and generally the essays by Schürer (*Die Predigt Jesu in ihrem Verhältniss zum AT*, 1882), Bousset (*Jesu Predigt in ihrem Gegensatz zum Judenthum*, 1892), Baldensperger (*Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*(2), 1892, pp. 128 *f.*), Burton ('Ethical Teaching of Jesus in relation to Ethics of Pharisees and OT,' *Bibl. World*, 1897, pp. 198-208), and J. Weiss (*Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*,(2) 1900). Special monographs by Jehnichen (1786), Pott (1789), Tholuck ((5), 1872), Achelis (1875), Steinmeyer (1885), Ibleken ((2), 1890), H. Weiss (1893), Gore (1897), Heinrici (*Beiträge zur Gesch. u. Erklärung des NT: 2, die Bergpredigt*, 1899), and F. Grawert (*Die Bergpredigt nach Matthäus auf ihre äussere u. innere Einheit*, etc., 1900). On the Sermon in the later literature of the age see GOSPELS, §§ 83-107, JAMES (EPISTLE), § 3 *a*, and the patristic citations collected by Resch in his *Parallel-Texte*. Prof. B. W. Bacon's thorough monograph, *The Sermon on the Mount: its didactic purpose and literary structure* (1902), and A. Wabnitz's essay on the Mount of the Sermon, *Revue de Theol. et quest. rel.* 1902, p. 285 *f.* were published since this article was written.

J. MO.

SERON, the commander of the Syrian army belonging to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was defeated by Judas the Maccabee at Beth-horon 166 B.C. (1 Macc. 3 13-24, CHPωN [ANV], cp Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7 1, ܣܪܘܢ [Pesh.], *seron* [Vg.]).

SERPENT. Serpents abound in Palestine, as well as in Egypt, in the Sinaitic peninsula, and in the Arabian desert (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 328). The OT writers use eleven different words for serpents of one kind or another. It is often difficult to determine which species of the order Ophidia is meant, and yet

1. Names.

could regard the Law with equanimity, and, indeed, it was advisable to emphasise Jesus' positive approval of it to avoid misconceptions.

[1] The apocalyptic was not wholly destitute of a legal basis, for a right to the Messianic bliss frequently was traced back to loyalty to the Law. Nor, on the other hand, did the Law entirely reject a Messianic outlook. So Ehrhardt (37 *f.*) rightly, as against Baldensperger's thesis. See further W. Mackintosh, *The Natural History of the Christian Religion* (1894), 133-225, and Caird's *Evolution of Religion*, 2 88 *f.* 137 *f.*

clearness requires that we should vary our renderings, and not translate all these eleven words 'serpents.'

1. אֶפְעֶה, *'eph'eh* (ὄφις Job 20 16; ἀσπίδες, Is. 30 6; βασιλίσκος [Aq. ἔχιδνα, Sym. Th. ἀσπίς], Is. 59 5 †), EV VIPER, which is also the rendering of ἔχιδνα in NT. The root of the Hebrew word (and its cognate in Arabic) means to utter a groaning or hissing sound: the verb פָּעָה occurs once in OT (Is. 42 14) in reference to the groaning of one in pain.[1] That *'eph'eh* as well as Ar. *af'a* means the 'viper,' was shown long ago by Bochart (*Hieroz.*, Bk. iii., chap. 2); the deadly nature of the viper's poison well suits the allusion in Job 20 16. Objection has been taken to the mention of a viper issuing from an *egg* (Is. 59 5 *b*): but it is to be remembered (1) that vipers are in a sense oviparous, the young being hatched at the moment of birth, and (2) that such Hebrew words as *'eph'eh* are not like scientific terms for genera and species, and may easily be extended from the animals they properly denote to others which externally resemble them.

2. *Zōḥălē 'āphār*, זֹחֲלֵי עָפָר (Dt. 32 24 †), and *z. 'éreṣ*, זֹחֲלֵי אֶרֶץ (Mi. 7 17 †), 'they that glide on, or into, the earth'—a phrase which needs no comment. Cp ZOHELETH.

3. *nāḥāš*, נָחָשׁ (many times: 𝔊 everywhere ὄφις, except Job 26 13 Amos 9 3, where δράκων), EV 'serpent'—the most general word (probably used also in Ecclus. 25 15, where the Greek translator has so strangely taken the wrong meaning of *rōš*—'head' should be 'venom' [see GALL]).

Its connection with the verb נחשׁ (Gen. 30 27 44 5 15 Lev. 19 26 1 K. 20 33 etc.), which means 'to divine by omens,' is obscure:[2] a plausible theory is that of Boch. (*Hieroz.* 1 3), that the verb has obtained this meaning because of the belief, widespread in antiquity, that the serpent possessed the power of such divination, and that this power could be gained through contact with serpents (as in the case of Helenus and Cassandra) or by partaking of their flesh. Against this it is urged by Robertson Smith (*Journ. Phil.* 14 115) that the noun *nāḥāš* is confined to Heb., whilst the verb is common to all the Semitic dialects (cp Barth, *ES*, 48). In any case, considering the common use of the root in Arabic and Syriac (*ib.* 113 *f.*), we cannot suppose, as has been held (*e.g.* by Lag. *Uebers.* 188), that the verb is a denominative from *nāḥāš* and so referred primarily to whispered incantation, connected with the idea of the serpent's *hiss*.[3] See DIVINATION, § 3 [3].

We find *nāḥāš* combined with other terms in the phrases (*a*) *nāḥāš śārāph*, נָחָשׁ שָׂרָף (ὄφις θανατῶν, Nu. 21 6; ὄφις δάκνων, Dt. 8 15), 'fiery serpent'; see below, 9; (*b*) *n. bārīăḥ*, נָחָשׁ בָּרִחַ (Job 26 13 δράκων ἀποστάτης Is. 27 1 ὄφις φεύγων †), AV 'piercing serpent,' RV 'swift serpent'; and (*c*) *n. 'ăḳallāthōn*, נָחָשׁ עֲקַלָּתוֹן (Is. 27 1, ὄφις σκολιός), 'crooked (RV^mg. 'winding') serpent.' Both epithets are applied to the mythical Leviathan in Is. 27 1;[4] the reference in Job is similar. See LEVIATHAN.

4. עַכְשׁוּב, *'akšūb* (Ps. 140 3 [4], † ἀσπίδες, cp Rom. 3 13 [Aq. probably βασιλίσκος]), 'adders.' This word, which in form resembles the word עַכָּבִישׁ, 'spider,' seems in the Mishnā to denote a kind of spider, perhaps the tarantula (Lewysohn, *Zool. des Talmuds*, 309; Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.*), and was so understood by Rashi in the single instance where it occurs in the OT. But the authority of nearly all ancient versions (the Arabic renders 'vipers') and of the NT citation (Rom. 3 13) is in favour of the rendering 'adders'; and, as Bochart has shown (*Hieroz.* 3 5), this rendering harmonises with its probable derivation from the root represented by Ar.

[1] In Syr. the verb is used for the bleating of sheep.

[2] *naḥs* is the Ar. term for *infaustus*; but whether it is legitimate to connect this with נָחָשׁ is doubtful. See We. *Heid.*(1) 147, *n.* 1.

[3] Lag. (*Mitth.* 1 230; cp Barth, *ES* 48) identifies נָחָשׁ with Ar. *ḥanaš*. This seems very plausible, though *ḥanaš* is used for flies and worms as well as serpents (cp We. *Heid.*(2) 152). A shiny black serpent (*Zamenis carbonaria*) of Palestine, often carried about in bags by dervish serpent-charmers, is called *ḥānāš* (*PEFQ*, Jan. 1894, p. 29 *f.*).

[4] Smend (*ZATW* 4 213) thinks that two different creatures (δράκων and ὄφις) are meant. This seems unlikely.

SERPENT

'*akasa*, to 'invert' or 'turn round,' as describing the motion of a serpent.[1]

5. פֶּתֶן, *péthen* (ἀσπίς, Dt. 32 33 [Aq. βασιλίσκος], Job 20 14 Ps. 58 4 [5] Is. 11 8; δράκων [Aq., Sym., Th. ἀσπίς] Job 20 16; βασιλίσκος [Sym. probably ἀσπίς], Ps. 91 13 †[2]), EV 'asp' or 'adder.' The word evidently denotes a highly poisonous snake, perhaps of the cobra kind (cp Arab. *bathan*; Forskål, *Descriptiones Animalium*, 15).

The particular sort intended cannot be determined. There is no ground for connecting the name (Boch. 3 5) with Greek πύθων.

6. צֶפַע, *ṣépha'* (Is. 14 29, † ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων), AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' EV^mg. 'adder.' From Is. 14 29 it appears that *ṣépha'* denotes a more deadly animal than *nāḥāš*, though itself less formidable than *śārāph* (see Dillm. *ad loc.*). The Vg. renders *regulus*, and it is possible that the fabled 'basilisk' is intended; but the 'asps' brood' of the LXX seems equally likely.

7. צִפְעֹנִי, *ṣiph'ōnī* (ἔκγονα ἀσπίδων, Is. 11 8; ἀσπίδες, Is. 59 5; κεράστης, EV 'adder,' RV^mg. 'basilisk,' Pr. 23 32; נְחָשִׁים צ׳, ὄφεις [cp no. 3] θανατοῦντες [EV], Jer. 8 17 [3] †), AV 'cockatrice,' RV 'basilisk,' EV^mg. 'or adder' except in Pr. 23 32 where 'adder' is in the text. Perhaps, as Tristram (*NHB* 275) and Cheyne suggest, a large viper like *Daboia xanthina* (*FFP* 147) is intended by both *ṣiph'ōnī* and the kindred *ṣépha'*. Cp COCKATRICE.

The *eggs* mentioned in Is. 59 5 are an objection to this identification. Hence the cat-snake (*Ailurophis vivax*, now called *Tarbophis fallax*) has been suggested by Furrer (*HWB*(2) 1423*a*); and this, it is true, may formerly have extended S. of 'N. Syria.' The eggs of the monitor lizard *Varanus niloticus* (still eaten) would produce creatures fairly like vipers.

8. קִפּוֹז, *ḳippōz* (ἐχῖνος, Is. 34 15), AV 'great owl.' Ar. *ḳafaza* means 'to spring,' and Ar. *ḳaffāz* (=קִפּוֹז) and its fem. *ḳaffāza* are both quoted (P. Smith, *Thes. Syr.* 1375, Lag. *Uebers.*, 89) as meaning a kind of serpent. The etymology would suggest some rapidly springing snake, such as *Eryx jaculus* (*FFP* 146); though the *ḳippōz* cannot be either this or (RV Bochart, Ges., etc.) the 'arrowsnake' (ἀκοντίας: cp Lucan, 6 675 'Arabum volucer serpens' and 9 822 '*jaculum* vocat Africa'), since only pythons 'hatch' (Is. *l.c.*).

The context of Is. 34 15 would be appropriate to any oviparous species; but there are no pythons now in Palestine or Babylon, nor are they known to have lived in Persia or Mesopotamia in historical times, being confined, with one exception, to the Palæotropic and Australian regions (cp Houghton).

𝔊 and most ancient interpreters confused *ḳippōz* with *ḳippōd*; but etymology and context show them to be distinct. AV's 'great owl' is not supported by etymology or ancient tradition (see Boch. ii. 3 11); but there is force in the contention that a bird is suggested by the description (Houghton, *Acad.*, 1886, 1 292 *f.*; Post, Hastings' *DB* 3 637).

9. שָׂרָף, *śārāph* (Nu. 21 8), נָחָשׁ שָׂרָף (Nu. 21 6 Dt. 8 15), and שָׂרָף מְעוֹפֵף (Is. 14 29 30 6). The rendering 'fiery serpent' of EV is due to the derivation from שָׂרַף, 'to burn' which still remains the most probable explanation of the name.

The name thus refers either to the fiery appearance of the serpent and especially of its eyes[4] or to the inflammation caused by its venom. On the relation of the śārāphs to the seraphim of Is. 6 2 6, see below, § 3 (*e*).

10. שְׁפִיפֹן, *šĕphīphōn* (ἐγκαθήμενος, Gen. 49 17 †), EV renders 'adder,' AV^mg. 'arrowsnake,' RV^mg. 'horned snake,' the *Cerastes* (see § 2 [*b*]), cp Ar. *siff*.

11. תַּנִּין, *tannīn* (Ex. 7 9 10 12), RV^mg. 'Any large reptile'; Ps. 91 13 RV, AV 'dragon'; Deut. 32 33 (EV 'dragon'; Dr. 'reptiles'); cp DRAGON.

As we have seen, snakes are no rarity in Palestine, a country which, by climate, soil, and geographical position, is well adapted to sustain a large ophidian fauna. Tristram enumerates thirty-three species, of which the most venomous are:—(*a*) The *Naja haje*, or Egyptian Cobra, found in Southern Palestine and common in Egypt. Its habit of swelling and flattening its neck when irritated, and gliding along with its posterior two-thirds on the ground, its head and neck being erect, are well known. It usually forms part of the stock in trade of snake charmers, and it is said that the cobra is readily thrown into a rigid or mesmeric condition, which G. St. Hilaire says is induced by pressure applied to the neck. The remaining venomous snakes all belong to the family Viperidæ. They are (*b*) *Cerastes cornutus* (*hasselquistii*), the horned viper, which is exceptionally poisonous; it frequents the sandy deserts of South Palestine, and hides in the sand or in the hollow caused by a horse's or camel's foot (Gen. 49 17). It is an object of great terror to horses, and is thought by some to be the asp of Cleopatra. (*c*) *Vipera lebetina*, syns. *V. euphratica* and *Daboia xanthina*. (*d*) *V. ammodytes*, the long-nosed or sand-viper, mainly nocturnal and found on hills. (*e*) *Echis carinatus*, syns. *E. arenicola*, found in the desert near the Dead Sea. It is said to produce a characteristic hissing or grating sound by rubbing its serrated scales together.

2. Species.

A. E. S.—N. M.

3. Magic, folk-lore, and mythology.

(*a*) The art of serpent-charming, still practised in Egypt, Palestine, and India, was known to the ancient Hebrews (see Ps. 58 4 *f.* Jer. 8 17 Eccles. 10 11 Ecclus. 12 13 Ja. 3 7), who, however, like the dervish snake-charmers of to-day, found venomous serpents deaf to incantations (cp *PEFQ* Jan. 1894, p. 29 *f.*). In Ex. 7 9-12 (P) we hear of Moses and Aaron turning their rods (by the divine power) into serpents, and the Egyptian magicians (did the original story say, 'the magicians of Miṣrim'?—see MOSES, § 6) performing the same feat. The converse of this (serpents stiffened into rods) is still common (see above on the cobra) with Eastern jugglers. J however, so far as we know, only told of Moses turning his rod into a serpent (see Ex. 4 3); its supernatural power must surely (in the oldest form of the tradition) have excluded the competition of the Egyptian sorcerers, though it is true that in the end, according to P, 'Aaron's rod swallowed up their rods.' Cp PLAGUES (TEN), § 4.

(*b*) Another element in Hebrew folk-lore was probably a veneration for the supernatural character of certain serpents. Of course we need not credit the Israelites with the full Arabian superstition respecting serpents. On the other hand, we can well imagine that much was popularly believed in Israel which has found no record in the OT (the names Dragon's Well, Serpent's Pool [Jos.], and Zoheleth confirm us in this view; see DRAGON, § 4). Those who regard the narrative in Gen. 3 as of native Palestinian or even Jerahmeelite origin (see § 4) may therefore be excused if they look for illustrations of it in Arabian folk-lore. The most accessible sources of information are Robertson Smith's *Rel. Sem.* (see 120, 133, 168 n. 3, 172), and Wellhausen's *Reste Arab. Heid.*(2) 152 *ff.*

In the light of these facts it becomes very natural that the serpent in Gen. 3 (or rather the δαίμων within it) should know the qualities of the fruit of the sacred tree. He might indeed conceivably have been regarded as the spirit of the tree, for such a spirit would become visible in serpent form. Or until lately we might plausibly have held that he was originally thought of as the protective δαίμων of the Ḥavvah-clan (serpent-clan; on Wellhausen's theory as to Eve, compare EVE, HIVITES, and PARADISE, § 12). The present writer now regards this theory (once so natural) as definitely set aside. Not less certainly may we affirm that the serpent of the Paradise story was neither a *shaiṭān* nor the Satan—*i.e.*, neither one of the pernicious snake-dæmons called shaiṭāns nor the Jewish-Christian Satan who is the shaiṭān *par excellence*.[1]

[1] For final ב cp Ar. *tha'lab*=שׁוּעָל, 'fox'; see SHAALABBIM.

[2] [In Ps. 91 13 we may doubt the combination 'lion' (שַׁחַל) and 'adder,' 'young lion' (כְּפִיר) and 'dragon.' 𝔊's ἐπ' ἀσπίδα presupposes זָחֵל (cp 2 above), and in Job 4 10 𝔊's δρακόντων (for כפירים) presupposes כְּרָפִים, an otherwise unknown word for 'asp' (Syr. *kurfa*).—T. K. C.]

[3] Here Aq. seems to render צפענים in one edition by βασιλίσκους, and in another by σκοπεύοντας; Sym. by πονηρούς.

[4] An Arabian poet (Ṭarafa, *Mu'all.* 83) speaks of the 'fiery head of the serpent' [G. Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen*, 10]; cp also Verg. *Aen.* 2 210, Ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni.

[1] According to Sprenger, Goldziher, and van Vloten (in *Feestbundel aan Prof. de Goeje*, 1891, p. 38 *ff.*) shaiṭān is an old Arabic word. This is extremely plausible, but it is possible that corrections have been introduced into old texts by Moham-

(*c*) The belief (implied in Nu. 21 9) in the power of a serpent of brass to check the ravages of venomous serpents can also be illustrated from Arabic sources. Ḳazwīnī (2 373) tells of a golden locust which guaranteed a certain town from a plague of locusts, and of two brazen oxen which checked a murrain among cattle.[1] More remote is the consideration that the serpent was the symbol of the divine power of healing, and sacred therefore to Asklepios.

(*d*) The belief in the special wickedness of a person who has died from a serpent's bite, ascribed to the 'barbarous' people of Melita in Acts 28 3-6, is well illustrated from the experience of Doughty in Arabia (*Ar. Des.* 1 313 *f.*).

(*e*) On the flying saraphs of Is. 14 29 30 6 much need not be said. We find them again in the dragons of Arabia mentioned in 4 Esd. 15 29, where their wings are apparently represented figuratively as chariots, and their hissing (so RV, reading *sibilatus* for *sic flatus*, with Bensly) is said to be borne over the earth. They are among those fancy creatures with which folk-lore peoples desert regions where, as Ašur-bāni-pal says, 'the birds of heaven fly not, and wild asses and gazelles do not feed' (*KB* 2 221). To this day the folk-lore of the fellahīn of Palestine recognises such creatures (*PEFQ*, 1894, p. 30)—as indeed Herodotus (2 75), giving credence to travellers' tales, had long ago recognised them in Arabia. Delitzsch remarks (*Gen.*(5) 99) that the 'flying seraphs' have their counterparts in the SERAPHIM, with which Wellhausen agrees (*Ar. Heid.*(2) 153).

(*f*) The serpent (*nāḥāš*) at the bottom of the sea, mentioned by Amos (9 3), might also until lately have been explained from Arabic sources. The legendary sea-serpent or *tinnīn* (= Heb. *tannīn*) of the Arabs is described in such a way as to show that the waterspout is the phenomenon referred to[2] (Mas'ūdī 1 266 *f.*; Ḳazwīnī 1 132 *f.*; Damīrī 1 186 *f.*). Recent investigations, however, leave the present writer no doubt that the 'serpent' of Amos is a pale reflection of Tiāmat, the famous mythic enemy of the Light-god[3] (see CREATION, DRAGON). It need only be added here that the Babylonian Tiāmat is represented in two forms: (1) as a composite monster, with tail, horns, claws, and wings ('like the mediæval devil,' Sayce),[4] and (2) as a serpent, and that, according to Fr. Delitzsch,[5] the serpent form considerably predominated. As early as 1500 B.C. we find Tiāmat described in a Babylonian inscription as a 'raging serpent'[6]—evidently the conception is similar to that of the serpent-myth which had almost faded away for a time when Amos wrote, and when unknown narrators produced the story of the brazen serpent in the wilderness as an explanation of the so-called NEHUSHTAN (*q.v.*).

In conclusion we have to speak briefly of certain other serpent myths, and to return to the subject of the narrative in Gen. 3. Such myths were specially abundant in Egypt and Babylonia. Among guardian serpents in Egypt may be classed the uræus (οὐραῖος, Egypt. *'ar'at*; asp or cobra), represented on the crowns of the gods and of the Pharaohs, which was endowed with a mysterious vitality, and was supposed to vomit flames when angry;[7] also those which were kept in shrines in temples[8] and were the embodiments of the tutelary deities, and open-air sacred serpents protective of districts,[1] besides the fairy-tale serpents which mariners professed to have seen in the Fortunate Isles.[2]

Besides these, we hear of the sacred Sata-serpent of the other world, which describes itself in these terms, 'I am the serpent of many years; I am buried and born (again) continually; I am the serpent at the utmost ends of the world; I am buried and born; I renew myself, I make myself young continually.'[3] Of the evil serpent Apopi enough has been said elsewhere (see DRAGON).

In Babylonia it is sufficient to mention the symbolic serpent of Ea (the god of the deep and the atmosphere), who was early connected with Babylon and the Euphrates—itself called the 'river of the snake.' This is an example of the beneficent serpent. But there was also an 'evil serpent'—the 'serpent of darkness' and 'of the sea'—and it would not be unnatural if this serpent of darkness were often identified with the dragon Tiāmat.[4]

4. Serpent in Paradise.

We now return to Gen. 3. Is it sufficient to explain the part played by the serpent (*nāḥāš*) from the war with hurtful creatures naturally referred to in an imaginative picture of man's early state? Surely not. In the story on which Gen. 3 is based (it is no doubt only a very pale reflection of it which we possess) the serpent must have been a mythological one. The facts of Arabian folklore (see § 3 *b*) are favourable to this view, and Jensen (*Kosmol.* 227) finds a suggestion of it in the Babylonian Flood-story, which makes Pir-napištim give a fragment of the sacred plant (called 'In old age the man becomes young') to Gilgameš, from whom it is taken by a serpent. Here, however, the serpent (representing the jealous-minded gods) grudges the man the attainment of immortality;[5] the connection with the serpent of Gen. 3, suggested by Jensen, is surely as precarious as the theory of the late George Smith (*Chaldæan Genesis*, ed. Sayce, 88), energetically opposed by Oppert, Halévy, and Tiele, that the temptation was represented on a certain Babylonian cylinder. Indeed, though the 'tree of life' in Gen. 2 3 (which must be the original sacred tree [cp Rev. 22 2] of the Hebrew legend) is of Babylonian and not Iranian origin,[6] it by no means follows that the story of the serpent tempting the woman comes from Babylonia. We have as yet no evidence that the Babylonians had a moralised Paradise-story, and it is conceivable that the writer of Gen. 2 4*b*-3 24 (one of the later Yahwists) may have drawn from different sources. What these sources are, may now, with some confidence, be conjectured. See PARADISE, § 6.

The immediate source of the Paradise-story, including the chief details about the serpent, was most probably Jerahmeelite—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian kinsfolk of the Israelites, a part of whom had entered Canaan before the Israelites, while a part remained in N. Arabia and in the Negeb, where they became to a large extent the religious tutors of the Israelites (see MOSES, §§ 6 *ff.*), had a Paradise-story upon which the Israelitish tale is based. It is no doubt true that the Phœnicians (influenced, as Philo of Byblus rightly states, from Egypt) recognised the serpent as the symbol of wisdom and immortality;[7] but this does not warrant the theory of a Phœnician or Canaanitish origin of our narrative. And if an ultimate Babylonian origin for the detail of the serpent (as a friendly adviser, not as a tempter) be thought probable, yet we need not look to the Babylonian Paradise for its germ. Ea, the god who formed and was specially interested in man, and who was also the lord of wisdom and bringer of culture to Babylonia, was imagined, not only as a fish (cp the culture-bringer Oannes[8] in Berossus), but sometimes as a serpent.

A primitive form of culture-myth may have reached

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medan scholars. We. (*Heid.*(2) 158) compares the substitution of El and Bōsheth for Baal—a theory, which, however, seems to need some qualification.

1 G. Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen zum AT* (1897), p. 11.

2 WRS (*RS* 176, n. 3) comparing Ps. 148 7, 'Ye dragons, and all deeps,' where 'dragons' is in the Hebrew *tanninim*. But the reference here seems rather to be to a class of animals (Gen. 1 21, AV 'whales,' RV better 'sea-monsters').

3 Observe that תַּנִּין, which in Ezek. 29 3 is fitly rendered 'dragon,' is used by P as a synonym for JE's נָחָשׁ. Cp Ex. 7 9 10 12 (δράκων) with 7 15 4 3 (ὄφις).

4 Smith-Sayce, *Chaldæan Genesis*, 113.

5 *Weltschöpfungsepos*, 126.

6 *KB* iii. 1 143.

7 See the ode to Thotmes III. (*l.* 9 *f.*), Brugsch, *GÄ* 354; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 265.

8 Cp the Hebrew seraphim. The second of the two hieroglyphic papyri from Tanis (ed. Petrie; *Egypt. Fund*, 1889) contains a list of all the sacred titles of agathodæmon serpents in the larger Egyptian temples.

1 See the illustration in Maspero, *Dawn*, 120.

2 See the tale of the shipwrecked mariner (Maspero, *Contes*, 135 *ff.*).

3 Brugsch, *Myth. u. Rel. der alten Aegypter*, 180, cp 103.

4 See Sayce, *Hibb. Lects.* 282 *ff.*

5 Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* p. 587.

6 Gaokerena, the Iranian 'tree of life,' may perhaps be ultimately of Babylonian origin.

7 Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 1 10 30 (on the serpent called Agathodæmon); τὸ ζῶον τὸ πνευματικώτατον πάντων τῶν ἑρπετῶν is one of Philo's phrases.

8 The name Oannes probably conceals the name Ea (so Tiele).

N. Arabia in which this divine serpent brought the knowledge of useful arts, and out of this crude material Hebrew moralists may have constructed the episode of the serpent in Gen. 3. It was natural that the sea-serpent (Ea) should become a land-snake, and that its divine character should disappear.

At any rate, the serpent is not to be identified with the pernicious serpent called by the Iranians Azi-Dahāka, which 'sprang like a snake out of the sky down to the earth to blight (Ahuramazda's) creation,' nor of course with the serpent Ahi or Vritra, which is a pure nature-myth of the ancient Aryas of India. We must not therefore illustrate the saying in Gen. 3 15 by the temptation of Krishna in the Bhagavata Purana, which winds up with the overthrow of the great serpent, or by the slaying of Azi-Dahāka by Keresaspa.[1] It is a similar distortion of the sense which identifies the shrewd and friendly serpent of Gen. 3 with the Babylonian dragon of chaos, overcome by the light-god, but allowed to work ruin for a time in the latter days (Rev. 12 9; cp DRAGON).[2] The curse pronounced upon the serpent (Gen. 3 14 *f.*) is of course quite separate from the main story. When the divine or semi-divine serpent of the old myth had suffered partial degradation, it was natural to connect the action by which (undesignedly) it had injured the first men with a new ætiological myth to account for the physical peculiarities of ordinary serpents and the truceless war between serpents and men. In doing so, however, the narrator clearly implies that originally the serpent had been erect; this was a survival from the time when it was thought to be divine.[3]

What then was the serpent's offence? It consisted not in ill-will to God's noblest creature, man, but in exciting intellectual pride—*i.e.*, in aspiring to the possession of divine wisdom and of that eternal life which goes together with the highest wisdom. It is this pride which is abased in the serpent. Man on his part is to keep up the war against temptation to pride as vigorously as he prosecutes his war against the serpent, now become his deadly foe.[4] Such was the moral meaning of the serpent-story suggested by the original narrator. The unfortunate corruption of the text indicated and perhaps not unplausibly healed elsewhere (PARADISE, § 11) is responsible for the jungle growth of inconsistent interpolations which has gathered round the fairly simple story of Gen. 3 1-24.

On the symbolism of the serpent, see Baudissin, *Stud. Sem. Rel.* 1 257-292; on Serpent-clans, WRS *J. Phil.* 9 99 *f.*; and cp Gray, *HPN* 91, 114, and NEHUSHTAN. See also Toy, 'Analysis of Gen. 2, 3,' *JBL*, 1891, pp. 1 *ff.*; the OT Theologies of Schultz and Smend, and PARADISE, §§ 11, 13. On the natural history consult O. Günther, *Die Reptilien u. Amphibien von Syrien, Pal. u. Cypern*, 1880.

§ 1 *f.* N. M.—A. E. S.; § 3 *f.*, T. K. C.

SERPENT, BRAZEN. See NEHUSHTAN.

SERPENT, THE OLD. For Rev. 12 9 see APOCALYPSE, § 41, SATAN, §§ 6 (9) 7.

SERUG (שְׂרוּג; ϲεροyχ [BAEL], -ɼ [L in Ch.]; in Lk. 3 35 ϲεροyχ [Ti. WH], AV SARUCH) b. Reu, in P's genealogy connecting Shem and Abraham (Gen. 11 20-23 1 Ch. 1 26), is the well-known district and city *Sarūg*, between *Bīrejik* on the Euphrates, N. of Carchemish, and the two cities just NE. (Urfa, *i.e.*, Edessa), and SE. (Ḥarrān) from it, both on the river Baliḫ (cp Di. *Gen.*, *loc. cit.*, and reff.). Glaser and Hommel (*AHT* 209) connect the name with the Aram. district *Birtu* (fortress) *ša saragîti* (cp *KB* 2 10 *f.*).[1] F. B.

[1] See *Pahlavi Texts* (*SBE*), 1 17, and cp Zend-Avesta, 2 61. Azi Dahāka is said to have been bound to Mt. Damāvend, where he is to stay till the end of the world, when he will be let loose, and then killed by Keresāspa. Cp Rev. 20.

[2] Zahn (*Einl.* 2 600) connects the mention of the serpent as the symbol of the evil one (Rev. 12 9 20 2; cp 2 Cor. 11 3) with the reference to Pergamum in Rev. 2 12-17. The serpent was the symbol of Asklepios, the god of healing, who was specially worshipped at Pergamum, and whose commonest epithet was σωτήρ (also ὁ σωτήρ, and σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων). To the Christians this might appear a diabolical caricature of the true σωτὴρ τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] Del. *Weltschöpfungsepos*, 128.

[4] 'Eating dust' (cp Mic. 7 17) need not be taken literally. It may be a conventional expression for the deepest humiliation as in Am. Tab. L 42 35, 'May our enemies see it and eat dust' (Wi. *AOF* 1 291). The gloss in Is. 65 25 (see *SBOT*, 'Isa.') seems to misunderstand the passage in Gen. 3. Dust is also said to be the food of the shades (*Descent of Ištar*, obv. l. 8); this too may be a hyperbole.

SERVANT. The words are :—

1. עֶבֶד, *'ebed* (παῖς, παιδάριον, οἰκέτης, θεράπων, δοῦλος); (*a*) slave, Gen. 12 16 39 17 Ex. 21 2 20, etc.; (*b*) with reference to a king, a royal official, Gen. 40 20 2 S. 10 2 4, or even a common soldier, 2 S. 2 12 *ff.* 3 22 8 7.

2. שָׂכִיר, *śākīr* (μισθωτός, μίσθιος) 'hired servant,' Ex. 12 45 Lk. 15 17 19; 'hireling,' Job 7 1 *f.* 14 6 Mal. 3 5 Ecclus. 7 20 Jn. 10 12 *f.*

3. נַעַר, *na'ar* (παῖς, παιδάριον, θεράπων, δοῦλος), properly 'boy,' 'lad'; hence 'attendant,' 'retainer' (BDB); see Nu. 22 22 1 S. 25 5 2 S. 2 14 *f.*, etc.

4. מְשָׁרֵת, *mešārēth* (λειτουργός, διάκονος, θεράπων), better rendered 'minister,' 2 S. 13 17 *f.* 2 K. 4 43, also Joel 1 9 2 17 (of the priests).

5. פלח [Aram.] (λειτουργός), Ezra 7 24.

EV weakens the sense of עֶבֶד and δοῦλος by constantly rendering 'servant.' Only six times is the word 'slave' found in EV. In four passages it renders δοῦλος, viz., Judith 5 11 14 13 18 1 Macc. 3 41. In Jer. 2 14 'home-born slave' is given for יְלִיד בַּיִת, and in Rev. 18 13 'slaves' for σώματα.

The use of παῖς and παιδάριον for עֶבֶד hardly needs comment; it is a natural extension of the meaning of terms which are more strictly equivalent to נַעַר. In Mt. 8 9 we find δοῦλος, but in *vv.* 6 8 13 παῖς; similarly in Lk. 7 7, cp *v.* 3. Of special interest are Acts 4 27 30 because AV there renders παῖς by 'child,' in spite of the undoubted reference to passages in II. Isaiah where the 'Servant of the Lord' is spoken of in 𝔊 by the title παῖς, corresponding to עֶבֶד. RV correctly substitutes 'Servant'; the phrase is 'thy holy Servant Jesus.' See SERVANT OF THE LORD. It is also noteworthy that where 'Servant' (עֶבֶד) is used to express the special relation of Moses (Ex. 14 31 Nu. 12 7 *f.*) and of Job (Job 1 8 [A; but Bℵ παῖς] 2 3) to the true God, 𝔊 renders by θεράπων—a more honorific term than δοῦλος. Nevertheless, in a similar case the translator of Isaiah, as we have seen, adopts a different course. Note also that Joshua, the מְשָׁרֵת (Ex. 24 13, EV 'minister') of Moses, is called in 𝔊 ὁ παρεστηκὼς αὐτῷ. On διάκονος and λειτουργός see DEACON, MINISTER.

SERVANT OF THE LORD

Use of title (§ 1). In Jer., Ezek., II. Isa. (§ 2 *f.*). In Is. 42 49 50 53 (§ 4). State of text (§ 5). Jerahmeelite theory (§ 6). Literature (§ 7).

The phrase 'servant (servants) of Yahwè' (or 'of God') is applied to various persons and groups of persons.

1. Use of title. It is applied to Abraham (Dt. 9 27 Ps. 105 6 42); to Isaac and Jacob (Dt. 9 27); to Moses (Dt. 34 5 Josh. 1 1 1 Ch. 6 49 2 Ch. 24 9 Neh. 10 29 Dan. 9 11); to Joshua (Josh. 24 29 Judg. 2 8); to David (Ps. 18 and 36: titles); to the prophets (Jer. 7 25 25 4 etc.); to Isaiah, (Is. 20 3); to Job (Job 1 8 2 3 42 8), and even to Nebuchadrezzar, (Jer. [25 9] 27 6 43 10); of the usage in passages of Ezekiel and Is. 40-55 and in cognate passages of Jeremiah we shall speak presently (§ 2).

That the phrase is honorific and not disparaging, is obvious. Precisely so, Mohammed in the Koran (Sur. 2 31) is called 'our (God's) servant'; plainly the highest honour is thereby supposed to be conferred upon him. There is, however, a lower degree of this honourable estate. A 'servant' of God is primarily a worshipper of God. By sacrifice, members of the clan or the people were brought into the family of the protecting

[1] [Upon the theory (see *Crit. Bib.*) that the geography of the Hebrew documents was to a large extent misunderstood and misstated by the redactors, 'Serug' will represent a clan or place of residence, not in the N., but in the far S. Just as by transposition [א]שחו[ר] seems to have become Ḥeres (and, in MT of Is. 19 18, Heres), so 'Geshur' (the southern 'Geshur') may have become 'Serug.'—T. K. C.]

God, and a relation was established which might almost equally well be called that of servants[1] and of sons (cp 2 K. 16 7 Mal. 3 17, and note, with Mozley, the sense of ownership which pervades Abraham's conduct to Isaac in Gen. 22). To be advanced to a higher degree of service, a worshipper of Yahwè must receive from him some special mission. This could also be the lot of a whole people. A time was doubtless coming when all mankind would become the worshipping servants of the true God; but there would still be one people which was Yahwè's servant by election for a special object (cp Is. 49 1-6), viz. Israel. In the olden time, the people of Israel was God's servant only through its highest representatives—patriarchs (typically), prophets, and the idealised David. But in the post-exilic age the noblest portions of the people assimilated more and more the elevating idea that Israel itself was in the highest sense Yahwè's servant. See ISAIAH ii., § 18; cp MESSIAH, §§ 3 *ff.*

None of the passages containing the phrase *'ĕbed Yahwè* (Servant of Yahwè) presents any special difficulty except Jer. [25 9] 27 6 43 10, and some of those in Is. 40-55. These passages we have now to consider.

2. Jer. 27 6 43 10.

(*a*) As to those in Jer. relative to Nebuchadrezzar (the phrase in 25 9 has been interpolated),[2] there is of course nothing peculiar in the idea that the movements of the great conquerors known to the Israelites were fore-ordained by Yahwè (cp Is. 10 5 *f.* 15 37 26). There is, however, some strangeness in Nebuchadrezzar's being called by Yahwè 'my servant,' considering that whatever else the phrase 'Yahwè's servant' may mean in any special case, it means everywhere, except apparently in these passages of Jer., Yahwè's worshipper. It is possible for moderns to find good points in Nebuchadrezzar;[3] but there is no evidence that the Israelites were ever tempted to do so, and in particular that they ever looked forward (cp Is. 45 3 6) to Nebuchadrezzar's becoming a convinced worshipper of Yahwè; indeed, the narratives of Daniel and of Judith appear to make this king a symbol of the opponent of the God of the Jews, Antiochus Epiphanes. Besides this, it is probable that when Jer. 27 (in its present form) and 43 were written, the title 'my servant' was already a standing appendage to 'Israel' (cp Jer. 30 10 46 27 *f.*). Are we prepared to reconcile the double assignment of this title to Nebuchadrezzar and to Israel by the assumption of Duhm that the title 'my servant' was conferred, according to Hebrew thinkers, on Nebuchadrezzar for the period during which Israel's claim to be Yahwè's earthly representative was in abeyance? There surely ought to be some more satisfying theory than this.[4]

(*b*) As regards the passages, Ezek. 28 25 37 25[5] Jer. 30 10 46 27 Is. 41 8 42 19 *ff.* 43 10 44 1 *f.* 21 45 4 48 20,

3. Cognate passages in Ezek., Jer., and II. Isaiah.

there is no doubt that the title 'my servant' is here applied to the people of Israel (Is. 41 8 44 21) or—the synonymous term—Jacob (Ezek. Jer. Is. 44 1 *f.* 45 4 48 20). It is also plain from the passages in Is. 40-55 that the title suggested this idea—that Israel was not only devoted to the worship of Yahwè, but also 'chosen' by God to receive certain unique marks of favour (‖ בְּחִירִי, Is. 43 20 45 4[6] 'called' 'formed,' 'made' are also used), beginning with the deliverance from Egypt and the journey under divine guidance into Canaan and closing with the deliverance from Babylon (?) and the wonderful events which were to follow. Did the title also suggest the idea of a mission entrusted to Israel? It is true that in 41 11-16 Israel is described as a conqueror; that in 44 3-5 it is promised that Yahwè's spirit (*rûăḥ*) shall be poured out upon Israel's offspring, and that even foreigners shall aspire to become adopted members of Israel, also that in 43 10 *f.* the servants of Yahwè whom he has chosen (read עֲבָדַי) are called upon to act as witnesses to the prophetic veracity of their God. But these statements can only be said to contain germs which might develop into the idea of Israel's mission; upon the whole the Israel of these passages (and of the cognate ones in Ezek. and Jer.) has to manifest Yahwè's glory (cp Is. 43 7) rather by being than by doing, and to receive God's blessing for itself rather than to make them fruitful for other peoples, though certainly the three passages, 41 11-16 43 10 *f.* and 44 3-5, if read in the light of other passages, seem to suggest that a second stage in Israel's renewed life may be preparing, characterised by earnest activity and the exercise of moral influence.

Israel, then, as it passes out of the furnace of captivity, receives honourable titles from its God. We must not, however, exaggerate the merits of the bearers of these high titles. Israel is highly favoured; but the description of Israel in Is. 40-55 is by no means altogether idealistic. First, as regards the past. It will be necessary to leave out of account the strong statement in 42 24*b*,

> 'Was it not Yahwè—he against whom we sinned,
> And in whose ways they would not walk,
> And to whose law they were not obedient,'

and also the stern, damnatory clauses of chap. 48, inasmuch as all these are certainly later interpolations, and are therefore only interesting for the history of the expansion of the prophetic writing. But we may and must refer to 40 2 42 24 *f.* 43 23-28 47 6 50 1 51 17, as implying grievous failures on the part of Israel. In fact, the prophet of consolation could only carry out his object by making the calamities of Israel intelligible—*i.e.*, by reminding Israel of its earlier infidelity towards its righteous God.

Nor is this description idealistic as regards the present. According to the Second Isaiah, it is weakness of faith that is Israel's chief fault, and since faith is the stretched-out hand which receives God's blessings, it is necessary for the heralds of deliverance to arouse men out of the torpor of despondency by rebuking their distrust of God. To Israel at large 'it seemed as if Yahwè's recent action had been aimless, as if he had begun by spending great pains on the education of Israel, and then forgotten Israel's right to protection (40 27 49 14 63 11-14), and as if the source either of Yahwè's compassion or of his heroic deeds had been dried up, so that he tamely "gave his glory to another god" (42 8 48 11 63 15).'[1] Kindly and persuasive instructions were therefore essential to prepare the exiled Israelites for their high destiny. Idealism was permissible in pictures of future salvation, but not in descriptions of the state of Yahwè's people either in the past or in the present.

It may be doubted, however, whether such kindly persuasiveness would have been consistent with calling the whole body of exiled Israelites 'blind' and 'deaf.' The commentators seem here to have fallen into error. They tell us that the words (42 18-20, RV),—

> 'Hear, ye deaf; and look, ye blind, that ye may see. Who is blind, but my servant? or deaf, as my messenger that I send? who is blind as he that is at peace [with me], and blind as the Lord's servant? Thou seest many things, but thou observest not; his ears are open, but he heareth not,'—

refer to the Israelites, whom Yahwè reproaches for their spiritual insensibility (chap. 29 18). And this is supposed to be confirmed by 43 8, where we read (EV),—

> Bring forth the blind people that have eyes, and the deaf that have ears,—

[1] On the use of Obed or Ebed in Hebrew, and 'Abd in Arabic in the formation of proper names, cp NAMES, § 37; We. *Heid.*(2) 2 *ff.*

[2] See Giesebrecht's commentary.

[3] See Rogers, *Babylonia and Assyria*, 2 352 *f.*; Che. *OPs.* 280.

[4] See *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 27 6.

[5] In the same passage occurs the phrase 'my servant David' (*i.e.*, the first of a new line of Davidic rulers, as 34 23).

[6] So in 65 9 15 22 בְּחִירַי is a synonym for עֲבָדַי. Cp Sellin, *Studien zur Entst.-gesch. d. jüd. Gemeinde*, 1 81.

[1] *Intr. Is.* 243.

a difficult passage certainly, as the differences of the commentators show. It must be remarked, however, that in 42 16 the Israelites are called 'blind' in quite another sense; what is meant there is simply (to use Skinner's words) that the travellers cannot see their path. It is surely not very likely that the Second Isaiah would have applied the same epithet to the same people in two different senses within a few lines.

It has been lately pointed out (*SBOT* 'Isa.' [Heb.] 131 *f.*) that 42 19 forms, properly speaking, no part of the discourse, but is a gloss on the words 'deaf' and 'blind' in *v.* 18. But the text still appears to require some criticism in the light of fresh researches into the history of the Exile. Very probably the gloss or glosses already recognised should run thus:—

Who is blind but the Arabian, and deaf as the Jerahmeelite?
Who is blind but the Ishmaelite, and deaf as the Arabian?

These glosses are not merely an attempt to save the credit of the Israelites; they involve a correct interpretation of *v.* 18. The persons addressed are most probably the N. Arabian captors and oppressors of the Israelites (cp PROPHET, § 27) together with those false Jews who had gone over to their side, and the prophetic writer bids them learn the right lesson from the history of Israel—viz., that those who disobey Yahwè's law (one of the chief parts of which was a prohibition of idolatry—cp *v.* 17) are on the way to ruin. As for 43 8, a comparison of Ps. 115 5 *f.* 135 16 *f.* suggests that the 'blind people that have eyes,' etc., is an ironical description of the idols of Israel's oppressors, which the speaker commands to be brought up to the tribunal in order that their claims may be considered (cp 41 21). The peoples referred to in 43 9 are probably (as in the former case, and in 41 1 21) those of N. Arabia. But we will not omit to warn the reader that these criticisms form part of a connected radical revision of the text which is here made use of under the pressure of grave exegetical difficulty.

It is only necessary to add that the strange word מְשֻׁלָּם (*mĕšullām*), rendered variously in RV 'he that is at peace [with me],' 'made perfect,' and 'recompensed,' occurs as a proper name in 2 K. 22 3 and elsewhere, and has already been recognised as a distortion of the Hebrew ethnic meaning 'Ishmaelite' (see MESHULLAM).

4. The four great Servant-passages: Duhm or Budde?

(*c*) We now turn to another group of passages (Is. 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 52 13-53 12) in which, according to some critics, the interpretation of the phrase 'Servant of Yahwè' as a title of Israel is inapplicable, or, if applicable at all, only in a restricted sense with reference to the true Israel. These critics are of opinion that the characteristics of the personage called the Servant in these passages differ in some important respects from those of the Servant (*i.e.*, Israel) spoken of in the passages already considered. Some of them go so far as to hold that the Servant of Yahwè being sometimes apparently distinguished from Israel, and sometimes, especially in 52 13-53 12, being described as only an individual could be, we have to look into history for some great religious hero who might conceivably be intended in these striking descriptions. Sellin,[1] Winckler,[2] and Kittel[3] have selected Zerubbabel; but Sellin has himself abandoned Zerubbabel, and substituted the exiled king Jehoiachin (cp Rothstein, *Die Geneal. d. Jehoiachin*), whilst Bertholet[4] explains 53 1-11*a* with reference to the martyred scribe Eleazar (2 Macc. 6 18-31). Duhm, however (*Jes.* 377; (2) 367), holds that the problem which engages the critics is insoluble, and that Jewish history (so far as it exists) knows nothing of such an individual.

[1] *Serubbabel* (1898). See ZERUBBABEL.

[2] *AOF* 2 452.

[3] *Zur Theologie des AT* (1899) 2, 'Jesaja 53 und der leidende Messias im AT.'

[4] *Zu Jesaja* 53; *ein Erklärungsversuch* (1899). Bertholet's theory is that the passage 52 13-53 12 is made up of two small poems of different origin, (*a*) 52 13-15 53 11*b*-12, in which the typical teacher of the Tōrāh is glorified, and (*b*) 53 1-11*a*, which refers to Eleazar.

But, he adds, this is much less surprising than that it tells us nothing of an Amos, an Hosea, or a Micah, and that we do not know the name of the Second Isaiah. His own view is that the hero of the group of passages referred to was a teacher of the Torah, who lived probably (not certainly) between the Exile and the arrival of Ezra at Jerusalem, and devoted himself to true pastoral work among his people, but was seized by a terrible sickness, and after death shared the ignominious burial of criminals.[1]

It may be noted in passing that, according to Ibn Ezra, Saadia interpreted the whole section 52 13-53 12 of Jeremiah, a hypothesis which Ibn Ezra finds attractive (Driver and Neubauer, *The Fifty-third Chapter of Isaiah*, 'Translations,' 43), while not a few moderns suppose that the colouring, at least, was derived from the idealised life of Jeremiah. Also that Kraetzschmar thinks that Ezekiel may be the historic model of the suffering and glorified servant, referring to Ezek. 4, where Ezekiel, by divine command, bears the guilt of his sinful people, and suffers grievously in consequence (*Der leidende Gottesknecht*, 1899). The present writer has supposed that the last of the passages in question was 'largely modelled on the Book of Job' (*Jewish Relig. Life*, 1898, p. 162).[2]

It will be clear that, from the point of view represented above, the passages in question differ in essential respects from the other passages of Is. 40-55 relative to the 'Servant of Yahwè.' If this is a fact, it is alike important for the criticism and exegesis of II. Isaiah and for the history of religion. Of late, however, there have been signs of a growing reaction against Duhm, whose theory had at first won considerable favour. Elsewhere (ISAIAH [BOOK], § 18, col. 2205), a view has been taken akin to that of this able critic. But fairness requires us now to take account of an earnest protest (*Minoritäts-votum*) raised by Budde[3] against Duhm's theory—a protest with which Marti in his commentary, Giesebrecht (*Der Knecht Jahves*), and König (*The Exiles' Book of Consolation*) more or less completely agree. It will then be our duty to inquire whether there is any way of approaching the subject which will enable us to remove some of the chief causes of perplexity in earlier investigations.

1. Is. 42 1-4. The Servant is here entrusted with a mission to the heathen world. The method which he employs (so Duhm expounds *v.* 2) is radically different from that of the prophets; he is even unlike the Second Isaiah in his avoidance of loud, emphatic, exciting declarations. His task is simply to expound the Law of Yahwè to all who seek it, whether Jews or heathen, in the school or the private chamber, at Jerusalem, especially to those who are bowed by trouble. He is destined to become a recognised international authority, and as such his highest aim will be the establishment of the true religion on the whole earth. Duhm thinks that in order to be just to this description we must suppose the poet to refer to an individual, the greatest and most influential of the teachers of the Torah. With this result, Sellin (though he differs from Duhm in important details) agrees, in so far as the reference to an individual is concerned. Budde, however, protests: 'We ask in vain how such things could be stated of an individual; Is. 2 2-4 alone is sufficient evidence of the existence of the conception that Israel has a mission of instruction to the heathen.' Budde thinks, too, that the following verses (42 5-7) confirm this interpretation.

For, however we explain the difficult ברית עם (EV 'a covenant of the people') in *v.* 6,[4] it is plain that it can only apply to the people not to an individual, and in spite of Duhm[5] few will

[1] *Das Buch Jesaia*, 'Einl.' xviii.

[2] Seinecke, *Der Evangelist des AT* (1870), and Hoekstra, *Th.T*, 1871, pp. 1-56, invert the relation. Cp Kuenen, *Th.T*, 1873, pp. 492-542; Davidson, *Book of Job* (1884), Introd. pp. lxvi *ff.*; Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) (1884), pp. 265-268.

[3] 'The so-called Ebed-Yahweh Songs, and the Meaning of the Term "Servant of Yahweh" in Isaiah, chaps. 40-55,' *Amer. J. of Theol.*, 1899, pp. 499-540. (Also published in a German form, whence the phrase quoted above.)

[4] See Dillm. Ki. *SBOT* (Heb. 200 (46), and Marti, *ad loc.*

[5] Duhm's explanation of אור גוים in 42 6 as = 'a pattern of the other states,' has not found supporters. [During the correction of

doubt that the phrase in the parallel line, אור גוים, 'a light of the nations,' also refers to the Jewish people as a teacher, as in 49 6 51 4. It should be observed that 42 5-7 and 51 4 are, on Duhm's own showing, the work of the Second Isaiah. How, then, can it be said that there are in Is. 40-55 two inconsistent views of the Servant, which must have come from different writers, one much deeper religiously than the other? Such is Budde's argument.

2. Is. 49 1-6. The Servant of Israel summons the distant peoples to hear something in which they are specially concerned. From his very birth he has been singled out and endowed with a sharp, incisive speech, such as befits the expounder of Yahwè's word (cp Jer. 23 29). Till the right moment for his appearance shall come, he has been carefully hidden from the world that he may ripen in seclusion. Such was the honour put upon him; such the strength which was at his disposal as Yahwè's Servant. But his recent experience has been so sad that he has seemed to himself to have lived in vain and to be near his end. But whenever these thoughts have plagued him,[1] tokens have come to him from above that his God both justifies and is rewarding him. And now a fresh revelation visits him. The God who had originally given him a mission to Israel alone, now extends that mission to the Gentile world. It is Yahwè's purpose, not only to restore Israel as a people, but also to save or deliver the other peoples through the Servant's instrumentality. The restoration of the twelve Tribes will be the work of Yahwè, but not a purely miraculous work (as the Second Isaiah[2] thought), and the Servant of Yahwè can co-operate with him by persuading as many Jews as possible to migrate to the Holy Land. And the illumination or instruction of the 'peoples' devolves upon the Servant. They are to be saved from destruction by becoming converted to the true religion—that of Yahwè. This is the highest function of the Servant (note the significant נָקַל), and it is entirely his—except, of course, that Yahwè himself has trained and equipped his servant for his noble work.

There are two points in Duhm's 'extended discussion' of this passage to which Budde takes special exception: (1) the omission of 'Israel' in *v.* 3 as an interpolation,[3] and (2) the explanation of שובב (*v.* 5) as meaning a spiritual bringing-back of the Israelites to God by instruction, exhortation, consolation. On the first point, Budde remarks that 'the Servant is here addressing the heathen (*v.* 1*a*), to whom he is under obligation to state his name, as would not be the case were he an Israelite, addressing his own people'; ישראל is therefore simply the second predicate of אתה.[4] On the second, he points out that in Ezek. 39 27 Jer. 50 19 שובב means the physical restoration of Israel from exile, precisely as הֵשִׁיב. He also emphasises the fact that the active and the passive conceptions of the Servant are combined in this monologue of the Servant, just as they are in the undisputed work of II. Isaiah. It is a mistake to say that the Servant in II. Isaiah plays only a passive, and in the 'Songs of the Servant' only an active part. 49 4 *f.* shows that the Servant in the 'Songs' was not and could not be free from a 'wise passiveness'; he had to wait for Yahwè to recompense him, and his restoration to his home was to be Yahwè's work. And not less clear is it from 49 7 *ff.*, where Yahwè informs the Servant (*i.e.*, unquestionably, Israel) of the honour which he shall receive as the result of his successful mission to the nations.

the proofs appeared Duhm's second edition, in which he comes over to the more natural view, that the phrase means 'a teacher of the nations.' The parallel phrase, he thinks, is פדות עם, 'a redemption of the (Jewish) people.' See, however, § 5 (1).]

[1] According to Duhm, *v.* 4*a* is the protasis to *v.* 4*b*. Most, however, *e.g.*, Budde, suppose the meaning to be that the Servant had been attacked by despondency, which he overcame by calling to mind the faithfulness of Yahwè (cp 40 10*b*).

[2] Duhm quotes Is. 43 5 *f.* 49 22.

[3] Marti also retains the word.

[4] Budde not only keeps ישראל here, but inserts יעקב and ישראל in 42 1 from 𝔊 (533).

3. Is. 50 4-9. The Servant (whose title, however, is not expressly mentioned) describes the persecution which he has suffered, and his sure confidence that Yahwè will soon appear to put down his enemies. In the preface to this monologue he represents himself as one who expounds Yahwè's word (*i.e.*, the Torah?) to the weary, in accordance with the revelations which come to him afresh every morning. The collectivistic interpretation appears to Duhm plainly impossible.

To this Budde answers that what the Servant says of himself in 50 7-9 agrees with what Yahwè utters in 51 7 *f.* as an encouragement to the *people*, while, he might have added, the language of *v.* 6*a* resembles that in 51 23 Ps. 129 3. And even if the monologue of the Servant makes no mention of a mission to the heathen, who are indeed, so far as they are enemies of Israel, to be destroyed, yet the experiences described in 50 4 *f.* are just those which would be necessary for mission work among the heathen. The passage is, therefore, not inconsistent with the other passages, and Ley and Laue do wrong to omit it from the series of passages.

4. Is. 52 13-53 12. Wondrous is the contrast between the Servant's future exaltation and his past humiliation. See the kings paying reverence to him whose distorted visage once struck all observers with horror! But who can believe[1] the marvels revealed to us? Only those who can see the invisible operation of God in history (53 1). Mean were the circumstances in which the Servant grew up, nor had his person any external attractions. For society apart from his daily vocation he cared not (cp Jer. 15 17); he was despised and, as it would seem, in the latter part of his life afflicted with sickness and with pain. It was the punishment for sin, and the sufferer not only knew it but inwardly gave full assent and consent to it. He himself was innocent; no sins of speech or of act could justly be imputed to him. But his fellow-Jews (including the poet) assumed that such sins he must have committed, for was not sickness the punishment of sin? And this man's affliction was nothing less than leprosy (*v.* 5*a* is metaphorical); how great, then, must his sin have been! But the strange truth was that for high reasons the punishment deserved by the Jews in general was diverted to this willing substitute. Before this, afflictions may have fallen on those guilty ones; but they had no moral effect. The time came, however, when the eyes of men's understandings were opened to the meaning of the sufferings of the innocent one, and so 'by his stripes we were healed.' But while the sad spectacle was before them, the poet and his companions confess that they lived purely selfish lives, like wandering sheep. The sufferer, too, was like a sheep, but in another sense—he bore his lot without a murmur, even though by the manifest judgment of God he was cut off. His dishonoured body was laid apart with the wicked and the deceivers,[2] but he himself was graciously released—'taken' by God to some unknown place of sojourn. For very different in this case were God's thoughts from those of man. For the servant himself, those sufferings were a purification. He was to come back to the world, to reach a good old age (cp Job 42 12 *ff.*), and see his children prolonging their days. Having had his innocence recognised, he should live in the light of joy and prosperity.[3] As a reward for his atoning work he should 'inherit among the great, and divide spoil with the strong'—a proverbial phrase meaning 'he shall hold intercourse as an equal with the mighty ones of the earth.'

[1] מִי הֶאֱמִין; Duhm, 'who can believe?' The imperfect was impossible; it would have denied that anyone would believe. Marti, more plausibly, 'Who would have believed' (cp מִי מִלֵּל, Gen. 21 7). See also Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* (1890), p. 159, and cp Dr. *Tenses*,(3) 19.

[2] Duhm reads the Aramaising עָשִׁיק for the difficult עָשִׁיר.

[3] Duhm's radical corrections are partly based on 𝔊's *καὶ κύριος βούλεται καθαρίσαι αὐτόν* and *δεῖξαι αὐτῷ φῶς*.

To this exegesis Budde objects that it covers over the variety of expressions in the picture of the Servant's sufferings. As in the case of certain psalms, this variety seems rather to point to a metaphorical description of the distress of the nation in exilic or post-exilic times. Still more conclusive is the statement in *vv.* 8 *ff.* of the death and revivification of the Servant. Such statements are common in the later literature, beginning with Ezek. 37. On the other hand, if we try to make the description fit the case of an individual, we shall find ourselves hopelessly baffled. Who, for instance, are the long-lived descendants (זֶרַע) whom the revivified martyr, himself very old, is to see? Are they literal or spiritual children?[1] Both solutions have insuperable difficulties. Surely the children are those of the nation personified. It is true, the atoning character ascribed to the sufferings of the martyr seems to most to imply that the martyr is to be distinguished from the mass of the Jewish people. Budde, however, affirms this to be impossible. With Hitzig,[2] Giesebrecht[3] (especially), Wellhausen, König,[2] Marti, and [in 1899, but not in 1893] Smend, he takes up the tradition of rabbis such as Rashi, Ibn Ezra, Ķimḥi, that the confession in chap. 53 is uttered by the 'nations' referred to in 52 15; the martyr, therefore, both can and must be the people of Israel. One important part of his argument may be quoted here; he is meeting Dillmann's objection to Giesebrecht's view that II. Isaiah always makes the sin of Israel the cause of its sufferings (42 24 *f.* 43 27 *f.* 47 6 50 1; cp 42 13 49 25 *f.* 51 5 23, etc.).

'Whatever justifying *grounds* Yahwè may have had for the chastisement of Israel, as respects the heathen, who are here the speakers, not these grounds, but Yahwè's purpose, comes into consideration. Though Israel may have sinned, yet in the conscience of the heathen the only worshipper of the true God appears as the only innocent one. But, further than that, it is a well-known fact that, compared with other prophets, II. Isaiah lays very little stress upon Israel's trespass, that the tone of sympathy predominates throughout and strongly. Nor does he fail to state expressly that Israel has suffered more punishment than its sins have deserved. He begins his entire book with the statement [40 2] that his people, that Jerusalem, has received a double retribution for its sins. This is not, as Duhm thinks,[4] an allusion to Jer. 16 18, where a doubling of the punishment is announced, only, however, for renewed offences. On the contrary, II. Isaiah distinctly says that half of the punishment is undeserved, and on the basis of general prophetic premises we have a right to ask what may have been the occasion of this second undeserved portion; and when we find the figure of Yahwè's Servant already introduced in 41 8, and his mission—that of carrying the true religion to the heathen—stated in 42 1, we cannot avoid the conclusion that even here the prophet already has reference to the suffering which was indispensable to the fulfilment of that mission. The problem of theodicy is for the entire century the really vital one. The people solve it, not without a feeling of bitterness, by applying the doctrine of suffering for the sins of the fathers—*i.e.*, for the sins of Manasseh (Ezek. 18 2 etc.)—while Ezekiel tries to solve it by enormously exaggerating his accusations in an endeavour to balance guilt and punishment. II. Isaiah alone finds a really satisfying solution by associating with the cause of the punishment its purpose, and we can understand all the more readily that this solution was beyond the comprehension of the masses of the people, as well as of most of its leading spirits, because his hopes and predictions were not realised. The glorious restoration of his people did not come to pass, neither were its sufferings or its teachings able to lead the heathen to Yahwè.'[5]

It is a part of Budde's theory that the 'we' in chap. 53 is not a collection of individual men but of individual nations. This, according to him, makes the marked individualisation of the people of Israel more intelligible; the same individualisation of peoples underlies the 'we.' It is no doubt at first sight fatal to his theory that in 53 8 we find the phrase מִפֶּשַׁע עַמִּי, 'for the rebellion of my people' (which Ķimḥi has to explain as referring to each of the nations which will unite in this confession); but Budde has a remedy—he cleverly emends the text.[1] It may be added that he also emends the text of 52 13, where for יַשְׂכִּיל he proposes to read יִשְׂרָאֵל,[2] 'behold, Israel my servant.'

According to Budde, then, there are points of contact between 52 13-53 12 and the undisputed II. Isaiah which forbid the assertion that two different views of the Servant are represented in these two writings, and the individualistic interpretation of the Servant is hardly more tenable in chap. 53 than in other parts of the prophecy.

See also Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik* (1890), 146 *ff.*, a 'fundamental work' (Budde), and his *Der Knecht Yahves*; König, *The Exiles' Book of Consolation* (1899), 54-56 etc.: Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 355; and, against the nationalistic theory, Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der jüd. Gemeinde* (1901), 1 34 *ff.*; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(1) 257 *f.*

The differences of interpretation which we have been considering are largely due to the manifold obscurities of the text, not only of the four passages, but also of many other parts of Is. 40-66.

5. Text.

These obscurities may in turn be traced, not so much to *lacunæ* in the Hebrew lexicon or to the disturbing effect of the grandeur and novelty of the ideas on the mind of the writers, as to corruption. In the four passages corruption is, according to Duhm, specially marked in 50 4 52 14 53 10 *f.* Budde also fully grants that 'the second half of chap. 53 has suffered serious corruption of text'; but this critic impairs the value of this concession by the statement that 'the only corruption which interferes with a proper interpretation is the עַמִּי ('my people') in *v.* 8'; this, he says, 'admits of no explanation whatever' (5 10). It is to be feared that any considerable approach to agreement among critics will be impossible as long as this comparative confidence in the MT continues, and as long as sounder principles of textual criticism are not recognised both in theory and in practice. It is not that a large number of acute exegetical suggestions have not been made, but a decision of the important points at issue seems out of the question until a more thorough and more methodical examination of the text of the whole of Is. 40-66 has been carried through.

We have perhaps been so long accustomed to read Isaiah in the light of commentaries that real obscurities may not always strike us.

1. Who that reads Is. 42 1-4 with a fresh mind will say that this passage is easy? What is the meaning of 'he shall not cry nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard without' (*v.* 2)? W. E. Barnes[3] explains the first part, 'he shall not cry (his war-cry), nor lift up (his battle-shout)'; G. A. Smith[4] thinks that the prophet 'cannot be referring to the means and art of the service, but rather to the tone and character of the Servant'; Sellin (*Studien*, 1 85) sees an allusion to the loud publication of royal edicts; Duhm, to the vehement demeanour of prophets; Marti, however, finds the renunciation on Israel's part of a political rôle among the nations. Not less obscure is the next statement (*v.* 3),

The broken reed he breaks not off,
The failing wick he quenches not.

We all know how this is explained; the commentaries with one voice refer to the Christian ideal of the pastoral office. But what place has this here? and why did not the poet express himself distinctly? And why should any reference be made in *v.* 4 to the circumstance that

[1] See Di.-Ki. *Jes.* 456 (cp 461, foot), 'such as are brought by him to righteousness' (*v.* 11 60 21), 'the numerous citizens of the new Zion' (54 1 *f.* 49 19 *f.*).

[2] Hitzig and König, however, assign 53 1 to the prophetic writer.

[3] *Beiträge*, 146 *ff.*; *Knecht Yahves*, 59 *ff.*, 71 *ff.*

[4] So *Jes.* 264. But in his comm. on Jeremiah (1901, p. 141) Duhm maintains that the writer of Jer. 16 18 lived long after II. Isaiah.

[5] *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, 1899, p. 509 *f.*

[1] Reading מִפְּשָׁעֵינוּ. ע was dittographed; נו became ם, and י was transposed. Giesebrecht's emendation (cp G. A. Smith, *Isa.* 2 349) is less plausible.

[2] Marti approves. But an emendation at once more obvious and more favoured by parallelism is יַצְלִיחַ, 'shall have success.' Duhm (*Jes.*(2)) unfortunately adheres to יָרוּם.

[3] *Exp. T* 8 (1896) 29; the whole passage is applied to Cyrus. Sellin, however (*Studien*, 1 86), thinks it a designed contrast to the description in 41 2 *ff.*, which is usually applied to Cyrus.

[4] *Is.* 2 303 (so Delitzsch, Dillmann, Marti). Against this, however, see Sellin, *op. cit.* 84.

SERVANT OF THE LORD

the Servant himself will never pass through the sad experience of the persons described in *v.* 3?

With regard to 42 6, the difficult ברית עם (EV 'a covenant of the people') should almost certainly be עמים . . .; the uncertain word which begins the phrase should most probably be לתפארת; thus the line becomes, 'for an ornament (glory) of the peoples, for a light of the nations'; cp 13 18 46 13 62 2 *f.* See *Crit. Bib.*

2. In 49 5 what is the meaning of 'to bring back Jacob unto him'? Why 'unto him'? And how can 'Israel' (*v.* 3) have been 'formed' to bring back Israel? And how can the restoration of Israel be referred to with equal elaborateness twice over in successive stanzas? Budde (521) proposes, as an explanation of *v.* 5, 'in that he brought Jacob again (out of Egypt) to him, and drew Israel to him (into the desert).' This at any rate is better than omitting the words altogether as Giesebrecht does. It is difficult, however, to interpret לְשׁוֹבֵב ('to bring back') differently, so far as grammar goes, from לְהָשִׁיב in *v.* 5, and the reference to Egypt and the desert, if intended, would surely have been at least hinted. The grammatical objection also applies to Marti's rendering of *v.* 5*a*, 'but now has Yahwè resolved, etc., to bring back Jacob to himself, and Israel will I gather.' Next, why this extraordinary side remark, 'and I was honoured (pointing וָאֶכָּבֵד) in the eyes of Yahwè, and my God became my strength'? The words are clear enough, but not their sense in this context. Lastly, what is the meaning of 'too insignificant for thy being to me a Servant'? (נָקֵל מִהְיוֹתְךָ לִי עֶבֶד). A most awkward and improbable construction! To excise מה' לי עבד as a gloss, is hazardous. So-called glosses often arise out of genuine readings of the original text.

3. In 50 4-9 the difficulty is almost entirely confined to *v.* 4 *f.*, where neither the language nor the thought is at all clear. At first we seem to catch a glimpse of a beautiful thought, and the phrase 'he wakens mine ear' pleases the fancy. But the plural 'disciples' (לִמּוּדִים) is strange, and the phrase so pleasing to fancy becomes insecure through the manifold disorder of the text and the obviously corrupt לָעוּת. Above all, the opening stanza, which refers apparently to the vocation of a prophet, is not a satisfactory preface to the description of persecution which follows.

4. In 52 13-53 13 the easy passages are the exception, not the rule. Emendation of the text has been tried, not without excellent results. But the passage as a whole, even as explained by Marti, is not clear. There is, perhaps, no better proof of the extreme corruptness of the text than the obscurity of 53 1*a* as the context at present stands, and the vehement controversy which it has called forth. In spite of all the acuteness of Budde and (especially) Giesebrecht, it remains highly improbable that a Hebrew poet of the late exilic or early post-exilic period should have accounted for the sufferings of Israel on the ground that they were the atonement for the sins of the heathen.

As Skinner justly remarks: 'That the idea of Israel suffering for the good of the world is foreign to the OT is not perhaps a decisive argument against it, for there is a truth in the idea (see Rom. 11 11 *f.*). . . . But the insuperable objection to this explanation is the unnaturalness of the assumption that the speakers in 53 1 *ff.* are the heathen. There is nothing in the language to suggest this; and the religious attitude expressed in these verses is such as no prophet could have attributed to the heathen world.'[1]

If another proof of deep-seated textual corruption is required, we may justly refer to *v.* 9. The theory that the great sufferer is an individual rests ultimately (putting aside 53 1) on this passage, and the difference between critics is perhaps simply this—that while some say, the burial so emphatically stated in *v.* 9 proves that an individual is meant, others say, *v.* 9 cannot mean what it at first sight apears to mean, because the more natural explanation (viz., that in chap. 53, as elsewhere,[2] 'Servant of Yahwè is a title of Israel) presents no difficulty apart

[1] Is. 40-66 (Cambr. Bible), 234.

[2] To assume that the nationalistic interpretation has been proved for the three preceding passages on the Servant.

from this passage. It may be doubted, however, whether either position is sound. On the one hand, very little importance can be attached to the traditional text of any part of *vv.* 8-11 (or 12) because of the manifold obscurities and the more than probable corruption of this passage. And on the other, the parallelism between 53 9*a* and Ezek. 37 12 *f.* is incomplete. In Is. 53 9 (if correct) the point is not so much the burial of the Servant as his burial with the wicked; but in Ezek. 37 12 *f.* the phrase, 'cause you to come up out of your graves' is simply an equivalent for 'cause you to come up out of Shĕōl.'[1]

We have said 'apart from *v.* 1,' because since (as we have seen) the confession in the following verses cannot be assigned to the heathen nations, and since the parallelism between the chief expressions in the confessions and a number of psalms which cannot reasonably be made to refer to an individual forbids us to adopt Duhm's theory, it follows that the speakers in 53 1 *ff.* must be the Israel within Israel. This theory is indeed impossible, according to Budde, who thinks that the whole of Israel suffered equally, and that the exaltation of the Israel within Israel could not make an impression on the heathen world. A fuller consideration, however, of this theory in the light of a keener criticism of the later history of Israel, shows that the whole of Israel did not share the same lot, and so removes the apparent ground for Budde's objection. We have therefore a right to set aside 53 1, and to refer to *v.* 9 as the only solid textual basis for the individualistic interpretation of the Servant in this notable passage.

How, then, shall we proceed in order to restore a text sufficiently correct to admit of large exegetical inferences?

6. Jeraḥmeelite theory. The methods of the most progressive textual criticism are good enough for our purpose; but there are many textual possibilities to which we could not open our eyes without the clue furnished by a critical examination of a very large group of passages outside of II. Isaiah. In fact, it is only the 'Jeraḥmeelite theory' which will enable us to detect the readings that underlie many obscure and some apparently clear passages of II. Isaiah. The result of a renewed investigation of the text of II. Isaiah closely resembles that to which we are perhaps being driven by the textual phenomena of other prophetic writings (see PROPHET, §§ 35-45)—*i.e.*, the original text in many passages had a different historical and geographical setting from that which now appears, and our exegetical results are correspondingly modified. The truth is, according to this theory, that the influence of N. Arabia on Jewish history has been greatly under-estimated. In particular, it was in N. or NW. Arabia that the mass of the Jewish exiles languished, and even after the fall of the Babylonian power (commonly supposed to be the great source of trouble to the Jews) N. Arabian oppression continued to be the chief subject of complaint to Jewish poets.

The four passages on the Servant, in their original form, would seem to have lacked almost all that we are wont to admire in the adaptation of them which both MT and 𝔊 present to us. The ardent universalism which distinguishes them in their present form is due to a later editor, who had before him a text which was already corrupt, and which, apart from this, did not answer to his own spiritual aspirations. Let us continue to read them as they stand in MT and 𝔊 as monuments of the loftiest pre-Christian Jewish piety. When such a purely academic thinker as Vatke can say that 'the intuition of the sufferings and glorification of the Servant of Jehovah forms the most remarkable presentiment of redemption in the OT, and so is a prophecy, not a prediction, of Christ,' academic critics who would fain be also men of the people may surely use the same expressions, for the people see in chap. 53 a prophecy of the Jesus of the

[1] Cp Ezek. 32 22 *ff.* On the close connection between the conception of Sheol and that of a burial-place, see ESCHATOLOGY, § 10; Smend, *AT Rel.-gesch.*(2) 152

evangelic tradition, and we would gladly go with the people, as one of them, so far as we may. Nor need we—from this point of view—any longer trouble ourselves to translate these passages with an extreme exactness.

An exact translation is in fact often difficult and sometimes impossible, owing to the fact that the old Jewish editor has had to work upon an already existing corrupt text. But let us also be just to the claims of critical history, the results of which, when fully mature, must be for the good of the religion of the many as well as of the few. This requires us to trace out, so far as we can, the original form of these familiar but, in parts, very obscure passages, and of the rest of Is. 40-66, not as a mere exercise of ingenuity, but for this important reason—that if we can but read this work as a monument of its own special time or times, we shall understand the course of Jewish history as we could never have done before. This need not make us unappreciative of those pious and most unselfish editors of old time, who ventured to treat their Bible as a living plant, still capable of sending out fresh shoots, and of putting forth undreamed-of flowers, and who, as some will say, almost transfigured the original conception of the Servant of Yahwè.

For the original text (see *Crit. Bib.*, 'Isa.') gave a much less advanced conception of the Servant of Yahwè. The title here is a personification of the body of Jewish exiles in N. Arabia, who were by no means semi-Christians, but had higher religious ideas and ideals, and correspondingly greater material and moral hardships to bear, than their brethren in Palestine. The poet looks forward to the time when these exiles will be delivered from their miseries and privations and become the recognised leaders of the regenerated Jewish people. He calls (49 1) on the Arabians and Jerahmeelites to take warning while there is yet time (cp Ps. 2 10, emended text). Like some, at least, of the psalmists, he has no desire that all Jerahmeelites should be blotted out of existence, but wishes that under Jewish rule and in the practice of the true religion they may still live in the expanded land of Israel, and be saved from the judicial destruction which will fall upon all irreclaimable foes of Yahwè. At present, the Servant still suffers persecution; he has borne it without a cry or a murmur as God's appointment. But he knows that his 'justification' or redress is at hand (50 8); indeed, before now, under prophetic inspiration, he has announced (52 13-15) the coming change in his fortunes—an announcement which his kinsmen in Palestine (those 'rebellious ones' of whom the poet speaks) received with contemptuous incredulity (53 1). He can already imagine those unworthy Israelites confessing their blindness and folly, their wickedness and selfishness (53 2-9). And again a prophetic vision comes to him. He sees exiled Israel rescued from its oppressors, according to that earlier prophecy. The light of joy—a joy in the establishment of the divine rule with Israel for its earthly organ (cp 42 1-4), the sight of an offspring 'prolonging its days,' and enjoying the inheritance of Jerahmeel and Ishmael—these are the varied but closely connected rewards granted to him (53 10-12).

Into the changes of critical positions which this view necessitates this is not the place to enter. Nor need the reader be assured that no claim to an immunity from error is put forward by the present writer. Details may doubtless be improved; but the general theory, when fully assimilated, will be found to stand the test of prolonged consideration. Would that the spade of the explorer might bring to light some hidden record of an age so little known and so largely misinterpreted by legend!

7. Literature. Besides the works named in col. 2207 *f.*, the following recent treatises on the criticism and exegesis of Is. 42 1-4 49 1-6 50 4-9 and 52 13-53 12 (or some one of these passages separately) may be here mentioned: Schian, *Die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder in Jes. xl.-lxvi.* (1895); Laue, *Die E.-J. Lieder in II. Theil des Jesaia exegetisch-kritisch und biblisch-theologisch untersucht* (1898); Füllkrug, *Der Gottesknecht d. Dt.-Jes.* (1899); Laue and Füllkrug have a certain similarity in that both maintain the Servant to be an individual; Füllkrug, however, does not, like Laue, identify the Servant with the Messiah, and he does not separate the four 'songs' from the Prophecy of Restoration; Kraetzschmar, *Der leidende Gottesknecht* (1899): Ezekiel the historic model of the suffering and glorified Servant, see chap. 4. Bertholet, *Zu Jes. liii.*; Budde, *The So-called Ebed-Yahweh Songs*, etc.; Kittel, *Zur Theologie des AT*, see § 4; J. Ley, 'Die Bedeutung des Ebed-Jahwe im 2ten Theil des Proph. Jesaja,' in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1899, pp. 163 *ff.*; Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898), 96 *f.* 144 *f.*; *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde*: 1. *Der Knecht Gottes bei Dt.-jes.* (1901); Giesebrecht, *Der Knecht d. Dt.-jes.* (1902; the Servant-passages originally meditations written down for disciples by the second Micah; the Servant himself, a personification of Israel); Rothstein, *Die Genealogie d. Kön. Jehoiachin* (1902; appendix on the Messianic reference of the Servant); C. H. H. Wright, 'The Pre-Christian Jewish Interpretation of Is. 52 53,' *Expositor*, 3rd ser., 7 (1888) 364 *ff.* 401 *ff.*); Dalman, *Jesaia 53 das Prophetenwort vom Sühnleiden des Heilsmittlers*,(2) (1891); cp also Kosters, *Th.T*, 1896, pp. 591 *ff.* T. K. C.

SESIS (σεσεις [B]), 1 Esd. 9 34 = Ezra 10 40 SHASHAI.

SESTHEL (σεσθηλ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 31 = Ezra 10 30, BEZALEEL, 2.

SETH, rather SHETH (שֵׁת; σηθ; *SETH*), son of Adam, father of Enos, and grandfather of Cainan or Kenan, according to the Sethite genealogy (Gen. 5 3-8 [P]), with which, so far as his relation to Enosh is concerned, Gen. 4 26 (J) entirely agrees. In Gen. 4 25 (J_R), it is stated that 'Adam knew his wife again, and she bore a son, and called his name Sheth; for (she said) God has set for me another seed instead of Abel, for Cain killed him.' 𝔊, however, does not recognise עוֹד, 'again,' and inserts וַתַּהַר, 'and she conceived,' which suggests the possibility that in an earlier form of the text the birth of Sheth was related without reference to the existence of Cain. Budde (*Urgesch.* 154 *ff.*) thinks that the text originally ran, 'and Adam knew his wife, and she bore a son, and named him Sheth, for "God has set for me a seed."'[1] There are, however, three difficulties in this view; (1) the unnatural use of שָׁת, 'posuit'; (2) the use of אלהים, 'Elohim,' instead of יהוה, 'Yahwè' (contrast Gen. 4 1, though here 𝔊 has διὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ); and (3) the improbability that Adam's grandson should have been called Enosh, 'man,' or 'frail man' (cp ENOS), assuming, of course, that 'Ādam' and 'Enosh' are the two familiar Hebrew terms for 'man.' There is only one way of surmounting these difficulties, viz., to criticise the traditional readings of the names. ארם (*ādām*) or הארם (*hā-ādām*) and חוה (*Ḥawwah*) have probably arisen out of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel) and חרת (*Ḥōrīth*) = ירחמאלית (Jerahmeelith) respectively. Cp PARADISE, § 12 (*c*). These parallels suggest that 'Sheth' and 'Enosh' are also corruptions of ethnic names. The conjecture that אנוש (Enosh) is a fragment of יִשְׁמָעֵאל will surprise no one who has had experience of the shifting phases of 'Ishmael' and other ethnic names, and it is only slightly less probable that שת (Sheth ??) is a fragment of שְׁתָאֹל (= Eshtaol), which the narrator connected with שְׁתִיל, 'plant, shoot' so that שָׁת־לִי is miswritten, by metathesis, for שְׁתִיל. It is a part of this theory that אלהים and אחר together represent ירחמאל.[2] The passage will then become, 'And Jerahmeel knew his wife, and she bore a son, and named him Shethāōl, for (he is) a shoot (*shĕthīl*) of Jerahmeel.[3] And Shĕthāōl in turn begot a son, and named him Ishmael; it was he who began to call upon the name of Yahwè' (see ENOS). Shĕthāōl is possibly the eponym of the population called in MT ESHTAOL and ESHTAULITES,[4] whose seat was certainly not confined to the lowlands of Judah. The etymology is, of course, quite 'popular'; a truer connection may perhaps be supposed with the widely-spread clan-name שָׁאוּל, Sha'ūl (see SAUL). Even if the explanation here given of the strange name Sheth be in some degree doubtful, the discovery of the true name of Sheth's son at any rate appears on

[1] So Stade (*ZATW*, 1894, p. 262 *f.*), Holzinger (*KHC* 'Gen.' 57 [1898]); Gunkel (*HK* 'Gen.' 49 [1901]).

[2] To these corruptions there are abundant parallels throughout the OT literature.

[3] ידע is here taken to be an insertion of J_R necessitated by the corrupt readings, already in existence, שָׁת־לִי and אַחֵר.

[4] In 1 Ch. 2 53 the Eshtaulites are connected with Kirjath-jearim—*i.e.*, not improbably Kirjath-jerahmeel.

critical grounds to be nearly certain. Thus understood, the name supplies another beautiful Israelitish commentary on the name Ishmael (cp Gen. 16 11). It is as if the narrator told us that the first prayer was as great an epoch in the history of man as the building of a city. See SETHITES.

Later post-canonical writers knew much more about Seth. His wife's name was Azūrā (Jubilees, 4 11; ed. Charles, 32). Both he and his descendants, who were extremely good, had that heavenly wisdom specially connected with the name of ENOCH [*q.v.*]; see Jos. *Ant.* i. 2 3 (§§ 68-71). On the gnostic sect of the Sethians see Hippol. *Philosophumena*, 5 19; Epiphan. *Adv. hær.* xxxix.; Lips. *Der Gnosticismus, sein Wesen, Ursprung und Entwickelungsgang* (1860), 154; Smith-Wace, *Dict. of Christian Biography*, 487 *f.*

We have ventured to reject the plausible conjecture of Frd. Delitzsch and Fritz Hommel referred to in the next article. That the theory connecting Sheth with Suteḫ, 'the god of the Hyksos,' no longer needs criticism, is obvious; see Lenormant, *Les origines*, 1 [1880] 217 *f.*, and on the other side, Kö. *PRE*(2) 163. For the facts relative to Set and Suteḫ see EGYPT, § 52, n. 2, and cp § 16.

On the gradual transference of the functions and achievements of Enoch to Seth, as a consequence of the later tradition making the Sethites the representatives of goodness and the Cainites of wickedness, see Charles's note on Jubilees, 4 15. T. K. C.

SETHITES, the name given to the descendants of Seth mentioned in Gen. 5 (P). We shall deal with this subject almost entirely as one belonging to the history of early Hebrew beliefs respecting primitive humanity; the intricate study of the later exegesis on Gen. 5 *f.*, to which R. H. Charles has recently made such valuable contributions, lies too much apart to be treated here.

1. Term criticised. We venture to begin with a criticism of the term 'Sethites,' which presupposes that there are two separate genealogies of the patriarchs—*i.e.*, of the heroes of the primitive age. Now, we may readily grant that, as the text now stands, this presupposition is not destitute of plausibility. Gen. 4 25 *f.* is obviously the link between two genealogies (Gen. 4 17-24 and 5), one of which, as it now stands, starts from a son of Adam named Cain, the other from Adam and a son of Adam named Seth or Sheth (שֵׁת, σηθ). The two linking verses, in their present form, appear to account for the double genealogy by stating that Seth was born to fill the place of Abel. When, however, we look into the genealogies we quickly see that there is a strong affinity between them, and a critical examination of the two 'linking verses' shows that the passage is no longer in its original form, but has undergone both corruption and editorial expansion. We have also found reason elsewhere to suspect that the story of Cain and Abel and the Cainite genealogy came from separate traditional sources (see CAIN, § 4; CAINITES, § 2); if this is correct, the Yahwist (J) cannot have represented Seth as a substitute for the murdered Abel. Instead of 'Cainites' and 'Sethites,' therefore, it would be better to speak of the members of the two parallel genealogies due respectively to J and to P.

It is the genealogy in Gen. 5 that is mainly to occupy us. We may assume that it is parallel to, and

2. One genealogy: its origin. in its present form later than, the genealogy in Gen. 4. We may also regard Stade's view (*Akad. Reden*, 247) as fairly probable, that in its original form the genealogy in Gen. 4 was Sethite as well as Cainite, that *v.* 25 *f.* in a simpler form, including the words, 'and Enos begot a son, and called his name Cain,'[1] once stood before 4 17, also that in the original Yahwistic genealogy, of which we possess only an extract, the tenth place was occupied by Noah.[2] If this be so, the Israelitish circles represented by J had a genealogy of primitive heroes which agreed in all essentials with the genealogy given by P. We may put the two lists, harmonised as proposed in CAINITES, § 12, and without any attempted emendation of the names, over against each other.

J.		P.	
	Adam		Adam
	Sheth		Sheth
	Enosh		Enosh
	Cain		Kenan
	Enoch		Mahalalel
	Irad		Jared
	Mehujael		Enoch
	Methushael		Methuselah
	Lamech		Lamech
	Noah		Noah

Even if we doubt whether the genealogy of the Yahwist in its original form contained as many as ten names, it is a fact that that of the Priestly Writer (P) has come down to us with ten, and it is natural (when we consider that P, as often as he can, uses old material) to connect this with the fact that Bērōssus places ten antediluvian kings at the head of the history of Babylonia. The names of these kings (see Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* 2 499 *f.*) are Ἄλωρος, Ἀλάπαρος, Ἀμήλων, Ἀμμένων, Μεγάλαρος, Δάωνος, Εὐεδώραχος, Ἀμεμψινός, Ὠτιάρτης, Ξίσουθρος. Now the solidarity of the early Oriental culture, under Babylonian influence, was such that we could not be surprised to find some of the names given by Bērōssus, in their original forms (when these forms can be traced), underlying names in the two Hebrew genealogies which lie before us. The idea is suggested by the coincidence of number between P's list and that of Bērōssus, but, of course, we have to compare the names in both the Hebrew lists, so far as they seem to be akin.

It is remarkable, however, how extremely few of the Hebrew names can even plausibly be connected with names in the Berossian list. To compare Ἀμήλων with אֱנוֹשׁ, 'Enosh' (so Delitzsch, Hommel, and even Gunkel) seems plainly wrong, (1) because such a name as 'man,' as the proper name of a primæval hero, is in the highest degree improbable; (2) because, if אדם is correct, and means 'man,' it is not likely that another name in the list also means 'man'; and (3) because, if Ἀμήλων is correct, analogy justifies us in supposing that it is a mutilated theophorous name (Amil-*x*). But we may at least provisionally compare (1) Ἀμήλων with Mahalalel (= Mehujael), assuming the final syllable *el* (אל) to represent some Babylonian divine name, and (2) Ἀμεμψινός (= Amil-Sin, 'liegeman of Sin?') with Methušelaḥ (= Methušael), assuming šelah (שלח) to be a Hebraised form of *šarḫu*, which is an epithet of various Babylonian gods (see *Ass. HWB* 690 *a*, CAINITES, § 7). Two names out of ten in the respective lists, plausibly but not certainly combined, are perhaps scarcely a sufficient basis for a theory that the Hebrew list in its earliest form was borrowed from Babylonia.[1]

It is, however, still important to ascertain, if possible, whether statements made in either of the Hebrew lists respecting any one of the primitive heroes are derived from Babylonian lore. That Noah who, as the text stands (both in J and in P passages), is the hero of the Hebrew Deluge-story is, in virtue of his connection with that story, parallel to Xisuthrus, cannot be doubted. Zimmern (*Beiträge*, 116, n. *a*) and Gunkel (*Gen.* 121 *f.*), however, add a comparison of Enoch, who 'walked' with God and was taken to God, with the Εὐεδώραχος of Παντίβιβλα (= Sippar) in Berossus—*i.e.*, En-me-dur-anki,[2] a mythic king of Sippar, to whom the guild of Babylonian *bārū*-priests traced its origin. This king is designated 'the favourite of Anu, Bel, and Ea,' and said to have been 'called (?) by the gods Šamaš and Adad into their fellowship,' also to have been initiated into the 'secrets of heaven and earth' (Ritual-tablet, no. 24). Now it is true that both Enoch and Εὐεδώραχος occupy the seventh place in the respective lists. This, however, is not important; in J's list, as

[1] It may be presumed that this represents Stade's meaning, though he only says that '4 25 *f.* once stood before 4 17 *ff.*'

[2] Stade's reconstruction of the genealogy, however, which makes it begin with Enos and close with Jabal and Noah, has this against it—that there are very strong reasons for holding that 'Adam' (rather *hā-ādām*) and 'Enos' are not the forms which originally stood in the genealogy, and therefore not to be treated as synonyms meaning 'man,' or, as Stade expressed it, that Adam and Enos are 'doppelgänger.'

[1] Gunkel (*HK* 'Gen.' 121) omits Methuselah but includes Kenan (= Cain), which, with Delitzsch and Hommel, he regards as a translation of אָמָּן = Bab. *ummānu* (cp Ges.(13) *s.v.* אָמָּן). The number two therefore remains.

[2] Dur-anki is the name of a mythic locality (Zimmern); cp Jastrow, *RBA* 539.

it now stands, Enoch comes third, and even in the hypothetical expanded form of the list given above he only fills the fifth place. In opposition to Zimmern's learned and ingenious theory we would point out (1) that the initiation of Enmeduranki into the 'secrets of heaven and earth' is by no means as distinctive a feature as the deliverance of Xisuthrus from the perils of the Deluge. For other mythic personages besides Enmeduranki enjoyed this initiation, and among them Xisuthrus himself, as his name (Atra-ḫasis, 'the very wise') implies, and as his fortunes also sufficiently indicate. It was, in fact, the highest form that the divine favour could assume, and it is only natural that the feature or 'motive' of temporary or permanent translation to the abode of the gods should characterise different myths both in Babylonia itself and in the various countries where Babylonian mythic germs were deposited. And (2), we may further remark that probably Enoch, not Noah, was the hero of the Hebrew Deluge-story as written by J (see § 3, and cp NOAH, § 1, DELUGE, § 17). If this be so, there is scarcely even a superficial appropriateness in the comparison of Enmeduranki with the Hebrew Enoch.

Whilst therefore we do not deny the possibility that those who (at some Hebrew sanctuary?) shaped or reshaped the Hebrew story of the primitive heroes may have been led to reckon them as ten (P certainly made ten, and J, too, may perhaps have done so) under Babylonian influence, we cannot say that there is any strong necessity for such a view, and all must admit that it is much more important to comprehend the statements of the Hebrew narrators. One of the chief obstacles to such a comprehension is the apparent duality of some of the heroes mentioned. At first sight, there seem to be two Cains, two Lamechs, two Noahs; and if Budde's theory respecting Gen. 4 17 (see col. 623, n. 3) be correct, two Enochs.

The grounds for supposing that there are two inconsistent pictures of Cain, or in other words, two Cains,[1] are given elsewhere (CAIN, § 2).

3. Duality of Cain, Lamech, Noah.

It is clear that the passage, Gen. 4 2-16*a*, which accounts for the custom of exacting blood for blood, implies that Cain is a nomad, and with this the statement in *v.* 16*b* partly agrees, for it states that Cain (after hearing the divine sentence) dwelt 'in the land of wandering (Nod), eastward of Eden.' In Gen. 4 17, however, this hero is represented as a city-builder, in other words, as a leading promoter of a settled form of life and of civilisation, and if we criticise the text of *v.* 16*b* in accordance with the results attained elsewhere (see PARADISE, § 6) we shall have to correct the enigmatical Hebrew text of MT and 𝔊, so as to read 'and [Cain] dwelt in the land of Eden-jeraḥmeel' (וַיֵּשֶׁב [קַיִן] בְּאֶרֶץ עֵדֶן ירחמאל)—the district in which as we have seen Gen. 11 2 places us. We need not, however, deny (cp CAINITES, § 3) that even in 4 17 'Cain' (קין) is the eponym of the Kenites (קיני קין); there were both more and less advanced branches of the Kenites and Jeraḥmeelites; hence sometimes these tribes are spoken of as nomads, sometimes as having 'cities' (1 S. 30 29).

Are there also two Lamechs? There is a song ascribed to Lamech, in which the far-reaching sweep of tribal vengeance for blood is eulogised[2] (Gen. 4 23 *f.*). But we find his three sons taking important steps forward in civilisation; can they possibly have been represented as the offspring of a fierce nomad? The truth is, however (as comparative textual criticism justifies us in holding), that 'Lamech' (לֶמֶךְ) is one of the popular distortions of 'Jeraḥmeel.' Lamech is therefore a tribal eponym,[1] and represents both the more and the less advanced sections of the Jeraḥmeelite race. It is remarkable that in P's genealogy Lamech appears as the father of Noah, who, not less than Jabal and his brothers, is a 'hero of culture' (see NOAH).

For certainly there are two Noahs—there is Noah the first vine-planter, and there is Noah the head of the one family that was rescued from the Deluge, at least if we are content to follow the traditional Hebrew text. That the unpleasing story of what happened to Noah the vine-planter was ever told of Noah the hero of the Deluge, whose earthly history was bound to cease with his marvellous deliverance, is incredible (see NOAH), though certainly it can hardly be called very probable that it was said of two of the traditional Hebrew heroes that they 'walked' or had close converse 'with the Godhead' (Gen. 5 22 24 6 9).

How to remove this difficulty we have seen already (§ 2), and before the end of this section we shall return to the subject.

4. Why sporadic Babylonian influence?

At present we would seek to account for the singular fact that there is no distinctively Babylonian material in the account of the primæval heroes (after Adam) except in connection with Enoch and Noah. It will be observed that while Enoch the city-builder and Noah the vine-planter are certainly tribal heroes (Noah should probably be נַחַם or נַחְמָן = נֹעַם or נַעֲמָן, cp ינחמנו, Gen. 5 29, and Enoch [Ḥănōk] appears as a son of Midian, Gen. 25 4 1 Ch. 1 33),[2] the hero of the Deluge-story in its present form is obviously not a mere hero; he is in the fullest sense an individual. How is this to be accounted for?

To understand the bearings of this question we must remember that, with the possible exceptions of Mahalalel and the latter half of Methuselah (see CAINITES, § 7), all the names in the genealogies of J and P are demonstrably of non-Babylonian origin, and with the increase of evidence for the great frequency of references to N. Arabian ethnics in the OT it becomes possible and even highly probable that 'Mahalalel' is a corruption of ''Jeraḥmeel' and 'Methuselah' of 'Ishmael.' Thus the names in the Sethite and Cainite genealogy,[3] when restored to their original form, become—

Jeraḥmeel (ירחמאל)
Eshtaol (אֶשְׁתָּאֹל)
Ishmael (יִשְׁמָעֵאל)
Kain = Kenites (קַיִן)
Ḥanōch (חֲנוֹךְ)
Arvad (אַרְוָד = ערוד = עֲרָד?)
Jeraḥmeel (ירחמאל)
Ishmael (ישמעאל)
Jeraḥmeel (ירחמאל)
Naḥman (נַחְמָן)

The probability of most of these restorations is very high. Both P and the Chronicler in their lists often repeat the same name in different forms. Even if one or two of the restorations be doubtful, the present writer cannot doubt that the Sethite-Cainite names have a N. Arabian reference. How, then, came the notices of Enoch and (?) Noah to be enriched with Babylonian

[1] Gunkel (*Gen.* 49) actually makes four Cains: (1) the son of the first man, (2) the brother and murderer of Abel, (3) the father of Enoch and city-builder, and (4) the eponym of the Kenites.

[2] See CAINITES, § 8; Nestle, *Marg.* 59.

[1] It is of course very possible that the tribe called Lamech or Jeraḥmeel really took its name from a deity. This deity was probably the moon-god Jarḥam (ירח with the Arabic 'mimation).' The non-Semitic divine title Lamga (doubtfully referred to in col. 626) need not be relied upon.

[2] Enoch also appears as the eldest son of Reuben (Gen. 46 9 Ex. 6 14 Nu. 26 5 1 Ch. 5 3). But we can hardly doubt that Reuben was originally a S. Palestinian tribe.

[3] If we prefer to hold that Lamech-Jeraḥmeel's son in J's version was originally Tubal[-cain], we are still constrained to admit that the last member of the list bears a N. Arabian ethnic name. 'Jabal' and 'Jubal,' like 'Abel,' are perhaps also most naturally viewed as corruptions of the widely-spread ethnic name 'Jeraḥmeel.' 'Zillah' (צלה) may come from חלצה (Ḥalūṣah) = צקלג (Ziklag); Na'amah, of course, = Na'ami or Na'amani. Adah (עדה) is obscure; perhaps it may come from עֲרָד עררה.

material, as if they were individuals? What claim had Enoch and Noah to be treated with more respect than other N. Arabian tribal heroes, and raised to the rank of individuals, whose wonderful fortunes gave them a place by themselves which only Elijah in a later age was privileged to share with them? The question is greatly simplified if we identify Enoch and the greater of the two Noahs as proposed already (CAINITES, § 6; NOAH)—*i.e.*, if we read in Gen. 6 8 (J), 'But Enoch (חנך) had found grace in the eyes of Yahwè,' and in 6 9 (P), 'Enoch was a righteous man . . ., and Enoch walked with God.'

The theory here maintained is that the Hebrew legend of primæval times, as told by the writer or writers known as J_1, had no Deluge—*i.e.*, they accepted the Jerahmeelite legend as their basis, but without a Deluge-story.[1] When, however, the Deluge-story was adopted from the Jerahmeelites, and converted (under direct Babylonian influence?) into the story of the universal Deluge, it had to be provided with a hero who was not a mere tribal eponym, and (for a reason suggested below) 'Enoch' was selected to be converted into an individual, and even to assume something of the appearance of a solar hero, as was fitting for the hero of a story which in its origin was most probably an ether-myth (DELUGE, § 18). But a misfortune happened to him. At an early period (perhaps) after the Deluge-story had been committed to writing, חנך became corrupted into נח, which in turn was editorially altered (under the influence of a desire[2] to work the story of Noah the vine-planter into the legend) into נח (Noah) or נחם[3] (Naḥam?). Thus Enoch lost his connection with the Deluge, unless indeed we care to recognise the statement of Jubilees 4 23 that Enoch, in Paradise, wrote down all the wickedness of men, on account of which God brought the waters of the flood upon all the land of Eden.' But at any rate he retained his superhuman wisdom, and in later years attracted to himself more and more mythical elements (see ENOCH, § 2). Nor were the earlier traditionists unfair to him. When the list of ten heroes was constructed, he was placed (probably) at the end of the first pentad, while Noah or Naham, his supplanter in the Deluge-story, was placed at the end of the second.

The reason why Enoch—alone among the Hebrew heroes—was raised to the rank of an individual whose fortunes were such as to mark him off from all the rest of mankind, is plain. It is not enough to point to the fact that the Hebrew root of Enoch (חנך) means 'to train, instruct, initiate.'[4] The real reason probably is that the Enoch-tribe was a branch of the Jeraḥmeelites, and like the Jeraḥmeelites had a high reputation for wisdom. From Ezek. 28 (see *Crit. Bib.*) we gather that 'Jeraḥmeel' was supposed to have derived his wisdom from Elōhīm, in whose sacred garden he had dwelt; now from Ezek. 14 14 20 we learn that Noah (*i.e.*, Enoch), Daniel (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel), and Job were classed together for their extraordinary righteousness. This exceptional goodness implies exceptional wisdom. The first Jeraḥmeelite is commonly known to us as Adam (see PARADISE, § 12), but it is very possible that the first Jerahmeelite was also in some sanctuaries spoken of as Enoch (Ḥanōk), and that his wisdom (cp Job 15 7 *f.*) was specially eulogised in the legend.

If P does not tell us much about the fortunes of the patriarchs—'the youthful world's gray fathers' (H. Vaughan)—he is at least fully acquainted with their ages. The chronological principle which underlies the numbers in P's genealogy has not, however, been found. There is much that is very peculiar about them. The Babylonian tradition only gives the number of years that each king reigned; *e.g.* the first king Alorus reigned for six sari = 36,000 years, and so on. The enormous numbers assigned arise from the astronomical training of the scholars of Babylon. The Hebrew system in P gives the years of the life of each hero, first those which he lived before, and then those which he lived after the birth of his eldest son. Unfortunately, the three great authorities, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the 𝔊 texts differ considerably, as the accompanying table will show.[1]

5. The numbers.

	MT			Sam.			LXX		
Adam . . .	130	800	930	130	800	930	230	700	930
Seth . . .	105	807	912	105	807	912	205	707	912
Enosh . . .	90	815	905	90	815	905	190	715	905
Kenan . . .	70	840	910	70	840	910	170	740	910
Mahalalel . .	65	830	895	65	830	895	165	730	895
Jared . . .	162	800	962	62	785	847	162	800	962
Enoch . . .	65	300	365	65	300	365	165	200	365
Methuselah . .	187	782	969	67	653	720	187 (L 167)	782 (L 802)	969
Lamech . . .	182	595	777	53	600	653	188	565	753
Noah . . .	500		(950)	500		(950)	500		(950)
To the flood . .	100			100			100		
Total	1656			1307			2262 (L 2242)		

It will be noticed that 𝔊 agrees with MT, except in the case of Lamech (where 𝔊 and Sam. show an affinity), in the totals of the several ages, but differs from MT (except as to Jared, Methuselah, and—almost—Lamech) as regards the age of the heroes at the birth of their first sons. $𝔊^L$ is peculiar at Methuselah. The result is that in 𝔊 the Deluge is given as in the year of the world 2262 ($𝔊^L$ 2242), but in MT as in 1656. It can hardly be doubted any longer that MT is nearer to the original than 𝔊.

Geiger has expended great learning and earnestness in behalf of the numbers of MT. But most critics, since Bertheau, agree in preferring the Sam. numbers (with which *Jubilees* agrees) even to those of MT, as the calculation is simpler, and the deviations of the texts are more easily explained on the hypothesis of the priority of Sam. See especially Budde, *Urgesch.* 100 *ff.*

Comparing the Sam. numbers with those of MT we find that for the first five patriarchs they agree. After that Sam. partly adopts much smaller numbers, bringing the Deluge into the year of the world 1307. Budde thinks that we may draw detailed inferences from the

[1] It has been already pointed out (DELUGE, § 12) that according to 𝔊 the duration of the Deluge was 365 days (a solar year), corresponding to the 365 years of the life of Enoch.

[2] See Budde, *Urgesch.*; cp NOAH.

[3] Nahum (נחום) probably belongs to the same group of names (see *Crit. Bib.*).

[4] There is no allusion to this in the fragments of the Hebrew legend preserved to us. Gen. 6 8, if we may replace חנך for נח (see above), possibly alludes to a popular etymology connecting חנך with חֵן, 'favour' (Philo actually explains the name as χάρις σου, cp *OS* 164 49).

[1] The first column on the left gives the age of the patriarch at the birth of the first son; the second, the number of his remaining years; the third, the total.

numbers of Sam. For instance, Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech die in the year 1307, *i.e.*, probably, not in the 1½ months of this year before the flood, but in the flood; therefore they are sinners. Enoch is translated in 887, because he walked with God—*i.e.*, was not a sinner. The age of the first five patriarchs and of Noah is about 900; the earlier deaths of Jared, Methuselah, and Lamech are punishments for wickedness. That two men—Enoch and Noah—'walked with God' in the midst of sinners, is due to P's religious optimism. It is also noteworthy that in Sam. all the earlier patriarchs are witnesses of the translation of Enoch. Budde even finds this theory confirmed by the names of the patriarchs, at least so far as Mahalalel, Jared, Methuselah, and perhaps Lamech are concerned; but in this he goes too far. He also conjectures that the numbers of MT (according to which only Methuselah dies in the Deluge) were substituted for the original ones from the presupposition that the Sethites were the holy line, which represented the theocratic tradition, as opposed to the Cainite. These glimpses at possible speculations in Jewish schools (from P onwards?), which are somewhat in the style of the Book of Jubilees,[1] are of great interest. From a text-critical point of view the evidence supplied by Sam. of the late date at which alterations were made in the Hebrew text is even more striking.

See Bertheau, *JDT* 23 657 *ff.*; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 89-116; the commentaries of Dillmann, Holzinger, and Gunkel; Klostermann, *Neue Kirchl. Zt.* 5 208 *ff.*; Dillmann, 'Beiträge aus dem B. der Jubiläen zur Kritik des Pentateuch-Textes' (*SAB*, 1883, pp. 323 *ff.*); and for specimens of Jewish speculative additions to the biblical traditions, Charles on Jubilees, chap. 4, in his commentary (1902). T. K. C.

SETHUR (סְתוּר, § 56; see also below; ϲⲁθⲟⲩⲣ [BAF], θⲁϲⲟⲩⲣ [L]), an Asherite spy; Nu. 13 13 [14] (P).

'Sethur' or [L] Thesur may come from 'Pathros' (פתרום), which is most probably a corruption of 'Zarephath' (צרפת), a place-name of the Negeb (cp PATHRUSIM). Sethur's father is MICHAEL—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel. Cp Sithri [ZITHRI]. T. K. C.

SETTLE, meaning in English a seat, bench, or ledge, is employed in Ezek. 43 14, etc., to render עֲזָרָה, *'ăzārāh*, which in the prophet's description seems to denote the two ledges, 'the smaller' and 'the larger,' between the base and the hearth. See *SBOT* 'Ezek.', Eng. *ad loc.*

SEVEN. See NUMBER, § 5, OATH, § 1, and cp BEERSHEBA, § 3, and Wi. *GI* 2 221.

SEVENEH (סְוֵנֵה), Ezek. 29 10 30 6, RV, AV, RVmg. SYENE.

SEVEN STARS. See STARS, § 3*c*.

SEXTARIUS (ξεϲⲧⲏϲ), Mk. 7 4 AVmg.; EV 'pot.' See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3.

SHAALBIM (שַׁעַלְבִים, a corrupt place-name, see below). A site in the territory of Dan, mentioned (Josh. 19 42) between Beth-shemesh and Aijalon.

Judg. 1 35 (ἐν ᾧ [οὗ] αἱ ἀλώπεκες [Bb. vid. AL], ἐν ᾧ αἱ ἀλώπηκες[2] [B], and θαλαβειν [B; om. AL], a corruption of σα. [Aq., Sym., Theod.]. See Moore, *ad loc.*). 1 K. 4 9 βηθαλαμει [B], ἐν σαλαβειμ [A], θαλαβειν [L], but in Josh. 19 42 **Shaalabbin** (שַׁעַלַבִּין, σα[α]λαβειν [BL], -μειν [A]); whence the patronymic **Shaalbonite** (שַׁעַלְבֹנִי 2 S. 23 32, σαλαβωνειτης [BA], σαλαβανι [L]; 1 Ch. 11 33, σαλαβωνι [AL], ὁμει [B], σωμει [ℵ]. See HASHEM).

Some (including Conder and Steuernagel) identify with *Salbīt*, 3 hrs. SE. from Ramleh towards Yālō (Aijalon); the situation suits, but not the phonetic phenomena (see Kampffmeyer's article, *ZDPV* 15 *f.*). As in the case of MAKAZ [*q.v.*], between which place and Beth-shemesh Shaalbim is mentioned in Kings, corruption is highly probable. We have the place-names Sha'ul (in Gibeath-shā'ūl), Shu'al, Sha'alim, and Shalisha, and it is difficult not to class Shaalbim with these. In 1 K. 4 9 𝔊B gives βηθαλαμει, which may have arisen, not out of a misapprehension of ב in שעלבים (which 𝔊A takes as a preposition), but out of a true sense that the name began with בית. If, as the present writer thinks, Beth-shemesh, wherever it occurs, is a distortion of Beth-cushim (='a Cushite settlement'), it is reasonable to explain Shaalbim, not as 'place of foxes,' but as Beth-sha'alim ('place of Sha'alim'), or Beth-yishme''elim ('place of Ishmaelites')—surely a better explanation. T. K. C.

[1] Cp *Jubilees*, 4 30, 'And he (Adam) lacked seventy years of one thousand years; for one thousand years are as one day . . ., and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge, "On the day that ye eat thereof ye will die." For this reason he did not complete the years of this day, for he died during it.'

[2] From this rendering it has been inferred that Heb. like Ar. had a noun שעלב (=fox) as well as שועל. So evidently W. R. Smith (*J. Phil.* 9 92) who compares the Ar. tribe-name Tha'laba. It is worth considering, however, whether, even if we assume that 𝔊 read שעלבים, we ought not to explain ἀλώπεκες on the analogy of Gen. 17 4 where אברהם apparently=אַב הָמוֹן.

SHAALIM (אֶרֶץ־שַׁעֲלִים), 1 S. 9 4 RV, AV SHALIM (*q.v.*).

SHAAPH (שַׁעַף; ϲⲁⲅⲁⲉ [B], -ⲅⲁφ [A], ϲⲁⲁφ [L]) occurs twice in the Calebite genealogy: (1) as name of a son of Jahdai (1 Ch. 2 47), and (2) as name of a son of Maacah (1 Ch. 2 49). In the latter passage he is called father of Madmannah.

SHAARAIM, AV **Sharaim** (שַׁעֲרַיִם, as if 'two gates,' or 'place of a gate'); see NAMES, § 107, and cp the expanded ethnic SHEARIAH.

1. A city in the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 36, σακαρειμ [B], σαργαρ. [A], σεβαρ. [L]), which Conder, on the assumption that it is mentioned in 1 S. 17 52 (so Di., Dri. [?], H. P. Smith; but 𝔊BAL τῶν πυλῶν) and was therefore situated W. of Socoh and Azekah (see 1 S. 17 1), has identified with Tell Zakāryā, a huge conical hill 'which must be passed by any one escaping to Gath.' The site of GATH (*q.v.*) has yet to be determined, however, and the names have no resemblance (but cp 𝔊B). Perhaps Shaaraim has arisen by mistake; 1 S. 17 52 should close with 'and the mortally wounded of the Philistines fell in the way' (the rest is dittographed). See *Exp. T*, Aug. 1899, and cp SOCOH. H. P. Smith, however, retains 'Shaaraim.'

2. See SHARUHEN. T. K. C.

SHAASHGAZ (שַׁעַשְׁגַז), Esth. 2 14. See HEGAI.

SHABBETHAI (שַׁבְּתַי, cp Sin. שבתי (Eut. 370), Palm. שבת, שבא and שבי; σαββα, Jos. *Ant.* xv. 7 10, σαββαιος, *ib.* xiii. 3 4, and βαρ-σαββας [see Dalman, *Jüd.-paläst. Gramm.* 143, n. 10]; a Babylonian name Šabbatâ'a is reported from Nippur by Hilprecht, 5th century B.C.

As the name stands, it might mean 'one born on the Sabbath (§ 72). [Most probably, however, Shabbethai, like SHAPHAT and SHEPHATIAH, 'is a modification of the ethnic Zephathi, 'Zephathite' (=Zarephathi, 'Zarephathite.') Meshullam and Jozabad, with which the name Shabbethai is combined, both originate in ethnics (Che.).]

1. A Levite who helped Ezra in the matter of the foreign marriages, Ezra 10 15 (σαβ[β]αθαι [BℵL], καββ. [A])=1 Esd. 9 14 'Levis and SABBATHEUS' (RV SABBATEUS; λευ[ε]ις, και σαββαταιος [σαββεθ. L]). He is probably the same as the Shabbethai who was present at the reading of the Law under Ezra (Neh. 8 7; BℵA om., σαβαθθαιος [L]); in 1 Esd. 9 48 SABATEAS, RV SABATEUS (αβταιος [B], σαββαταιας [A], σαββαθαιος [L]).

2. 'Of the chief of the Levites,' an overseer, possibly identical with no. 1 (Neh. 11 16; om. BℵA, σοββαθαιος [ℵca. mg. sup.] σαθθαιος [L]).

SHACHIA (שָׂכְיָה [Bä., Ginsb.]; some edd. שָׂכְיָא or שָׂכְיָא, also שָׁבְיָה and שָׁבְיָה; the last form, *i.e.*, **Shabia**, is favoured by 𝔊BA: σαβια [B], σεβια [A], [but 𝔊L σεχια], and is perhaps to be preferred; perhaps 'Yahwè has forgotten,' cp שְׁבָאֵל, Sab. תובאל and see NAMES, § 31, though names of this type may quite well be expanded ethnics [Che.]. Pesh. reads R for B or K), a name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9 ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 10 †. See *JQR* 11 107, § 6.

SHACKLES (צִינֹק), Jer. 29 26 RV, RVmg. COLLAR (*q.v.* 3).

SHADDAI (שַׁדַּי; for renderings, see NAMES, § 117), a divine name of disputed interpretation, given in RVmg. wherever *El Shaddai* (EV 'God Almighty') occurs in MT, and also in Is. 13 6 Joel 1 15 (EV 'Almighty').[1]

1. Biblical usage.

In MT Shaddai occurs more frequently than it does in RVmg.—viz., in Gen. 17 1 28 3 35 11 48 3 (all P), Ex. 6 3 (P), Gen. 43 14 (E), 49 25 (Blessing of Jacob), Nu. 24 4 16 (Balaam), Ezek. 1 24 10 5 Ruth 1 20 21 Ps. 68 15 [14] 91 1 Job 5 17 (and thirty times besides). In the first six passages and in Ezek. 10 5 El (God) is prefixed; אל שדי should also be read in Gen. 49 25 (Ges., Ew., Di., Kau., Ball, with Sam., Pesh., Vg., and some MSS).

If we examine these passages, we shall find that only two of them are commonly regarded by critics as pre-exilic[2]—viz., Gen. 49 25, and Nu. 24 4 16 (originally no doubt *vv.* 4 and 16 were identical)—and of the remaining references all but those in Ps. 91 1 and the four prophetic passages (where the text is disputed[3]) may be accounted for by an archaising tendency in the writers; *e.g.*, the author of Job means to describe a primeval as well as a non-Israelitish society, and takes the divine name שדי from P (in its present form). To ascertain the original meaning of Shaddai we must therefore confine our attention to the two pre-exilic passages. In Gen. 49 25, which is more certainly pre-exilic than Nu. 24 4 16, *El Shaddai* (?) is evidently the God of the land of Israel, viewed especially as the giver of fertility; in Nu. 24 4 16 (see *v.* 16) he is, in addition, [El] Elyon, 'the most high God,' who compels a foreign soothsayer to bless Israel, and will make Israel victorious over its foes. What sense can שדי bear, so as to make it a suitable name in these contexts? We must of course remember that the oracles of Balaam are Israelitish poems.

Passing over plainly inadequate explanations (see NAMES, § 117.), we may mention three as at any rate not unplausible; it is the third which seems to the present writer preferable. (*a*) A connection was suggested by Frd. Delitzsch (*Hebr. Lang.* 48) with *šadû* = *šaḳû*, 'to be high' (see 5 R. 28, 82 h), and *šadû*, *šaddû*, 'mountain.' Delitzsch also quoted the phrase, *Bel šadû rabû* ('Bel the great rock'), and *Ilu šadû'a*, 'God my rock.' In *Prol.* 96, retaining MT's pointing, he suggests the meaning 'the exceedingly high' (cp 𝕲 in Psalms); but the sense now given by Delitzsch to the divine title *šadû rabû* (see *Ass. HWB* 642), viz., 'great lord,'[4] is apparently more defensible, and certainly more suitable to the biblical passages. It may be possible that *šadû* in the sense of 'lord' (or 'mountain'?) is cognate with the Hebrew divine name Shād (?), 'Lord,' Shādī (?), 'my Lord.' Frd. Delitzsch in Job renders שדי 'Allherr' (All-lord). (*b*) However, it is not less possible, with Nöldeke and G. Hoffmann (see NAMES, col. 3325, n. 2), to read שֵׁדַי, *šēdi*, still rendering 'my Lord'; the pronoun would refer to the people worshipping the divine 'Lord'; cp Baali (Hos. 2 16 [18]). (*c*) Lastly, it is possible and (in conformity with the present writer's estimate of P's proper names elsewhere) even probable, that שדי is corrupt. To restore the true name with certainty is impossible; but it is plausible to correct שדי (MT *Shaddai*) into ישראל 'Israel' (cp Gen. 49 25, אל שדי ‖ אביך). We may suppose that this was originally written by the Priestly Writer 'ישר,

2. Three plausible explanations.

[1] 𝕲 omits in Gen., Ex. unless the genit. of the pers. pron. is taken to represent it (once ὁ ἐμός, Gen. 49 25), θεός in Nu. 24 16 Is. 13 6; in Joel 1 15 𝕲 reads שֹׁד for שדי; in Ruth 1 20 *f.* ὁ ἱκανός (L omits in *v.* 20, A in *v.* 21), in Ezek. 1 24 𝕲BQ om., 𝕲A ἱκανός (so Theod. in Q), 10 5 σαδδαι; in Ps. 68 15 ὁ ἐπουράνιος, 91 1, ὁ θεὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; in Job κύριος nine times, παντοκράτωρ sixteen times, κ. παντ. once, ἱκανός three times, ὁ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας once.

[2] The pre-exilic date, however, of the oracles of Balaam is questioned by Diehl and von Gall.

[3] On Ps. 91 1 (and 68 15) see Che. *Ps.*(2) In Is. 13 6 Joel 1 15 כשׁר משׁדי should, in the opinion of the present writer, most probably be כשׁר ישמעאל, 'like destruction wrought by Ishmael.' In Ezek. 1 24 10 5 also the present writer believes that שדי comes from ישמעאל (in 1 24 ‖ המלה—*i.e.*, ירחמאל). See *Crit. Bib.*

[4] Cp Hommel, *AHT* 110, 'The word *šadû* has come now and then to mean "lord" or "commander."'

and that an editor misunderstood this, and corrected it into שדי. That in all the passages where שדי occurs the writer is directly dependent on our P, is a perfectly defensible proposition. It is equally plausible to hold that El-'elyon at any rate in Gen. 14 19 22 (see SODOM, § 6 [*c*]) and El-'olam in Gen. 21 33 are corruptions of El-jerahmeel, 'the God of Jerahmeel.' Cp also El-bethel (Gen. 31 13 35 7), originally perhaps El-tubal; TUBAL (*q.v.*) is an ethnic and place-name of the Negeb.

The names supposed to be compounded with Shaddai are עמישדי, שדיאור, and צורישדי. It is doubtful, however, whether this widely accepted theory is correct. See SHEDEUR, ZURI-SHADDAI.

Hommel (*AHT* 109 *ff.*) confirms the second view given above by comparing the Babylonian names Ammi-satana, Šamšu-satana (dynasty of Hammurabi), and the Assyrian names Marduk-šadûa, Bel-šadûa, Bel-Harran-šadûa. That -na in the two former words is the first plur. suffix seems highly probable (Jensen compares Old Bab. sudurāna). T. K. C.

SHADES (רְפָאִים), see DEAD, § 3, and REPHAIM.

SHADOW OF DEATH (צַלְמָוֶת; ϲκια θανατογ; *umbra mortis*), or, as RV, 'deep darkness,' a title of SHEOL (*q.v.*) in the Book of Job (*e.g.*, 10 21 *f.* 'the land of the Shadow of Death,' 𝕲 γνοφερος and γην ϲκοτογϲ αιωνιογ; 38 17, 'the Gates of the [city of the] Shadow of Death,' 𝕲 πγλωροι αδογ). Probably, too, passages like Job 3 5 24 17 (cp 𝕲) Ps. 44 19 [20] should also be classed with these passages, and, by probable correction of the text, Ps. 94 17 115 17 (see below). The didactic explanation 'shadow of death' proceeds from a very old but probably incorrect tradition. It suits the preceding passages, however. Elsewhere (*e.g.*, Am. 5 8 [𝕲 σκιάν without θανάτου] Job 3 5 Ps. 107 10 14 Is. 9 1 [2]) 'deep darkness,' or rather 'gloom' is perhaps more favoured by the context.

On the pointing צַלְמוּת, or צַלְמוֹת, see Barth, *NB* 259*c*: on the traditional reading צַלְמָוֶת, Nöld. *GGA* [1867] 456; *ZATW* 17 [1897] 182 *ff.* On the emendation צלמות for דּוּמָה (conjecturally rendered 'silence') in Ps. 94 17 115 17, see Che. *Ps.*(2)

SHADRACH (שַׁדְרַךְ; ϲεδραχ [𝕲BAQΓ Theod.]) and **Meshach** (מֵישַׁךְ; μ[ε]ιϲαχ [𝕲BQΓ Theod.] -ϲακ [A]), names given at Babylon to two of Daniel's Jewish companions, otherwise called Hananiah and Mishael (Dan. 1 7 2 49 3 12 *ff.*). Very un-Babylonian-looking names. The termination can hardly be Aku, a name of the moon-god (so Frd. Del. formerly, but see now *Calwer BL* 575 *b*), but might be the Elamite name Šutruk (Lenormant; Jensen). If, however, we admit that the story of Daniel, like so many others in the OT, has been altered by a redactor, and that the scene of part of it at least lay in the land of Jerahmeel, we may conjecture that Shadrach is a distortion of Asshur, Meshach of Cusham, and for completeness let us add, comparing Rab-shakeh from 'Arab-cush, and Rab-saris from 'Arab-asshur, Abed-nego from 'Arab-negeb—*i.e.*, the Arabia of the Negeb. Cp NISROCH. T. K. C.

SHAFT. 1. יָרֵךְ, *yārēk*, lit. 'thigh'; καγλοϲ: Ex. 25 31 37 17 AV; Nu. 8 4 'base' RV. See CANDLESTICK, § 2.

2. קָנָה, *ḳānāh*, καλαμίσκος, Ex. 25 31 37 17 RV; 'branch' AV, see CANDLESTICK, § 2.

3. חֵץ, *ḥēṣ*, βέλος; Is. 49 2. See WEAPONS, § 2.

SHAGE (שָׁגֵה, var. שָׁגֵא; ϲωλα [Bℵ] ϲαγη [A] ϲαμαια [L]), 1 Ch. 11 34†. See JONATHAN (5) and SHAMMAH (4).

SHAHARAIM (שַׁחֲרַיִם; ϲααρηλ [B], -ρημ [A], ϲεωρειν [L]), a Benjamite name (1 Ch. 8 8†). Either a corruption, through Ahishahar, from Aher (so Marq.,[1] see BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. *a*, *b*) or, much more probably, a corruption, equally with Ahishahar, of Ashhur, a name which, modified as Asshur, designates the N. Arabian population of the Negeb. Cp SHIHOR. Shaharaim's

[1] The present writer, however, believes that אחר again and again represents ירחמאל, 'Jerahmeel.'

home was in 'the field [highland] of Moab,' or rather 'of Miṣṣur'; his wives are named Ḥushim and Baara—*i.e.*, Cushim and 'Arāb. T. K. C.

SHAHAZIMAH (שַׁחֲצִימָה, Ḳr., but שחצומה, Ktb., whence RV **Shahazumah**), a place on the border of Issachar towards the Jordan—if the text is correct (Josh. 19 22; ϲαλειμ κατα θαλαϲϲαν [B], ϲαϲειμαθ κ. θ. [A], ϲαϲειμα [L]; *sehesima* [Vg.]; *sasima*, *saasim* [*OS*(2) 30 18 152 21]).

Dillmann supposes a place-name Shahazim, which is usually connected with שחץ, 'to be high' (Ges.-Bu.(13); cp Gray, *HPN* 95). Analogy, however, favours the view that either 'שׁ is a miswritten form of the following word בית שמש, or שמש in 'ב' שׁ is a corruption of the name which underlies 'שח. Now שמש in MT is sometimes a corruption of כֻּשָׁם or כֻּשִׁים (*e.g.*, probably Ps. 72 5 121 6), סוּס of כּוּשׁ (Ps. 76 7 [6]), and סוּסִים of כּוּשִׁים (Is. 66 20, *Crit. Bib.*). שחצים may therefore come from כּוּשִׁים, either directly (ח=כ), or through the form סוסים. Similarly Beth-shemesh comes from 'Beth-cushim'; in *v.* 38 it is grouped with Migdal-el and Horem, both of which names come from 'Jeraḥmeel' (virtually a synonym of 'Cush'). Old Cushite or Jeraḥmeelite settlements are meant. T. K. C.

SHALEM (שָׁלֵם; ειϲ ϲαλημ [ADEL]; so Pesh., Vg.; Jub. 30 1 gives 'to Salem . . . in peace'; Sam., שלום; 'in peace' RV), Gen. 33 18. Accepting the MT and AV's rendering, we must look for a place called Shalem near Shechem, where in fact Robinson found a village called Sālim, in the hilly region to the E. of the Vale of Shechem. No such place, however, is mentioned elsewhere, and many prefer to render 'safe and sound' (Tgg., Saad., Rashi, Ges., Di., Del.; cp Sam.). The truth, however, is quite different. It is probable that the geography of the original narrative has been altered by the redactor. See SHECHEM, 2.

'Came in peace' is not natural. Wellhausen (*CH*(3) 317), Kautzsch-Socin (*Gen.* 78), and Ball suspect corruption. שכם, however, is not a plausible emendation of שלם. T. K. C.

SHALIM, RV **Shaalim, Land of** (אֶרֶץ־שַׁעֲלִים, τηϲ γηϲ εαϲακεμ [B], τ. γ. ϲααλειμ [A], τηϲ γηϲ γαδδι τηϲ πολεωϲ ϲεγαλειμ [L]), 1 S. 9 4†. According to Ewald (*Hist.* 3 19), Wellhausen (*TBS* 70), Driver, and Löhr, 'Sha'alim' should rather be 'Shaalabbim' (a Danite place). The account of Saul's route is, however, by no means clear, and 'Sha'alim' may be a corruption either of Shalishah or of Shaul (with which SHUAL [*q.v.*] may also be connected; cp H. P. Smith); in this case the second clause in *v.* 4 disappears. T. K. C.

SHALISHA(H), LAND OF (א׳ שָׁלִשָׁה; τηϲ γηϲ ϲελχα [BL], τ. γ. ϲαλιϲϲα [A]), mentioned in the description of the route taken by Saul, after leaving his home, to the 'land of Zuph' in the hill-country of Ephraim (1 S. 9 4).

The name Shalisha(h) also occurs in the compound place-name BAAL-SHALISHA and possibly underlies the corrupt words ZELAH and ZELZAH (*qq.v.*), BARZILLAI (see MEPHIBOSHETH), and also LAISH and LAISHAH; on the affinities of the name cp ASHER, § 4, ii., end.

The district referred to in 1 S. 9 4 would seem to be that in which the headquarters of Saul's clan were situated—*i.e.*, probably Beth-gallim (cp GALLIM) or Beth-gilgal, or (originally) Beth-jeraḥmeel.[1] It must also have contained the place called Gibeah of Saul, which might probably with equal accuracy be called Gibeah of Shalisha, the names of Saul (Shaul) and Shalisha being perhaps connected (see SAUL, § 1, MEPHIBOSHETH). If, therefore, 'Gibeah of Saul' is rightly identified with Tell el-Fūl, 2½ m. N. of Jerusalem, we know the situation of the Land of Shalisha.

The geography of 1 S. 9 4 has caused much perplexity. The difficulty lies not only in the position of the clause, 'And he passed through the hill country of Ephraim,' but also in the final clause referring to אֶרֶץ יְמִינִי (RV, 'the land of the Benjamites'). ארץ ימיני must be taken together with אִישׁ יְמִינִי in 2 S. 20 1. In both passages ימיני is very probably a corruption of

[1] In explanation, see MEPHIBOSHETH, ROGELIM, ZELZAH.

יְרַחְמְאֵלִי, and the last member of the sentence in 1 S. 9 4 is to be regarded as a correction of the carelessly written first clause, so that the whole verse becomes (cp SHALIM) 'And he passed through the Jeraḥmeelite land (*i.e.*, the district of Beth-Jeraḥmeel), but they found them not, and passed through the land of Shalisha (*i.e.*, the district of Gibeah of Saul), but they found them not.' For a parallel to the emendation of הר־אפרים in clause 1, see Josh. 24 33, and cp PHINEHAS; and for another view, see Marq. *Fund.* 12, n. 1.

BAAL-SHALISHA (2 K. 4 42) has been considered elsewhere, and the identification mentioned will still perhaps be the most plausible one, even if we explain the second part of the name and also the 'Gilgal' in 2 K. 4 38[1] on the analogy of the 'Gilgal' and 'Gallim' disclosed to us in 2 S. 9 4 *f.* 17 27 19 32, and the 'Shalisha' of 1 S. 9 4. We may also provisionally hold that Shalisha is a less correct form than Shaul (cp SAUL, § 1). T. K. C.

SHALLECHETH, GATE OF (שַׁלֶּכֶת), apparently one of the gates of the temple, 1 Ch. 26 16†. See HOSAH ii. That it is a synonym for the 'dung-gate' (cp RVmg.), is very unlikely. Cp, however, Thenius on 2 Ki. 26 16.

SHALLUM (שַׁלּוּם, either from a clan-name akin to Ishmael, or='retribution [of God],' cp § 56 and see MESHULLAM; analogous are מְשֻׁלֶּמְיָה ,שֶׁלֶמְיָה, and Ph. שלם, בחשלם, יכנשלם, Palm. שלמא [ϲαλμηϲ] and שלמן, the Nab. שלמו and Sab. סלם, etc., cp Berger in *Rev. d'Assyriol. et d'Archéol.* 1895, p. 75; ϲελλουμ [BAL]).

1. Son of Jabesh (EV), or rather 'a Jabeshite' (see GINATH), who killed Zechariah b. Jeroboam, the last of the dynasty of Jehu, in IBLEAM [*q.v.*] and usurped the throne of Israel. After one month's reign he was killed by Menahem (2 K. 15 10-15; σελλημ [L]). M'Curdy (*HPM* 1 357) sees a reference to this in the statement of Zech. 11 8 that Yahwè 'cut off the three shepherds in one month.' It is difficult, however, to justify this theory (which is that of Hitzig and Ewald) in all points from the Hebrew records, and the view that Zech. 9-11 is pre-exilic is unsatisfactory (see ZECHARIAH [BOOK], § 5). It has been thought that Shallum's bold deed may be referred to in Hos. 10 14 (see BETH-ARBEL, but cp SALMAH).

2. b. Tekoa (MT TIKVAH, *q.v.*), *i.e.*, a Tekoite, 'keeper of the wardrobe,' and husband (𝔊BA 'son') of the prophetess Huldah (2 K. 22 14 σελλημ [BL] 2 Ch. 34 22 σελλημ [BAL]); see below, 14.

3. b. Sismai, a descendant of Sheshan (1 Ch. 2 40 *f.*) σαλ[λ]ουμ [BAL]). Kittel (*SBOT ad loc.*) illustrates the combination of ססמי and שלום by (σεσμαος) בעלשלם בן [ס]סמי in a Ph. inscription from Larnax Lapethus (*CIS* 1 95); but cp SISMAI.

4. b. Josiah (Jer. 22 11, σελλημ, 1 Ch. 3 15 σαλ[λ]ουμ [BA]), generally known as JEHOAHAZ [*q.v.*].

5. b. Shaul, of SIMEON (§ 9), 1 Ch. 4 25 (σαλεμ [BA] σελλημ [L]; *sellum* [Vg.]).

6. b. Zadok, in the genealogical list connecting Eleazar with Ezra, 1 Ch. 6 12 *f.* [5 38 *f.*] (σαλωμ [B], Ezra 7 2, σαλουμ [B])=1 Esd. 8 1 (SALUM, RV SALEM σαλημου [BA] a diminutive?)=4 Esd. 1 1 SADAMIAS, RV SALEMAS. In 1 Ch. 9 11 Neh. 11 11 his name appears as MESHULLAM (*q.v.*, no. 7).

7. b. NAPHTALI (§ 6), 1 Ch. 7 13 (σαλωμων [B], σελλημ [L]). He and his brother are called 'the sons of Bilhah' (the mother of Naphtali and Dan); possibly some of these were Danites (see Be. *Chron. ad loc.*). According to L βαλααμ (for Bilhah) was the son of Shallum. The name appears also under the form SHILLEM[2] (Gen. 46 24, συλλημ, שלום Sam. Nu. 26 49, שלום Sam. σελλη [B], σελλημ [AF] σε[λ]λημ [L]), whence the family of the Shillemites (Nu. *loc. cit.* הַשִּׁלֵּמִי, שלומי Sam. ὁ σελλημ[ε]ι [BAFL]).

8. The b'ne Shallum were one of the six groups of the 'children of the doorkeepers' (Ezra 2 42 σαλουμ [B] Neh. 7 45, σαλουμ [Bℵ]) in 1 Esd. 5 28 SALUM (σαλουμ [A] [B om.]). Of these, three (Shallum, Akkub, and Talmon) are mentioned as *individuals* in a list of doorkeepers (1 Ch. 9 17, σαλωμ [B twice, A once], σαλλωμ [A once]). In Neh. 12 25 his name appears as MESHULLAM (*q.v.*, no. 20, and see below, no. 11). 'Door-

[1] On 𝔊's reading, see RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

[2] As the versions show (here and in nos. 4 and 10), שַׁלֻּם and שִׁלֵּם are very closely related, cp MESHULLAMOTH (1).

keepers' in Ezra 2 42 Neh. 7 45 should probably be 'Asshurites,' another N. Arabian ethnic (Che.).

9. Shallum the Korahite (1 Ch. 9 19, *σαλωμων* [B], *σαλωμ'* [A]), see MESHELEMIAH.

10. An Ephraimite (2 Ch. 28 12 *σελλημ* [BA] *-ειμ* [L]).

11. A door-keeper (or Asshurite? Che.), Ezra 10 24 (*γελλημ* [B], *γαιλλειμ* [א], *σολλημ* [A], *σε.* [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 25 SALLUMUS (*σαλλουμος* [B*bA], *-μου* [Ba? c?]). From the fact that Telem (cp Talmon) occurs alongside his name, it is probable that he is to be identified with no. 8, above.

12. One of the b. Bani, Ezra 10 42 (*σαλουμ* [Bא]) = SAMATUS 1 Esd. 9 34 (*σαματος* [BA]).

13. b. HALLOHESH (הַלּוֹחֵשׁ), one of the repairers of the wall at Jerusalem (Neh. 3 12 *σαλ[λ]ουμ* [BA], *σαλουμ* [א]).

14. The father of Hanameel and uncle (דּוֹד) of Jeremiah (Jer. 32 [𝔊 39] 7, *σαλωμ* [BAQ], *σαλμων* [א*], *adnot.* *ειρηνη* [Qmg.]), possibly the same as 2 (above).

15. Father of Maaseiah (Jer. 35 [𝔊 42] 4 *σελωμ* [BAQ], *αιλωμ* [א*] *σαι* [אc.a]).

SHALLUN (שַׁלּוּן), b. COL-HOZEH (*q.v.*), ruler of the district of Mizpah, who repaired the fountain-gate and part of the pool of Shiloah (Neh. 3 15; 𝔊BאA om., ΕΜΜΩΝ [L]).

SHALMAI (AV in Neh. 7 48 = Ezra 2 46†; שַׁלְמַי [= SALMAI in RV] in Neh. with no varr. [except *σαμαει* (א) against *σαλαμει* (B), *σελμει* (A), *σελεμει* (L)], and in Ezra, Kr. [Bä.; the usual text being שַׁלְמַי, cp *σελαμ[ε]ι* (AL)]; שַׁמְלַי in Ezra, Kt. [Bä.; the usual text being שַׁמְלַי = SHAMLAI (RV), *σαμααν* (B)]), only in the phrase 'the children of Salmai,' a family of the NETHINIM (see EZRA ii., § 10 *n*). The name suggests a foreign origin. In 1 Esd. 5 30 the corresponding name is SUBAI (*συβαει* [BA], *σελαμει* [L]). Cp SHELUMIEL.

SHALMAN (Hos. 10 14). See BETH-ARBEL.

SHALMANESER (שַׁלְמַנְאֶסֶר; ΣΑΜΕΝΝΑΣΑΡ, ΣΑΛΑΜΑΝΑΣΣΑΡ [B]; ΣΑΛΜΑΝΑΣΑΡ [A], ΣΑΜΑΝΑΣΣΑΡ [Avid., in 2 K. 18 9]; ΣΑΛΜΑΝΑΣΣΑΡ [L]; in Tob. 1 2 13 15 *f.*, **Enemessar**, ΕΝΕΜΕΣΣΑΡΟΣ, -ΑΡ [BאA]; in 4 Esd. 13 40 SALMANASAR, *Salmanassar*), named as king of Assyria in 2 K. 17 3-6 18 9-11, is obviously the king who succeeded Tiglath-pileser and preceded Sargon. Hence he must be identified with Šulmânu-ašarid IV., successor and possibly son of Tiglath-pileser III. He was king of Assyria, 727-722 B.C. He seems to have left no monuments, probably because his reign was so short. He was succeeded by Sargon II., who appears to have founded a new dynasty. Very little is known of him. The Babylonian Chronicle, *KB* 2 276, narrates that 'he sat on the throne, 25th of Ṭebêtu [727 B.C.]. The city Šamara'in (or Šabara'in) he destroyed (cp SAMARITANS, § 2). In his fifth year Šulmânu-ašarid, in Ṭebêtu, met his fate. Five years had Šulmanu-ašarid reigned in Assyria.' The existing copies of the eponym canons give the names of the eponyms for the five years of his reign, and the additional information that in the first two years there was no military expedition, but that there was one in each of the years 725-722 B.C. Unfortunately the objective of these expeditions is not known. Some of the standard lion weights found at Kalah bear this king's name, *KB* 2 33 *f.* A boundary stone inscription, published by Peiser (*Keilinschriftliche Actenstücke*, 7 *ff.*), refers to private transactions in the second year of this reign, at Dûr-ili, which town was then under his rule. For another private transaction of this reign, in or near Nineveh (?), see *KB* 4 108. Sargon, in one of his inscriptions, accuses Shalmaneser of forcibly dispossessing the old capital Aššur of its ancient rights and immunities (see Wi. *AOF* 1 402 *ff.*). It seems certain also that, before he came to the throne, his father (?) Tiglath-pileser had placed him as his lieutenant over the city and district of Ṣimirra, conquered in 738 B.C. (see Wi. *AOF* 2 4). That he actually took Samaria is rendered doubtful by Sargon's claim to have done so, see SAMARITANS, § 2. See HOSEA for his relations with that monarch.

The Shalman of Hos. 10 14 has been identified (*e.g.*, by Wellhausen, who regards *v.* 10 as an interpolation) with Shalmaneser IV.; against this see BETH-ARBEL, and *Crit. Bib.*[1]

C. H. W. J.

SHAMA (שָׁמָע; ΣΑΜΑΘΑ [Bא], ΣΑΜΜΑ [AL]), b. Hothan the Aroerite, one of David's heroes (1 Ch. 11 44). Cp Elishama—*i.e.*, probably Ishmael (Che.). His brother is Jeiel—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel [Che.] (see JEIEL, 2).

SHAMARIAH (שְׁמַרְיָה, 2 Ch. 11 19). See SHEMARIAH (2).

SHAMBLES (Old Eng. *scamel*, from the late Lat. *scamellum*, a small bench), though now generally used in the sense of a slaughter-house, formerly signified a bench or stall on which goods, and particularly meat, were exposed for sale, and then a meat or flesh-market (*κρεοπώλιον*). In this sense shambles is used in our later English versions to render *μάκελλον* (1 Cor. 10 25), the Lat. *macellum*,[2] or provision-market, for which earlier translators have 'market' (Tindale) or 'fleshe market' (Coverdale and others). 'Shambles' first appears in the Rheims version of 1582. The Roman colonists who founded the Corinth of Paul's day (see CORINTH) in all probability brought the name with them.[3] The salesmen were named *macellarii* and dealt not only in the flesh of domestic animals but also in venison and other game, as well as in the various secondary articles of diet classed by the ancients under the head of *ὄψον*, *obsonia* (references in Marq. *Das Privatleben d. Römer*, 450 [1879]).

Dio Cassius defines *τὸ μάκελλον* as *τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν ὄψων* (61 18). In Athens the provision-market (*ὀψοπωλία*) was divided into sections, termed *κύκλοι* (circles), and named after the special wares offered for sale, *εἰς τὸ ὄψον*, *εἰς τὸν οἶνον*, etc. (Poll. 9 47 10 29).

In 1 Cor. 10 25 the Corinthian Christians are advised to purchase whatever is offered for sale in the provision-market of the city, asking no question on the score of conscience, 'for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.'

A. R. S. K.

SHAMED, RV SHEMED (שֶׁמֶר), b. ELPAAL (*q.v.*), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. 8), 1 Ch. 8 12; perhaps same as Ishmerai in *v.* 18, see *JQR* 11 103, § 1. Recent editions (Bä., Ginsb.) read שמד, in preference to שמר (final *d*, not final *r*); the latter, however, is followed by ordinary Hebrew Bibles, Pesh. and 𝔊 (*σημηρ* [B], *σεμμ.* [A], *σαμαιηλ* [L]).

SHAME, SHAMEFUL THING (הַבֹּשֶׁת), Hos. 9 10 Jer. 3 24 11 13. See IDOL, § 3.

SHAMER (שָׁמֶר), 1 Ch. 7 34, AV SHEMER (2 and 3).

SHAMGAR (שַׁמְגַּר; ΣΑΜΑΓΑΡ [B], ΣΑΜΕ- [L, and BA in Judg. 5 6]; Jos. ΣΑΑΓΑΡΟΣ, ΣΑΜΑΓΑΡΟΣ; on the addition in some MSS of 𝔊 after Judg. 16 31, see Moore, 'Judges,' *SBOT* [Heb.], 59).

1. Judg. 3 31. An early Israelitish hero, Judg. 3 31 5 6; or, as others think, a foreign oppressor of Israel or of some part of Israel whom the writer of Judg. 3 31, through a misunderstanding of the allusion in Judg. 5 6, mistook for a patriotic warrior. The notice in Judg. 3 31, however, is, according to the most recent commentators, a very late insertion, later not only than the deuteronomistic elements in Judges, but also than the editor to whom the chronological system of Judges in its present form is due. It stands altogether outside that system, and is evidently unknown to the author of Judg. 4 1, which connects the oppression of Jabin with the death of Ehud. The author of the notice was poorly provided with suitable details for a fictitious story; he takes a hint (it may perhaps be held) from Judg. 15 14 *f.*, where a similar exploit is

[1] [For other references see Lehmann, 'Menander u. Josephos üb. Salmanassar IV. pt. i.,' *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte*, 2 125-140 (1902).]

[2] *Macellum* was also adopted into the Hebrew of the Talmud and Midrash under the forms מַקְלוֹן, מוּקְלִין, etc. (see the lexicons of Levy and Jastrow).

[3] For the *macella* of Rome see art. *macellum* in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*(3)

assigned to Samson.[1] When we consider that the legend (2 S. 23 11 *f.*) of Shammah ben Agee, one of David's heroes, has also been influenced by the Samson-story, such license would not be surprising. Note also that all these names begin with שמ (*sh-m*). The chief object of the insertion of Judg. 3 31 would be to explain the obscure phrase 'in the days of Shamgar ben Anath' in Judg. 5 6.

This critical theory can only be right in part.[2] Certainly Shamgar ben Anath comes from the song in Judg. 5 (in a corrupt form, so far as *v.* 6 is concerned). But the late writer of 3 31 ventured on no account of 'Shamgar's' exploits. Unless our experience elsewhere is altogether illusory, the passage (3 31) has suffered both by corruption and by editorial manipulation. On the analogy of similarly corrupt passages, we have to restore it thus: 'And after him arose Shamgar ben Anath; he smote the Pelištim [Ishmaelites, Jeraḥmeelites]; he also delivered Israel.' The corrector of the MS evidently felt that 'Pelištim' occurred too early; he wrote in the margin 'Ishmaelites,' 'Jeraḥmeelites,' as alternative corrections for 'Pelištim.' 'Ishmaelites' seems to be the right word; the preceding narrative in its original form probably closed with the words, 'and the land had rest from the Ishmaelites,' just as the narrative of Jabin or Sisera probably closed with the words, 'and the land had rest from the Arabians.'[3]

2. Judg. 5 6. But who was the true 'Shamgar' (Judg. 5 6)? Moore (*Judges*, 106) and Marquart (*Fund.* 3) have suggested that he may have been a Hittite king. Sangara was the name of a (Hittite) king of Carchemish in the time of Ašur-nasir-pal and Shalmaneser II. Moore also refers, in illustration of 'Sisera,' to the numerous Hittite names in -sira (*e.g.*, Htàsira, WMM *As. u. Eur.* 332), whilst Marquart compares the name *Pi-siri(s)*, borne by the last king of Carchemish (cp Del. *Par.* 270), and Ball[4] refers (for 'ben Anath') to Bur-anati, the name of the king of Yasbuk whom Shalmaneser II. mentions as an ally of Sangara (*KB* 1 159; cp ISHBAK). The song, however, is so often corrupt that the question of the names Shamgar and Sisera needs to be re-examined in connection with a thorough critical revision of the text of Judg. 5. The main historical result of such a revision appears to the present writer to be that the foes by whom the Israelites were oppressed were N. Arabians, variously called Jeraḥmeelites, Ishmaelites, Cushites, Asshurites, and Kenizzites, and that *v.* 6 should run thus:

In the days of Jeraḥmeel son of Anak,[5]
In the days of Cusham and Ishmael.

שמגר, 'Shamgar' (?), is in fact a scribe's mixture of ישמעאל and ירחמאל, and the scribe himself corrected his error,[6] while סיסרא is a corruption of the ethnic name אַשּׁוּר, 'Asshur,' a collateral form of which was probably גְּשׁוּר, 'Geshur' (see GESHUR, 2). Now perhaps we can see how 'Jabin' and 'Sisera' both appear in the story. 'Jabin' (𝔊[A], twice Jamin) is one of the corruptions of 'Jeraḥmeel,' so that the king of Kenaz (קנז, not כנען), whose capital was Kadesh[-barnea], might equally well be called 'Jeraḥmeel' and 'Asshur.' That 'Sisera' represents a N. Arabian ethnic name may also be presumed from its occurrence in the list of the families of the Nethinim (=Ethanim, 'men of Ethan'—a N. Arabian region). See SISERA, and *Crit. Bib.*

Cp G. F. Moore, *Judges*, 105 *f.*, 142 *f.*, and 'Shamgar and Sisera,' in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.* 19 *b* 159 *f.*; Wi. *GI* 2 124 (Šem-gêr, two divine names). T. K. C.

[1] Moore points out (*SBOT*, *l.c.*) that in some forms of 𝔊 the notice of Shamgar stands after the story of Samson, and conjectures that this was the original place of the brief account.

[2] Winckler (*GI* 2 124), too, expresses dissatisfaction with the current theory; but he has no light to throw either on 3 31 or on 5 6.

[3] There are quite sufficient parallels for these and the preceding emendations. שמ frequently springs out of ישמעאל, and chronological statements have several times (*e.g.*, Nu. 14 33 Am. 2 10 5 25) arisen out of misread ethnic names. See MOSES, § 11. The difficulties arising out of מלמד (cp 𝔊), and out of the six hundred men, who 'have always taxed the credulity of the commentators' (Moore; cp Wade, *Old Test. History*, 198, n. 1), now disappear.

[4] Smith's *DB*(2), *s.v.* 'Ishbak.' 'Bur' may have been taken by the scribe to be =בַּר ('son'); cp the reading proposed in col. 163, n. 1.

[5] ת and ק confounded. But cp ANATH.

[6] יעל in בימי יעל represents ירחמאל; ע stands for א. The rest of 'ירח was expelled by the following word חדלו which resembles ירחל. Line 2 now appears in a much altered form in *v.* 7*b*. See *Crit. Bib.*

SHAMHUTH (שַׁמְהוּת), 1 Ch. 27 8; in 2 S. 23 25 SHAMMAH (5).

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר). 1. a city in the highlands of Judah (Josh. 15 48; CAMEIP [B], CAΦEIP [AL]). It may possibly be identified with *Umm Sômerah*, 2000 ft. above sea level, 2 m. N. from 'Anāb (cp *v.* 50) and 5 hrs. SW. from Hebron. So Guérin, Conder, Buhl. But note σαφειρ of 𝔊[AL].

2. A place in Mt. Ephraim, the seat of the clan of Tola, in Issachar, see ISSACHAR, § 7 (Judg. 10 1 *f.*; σαμειρ [B], σαμαρεια [AL]).[1] A site to the extreme N. of the hill-country seems possible (Moore). But see TOLA, where it is suggested that we should transfer the tradition of Tola to the Negeb. Observe, too, that Shimron (*q.v.*) is both a name of Issachar, and, according to the present writer's theory of Josh. 11 1 and Am. 3 9, etc., the Negeb. T. K. C.

SHAMIR (שָׁמִיר, Ktb. שָׁמוּר), b. Uzziel, a Levite (1 Ch. 24 24; CAMHP [BA], CEMMHP [L]).

SHAMLAI (שַׁמְלַי, Kt.; שַׂלְמַי, Kr.; CAMAAN [B], CEΛAM[E]I [AL]), Ezra 2 46 = Neh. 5 48, SALMAI.

SHAMMA (שַׁמָּא), b. Zophah, in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 37 (CEM[M]A [BL], CAMMA [A]).

SHAMMAH (שַׁמָּה, § 51; abbrev. from SHEMAIAH).

1. Son of Reuel b. Esau, and a 'duke' or 'clan' (?) of Edom; Gen. 36 13 17 1 Ch. 1 37 (σομε [BADEL], but 1 Ch. 1 37 σομμε [A], σαμμα [L], and Gen. 36 17 σομαι [*D*]). See EDOM, § 4.

2. Son of Jesse (see DAVID, § 1*a*, n.); (1 S. 16 9, σαμα [B], σαμμα [A], σαμαα [L]); but 1 Ch. 2 13 RV (AV SHIMMA), 20 7 SHIMEA (שִׁמְעָא); 2 S. 13 3 σαμαα [BAL]; 2 S. 21 21, Kr. SHIMEAH (שִׁמְעָה); *ib.* Ktb. and RV SHIMEI, שִׁמְעִי, σεμεει [BA] σαμαα [L]). His sons were JONADAB and JONATHAN [*q.v.*]. See no. 5, below.

3. b. AGEE [*q.v.*], one of David's 'first three' (2 S. 23 11 *f.*; σαμαια [B], σαμμεας [A], σαμαιας [L]), a HARARITE [*q.v.*] or perhaps an ARCHITE [*q.v.*], for 𝔊[BA] calls him ὁ ἀρουχαῖος, 𝔊[L] ὁ αραχι. The exploit attributed to him in 2 S. is, with slight variations, assigned in 1 Ch. 11 13 *f.* to Eleazar, another of David's 'first three.' In L he appears as 'son of Ela,' which may imply identifying him with Shimei, son of Ela (1 K. 4 18 RV; see ELAH, 6). He had a son named Jonathan. See JONATHAN (ben Shage) and SHAMGAR, § 1.

4. A Hararite (σαμναν [B*b], σαμνας [Ba vid. A]; σαμαα [L]; see also JONATHAN b. Shage), who appears in 2 S. 23 33 as one of David's thirty, and as a distinct person both from Shammah b. Agee the Hararite one of the 'first three,' and from Shammah the Harodite also one of David's thirty, is really to be identified with Shammah b. Agee, and comes into the list in 2 S. 23 33 merely as father of JONATHAN ('ben Shage') [*q.v.*].

5. The HARODITE [*q.v.*], another of David's thirty (2 S. 23 25; σαιμα [B], σαμμαι [A], σαμαιας [L]). In 1 Ch. 11 27 the name is SHAMMOTH (שַׁמּוֹת; σαμαωθ [Bא], σαμωθ [A], σαμμωθ [L]), the Harorite (הַהֲרוֹרִי, ὁ αδι [Bא], θαδι [A], αρωρι [L]); and in 1 Ch. 27 8 SHAMHUTH (שַׁמְהוּת; σαλαωθ [B], σαμαωθ [AL]) the 'Izrahite,' which, according to Marquart (*Fund.* 19), stands for שמהות הַחֲרוֹרִי לַזַּרְחִי, 'Shamhuth, the Harodite, belonging to the Zerahites'; see ZERAH (1).

SHAMMAI (שַׁמַּי, § 52; cp SHEMAIAH).

1. A Jerahmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 28 32 (σαμαι [B]; αχεισαμας for 'brother of Shammai,' *v.* 32 [B], αχισαμμα [A]; σαμμαι [A] σεμεει [L]). See JERAHMEEL, § 2.

2. 'Son' of REKEM (*q.v.*) b. Hebron, and 'father' of Maon, 'father' of Beth-zur; 1 Ch. 2 44 *f.* (σαμαι [B only once L], σαμμαι [A once]).

3. Son of MERED [*q.v.*] of Judah, by his 'Egyptian' (more probably 'Misrite') wife; 1 Ch. 4 17 *f.* (σεμεν [B], σεμμαι [A], σαμι [L]).

SHAMMOTH (שַׁמּוֹת), 1 Ch. 11 27 = 2 S. 23 25, SHAMMAH (5).

[1] The fortress Sānūr, with which some have identified BETHULIA (*q.v.*), has been thought of by Schwarz for Shamir, but can hardly have come within Issachar. Cp Moore, *ad loc.*

SHAMMUA (שַׁמּוּעַ, perhaps 'heard,' § 56, but cp SHEMAIAH, which might be an expanded clan name).

1. A chief of REUBEN, § 13, end: Nu. 13 4 (*σαμουηλ* [B], *σαμαλιηλ* [A], *σαμμου* [F], *σαλαμιηλ* [L]).

2. Son of David (1 Ch. 14 4); see SHIMEA (2). In 2 S. 5 14 SHAMMUAH (AV).

3. A Levite; Neh. 11 17 (*σαμου*[*ε*]*ι* [BN*A], *σαμμουε* [Nc.a ?]), in 1 Ch. 9 16 called SHEMAIAH.

4. A priest, contemporary with Joiakim, Jeshua's successor; Neh. 12 18 (om. BN*A, *σναμουε* [Nc.a mg. inf.], *σαμουε* [L]).

SHAMSHERAI (שַׁמְשְׁרַי, ΙϹΜΑϹΑΡΙΑ [B], ϹΑΜϹ. [A], ϹΑΜΨΑΙΑ [L]), b. JEROHAM in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*) (1 Ch. 8 26†). Should the name be SHIMSHAI (*q.v.*)? Shehariah (cp Shihor, Ashḥur) follows. T. K. C.

SHAPHAM (שָׁפָם; ϹΑΒΑΤ [B], ϹΑΦΑΜ [A], -Ν [L]), a Gadite, 1 Ch. 5 12†. Perhaps originally a name of the Negeb (where Gad once dwelt); see SHAPHAT, SIPHMOTH (Che.).

SHAPHAN (שָׁפָן, either an animal name, or the name of a district, borne originally by a clan and subsequently by individuals [see below]; ϹΑΦΑΝ [BAL], but in 2 K. 22 ϹΑΦΦΑΝ [BA]), b. Azaliah b. Meshullam, a scribe, temp. Josiah, who was sent to take an account of the expenses for the repair of the temple (2 K. 22 3 *ff.*; *v.* 3 ϹΕΦΦΑΝ [A], *v.* 14 ϹΑΦΦΑΘ [B] = 2 Ch. 34 8 *ff.*; *v.* 15*b* ΑϹΑΦ [A]). It was on this occasion (the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign) that Hilkiah the priest gave him the newly-discovered 'book of the law' which he read before the king; see JOSIAH, and cp DEUTERONOMY, § 2 end. Shaphan was probably aged, since he was soon after displaced in favour of Elishama (Jer. 36 12). There is no valid reason why he should be kept distinct from Shaphan the father of Ahikam (2 K. 22 12, cp Jer. 26 [𝔊 33] 24), who, in turn, was the father of the well-known GEDALIAH [*q.v.*] (2 K. 25 22 Jer. 39 [46] 14 40 [47] 5 [*ib.* 9 11 BNAQ om.], 41 [48] 2 [*σαφαν* (Qmg., BNA om.)], 43 [50] 6 (BNAQ om.)]), also of a prominent personage called ELASAH, mentioned together with Gemariah b. Hilkiah (Jer. 29 3), and possibly of the JAAZANIAH [*q.v.*] mentioned in Ezek. 8 11 (but see Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*).

Ezek. 8 11 *ff.* is such a remarkable passage for the history of Jewish religion, and the name 'Shaphan' (in 'Jaazaniah son of Shaphan') has been brought into such close relation to the extraordinary religious rite described, that we shall give a brief consideration to it from the point of view of onomatology. (1) The precedence among theories is due to the totemistic. W. R. Smith (*J. Phil.* 9 97 *f.*, cp *Kin.* 201) sees in the passage 'an account of Gentile or family idolatry in which the head of each house acted as priest. And the family images which are the object of the cult are those of unclean reptiles and quadrupeds [*v.* 10]. The last point is important. The word שֶׁקֶץ is, in the Levitical law, the technical term for a creature that must not be used as food. That such prohibitions are associated with the totem system of animal-worship is well known. . . . Thus in the fact that the animals worshipped were *unclean*, in the Levitical sense, we gain an additional argument that the worship was of the totem type. And finally, to clinch the whole matter, we find that among the worshippers Ezekiel recognised Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan—that is, of the rock badger, which *is* one of the unclean quadrupeds (Dt. 14 7 Lev. 11 5), and must therefore have been figured on the wall as his particular stock-god and animal ancestor. It so happens that the totem character of the *shaphan*, or, as the Arabs call him, the *wabr*, is certified by a quite independent piece of testimony. The Arabs of the Sinai peninsula to this day refuse to eat the flesh of the *wabr*, whom they call "man's brother," and suppose to be a human being transformed. Were a man to break this rule he could never look on his father and mother again (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 198).' To this G. B. Gray (*HPN* 103 *f.*) replies that even if with W. R. Smith we see in the Shaphan of Ezek. the name of a still existing totem clan, this only explains the clan-name Shaphan, and leaves personal names of the same period—Huldah (weasel), Achbor (mouse), and Shaphan itself in 2 K. 22 3 unaccounted for: 'So far as the evidence of the names goes the occurrence at this time of three names at least which are certainly personal, and but one at most of which is tribal, does not favour the view that totem clans were then in existence. On the other hand, Ezek. 8 11 testifies to the worship of unclean animals at about this period; and in this Robertson Smith saw, not without good reason, the survival—perhaps rather the revival—of superstitious practices originally derived from totem belief and organisation.' G. B. Gray, therefore, with Davidson (*Ezek.* 56) and Cheyne (*Intr Is.* 368 *f.*), gives only a partial assent to W. R. Smith's theory. He grants that in the late regal period superstitious practices which were originally derived from totemism revived, and that this accounts for the three strange personal names referred to; this is all. Jos. Jacobs (*Studies in Bibl. Archæol.* 84 *ff.*) and Zapletal (*Der Totemismus und die Relig. Israels*, 1901, p. 73) take a different view of the name Shaphan, which, especially in Ezek. 8 11, is pronounced to be a contemptuous invention (as if 'Jaazaniah ben shaphan' meant 'Yahwè hears ben rock-badger'), indicating, with a bitter irony, the discrepancy between those bad practices and Israel's true religion. The director of the ceremony is named after Yahwè, and yet he can bring himself to offer worship to the figure of an animal; the prophet, therefore, calls him a '*ben šaphan*,' as one might say 'ben Kemōš'—*i.e.*, a worshipper of Chemosh. All these scholars presuppose the ordinary text and the usual explanation of names ending in יָה. Of the inconsistency of supposing that a man whose family cultivated totemistic superstitions with such ardour as to call some of its members by the name of the totem, and others by names which not only contain (as is held) the name of Yah or Yahwè, but even express a true moral conception of the nature of the Deity, they appear to have no satisfactory explanation. (2) A second theory (the present writer's) demands a more searching criticism of the text of the passages containing these three names Shaphan, Achbor, Huldah, in connection with a thorough textual revision of other parts of the OT. The result is (*a*) that not only the history but also the geographical and personal names of the OT are found to be monuments of long-continued N. Arabian influences. From the time (probably) of the Amarna Tablets there was (we may suppose) a large Jeraḥmeelite element in the population of Palestine, especially in the S., and at the close of the regal period (and afterwards) the danger to Judah from the side of N. Arabia was so great that numbers of Jews fell away to N. Arabian heathenism. (*b*) What Ezekiel saw on the wall of the chamber in the temple precincts was 'the form of every idol (lit. abomination) of the house of Ishmael' (וְהִנֵּה תַּבְנִית כָּל־שֶׁקֶץ בֵּית יִשְׁמָעֵאל);[1] the material on which the current theories as to the cult of the worshippers are based is simply due to a late editor, who had perforce to make some sense of a corruptly transmitted text, 'Ishmael,' 'Jeraḥmeel,' and 'Miṣrim' (cp Ezek. 20 7 *f.*, גִּלּוּלֵי מִצְרִים, 'the idols of Miṣrim,' not גּ׳ מִצְרַיִם, 'the idols of Egypt'). The worshippers who thus profaned the temple of Yahwè were religious men; but their true names were devoid of religious significance. 'Jaazaniah' is merely an expansion of Azani, which also underlies the Rechabite name 'Jaazaniah' (Jer. 35 3), and the Jeraḥmeelite-Levite name 'Azaniah' (Neh. 10 9, cp Ezra 2 40). The final ה is simply formative; the initial י may be editorial. 'Azan' (אזן) is probably a place-name (cp ארן, ערן, also Negeb place-names). 'Shaphan' seems to be a modification of 'Zaphan' (צפן), which can be shown to be the name of a N. Arabian district, and appears in personal Hebrew names such as צפני[ה] (see ZEPHANIAH, 2-4); cp צפוני, Joel 2 20, etc. Similarly 'Azaliah' and 'Meshullam,' the father and grandfather of Shaphan in 2 K. 22 3, probably come respectively from Aṣali (אֲצַלְי), 'a man of Azal,' and Ishmael (ישמעאל); El'asah may also come from 'Ishmael,' and 'Ahikam' from 'Jeraḥmeel.' Thus the Shaphan connections are accounted for. For completeness' sake, it may be added that from this point of view 'Huldah' (חלדה) is miswritten for רחל,[2] and that רחל (Rachel, 'sheep') and עכבור (Achbor, 'mouse') are early popular distortions of ירחמאל. But the reader will not forget the warning *πάντα δὲ δοκιμάζετε, τὸ καλὸν κατέχετε* (1 Thess. 5 21). Cp NAMES, § 68, and last section.

To treat this subject with completeness would require us to consider the right interpretation of Is. 65 4 66 3 17. It must suffice, however, to say that all these passages are beyond question deeply corrupt, but that the redactor has proceeded so methodically that it is easy for any one who knows the redactor's methods to restore the true text. In this text the Jerahmeelites are clearly mentioned as the enemies of the Jews, and no reference is made to unclean animals. Cp SWINE, and see *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

SHAPHAT (שָׁפָט; a corruption of some tribal or place name; most naturally [cp 1] of צפת = Zephath—*i.e.*, צָרְפַת, ZAREPHATH [*q.v.*]). The names ELISHAPHAT, JEHOSHAPHAT, and SHEPHATIAH (שפטיה), would seem, therefore, to be modifications of a traditional older name.

1. A Simeonite, b. Hori, one of the 'spies' (Nu. 13 5† [P]: *σαφατ υιος σουρ*[*ε*]*ι* [BA], *-αν υἱ. σ.* [F], *σαφαθ υἱ. σουδρι* [L]). 'Hori' may mean 'Horite,'

[1] ובהמה רמש probably comes from ישמעאל (written too soon), and perhaps גלולי (if this is not a gloss on שקץ) from ירחמאל (a variant to ישמעאל).

[2] Cp חלדי, Zech. 6 10, חלם, *v.* 14; both = ירחמאל (*Crit. Bib.*).

but almost more probably comes from Jeraḥme'eli; a similar origin for Shaphat then becomes plausible.

2. The father of ELISHA [*q.v.*] (1 K. 19 16 19†, *σαφαθ*, *σαφατ* [B *vs.* 19; AL]). His residence, Abel-meholah, is usually thought to have been in Issachar. But if the arrangement in MT is correct, it was when Elijah 'departed *thence*' (*i.e.*, from Horeb) that he 'found Elisha b. Shaphat' (1 K. 19 19). The reader will probably be aware (see KINGS [BOOK], § 8) that critics have been inclining to the belief that MT's arrangement is not correct, and Kittel, in his commentary (*HK* 154), gives a blank space between *v.* 18 and *v.* 19 to indicate that a section of the narrative has been omitted. The matter, however, is not so clear as to require no reconsideration. We know that Elijah had a close connection with the far S. of Canaan (see PROPHET, § 6). It is plausible, therefore, to suppose that Elisha was originally called, not 'b. Shaphat,' but either 'b. Ṣĕfath'—*i.e.*, a Zephathite, or 'b. Ṣefāthī'—*i.e.*, the son of a Zephathite. In the former case Elisha, in the latter Elisha's father (a more probable view), was represented as a man of Zephath or Zarephath who had established himself at Abel-meholah—*i.e.*, Abel-jeraḥmeel (cp MEHOLATHITE). The site of this Jeraḥmeelite place (cp 1 S. 30 29) we do not know. The site of Zephath (or probably Zarephath) has probably been identified: see ZAREPHATH.

3. A late descendant of David (1 Ch. 3 22†; *σαφαθ* [B], *σαφατ* [AL]). The name was presumably suggested by SHEPHATIAH, 1.

4. A Gadite, in Bashan (1 Ch. 5 12†; 𝔊, however [*Ιανειν*] *ὁ γραμματεύς* [B], [*ιαναι*] *ὁ γρ.* [A]; [*ιωανι*] *ὁ γρ. καὶ σαφαν* [L]). Here *ὁ γραμματεύς* = (ה)סֹּפֵר, a variant to שפט. The common original of both readings is צָרְפָתִי, 'a Zarephathite.' The list originally referred to the Negeb and בשן was originally כושן (Cushan).[1]

5. The overseer of David's herds in 'the valleys' (1 Ch. 27 29†: *σωφαν* [B], *σωφατ* [A], *σαφατ* [L]). He is called b. Adlai; but עַדְלַי is possibly a corruption of עדלם (Adullam). A Zephathite or Zarephathite (if Shaphat = Ṣephāthī) might easily be a native of Adullam—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel (for David's connection with which cp again 1 S. 30 29). T. K. C.

SHAPHER, RV **Shepher, Mount** (הַר־שָׁפֶר, 'mount of glitter'? see SAPHIR), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 23 *f.*†; ϲαφαρ [BL], αρϲαφαρ, ϲαρϲαφαρ [A], αρϲαφαθ [F]). If the wanderings were in N. Arabia, and if (as has been rendered probable) P is apt to make up lists by combining various corrupt variants of the same name, the neighbourhood of several (probable) corrupt forms of Jeraḥmeel suggests that שפר (Shepher) comes from צרפת; cp ספרה הר הקדם ('to Zarephath, mount Jeraḥmeel'?) in Gen. 10 31. Cp SEPHAR. See WILDERNESS OF WANDERINGS.

T. K. C.

SHAPHIR (Mic. 1 11), RV, AV SAPHIR.

SHARAI (שָׁרַי; ϲαριου [B], αρου [A], ϲαρουε [ℵ], -α [L]), b. Bani, a layman, temp. Ezra; **Ezra 10 40** (‖ 1 Esd. 9 34 probably εζωρα [BA], ϲαρουα [L], see EZORA, MACHNADEBAI). Cp SHEARIAH.

SHARAIM (שַׁעֲרַיִם), Josh. 15 36 AV, RV SHAARAIM.

SHARAR (שָׁרָר), the HARARITE, the father of AHIAM [*qq.v.*] (2 S. 23 33† [ϲ]αραι [B], [ϲ]αραδ [A], notice that υιοϲ precedes, ϲαραχω αρεριμα [L] for ϲαραχ ο αρερι). In 1 Ch. 11 35 his name appears as SACAR ([ϲ]αχαρ [BℵA], ιϲϲαχαρ [L]; cp ISSACHAR, § 6, end). Some of these readings suggest שֶׁרַח (see SERAH) as the original; Marq. (*Fund.* 21), however, thinks of שֹׁבָב (see SHOBAB). T. K. C.

[1] 1 Ch. 5 11-17 is a record of the settlement of Gadites in the Negeb, for which the Chronicler (*v.* 17) claims the authority of a list made in the days of Jotham and Jeroboam II. *v.* 11 places their home 'in the land of Cushan as far as Ḥaluṣah' (? see ZIKLAG); *v.* 16, 'in Gilead [the southern Gilead], in Cushan, and in its towns, and in all the suburbs (?) of Sharḥon (see SHARON, SHARUHEN), to the point where they end.'

SHARE (מַחֲרֶשֶׁת, מַחֲרֵשָׁה), an implement mentioned in 1 S. 13 20*a*; in *vv.* 20*b* 21*a* (where it is rendered 'mattock'). That it was a dividing instrument of some kind appears from the etymology; EV seems to suggest a ploughshare, but this is represented here by *ēth* (אֵת), 'coulter,' elsewhere rendered 'ploughshare.' 𝔊^B *θέριστρον . . . θερίζειν* (𝔊^A wanting, *θεριστήριον . . . θερίζειν* [L]) seems to suggest some reaping implement. See AGRICULTURE, § 3 *f.*

SHAREZER, or, more correctly, ŚAREZER (שַׂרְאֶצֶר, so Bä. Gi., cp Del. *Complut. Var.* 16; '. . . protect the king'; cp NERGAL-SHAREZER).

1. An Assyrian, perhaps a son of Sennacherib, who, with Adrammelech (perhaps his brother), slew that king (2 K. 19 37 Is. 37 38; *σαρασαρ* [BAO], *σαρασα* [LℵAQ]). It is urged elsewhere (SENNACHERIB, § 5), that in the admittedly composite narrative of the peril from 'Sennacherib' two different invasions have been mixed up, and that parts of the existing narrative relate to the one and parts to the other. The one invasion was, it is held, the well-known Assyrian invasion of Sennacherib, the other an invasion of a N. Arabian people sometimes called Asshur, but perhaps more correctly Ashḥur (אַשְׁחוּר). Whether we can say that each of the accounts which have been welded together relates solely and entirely to one of the two invasions, is doubtful; but it is at any rate very possible that the passage 2 K. 19 36 *f.* = Is. 37 37 *f.* refers to the death of the king of the N. Arabian Assḥur, who was said (we may reasonably hold) to have perished in the house of his god Nimrod, by the sword of 'Jeraḥmeel, a prince of Asshur' (read יְרַחְמְאֵל שַׂר אַשּׁוּר for אַדְרַמֶּלֶךְ וְשַׂרְאֶצֶר); observe that in 2 K. בָּנָיו, 'his sons' is omitted. Upon this theory the form Śarezer is due to the editor, who supposed only one invasion, viz., the Assyrian, to be meant, and sought to adjust the geographical and personal names accordingly. Still, apart from this, the existing name Śar-ezer inevitably suggests comparison with the Ass. *šar-uṣur*, 'protect the king.' Commonly, but not always, we find this form preceded by some divine name such as Bel, Nergal, etc. (see Schr. *Die Ass.-Bab. Keilinischr.*, 156). It has been noticed already (see ADRAMMELECH) that Abydenus in Eus. *Armen. Chron.* (Schoene, 135) mentions a Nergilus as the successor of Sennacherib. By some ingenious combinations, Hitzig (*Begriff der Kritik*, 194 *ff.* [1831]) identified Śarezer with this Nergilus (supposing the full name to have been Nergal-šarezer [-šar-uṣur]. This view, however, though supported by A. v. Gutschmid and Schrader (*KAT*(2) 330), is inadmissible, not because it conflicts with the theory mentioned above, but because (see Wi. *ZA*, 1887, pp. 392 *ff.*) the words of Abydenus, 'Deinceps autem post eum (Sinecheribum) Nergilus regnavit,' are misplaced, and refer properly to Nergal-ušizib, who was a Babylonian king, set up by an Elamite invader in 694-3 B.C.

We might, of course, suppose that the Hebrew writer had a confused recollection of the murderer and successor of Evil-merodach who was called Nergal-šarezer, or, with W. M. Müller (*ZATW* 17 333), that the name Śarezer is a mere guess, due to an early editor who was struck by the un-Assyrian character of the name Adrammelech and determined as well as he could to Assyrianise it. Winckler, however (*AOF* 2 58), thinks that Śarezer may be a distorted form of the historical name Šariṭir-Aššur. This name was borne by a person who seems to have claimed royal rank; Winckler supposes him to have been the brother whom ESARHADDON [*q.v.*] drove from Babylon into the NW. of the Assyrian kingdom. Cp *Exp. T* 9 429 [1898].

2. AV SHEREZER. A contemporary of Zechariah, Zech. 7 2 (*σαρασαρ* [BℵAQΓ]). The name, if correctly read, seems to be incomplete. Siegfr.-Stade would read Bel-śarezer, whilst Marti (in Kau. *HS*) prefers El-śarezer; that is to say, Siegfr.-Stade think that בית־אל שר' is an arbitrary expansion of בֵּל שר', and Marti renders the text 'the house (*i.e.*, family) of El-śarezer (אֵל שר') sent.' If, however, we are right in explaining REGEM-MELECH (= Raamiah) as a corruption of Jeraḥmeel, the question arises whether ביתאל may not be a corruption of תֻּבַל (the N. Arabian Tubal). In this case we can hardly read

בל שראצר. ואנשיו at the end of the clause should perhaps be וְיֵשׁוּעַ, 'and Jeshua' (a corruption of Shua or Sheba). Render, therefore, 'Tubal, and . . ., and Jerahmeel, and Jeshua[1] (Sheba) sent saying,' etc. But what is the name underlying Sarezer? We see from Zechariah's answer (Zech. 7 5) that he was in some way a leader and representative of the people. Wellhausen (*Kl. Pr.*) suspects that he may have been Zerubbabel. This cannot be correct; elsewhere Zechariah calls the governor by his usual name. It has therefore been suggested (col. 574) that [Bel-]sarezer may be the same as Belsar (an impossible name till we add *-ezer* = Bab. *uṣur*), one of the twelve (?) 'heads' of the Jews of Judæa (see GOVERNMENT, § 26), according to a well-attested reading (on Ezra 2 2 Neh. 7 7 see BILSHAN). Plausible as this view is (cp MELZAR), the conjecture reached elsewhere that the principal captivity was really a N. Arabian and not a Babylonian one, makes it prudent to revise it. Just as SISERA [*q.v.*] comes most probably from Asshur, so Sarezer may be a corruption of Asshur or Asshuri. A later editor, imperfectly informed, may well have Assyrianised it, as W. M. Müller supposes an editor to have Assyrianised 'Adrammelech.' On the objects of the deputation to Zechariah, see Nowack, and cp *Jew. Rel. Life*, 10, 17. See also REGEM-MELECH.

T. K. C.

SHARON (הַשָּׁרוֹן with art.; Is. 33 9 ο CAPωN [B$\aleph^{c.b}$AQ^{a}], *ασαρων* [ℵ*], *ο Σααρων* [Q*], *Saron*; Is. 35 2 𝔊 om. *Saron*; Is. 65 10 *ἐν τῷ δρυμῷ* [BℵAQ], *campestria*; 1 Ch. 27 29 *ἐν τῷ Ασειδων* [B], *σαρων* [A], *ασαρων* [L]; Cant. 2 1 *τοῦ πεδιου* [BℵAC], *campi*; Acts 9 35, *τὸν σαρωνα*; gentilic הַשָּׁרוֹנִי, *ὁ σαρων[ε]ιτης* [BA], *ὁ ασαρ.* [L], the **Sharonite**).

A plain of Palestine, extending from the Nahr ez-Zerḳā, 44 m. southward to the mouth of the Nahr Rūbīn, by which and by the Ramleh Hills (Abū Shūsheh, 756 ft. in height) it is divided from the Philistian Plain. It was famous for its pastures (1 Ch. 27 29 Is. 65 10) and for its luxuriant vegetation (Is. 35 2, Cant. 2 1). In describing the desolation of Judah a prophet of woe exclaims, 'Sharon is like a desert' (Is. 33 9). The name Sharon signifies 'level country,' but this only implies the absence of conspicuous heights (cp NAMES, § 99 [*b*]). Undulating hills occur over a large part of Sharon. Some are well wooded, and there is a long extent of park-like scenery in the neighbourhood of Mukhâlid in the very N., 'where groups of sindian, the ordinary oak of Palestine (*Quercus infectoria*; see TEREBINTH) are dotted over the rolling plateau of red semi-consolidated sand' (Conder, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 92). These groups of oaks are the representatives of large oak groves. There is Egyptological evidence[2] for a forest in Sharon, and only an extensive woodland would justify the phrase in Is. 35 2, 'the magnificence (הָדָר) of Carmel and Sharon.' The otherwise strange expression of 𝔊 in Is. 65 10 (*ὁ δρυμός* = הַשָּׁרוֹן), which agrees with the phraseology of Greek writers, including Josephus,[3] is thus to be accounted for. Nor must we overlook the statement of the *Itinerary of King Richard* (4 14) respecting the forest of Assur, S. of the Salt River, through which the Crusaders passed in 1191 A.D. to meet Saladin in battle.[4]

The 'Plain of Sharon' is divided into three distinct river basins—those of the Nahr Zerḳā (with its wild moorland and marshland), the Nahr el-Mufjir, and the Nahr Iskanderūneh (the Crusaders' Salt River). The southernmost portion, which receives the Wādys Budrus and Salmān, is the most cultivated and attractive; the view of it which the traveller obtains in springtime from the Tower of Ramleh is highly enjoyable. Spring, indeed, works a miracle in the aspect of this region. The richest grass and the brightest flowers adorn the landscape. Even in the marshlands the tall and graceful papyrus (with which Friedr. Delitzsch too boldly identifies the Rose of Sharon) is, in its autumnal flowering time, pleasant to behold. There can be no doubt that but for the encroaching sand the Plain of Sharôn would give a rich reward to the agriculturist, and the words of Is. 65 10 would be verified, 'Sharon shall be a fold for flocks.'

Eusebius and Jerome describe our Sharon as extending from Cæsarea on the sea-coast to Joppa; they give it the name of *σαρωνας*. They also mention a Sharon between Tabor and Tiberias, which they imagine to be referred to in Is. 33 9 (*OS* 296 6, 154 6). Later writers have supposed references to this NE. Sharon in Josh. 12 18 (see LASHARON) and Cant. 2 1 (see 2).

2. A district between Mt. Tabor and Tiberias, as Delitzsch and Oettli think (Cant. 2 1, 'rose of Sharon'), but erroneously, though the name Sārōna, attached to a village in the region called Arḍ el-Ḥamma (see Rob. *BR* 3 237), confirms the statement of *Onom.* (see 1) that a second Sharon really existed. Delitzsch's view is connected with the theory that the bride in Cant. was a Galilæan maiden (see CANTICLES, § 6). Wellhausen decides against it because the 'rose' (see ROSE, 1) is mentioned in Is. 35 1 *f.* as blooming in the better-known Sharon (see Che. *Proph. Is.*, *ad loc.*). 'Rose of Sharon' was apparently a proverbial phrase.

3. A region (?) on the E. of Jordan, occupied by the b'ne GAD (§ 13, begin.), 1 Ch. 5 16†. 𝔊^{AL} *σαρων*, but 𝔊^{B} *γεριαμ*, whence Kittel (*SBOT* 'Chron.') deduces שִׂרְיוֹן = שִׂרְיֹן, Sirion. Stanley, G. A. Smith, and Buhl, however, suppose that the מִישׁוֹר or table-land of Gilead generally (Josh. 13 9 17 21) is meant. A place called שרן is mentioned in Mesha's inscription (*l.* 13). But that, as Nöldeke points out,[1] was probably farther to the S. The truth, however, probably is that 1 Ch. 5 11-17 comes from a document relating to the Negeb, so that שרון may very well represent שרחון (miswritten SHARUHEN). T. K. C.

SHARUHEN (שָׁרוּחֶן; οι ΑΓΡΟΙ ΑΥΤωΝ [BAL]), a Simeonite city in Judah (Josh. 19 6), generally thought to be the SHILHIM (שִׁלְחִים; CΑΛΗ [B], CΕΛΕΕΙΜ [AL]), and SHAARAIM (שַׁעֲרַיִם; Sam. [i. 17 52] ΤωΝ ΠΥΛωΝ [BAL]; Ch. CΕωΡΕΙΜ [BA], CΑΑΡΙΜ [L]) of the corresponding lists in Josh. 15 32 (not 36) and 1 Ch. 4 31. It is plausible to suppose that Sharuhen, not Hebron,[2] is the place opposite which, on a hill-top, Samson, according to legend, deposited the doors and posts of one of the gates of Gaza (Judg. 16 3). Certainly a spot in the SW. of Palestine is more likely than Hebron, and Sharuhen has this recommendation: it had for a second name (if 1 Ch. *l.c.* is correct) Shaaraim—*i.e.*, 'the place of a gate.' The legend was perhaps to account for the name. We cannot point out the locality intended; but it is tempting to identify Sharuhen (שָׁרְחוֹן, Sharḥôn ?) with Šarahan, a name which, in the Egyptian inscriptions, designates a fortress of some importance on the road from Egypt to Gaza. For a time Šarahan was occupied by the Hyksos, and that brave warrior Aahmes, whose tomb has furnished an account of the war of liberation, took part in the siege of it ($RP^{(1)}$ 6 8, Renouf; Brugsch, *GÅ* 232, cp 255). The place is also mentioned in the Annals of Thotmes III., at the opening of the campaign, which was distinguished by the great battle of Megiddo (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 158 *f.*; in *RP* 2 38 the names are wrongly read). Cp SHARON, 3.

See also WMM, *MVG*, 1898 ('Studien zur vorderas. Gesch.'), p. 23. T. K. C.

SHASHAI (שָׁשַׁי, § 58; CΕCΕΙ [BℵA], CΕΝCΕΙΡ [L]), b. Bani, a layman, temp. Ezra (Ezra 10 40). In 1 Esd. 9 34, SESIS (*σεσ[σ]εις* [BA], *σεσεει* [L]). Parallels suggest tracing this name to כּוּשִׁי, Cushite.

SHASHAK (שָׁשָׁק, § 58; CωCΗΚ [A], CΙCΑΧ [L]; CωΚΗΛ [B, *v.* 14], CωΙΗΚ [B, *v.* 25]). A Benjamite clan-name, 1 Ch. 8 14 25 (see BENJAMIN, 9, ii. *b*; *JQR*

[1] See Ezra 2 2, and note Zechariah's answer 'to the priests.'

[2] See paper by Masp. *Études . . . dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans* (1885).

[3] See Strabo, 16, *δρυμὸς μέγας τις*; and especially Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13 3, *Δρυμοὶ δὲ τὸ χωρίον καλεῖται*; *BJ* i. 13 2, *τὸν καλούμενον Δρυμὸν . . . τὸ χωρίον*. Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 5 2) also speaks of a fine grove (*ἄλσος*) near Antipatris.

[4] Cp Archer, *The Crusade of King Richard*, 146.

[1] *Die Inschrift des Kön. Mesa*, 1870, p. 29.

[2] The letters of שרוחן were misarranged, and an ill-written ש confounded with or altered into ב. Cp Ezek. 22 25 נביא for נשיא.

11 103 § 1). Perhaps a distortion of כֻּשָׁם, Cusham, which suits the related names. Cp Hushim (Cusham), son of Aher (Jerahmeel) in 1 Ch. 7 12. T. K. C.

SHAUL (שָׁאוּל; CAOYΛ), the same name as SAUL (*q.v.*).

1. Name of a clan of SIMEON (§ 9), **Shaulites** (שָׁאוּל מִשְׁפַּחַת הַשָּׁאוּלִי, σαουλ[ε]ι [BAFL]), Nu. 26 13, where the equivalence of 'son' and 'clan' is evident. In Gen. 46 10 Ex. 6 15 1 Ch. 4 24, Shaul is Simeon's son; the two former passages add, by a woman of Canaan (σαμουηλ υἱὸς τῆς Χαναν́ιτιδος [AD], σαουλ υἱ. τ. χ. [DL], Gen. 46 10; ὁ ἐκ τῆς Φοινίσσης [BAF], σαουλ οἱ ἐκ τ. Φ. [L], Ex. 6 15), or rather perhaps of Kenaz (קְנִז for כְּנַעַן, as in Judg. 4 2, cp SHAMGAR, § 2, and often). The name is S. Canaanitish and N. Arabian (cp SAUL, SHALISHA). SHIMEI and Saul are both Benjamite names, and another 'son' of Simeon is JAMIN (one of the best established modifications of 'Jerahmeel' [Che.]).

2. A Kohathite, and ancestor of Samuel, 1 Ch. 6 24 [9]. In 1 Ch. 6 36 [20] the name is JOEL.

3. (Gen. 36 37 *f.* 1 Ch. 1 48 *f.*). See SAUL, 2.

SHAVEH, VALE OF (עֵמֶק שָׁוֵה; THN KOIΛAΔA THN CAYHN [A] . . . CAYH [*DL*]), the place where the king of Sodom met Abraham after the latter's victory over CHEDORLAOMER (*q.v.*), Gen. 14 17. An appended notice explains it as 'the king's vale' (see MELCHIZEDEK, § 3). Shaveh can hardly mean 'the level' or 'plain' (on *v.* 5, where 𝔊^AEL again gives σαυη, see SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM). Hommel (*AHT* 151, n. 1) would amend שוה into שׂרה. The Vale of Shaveh then becomes the Vale of the King (Ass.-Bab. Šarri).[1] More probably we should read שְׂרֵה מַעֲכָה, 'the highland of Maacath,' and the following gloss, 'that is, Maacath-jerahmeel.' Cp SODOM. T. K. C.

SHAVEH-KIRIATHAIM (שָׁוֵה קִרְיָתַיִם; EN CAYH TH ΠΟΛΕΙ [AEL]), generally explained (*e.g.*, EV^mg.) 'plain of Kiriathaim' (see KIRJATHAIM), Gen. 14 5. It was the residence of the EMIM (*q.v.*). שָׁוֵה, however, occurs again only in Gen. 14 17, where it is corrupt (see SHAVEH, VALLEY OF). C. J. Ball (*Gen.* 118) suggests here שְׂרֵה. Read probably שְׂרֵה רְחֹבֹתִי, 'the highland of the Rehobothite.' See SODOM. T. K. C.

SHAVSHA (שַׁוְשָׁא, § 58; 1 Ch. 18 16; IHCOYC [B], σους [א], σουσα [AL]) also called, less correctly, SHISHA (1 K. 4 3, שִׁישָׁא; σαβα [B], σεισα [A], 𝔊^L, however, σαφατ), and SHEVA (2 S. 20 25, שְׁיָא Kt. שְׁוָא, Kr.; ιησους [B], ισους [A], σουσα [L]), and SERAIAH (שְׂרָיָה, ר being inserted in the form שְׁיָה, 2 S. 8 17, ασα [B]).

Shavsha was David's scribe or secretary. His name is either = Bab. *savsu* = *samsu*, 'sun,'[2] so that Babylonian scribes were still in request (Marq. *Fund.* 22) or (cp SHESHAI) is a corruption of כוש (final א as in צִיבָא, ZIBA). Driver, Wellhausen, and others agree in rejecting Seraiah. The question is of some historical importance; which country influenced David most—Babylonia or N. Arabia? T. K. C.

SHAWL, RV for מִטְפַּחַת, AV 'wimple,' Is. 3 22. See MANTLE, § 2 [3], VEIL.

SHEAL (שְׁאָל; CAΛOYIA [Bא], CAAΛ [AL]), b. Bani, a layman, temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 29 = 1 Esd. 9 30 (ασαηλος [BA], ασσαηλ [L]), EV JASAEL, RV JASAELUS.

SHEALTIEL (שְׁאַלְתִּיאֵל [but in Hag. 1 12 14 2 2 שַׁלְתִּיאֵל], as if 'I have asked God,' §§ 34, 56, 79, but this is doubtful, since אל in names formed on this model may be formative; we expect, according to this theory, a gentilic, and 'Eshtauli' [see ESHTAOL] suggests itself as the genuine name instead of Shealtiel; CAΛAΘIHΛ), b. Jeconiah 'the captive' (see ASSIR), or perhaps Asshur (אַשּׁוּר; see *Crit. Bib.*), according to 1 Ch. 3 17 *ff.* the uncle, but elsewhere the father, of ZERUBBABEL [*q.v.*] (Ezra 3 2 [𝔊^B om.] 8 5 2 Hag. 1 1, etc.).

In accordance with 𝔊 the name is spelt SALATHIEL by EV in 1 Esd. 5 5 48 56 6 2, and by AV in 1 Ch. 3 17 Mt. 1 12 and Lk. 3 27. In Lk. he is called 'the son of Neri,' on which see GENEALOGIES ii., § 3. In 2 Esd. 5 16 SALATHIEL, RV PHALTIEL, the 'captain of the people,' is an uncertain reading; Pesh. reads 'Psaltiel.' See, further, Ball, *Var. Apoc.* (*ad loc.*). T. K. C.

SHEARIAH (שְׁעַרְיָה; CAPAIA [BA], CAPIA [BאA], σαρια, σααρια [L]), b. Azel in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9, ii. β); 1 Ch. 8 38 = 9 44. On the name cp SHAARAIM.

SHEARING HOUSE (בֵּית־עֵקֶד), 2 K. 10 12 14; Heb. BETH-EKED (*q.v.*).

SHEAR-JASHUB (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב, 'a remnant shall return,' § 23). One of Isaiah's sons (Is. 7 3). See ISAIAH, PROPHET, § 4.

SHEBA (שֶׁבַע; CAMAA [B], CABEE [A], CABE [L]), a Simeonitish town, Josh. 19 2 (SIMEON, § 10).

It is omitted in a very few MSS, and in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 4 28. Its inclusion makes the reckoning in Josh. 19 6 inaccurate, unless for שרוחן we there read שְׁרִיהֶן with 𝔊 (see SHARUHEN). For a possible way out of the difficulty see JESHUA.

SHEBA (שֶׁבַע, perhaps from Elisheba [§ 50]; otherwise explained as a clan-name = Shema [SOLOMON, § 2]; or a name of the moon-god [Wi. *GI* 2 221]; cp בת־שבע, BATH-SHEBA, and perhaps Nab. שבען, *CIS* 2 115; but cp SOLOMON, § 2; CABEE).

1. Called b. Bikri (Bichri)—*i.e.*, a member (like Saul probably) of the Benjamite clan BECHER (cp BENJAMIN, § 9, ii. β).

For the story of his revolt see 2 S. 20 (αβεε [A, *vv.* 1, 7]; L σαβεε υἱὸς βεδδαδι ἀνὴρ αραχει [Archite?[1]]).

David was on his return to Jerusalem after Absalom's death, and a fierce quarrel had arisen between the men of Judah and the men of Israel. Sheba who 'happened' to be near, saw his opportunity, and called upon the latter to secede from David and claim their independence. The spark burst into a flame. All Israel took the side of Sheba; 'but the men of Judah from Jordan[2] as far as Jerusalem clave to their king.' There is reason, however, to think that the description is influenced by that of the great secession under Jeroboam (1 K. 12 16). Sheba's revolt was, no doubt, the result of some of the disintegrating influences which afterwards had such disastrous effect, but David who had just made his peace with Israel and Judah would surely have been able to prevent a revolt on such a large scale as 2 S. 20 2 indicates (see 19 41-43 [42-44]).[3] Unless we adopt a conjecture made elsewhere (SAUL, § 1), the statement of *vv.* 14-22 (where BERITES [*q.v.*] should certainly be emended into 'Bikrites') shows that the original opening of the narrative has been lost. What we know for certain is that Sheba, a kinsman of Saul, supported by his clan, made a bold attempt to revive the Israelitish kingdom. He sought in vain to stir up the northern tribes, and was besieged in the ancient city of ABEL-BETH-MAACAH (*q.v.*) by Joab. The walls were on the point of giving way to the attacks of the besiegers when a 'wise woman' (cp Eccles. 9 14 *f.*) made an arrangement with Joab, and saved the city. Sheba's head was

1 Wellhausen (*TBS* 202) suggests אשרה, Asherah, as the origin; he connects this view with a very difficult explanation of 2 S. 18 18, where he makes Absalom take 'the pillar (of the Asherah) in the King's Vale,' and set it up in his own behalf.

2 Cp in an old Aram. bilingual כישש (*CIS* 2 65) = Ass. *kišamas*.

1 [Most probably ארכי, like the proper names ארח and אחר in 1 Ch., and מכיר (cp 𝔊^A in 1 S. 9 1), comes from ירחמאל.—T. K. C.]

2 From the context, the S. border of Judah must be intended. It is probable that we should take ירדן here to be the *naḥal Miṣrim* (see EGYPT, RIVER OF, and cp Wi. *GI* 1 174; *AOF* 1 34, and Marq. *Fund.* 74).

3 The Bikrites joined Sheba, just as in a similar revolt the Benjamites joined Abner (cp 2 25). The passage (20 14), however, is in some disorder. Perhaps we should read (transposing *a* and *b*), 'and all the Bikrites assembled and came after him, and they passed through' (וַיַּעַבְרוּ), etc.

cut off and thrown out to Joab.[1] Thus the revolt was crushed.

Cheyne, however, maintains (SAUL, § 1) that 'Abel-beth-maacah' is an editorial attempt to make sense of a corrupt passage, and that the true text of 2 S. 20 14 *f.* only states that Sheba passed on to Beth-jerahme'el,' and was there besieged by Joab.[2] Beth-jerahme'el (=Beth-gilgal) is, on his theory, the centre of Saul's clan, where Sheba, like Mephibosheth, naturally sought refuge in distress.

The story of the revolt is contained in 2 S. 20 1 *f.* 6 *f.* 14-22. Verse 3 seems to be a parenthesis, introduced to connect the story more closely with the episode of Absalom. It is just possible, however, that this connection is a mistake, and that Sheba's revolt and that of Absalom happened in different parts of the reign of David (similarly Wi. *GI* 1 173 2 192). Verses 4 *f.* 8-13 contain a confused account of AMASA [*q.v.*, 1], interspersed with notices of the pursuit of Sheba (cp 10*b*, 13*b* with 7*b*). The precise relation between the stories of Amasa and Sheba is not clearly indicated,[3] and it is not at all certain that the account of Amasa's death formed part of the earliest narrative.

2. A Gadite, 1 Ch. 5 13 (σεβεε [B], σοβαθε [A]).

S. A. C.

SHEBA (שְׁבָא, usually σαβα [BNA, etc., L], once or twice σαβαν [BAQEL], σαβαυ [E], σαβεν [A], σαβαι [B]; in Job 6 19 σαβων [BN*C], ασεβων [A^vid.], εσεβων [N^c.a]; in Ps. 72 15 τῆς ἀραβίας [BNRT]; on Job 1 15, see below; Syr. *shebā*; Ar. *saba*, in Sabæan inscriptions סבא, Assyr. *sab'u*; name of people שְׁבָאִים, Joel 3 8 [4 8]—unless with Merx we follow 𝔊, αἰχμαλωσίαν [BNA] in reading שְׁבִי, 'captivity').[4]

One of the sons of Joktan, Gen. 10 28 [J_2], 1 Ch. 1 22. He is the eponym of the well-known Sabæans (in SW. Arabia) who are mentioned also, with different genealogical connections, in Gen. 10 7 [P] and 25 3 [JE?]= 1 Ch. 1 9 32. Whether Jokshan be the same as Joktan or not (see JOKSHAN), we need not suppose two Shebas, a N. and S. Arabian, connected or distinct, still less three (so Knobel), as the three ethnographical classifications (Gen. 10 7 10 28 25 3) are probably drawn from three, certainly from two sources. It is doubtless these Sabæans from whom Tiglath-pileser III. reports that he received tribute, and to some of whose settlements Sargon refers as being tributary (*KAT*(2) 145 *f.*). Their queen came to visit Solomon, with camels, gold, and precious stones (1 K. 10 1 4 10 13 = 2 Ch. 9 1 3 9 12); cp 'kings of Sheba and Seba,' Ps. 72 10 (𝔊 ἀράβων, but cp Che.(2) *ad loc.*); in Is. 60 6 'they from Sheba' bring gold and incense, cp Jer. 6 20; in Job 6 19 they appear in caravans, and in Ezek. 27 22 (so *v.* 23, but Co. with 𝔊 omits) they are traders in spices, jewels, and gold, cp Ezek. 38 13 Ps. 72 10 Is. 60 6 (burdened with a gloss, see *SBOT*). In Joel 3 8 [4 8] they (plur. שְׁבָאִים) are 'a people far off,' to which the sons and daughters of Tyre and Sidon are to be sold by Judah, in judgment. Job 1 15 represents them as plunderers;[5] but elsewhere they are unknown in this character. It is to this people that the Sabæan inscriptions are due; the name is סבא in Sabæan (cp CUSH, 2).

On the recent discoveries of Glaser, and his historical inferences, see his own account, *Skizze*, 2 357 *ff.*; Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 39 *f.*; Sprenger, *ZDMG*, 1890, 501 *ff.* On the story of the Queen of Sheba cp Stade, *GVI* 1 309, n. 2; Ki. *Hist.* 2 189; Wi. *GI* 2 266 *f.*; Keane, *The Gold of Ophir*, 112 *f.*

F. B.

SHEBAH, RV SHIBAH (שִׁבְעָה, 'seven'; perhaps taken as equivalent to שְׁבֻעָה, 'oath'), the original name of Beer-sheba according to J (Gen. 26 33; ορκος [ADEL]). See BEERSHEBA.

SHEBAM (שְׂבָם), Nu. 32 3, RV 'Sebam'; in *v.* 38 SIBMAH.

SHEBANIAH (שְׁבַנְיָה and שבניהו either for שְׁבַנְיָהוּ, 'Yahwè has brought me back'[1]: see NAMES, § 39; or an early error, found also on seals [cp *PEFQ*, 1902, pp. 263 *f.*] for SHECANIAH).

1. A Levite (Neh. 9 4 *f.*; BA^om., σεχενιας [L]—*i.e.*, Shecaniah; in *v.* 5 the σαβανιας of L (but σεχενιας occurs as well) seems to represent rather HASHABNIAH [*q.v.*]).

2. Priestly signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 4 [5] [σ]εβανει [B], [σ]αβανει [N* N^c.a], σεβανι [A], βαναιας [L]), cp 12 14, σεχελιου [N^c.a mg. inf. om. BN*A], σεχενια [L], and see SHECANIAH (1)

3, 4. Two names occurring among the signatory Levites (Neh. 10 10 σαβανια [B], σεβανια [NA], σεχενιας [L], *v.* 12 σεβανια [BNA] σαβανιας [L]).

5. A priest of the time of David (1 Ch. 15 24, שְׁבַנְיָהוּ, σομνια [B], σοβνεια [N], σωβενια [A], σαβανια [L]).

SHEBARIM (הַשְּׁבָרִים; *Sabarim*). The point to which (עַד) the Israelites were chased from the gate of Ai (Josh. 7 5). Apparently it was not far from Ai, for it is added that they were 'smitten on the slope (descent).' RV^mg. gives 'the quarries'; 'the fragments (of rock)' might be better (Di.). But surely there must be an error in the text. 𝔊's συνέτριψαν αὐτούς (similarly Pesh. Tg.) presupposes שבר; cp Bennett in *SBOT*. Grätz suggests וירדפו מלפני השער את־הנשארים, 'and they chased those who were left from before the gate.' But cp SHEBER.

T. K. C.

SHEBAT (שְׁבָט), Zech. 1 7, AV SEBAT; see MONTH.

SHEBER (שֶׁבֶר; σαβερ [B], σε. [A], σαβαρ [L]), one of the sons of CALEB (*q.v.*) b. Hezron by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch. 2 48). Cp SHEREBIAH, which may be an expansion of Shirbi=Shibri, and may be a Negeb name (see *AJSL* 5 435).

SHEBNA (שֶׁבְנָא, § 51 [but שֶׁבְנָה, 2 K. 18 18 26, where RV has SHEBNAH], possibly Aramaic [Di., Ki., etc.], or rather for שבניה=שבנה [Del.]; σομνας, but σοβνας [B] in Is. 36 3]), a chief secretary or chancellor under Hezekiah (2 K. 18 18 19 2 Is. 36 3 22 37 2). Tradition identified him with the *sōkēn*, or 'high officer'[2] (AV 'treasurer,' RV 'steward'—both renderings are guesses), whose arrogance is so severely denounced by Isaiah in the only passage of personal invective which has come down to us (Is. 22 15-19 cp Am. 7 16 17). The fact that the last five words of Is. 22 15 have demonstrably been inserted by a later hand renders this identification doubtful. So at least Duhm puts the matter. But the strong probability is that שבנה (so read) or שבניה and סכן both come from כֻּשִׁי, 'Cushanite.' Shebna was certainly a foreigner, and most likely a N. Arabian. Hezekiah seems to have sent an embassy to Pir'u, king of the N. Arabian Muṣri, to whom Ḥanunu, king of Gaza, had fled for refuge. It may be conjectured that הַכֻּשִׁי הַזֶּה, 'this Cushanite,' as Isaiah disparagingly calls him, came to Jerusalem in connection with these negotiations. Isaiah predicts his punishment. He was bound to fall at last; but, according to the traditional theory, he only fell to a lower post in the king's service—that of chief secretary. This is certainly not inconceivable. Though the man had no family connections at Jerusalem, he may have been too useful to his party to be neglected, and the Arabian party may have been still powerful enough to dictate the choice of a chancellor. (See, however,

[1] This story has scarcely a mythological basis in spite of Winckler (*GI* 2 240) and Stucken (*Astralmythen*, 67); cp Winckler's theory (above) of the meaning of 'Sheba.'

[2] Winckler also (*GI* 2 240) thinks it strange that Sheba should flee as far as Abel-beth-maacah.

[3] 𝔊^L in *v.* 7 (καὶ παρήγγειλεν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ A. τῷ λαῷ) might suggest that Amasa, when ordered to collect the warriors of Judah, took a number of men, and threw in his lot with Sheba. Otherwise we might assume that his death was simply the result of a private feud between him and Joab. The wording of *vv.* 10 12 reminds us of that of 2 S. 2 23 (murder of Asahel). For a criticism of the whole narrative see *AJSL* 16 166-169 (1900).

[4] On the name cp WMM, 'Die Sabäer in hieroglyph. Texten,' *MVG*(3), 1898, pp. 35 *ff.*

[5] 𝔊 and Pesh., however, find no proper name here (αἰχμαλωτεύοντες [BA], αἰχμαλωτεύσαντες [N], [illegible]); cp above on Joel 3 8.

[1] In this case one would expect the Hiphil הֲשִׁיבַנִי.

[2] A Phœnician inscription (*CIS* 1 5, p. 25) speaks of a *sōkēn* of the new city—*i.e.*, Tyre.

AJSL 5 443.) The next point to mention is one on which, until quite lately, critics have been agreed. If Is. 22 20-25 is the work of Isaiah, it follows that the prophet hoped great things from a change in the grand viziership. The day when a king would reign righteously and princes would rule justly (Is. 32 1)[1] seemed, if we accept this view, about to dawn. 'Hence the strong language, almost Messianic in its tone, with which Isaiah hails in spirit the elevation of his disciple Eliakim.'[2]

Further criticism has convinced the present writer that Is. 22 20-25 is a late addition, or rather, *vv.* 20-23 form an additional passage, and *vv.* 24 25 another. The second of these insertions is in the highest decree prosaic, and even the first is both in tone and in style un-Isaianic. The writer of *vv.* 20-23 probably knew no more than we know; he built upon the very scanty material contained in Is. 36 3 and the related passages. That Isaiah presumed to nominate a grand vizier is improbable; that he would have expected great things from a change in the viziership is, to those who have followed recent criticism of other parts of Is. 1-33, still more improbable. Lastly, that Eliakim's career was cut short in the way described in the second insertion, is, though possible enough (cp Che. *Proph. Is.*, on Is. 22 25), neither affirmed nor contradicted by any evidence such as a historian can receive. Cp Nowack, *Heb. Arch.* 1 308 n. 3, and on the Shebna question, Kamphausen, 'Isaiah's Prophecy against the Major Domo,' *AJSL*, Jan. 1901; Cheyne, *ibid.*, July 1901. T. K. C.

SHEBUEL (שְׁבוּאֵל, § 31; ϹΟΥΒΑΗΛ), a Gershonite (1 Ch. 23 16, σουβιηλ [L]: 26 24, ιωηλ [B], σωβἱηλ [L]); also a son of Heman (1 Ch. 25 4). 𝔊 reads σουβαηλ—*i.e.*, שׁוּבָאֵל, SHUBAEL (*q.v.*).

SHECANIAH (so RV; and AV in 1 Ch. 24 11 2 Ch. 31 15, שְׁכַנְיָה, and twice שְׁכַנְיָהוּ, perhaps [see § 35] 'Yahwè dwells [among his worshippers],' or, if ה [whence incorrectly הו] is formative, a gentilic, by transposition from כשני[3] [Cushanite], so Che. [see SHEBNA]; ϹΕΧΕΝΙΑ[Ϲ] generally).

1. A priestly clan in post-exilic times (Neh. 12 3 σεvια [ℵ*], εχεν. [ℵ c.a]), whose name appears incorrectly as SHEBANIAH, *v.* 14 (om. Bℵ*A, σεχελιου [ℵ c.a mg. inf.] cp 10 4), with Joseph at its head. The Chronicler transfers him to the times of David, when he holds the tenth priestly course (1 Ch. 24 11, ισχανια [B], σεκενια [A]); he appears again in the times of Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 15: שכניהו, σεχονιας [BA]). It is noticeable that the three names Shecaniah, Mijamin, and Jeshua are common to the three lists in 1 Ch. 24 7-18 2 Ch. 31 15, and Neh. 12 1-7. His name should probably be read in Neh. 10 1, in place of ZEDEKIAH (*q.v.* 5).

2. A descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 21 *f.* cp Ezra 8 3 [σαναχια B, σαχανια A] 1 Esd. 8 29 [B om.], SECHENIAS); see HATTUSH.

3. b. JAHAZIEL (5), of the sons of ZATTU (Ezra 8 5, om. B, σεχονιας [A], σεχενιου [L] = 1 Esd. 8 32, SECHENIAS).

4. b. Jehiel, of the b'ne Elam, who encouraged Ezra in his marriage reforms (Ezra 10 2); in 1 Esd. 8 92 [89], his name is given as JECHONIAS (ιεχονιας [BA], σεχενιας [L]). The difference in the readings rests on a substitution of י for שׁ, which is conceivable in an older alphabet.

5. The father of SHEMAIAH [*q.v.*] (Neh. 3 29, εχενια [B]).

6. b. Arah (2), father-in-law of TOBIAH (Neh. 6 18).

SHECHEM (שְׁכֶם; ϹΥΧΕΜ [esp. in B] ϹΙΚΙΜΑ [esp. in AL]; *Sichem*), now *Nāblus*, a city of Palestine.

1. Identification and Site. Eleven hours from Jerusalem on the great north road the traveller finds himself in the broad upland plain of Maḫna (1600 feet above the sea), with Mount Gerizim on his left; skirting the base of the mountain he reaches the traditional well of Jacob (see SYCHAR). Here the road divides: the caravan route to Damascus continues northward by the village of 'Askar (Sychar), and so to Beisān (Beth-shan) and Tiberias; but the way to Samaria turns westward into a fertile and well-watered side-valley between Gerizim (2849 ft.) on the S. and Ebal (3077 ft.) on the N. This is the Vale of Shechem or Nāblus; it is in fact an easy pass between the Mediterranean and Jordan basins, and at the watershed (1870 ft.), where the city stands, 1¼ m. from Jacob's Well, is not more than 100 yds. wide. Thus Shechem commands both branches of the great north road, and several routes from the coast also converge here and connect with the ancient road from Shechem eastward to Ḳerāwā (Archelais) and es-Salṭ, the capital of the Belḳā. Cp EPHRAIM, § 4. The name of Shechem (shoulder, back) accords with the position of the town on the watershed, and the native name in Josephus's time. (Mabortha [Naber] or Mabartha [Niese] *BJ* iv. 8 1; [Pliny, *HN* 5 61, has Mamortha] means simply 'the pass.') The situation of Shechem at the crossing of so many great roads must have given it importance at a very early date, and it is still a busy town of some 20,000 inhabitants, with soap manufactures and considerable trade. On the other hand, the position is equally favourable under weak governments for brigandage. It was about their practice of brigandage that the Shechemites fell out with ABIMELECH (Judg. 9 25), who, however, with his own mercenaries proved too strong for his adversaries (cp GAAL). Canaanite Shechem was utterly destroyed; its place was taken by a Hebrew city, and the Canaanite sanctuary of El-berīth was transformed into a holy place of the God of Israel. The great stone under the famous sacred tree[1] at the sanctuary (see MOREH, MEONENIM) was said to have been set up by Joshua (Josh. 24 26; in Josh. 24 25 𝔊 BA has Σηλω), and Joseph's grave was shown there.[2] All this indicates that Shechem was once the chief sanctuary of Joseph, and so we understand why Rehoboam went to Shechem to be crowned king of Northern Israel and why [if the traditional text is correct—see § 2] Jeroboam at first made it his royal residence (1 K. 12 25, 𝔊 τὴν σικιμα). Politically Shechem was supplanted by Samaria; but it appears to have been still a sanctuary in the time of Hosea (6 9). It survived the fall of Ephraim (Jer. 41 5) and ultimately became the religious centre of the SAMARITANS (*q.v.*); cp Ecclus. 50 26, which runs, according to the Hebrew text, 'The inhabitants of Seir and Philistia, and the foolish nation that dwelleth in Shechem.'

The Greek name Neapolis, known to Josephus, indicates the building of a new town, which, according to Eusebius and Jerome, was a little way from the old Shechem, or at least did not include the traditional holy sites. The coins give the form Flavia Neapolis. Neapolis was the birth-place of Justin Martyr, and became the seat of a bishopric. Five Christian churches destroyed by the Samaritans in the time of Anastasius were rebuilt by Justinian (Procop. *De Æd.* v. 7). Remains of one of these seem to survive in the crusaders' church of the Passion and Resurrection (1167), now the great mosque. Neapolis had much to suffer in the crusades; it was finally lost to the Christians soon after Saladin's great victory at Ḥaṭṭīn.

Shechem (Nāblus) is highly favoured by nature. Nestling between the two sacred mountains, EBAL and GERIZIM, and embowered in luxuriant vegetation, it cannot fail to charm the traveller approaching it from the S. The atmosphere too is more pleasant; all forms of life rejoice in the best natural 'gift of God' in the East—running water. Truly it was not in search of fountains that any woman of Shechem would come to Jacob's well, for 'fountains seem to break out in all directions, and water from some of them runs through the streets of the city' (Robinson, *Later Researches*, 131). A map of the Shechem valley, with topographical details, etc., will be found in *PEFM*, vol. ii.

There has been much resultless discussion of that singular narrative in Gen. 34, which usually serves as

2. Discussion of Gen. 34. an authority for the early history of Shechem. The whole story (even if distributed between two writers) is so improbable that to extract a historical element from it is just as difficult as to suppose it to be a pure fiction. The problems raised by critics (see DINAH) are, however,

[1] On the authorship of this prophecy, see ISAIAH [BOOK], § 10.

[2] Che. *Proph. Is.*(3) 1 138; cp GASm. *Isaiah*, 1 318.

[3] [A study of the names with which Shecaniah is connected in the lists will confirm this.]

[1] Eus. gives the tree (terebinthus) of Gen. 35 4 (σηκίμοις [E]) a place in *Onom.*; and from it probably the bishop Terebinthius in Procop. *De Æd.* 5 7 had his name.

[2] In Josh. 24 32 Kue. and Di. read ויתנה for the difficult ויהין.

not insoluble; they settle themselves as soon as we apply a methodical criticism to the text. The whole story of the circumcision has arisen, as in the case of the Gibeath hā-'ărālōth[1] (Josh. 5 3), from an early corruption of the text. That a city was attacked and plundered by the Simeon and Levi clans, may be admitted; but the name of the city was probably not Shechem but Cusham-Jerahmeel, *i.e.*—it was one of the chief cities of the Jeraḥmeelite portion of the N. Arabian territory called CUSH or CUSHAN (=CUSHAM)—not improbably Ḥalūṣah (see ZIKLAG), if it is right to identify this city with the 'Laish' of Judg. 18 27, which afterwards (for a time) went by the name of Dan.[2]

We can now explain two obscure passages in Genesis, viz., (*a*) Gen. 48 22, where Jacob says, 'I have given to thee one portion (שכם אחד; 𝔊 σίκιμα ἐξαίρετον, cp Jn. 4 5) above thy brethren, which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow.' This should almost certainly be, 'I give thee Cusham-jeraḥmeel, which thou shalt take from the hand of the Jeraḥmeelite.' Here we have a divine promise of success (to Simeon and Levi) in the war against the Jeraḥmeelites, for which no place could be found in the transformed story now found in Gen. 34.[3] (*b*) 49 5, where אחים probably means 'hyænas,' and the second line should run, 'They have rent (אכלו, cp Ass. *akâlu*) Cushan-jeraḥmeel.' Cp SWORD.

It is true, there was another form of the legend of the acquisition of Cusham-jeraḥmeel. It is preserved in Gen. 33 18-20, where it is possible that *v.* 18 originally ran, 'and Jacob came to Ḥalūṣah (corrupted into לישה, and then into שלם=לשם), a city of Cusham, which is in the land of the Kenizzite, [when he came from Ḥarran,] and encamped before the city, and *bought* the piece of ground, etc., of Cusham-jeraḥmeel for a mina of Carchemish; and he erected a maṣṣebah there, and called it Bethel of the Jeraḥmeelites.' Cp KESITAH, LUZ, ZIKLAG. For a slightly different form of the emendation see *Crit. Bib.*

3. Other supposed references.

There are yet two other cases in which Shechem has increased its reputation at the expense of the almost forgotten city of Ḥalūṣah in 'Cusham.' The first is in the history of Rehoboam's accession (see REHOBOAM). The second, in that of Jeroboam, who, as MT suggests (see § 1), made Shechem his royal residence. There is evidence, however (see JEROBOAM, § 1), that his usual residence was at 'Tirzah' (see TIRZAH), and it does not seem likely that he moved for a time to Shechem. In fact, 1 K. 12 25 does not fit in at all well with *vv.* 26-33.

Probably (see *Crit. Bib.*) the original reading was as follows,—'And Jeroboam built Cusham in the highlands of Jeraḥmeel, and offered sacrifices, and the children of Israel presented themselves (there). And he made two golden calves, and said, Enough of your going up to Jerusalem: behold thy deity, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Miṣrim. And he set them in Bethel of the Jeraḥmeelites [in Dan of the Jeraḥmeelites]. And this thing became a sin, for the people went to commit adultery (לְנָאֵף) even to Dan.' Cp Am. 8 14, 'Those that swear by the sin of Shimron (בְּאַשְׁמַת שִׁמְרוֹן), and say, As thy god, O Dan, liveth; and, As thy *numen* (either דודך or פַּחְדְּךָ), O Beersheba, liveth,' etc., and see further *Crit. Bib.*

It was not with Shechem, therefore, but with Cusham that Jeroboam's name is linked in true history, and

[1] The true name was doubtless Gibeath-jĕraḥmĕēlīm. The second part of this compound name became *'ărēlīm*, owing to the effacement of part of the original word. Parallels are the erroneous reading 'uncircumcised ('ărēlīm) Philistines' (for 'Jeraḥmeelites Philistines,' where one of the two words is a gloss on the other), and the strange stories in Ex. 4 24-26 and 1 S. 18 25-27 (see MOSES, § 7, with n. 2).

[2] The theory is that Ḥalūṣah was first attacked by the Danites, who, however, sank into the condition of a protected clan (Gen. 34 31, 'as a harlot'; cp Josh. 2 1*b*, Rahab the harlot), and ultimately became extinct. The disappearance of the Danites is thus expressed in the most probable form of the text of Gen. 35 8, 'And Dinah, Jacob's eldest daughter, died, and was buried below Bethel'; the southern Bethel is meant, another name for which was Dan (this supplies the key to 1 K. 12 29, see ZIKLAG). 'Dinah' is a collateral fem. form to Dan.

[3] 'I took' (לקחתי) is clearly wrong, for how could Jacob say that he had conquered the city in the persons of his sons Simeon and Levi? Holzinger (*Gen.* 255) acutely remarks that *v.* 22 'refers to a lost version of the legend, of which E gives a transformation in Gen. 34.'

Cusham may mean Ḥalūṣah (or Dan) and Bethel, Bethel with its sanctuary and citadel being of course adjacent to the city of Ḥalūṣah. The Negeb, therefore, or at any rate the greater part of it, cannot either in Jeroboam's time or in that of Amos have been in the possession of the kingdom of Judah.

Nor can we even venture to assert that Shechem was the place where the great national assembly was held which determined the fate of the people of Israel for all time. It was only afterwards through the Samaritans that it advanced a claim to be the religious centre of the land. We may regret these results; but at least the reader will admit that if the fame of Shechem has here been curtailed, an almost forgotten place in the true Holy Land of the Israelites (see PROPHET, § 6) has been restored to its ancient dignity.

See Vogelstein, 'Shechem and Bethel,' *JQR* 4, 1892, 193 *ff.*

W. R. S.—T. K. C., § 1; T. K. C., § 2 *f.*

SHECHEM, TOWER OF (מִגְדַּל שְׁכֶם, Migdal-shechem). As the story of Abimelech now stands, Migdal-shechem was an unwalled town in the neighbourhood of Shechem, which owed its name perhaps to a tower (*migdal*) that stood there, and would appear to have had a temple dedicated to El-berith (Judg. 9 46 *f.* 49). But the original story, in which Abimelech's city was probably not Shechem but Cusham, may, it seems, very possibly have had, not בַּעֲלֵי מִגְדַּל שְׁכֶם but יְרַחְמְאֵלִים [כּוּשִׁים]—*i.e.*, 'Jeraḥmeelites [gloss, Cushites].' Observe that in the MT of *vv.* 6 and 20 the 'men of Shechem' and the 'house of Millo' (see MILLO) are co-ordinated.

The original story probably had in lieu of these corrupt phrases 'the men of Cusham' and 'the house of Jeraḥmeel'; the latter phrase is equivalent to 'Jeraḥmeelites' in Judg. 9 46 *f.* 49. 'The house of El-berith' (=Baal-berith) has perhaps come from 'the house of El-reḥoboth' (*i.e.*, of the divinity of Rehoboth); it was probably very near Cusham or Ḥalūṣah, just as Penuel was close to Succoth (GIDEON, § 2). See SHECHEM.

T. K. C.

SHEDEUR (שְׁדֵיאוּר; ϲεδιουρ [BFL], εδιουρ [A]), father of the Reubenite 'prince' Elizur: Nu. 1 5 2 10 7 30 (εδιϲουρ [B*], ϲεδιϲουρ [B^ab], εδιϲουρ [A]), 35 (ϲεδιουρ [A and in 10 18]); all P. See PEDAHZUR.

Apparently compounded of the divine name שדי (Shaddai?) and אור, 'fire' (§ 43; Nöld. *ZDMG* 15 [1860] 809, n. 1; Nestle, *Eigenn.* 46); Frd. Delitzsch (*Prol.* 96) explains 'daybreak,' from Ass. *šad uri*, but improbably. Rather perhaps miswritten for שׁוּרִיאֵל, 'Šuriel,' a variant to צוּרִיאֵל, 'Ṣuriel' (see ZUR, NAMES WITH).

T. K. C.

SHEEP. The large part played by this animal in the life of the people of Palestine is evinced by the very many references to it contained in their literature. The sheep was domesticated later than the ox. Mariette found no trace of sheep amongst the Egyptians during the fifth dynasty, when oxen were common. The avenue of rams at Karnak is attributed to the eighteenth dynasty, about 1700 B.C., by which time they were probably domesticated.[1] The origin of the domestic variety of sheep, usually known as *Ovis aries*, whether 'from any one of the existing wild species, or from the crossing of several, or from some now extinct species, is quite a matter of conjecture.' The sheep of Palestine at the present day are, according to Tristram, usually pie-bald or skew-bald.[2] They fall into two different breeds, of which by far the commonest and in many places the only one, is the broad-tailed sheep (var. *laticaudata*). This remarkable animal is distinguished by an enormous deposit of fat in the tail (אַלְיָה, Ex. 29 22 Lev. 3 9 etc.; for 1 S. 9 24 see Dr.), which sometimes accumulates to such an extent

1. Species.

[1] The question of the introduction of sheep into Egypt has been recently advanced through the researches of Thilenius (Maspero, *Rec. de Travaux*, 22 199-212), and, more especially, of Dürst and Gaillard (*op. cit.* 24 44-76)

[2] White as snow, *e.g.* Ps. 147 16; brown, Gen. 30 33 (cp COLOURS, § 8); flecked and speckled, *v.* 32 (*ib.* § 12).

that the appendage has to be provided with a small sledge on which it is borne. Such tails have been known to exceed 50 lbs. in weight, and are esteemed a delicacy by the Arabs.[1] In N. Palestine a horned variety similar to the Merino is now found; but it is not certain whether it was there in the time of the Israelites. On the sheep of Arabia see Palgrave, *EB*(9) 2 242*b*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 426.

From a consideration of the various names for sheep (cp below, § 2), Hommel (*Säugethiere b. d. Sem. Völk.* 250 *f.*) concludes that among the earliest Semites the sheep did not occupy so important a position as the goat, that it does not belong to their oldest domesticated animals, and that it came to them from Central Asia by way of Mesopotamia. In this connection it is interesting to observe that among the Indo-Germanic races, on the other hand, the sheep appears to have been the first animal to be domesticated, and that its position is more important than that held by other cattle (O. Schrader, *Indogerm. Altertumsk.* *s.v.* 'Schaf').

The Hebrew words which have to be recorded are:

2. Terms.

1. *ṣōn* (צֹאן), coll. for small cattle, sheep, and goats: 𝔊 ποίμνιον, cp below no. 16.

2. *seh* (שֶׂה), Dt. 14 4 etc., any single member of the above. The Egyptian derivative appears to be used of the fat-tailed sheep, *ZDMG* 41 629.

3. *áyil* (אַיִל), 'ram,' as opposed to *ayyāl* HART (*q.v.*); on the two words see esp. *OLZ*, 1900, col. 208 *f.*

4. *rāhēl* (רחל), Gen. 31 38 32 15 Is. 53 7, Cant. 6 6†, 'ewe,' the Ar. *rakhil, rikhl* (mod. *rôkhal*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 429) is used of the lamb.

5. *kar* (כַּר), Dt. 32 14, Is. 16 1 etc. (𝔊 ἀρνός, ἔριφος), 'young lamb,' perhaps from idea of skipping or dancing. Also 'battering-ram,' see SIEGE?

6. *kéśeb* (כֶּשֶׂב, כִּשְׂבָּה, also כֶּבֶשׂ, כִּבְשָׂה, כַּבּ), a lamb of one or two years, esp. used with reference to sacrifices. On the Heb. words see Hommel, *op. cit.* 235 n. 2 433.

7. *ṭāleh* (טָלֶה), Is. 40 11 65 25 (𝔊 ἀρνός), an older lamb (mod. *tully*, a yearling, see Doughty, 1 429 2 269); see TALITHA.

For the sake of completeness we should add—

8. נקד, whence *nōḳēd*, a sheep-raiser or dealer, 2 K. 3 4 Am. 1 1 (also 7 14 with We., Now., Dr.). Cp Ar. *naḳad*, 'a kind of small sheep with very abundant wool' (BDB), and see MESHA, col. 3042, n. 7.

9. אמר, 'lamb,' known in B. Aram. (Ezra 7 17), Ar., Ass., and Phœn. (*CIS* 1 165, *e.g.*—the Marseilles sacrificial tariff)—not in Heb. Phœn. also is—

10. צרב (*CIS ib.*), the Canaanite equivalent of the common Aram. *'erbā* 'sheep, lamb.'

11. 'lambs of the flock,' Ecclus. 47 3 בני בשן, lit. 'sons of Bashan' (ἄρνασι προβάτων [BℵA]); cp Dt. 32 14, and see BASHAN, § 2 end.

12. *ḳĕśīṭāh*, Gen. 33 19 (AVmg. 'lamb'); see KESITAH.

The Greek words are familiar:

13. ἀμνός, Jn. 1 29, etc.; used in 𝔊 esp. for nos. 4, 6.
14. ἀρήν*, Lk. 10 3, etc.
15. ἀρνίον, Rev. 5 6 etc.; used in 𝔊 for no. 6.
16. πρόβατον, Mt. 9 36, etc.; in 𝔊 esp. for nos. 1 and 2.

3. Details.

The wealth of a pastoral and nomadic people consists largely of their flocks, and the very large number of sheep which the ancient Hebrews possessed is shown by the numbers, perhaps exaggerated, which the Hagrites (1 Ch. 5 21) and Midianites (Nu. 31 32) are reported to have lost in their contests with Israel, and by the prodigious numbers which were sacrificed at the dedication of the Temple and on other occasions (1 K. 8 63, etc.). See SACRIFICE, §§ 33, etc. Except on such occasions the sheep were seldom slaughtered to provide food, though a lamb or kid was the usual dish offered for the entertainment of a stranger (cp FOOD, §§ 8, 14 *f.*, CATTLE, § 8). The best pastures were in S. Palestine (the Negeb, Carmel [1 S. 25], Gerar [Gen. 10 14], Timnath [*ib.* 38 13], and the plain to the E. of Jordan; see CATTLE, § 3, and cp GOLAN, col. 1748).[2] The sheep were valued chiefly for the wool, the shearing of which was the occasion of an annual festival (see WOOL).[3] The ewe's milk was also consumed (see MILK). The horns of the Syrian ram are as a rule large and curved backward; they were used as musical instruments (Josh. 6 4) and as receptacles for oil, etc. (1 S. 16 1); cp HORN. The skins were also used as coverings for tents, etc. (see TENT) and probably for clothing (Heb. 11 37).[1] The sheep were constantly moved about in search for new pasture, and it is customary in the East for the shepherd to lead his flock (Jn. 10 3 *f.*) and to know, and often name, every member of it.[2] At night the sheep are gathered into natural or roughly-made folds (see CATTLE, § 5 *f.*, GOAT, § 3). Sheep-dogs are used less for herding than as a protection against wild animals (DOG, § 1).

For further general remarks on small cattle, see CATTLE, GOAT.

For **Sheep-fold**, see CATTLE, § 5, and for **Sheep-gate** (Jn. 5 2 AV '**sheep-market**'), see JERUSALEM, §§ 24 (col. 2424 end), 30.

For **Shepherd**, see CATTLE, § 6; on the figurative use of the word ('pastor' = bishop), see MINISTRY, §§ 39*e*, 47*b*; and for the non-canonical 'Shepherd of Hermas,' see CANON, §§ 65, 72, PROPHETIC LIT., § 31, and SHEPHERD OF HERMAS.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

SHEERAH (שֶׁאֱרָה), 1 Ch. 7 24 RV, AV SHERAH (*q.v.*).

SHEET. 1. סָדִין, *sādīn*, Judg. 14 12. See MANTLE, 4.
2. מטפחת, *miṭpāḥath*, Ruth 3 15 AVmg. See MANTLE, 3.
3. ὀθόνη, Acts 10 11 11 5. See LINEN, 1 and 9.

SHEHARIAH (שְׁחַרְיָה; CAPAIA [BL], CAAPIA [A]), b. Jeroham in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 26.

The name may mean either 'Yahwè is the dawn' (§§ 35, 44) or 'the Shaḥrite.' Parallel is ZERAHIAH [*q.v.*]. שחר occurs as a place-name in Josh. 13 3, etc. (see SHIHOR), and, with א prefixed, as a clan-name in 1 Ch. 2 24 4 5. Of the latter form (Ashḥur) AHISHAHAR may be a late and artificial expansion, just as Sheḥariah is a late and artificial expansion of Shaḥri. Cp also HODESH (= Shahar, Ashḥur) in 1 Ch. 8 9, and the non-biblical Hebrew name Sheḥarḥor (see ZEPHANIAH, 2-4). All these names are southern.

T. K. C.

SHEKEL[3] (שֶׁקֶל, cp *šāḳal*, 'to weigh'; CIKΛOC, CIΓΛOC) signifies either a weight or a coin. As the invention of coinage dates from the seventh century B.C., and no coins were issued in districts from which they would be likely to penetrate to Palestine before the time of Darius Hystaspis (522-485 B.C.), all biblical references to shekels or any kind of money before the return from the exile must be understood of uncoined metal, for which the scales were used (cp Gen. 23 16). The metal was usually cast in ingots (cp the meaning of *kikkār*, a round, cake-like disc) or bars, of a fixed weight (cp 1 S. 9 8), or may have taken the form of ornaments of which the weight was known (*e.g.*, Rebekah's ornaments, Gen. 24 22). Any such piece of metal, if stamped with the recognised mark of the government, guaranteeing its quality and weight, so that the scales could be dispensed with, would rightly be called a coin; but the custom of stamping the smaller pieces of precious metal in this way and for purposes of exchange was not, so far as we know, systematised before the date mentioned.

1. Uncoined metal.

2. Palestinian weight-systems.

Of the many weight-systems employed in antiquity, only three can seriously claim to have been in use in Palestine in early times (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 4). These are known as the gold-shekel standard (Ridgeway's ox-standard), the Babylonian, and the Phœnician respectively, the Phœnician being a

[1] Cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 502, Herod. 3 113, with Rawlinson's notes, and above, col. 1514, n. 2. According to Thilenius (*op. cit.* 203), it was introduced into Upper Egypt from Asia by the twelfth dynasty.

[2] Other references are to Shechem (Gen. 34 28), the 'sons of the East' (*ib.* 29 2 *ff.*), Uz (Job 1 3, 42 12), and Egypt (Gen. 12 16 Ex. 9 3).

[3] Sheep-shearing, it may be noted, does not go back to primitive times; the earlier custom is to pluck the wool with the hands (O. Schrader, *s.v.* 'Schaf,' Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere*,(6) 515).

[1] Gr. μηλωτή, which in OT renders אַדֶּרֶת, see DRESS, § 8.

[2] On the shepherd's life cp also Doughty, 1 428; 'there is none will take up the herdsman's life, but it be of bare necessity.' The statement in Gen. 46 34 is not directly supported by the evidence of the monuments, 'but the keepers of oxen and swine were considered in Egypt to follow a degrading occupation. They are depicted as dirty, unshaven, poorly clad, and even as dwarfs and deformed' (Driver, *Authority and Archæology*, 50 *f.*).

[3] A list of the passages where the word occurs is given by Madden (see below, § 7), 15.

derivative of the Babylonian. The chief denominations were the talent (τάλαντον, כִּכָּר, κίγχαρ, Jos. *Ant.* iii. 6 7), the mina (μνᾶ, מָנֶה, MANEH [*q.v.*], cp Ezek. 45 12; translated 'pound' in 1 K. 10 17 Ezra 2 69 Neh. 7 71 *f.*; the word 'pound' is also used for λίτρα, the Roman *libra* of 5053.3 grs. troy, in Jn. 12 3 19 39), and the shekel.[1] For ordinary purposes the talent was divided into 60 minas, and the mina into 60 shekels; but for weighing gold a mina of only 50 shekels and a talent of 3000 instead of 3600 shekels were used. The shekel was the same in both. Further, payments to the royal treasury in Babylonia were calculated on a slightly higher scale (the 'royal norm') than ordinary payments (for which the 'common norm' was used). (This difference is probably alluded to in 2 S. 14 26: Absalom's hair weighed 'two hundred shekels after the king's weight.' Schrader [*KAT*(2) 142] supposes that the trade-shekel weighed more than the money-shekel, and that the heavier is here referred to; but there seems to be no reason for identifying the trade-norm with the royal-norm.) Next, since it was desirable to be able to exchange a round number of shekels (minas, talents) of silver against a shekel (mina, talent) of gold, and since the ratio of value between gold and silver was inconveniently 13⅓ : 1, a new shekel (mina, talent) had to be established for the weighing of the less precious metal. Finally, there were two systems, the heavy and the light, in the former of which the denominations weighed twice as much as in the latter.

The evidence of extant Babylonian weights, checked by the weights of coins struck in later times on derived standards, enables us to obtain the following series of weights used for the precious metals:—

	ROYAL NORM.		COMMON NORM.	
	Heavy.	Light.	Heavy.	Light.
	grs. troy.	grs. troy.	grs. troy.	grs. troy.
Talent . .	777,780 a	388,890 b	757,380 c	378,690 d
Mina . . .	12,963 e	6,481.5 f	12,623 g	6,311.5 h
Shekel . .	259.3 i	129.63 k	252.5 l	126.23 m
Value of the gold shekel in silver	3,457.3	1,728.4	3,366.6	1,684.3
I.e. ten pieces of silver of	345.73 n	172.8 o	336.6 p	168.4 q
Or fifteen pieces of silver of	230.5 r	115.2 s	224.4 t	112.2 u

By adopting silver units of the weights given in the last two rows, a round number of units of silver (10 or 15) could always be exchanged against a single unit of gold, provided the two belonged to the same norm and system. The standard according to which ten pieces of silver corresponded to one of gold is known as the Babylonian or Persic, because silver coins which agree with this standard were struck by the Persian kings (who adopted it from its Babylonian source) and by their immediate subordinates; the standard reached the Greeks overland through districts, such as Lydia, which were under Persian influence. On the other hand, the standard equating fifteen pieces of silver to one of gold was adopted by the great Phœnician trading cities, and reached the Greeks directly by sea; hence it is known as the Phœnician standard.

What evidence, then, have we for the use of either or both of these systems in Palestine? A certain

3. Evidence for Palestine.

number of extant weights (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 4) seem to suggest that a low form of the Babylonian shekel was in use in Palestine. On the other hand, the literary and numismatic evidence points to the Phœnician standard having been used, at least in post-exilic times, side by side with the other system.

1 [See also, KESITAH.]

In the first place, we know (by calculation) from Ex. 38 25 *f.* [P] that the Hebrew talent contained 3000 shekels. Again, Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 7 1) equates the mina used for weighing gold to 2½ Roman pounds—*i.e.*, 12,633.3 grs. troy—which is very near to the heavy gold mina of the common norm (*g*). The same writer (*op. cit.* iii. 6 7) speaks of a sum of '100 minas, which the Hebrews call κίγχαρ, which being translated into Greek means τάλαντον.' If we take the mina here mentioned to be the gold mina (*g*) of 12,623 grs. (heavy) or 6,311.5 grs. light (*h*), we obtain a talent of 1,262,300 grs. (heavy) or 631,150 grs. (light). The $\frac{1}{3000}$ part, or shekel, of this talent would be 420.73 grs. (heavy) or 210.36 grs. (light). These weights are somewhat lighter than the normal weights of the heavy double shekel and shekel (*t*) of the Phœnician standard (common norm); but it is noticeable that the earliest coins (double staters and staters) of Sidon and Tyre (issued in the 5th cent. B.C.) seldom rise to the normal weight of 448.8 grs. and 224.4 grs., the effective weight being usually much nearer the amounts just arrived at, and rarely rising above 426 grs. (213 grs.). Again, various metrological authorities of ancient though late date (see Hultsch, *Metrolog. Script. Rel.*, Index, under τάλαντον, 17) equate the Hebrew talent to 125 Roman lbs.—*i.e.*, 631,665.3 grs. The shekel of this talent would be 210.55 grs. Finally, Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8 2) equates the Hebrew coin called σίκλος—*i.e.*, the silver shekel—to four 'Attic drachms.' 'Attic drachm' in his day was equivalent to the Roman denarius, which was fixed by Nero at $\frac{1}{96}$ lb.—*i.e.*, 52.62 grs.; the Hebrew σίκλος was therefore 210.48 grs. in weight.

We thus see that the Hebrew shekel weighed from 210 to 210.55 grs., or, on the heavy system, 420 to 421 grs. It can be nothing else than the shekel of 224.4 grs. (*t*), or its double, in a slightly degraded form. It is clear, therefore, that the shekel of the Phœnician standard was in use in Palestine at a comparatively early period. The weight of the heavy gold shekel of the common norm (*l*) being taken at 252.5 grs. troy, its value (at the present rate of £3 : 17 : 10½ per oz. of 480 grs. paid by the Mint for gold) would be very nearly £2 : 1 : 0, and the light shekel would be worth about £1 : 0 : 6. The Hebrew-Phœnician silver shekel and the Babylonic-Persic silver shekel, being reckoned as $\frac{1}{15}$ and $\frac{1}{10}$ of the gold shekel respectively, work out as follows:

	Heavy.	Light.
Phœnician . . .	£0 : 2 : 9	£0 : 1 : 4½
Babylonian . . .	£0 : 4 : 1	£0 : 2 : 0½

The values of the talent and mina of gold and silver in all these systems are:

	HEAVY.		LIGHT.	
	Talent.	Mina.	Talent.	Mina.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Gold . . .	6150 0 0	102 10 0	3075 0 0	51 5 0
Phœnician silver .	410 0 0	6 16 8	205 0 0	3 8 4
Babylonian silver .	615 0 0	10 5 0	307 10 0	5 2 6

It is curious that, although the mina was known as a weight, it does not occur in any pre-exilic writings, and large sums are expressed in talents and shekels (Kennedy, 420). A parallel is afforded by the Attic method of reckoning in talents and drachms.

Early in the (conventional) post-exilic period the Persian coinage of gold and silver was introduced by Darius

4. Early post-exilic period.

Hystaspis. His gold shekel, struck on the royal norm (*k*), was known to the Greeks as daric (δαρεικός). The derivation of this word from the king's name has been disputed, on the ground that it could not be formed from the Persian *Dārayavaush*; but there is no reason why it should not be formed in Greek fashion from Δαρεῖος. Of other derivations, the only plausible one is from the Assyrian *dariku*, a word found in

contract-tablets of the time of Nabonidus and Nebuchadrezzar. But the evidence that this word is the name of a weight or measure is not satisfactory; Tallquist (*Die Spr. der Contr. Nabû-nâ'ids*, 66) with more probability regards it as an agricultural product. The word *darkemōn* (see DRAM) has until recently been connected by many writers with the word *daric;* but there can be little doubt that the *darkemōn* is a weight, and possibly the same word is found in the Greek δραχμή (see DRAM, and with the spelling דרכנים of the Piræeus inscription cp the Cretan dialectical form δαρκνά).

The Greek derivation of δραχμή from δράσσομαι is probably a popular etymology. What, however, are these 'drams' of gold mentioned in Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah? Remembering that in the Greek system the drachma was as a rule the $\frac{1}{6000}$ part of the talent, we should suppose that half-shekels were meant by *darkemōnim*. Now the weight of the *daric* (*k*) is as a matter of fact the half-shekel of the heavy system (*i*), and since the Hebrews, in weighing both gold and silver, used the heavy system (see the quotations from Josephus discussed above, § 3), they would naturally regard the gold daric as a half-shekel of the heavy system. It follows that although the words *darkemōn* and *daric* have in all probability no etymological connection, the actual pieces of gold meant by *darkemōnīm* were as a matter of fact darics, or pieces of the same weight as the daric.

The silver coin of Darius was known to the Greeks as the σίγλος (σίκλος) Μηδικός, and weighed 86.4 grs., being really a half-shekel of the light Babylonian system (royal norm). The gold daric was worth twenty of these silver coins. The value of the daric in modern money works out at about one guinea, and that of the siglos, accordingly, at a little over one shilling.

The Persian governors who preceded Nehemiah in his office exacted from the people 40 shekels of silver (Neh. 5 15). It is hardly possible to decide whether these were σίγλοι Μηδικοί (which as we have seen were really half-shekels) or whole shekels of 172.8 grs.; but the probability is in favour of the former, as being the official coins of the Persian Empire at the time.



FIG. *a*.

Both daric (Fig. *a*) and siglos (Fig. *b*) are alike in types. On the obverse is a figure of the Great King, wearing the Persian head-dress (*kidaris*) and robe (*kandys*), and holding in his right hand a spear, in the left a bow; the half-kneeling posture is meant, according to the convention of early art, to represent running. The reverse bears only the impression made by the irregular punch used in striking the coin.



FIG. *b*.

5. Phœnician standard.

The phrase 'shekel of the sanctuary,' or rather sacred shekel' (σίκλος ὁ ἅγιος, σταθμὸς ὁ ἅγιος) is used in P in connection with gold, silver, copper (?), and spices. (For this subject, besides Kennedy 422, see Zuckermann, *Talmud. Gewichte*, 4 *f.* 15.) In spite of the fact that the sacred shekel was used for gold, as well as silver, there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting Ridgeway's theory (*Origin of Metallic Currency*, 273*f.*) that it was the shekel of 130-135 grs. We know from the Mishna that sums of silver money mentioned in the Pentateuch are to be regarded as reckoned in 'Tyrian money'—*i.e.*, in money of the Phœnician standard. We know further that the temple tax was half a shekel, and the tax for *two* persons could be paid by a tetradrachm or stater (*q.v.*) of the Phœnician standard (Mt. 17 24 *f.*, where the collectors of the tax are called οἱ τὰ δίδραχμα λαμβάνοντες). It follows that the sacred shekel was a shekel of the heavy Phœnician standard (common norm) of 224.4 grs. (*t*). This conclusion is confirmed by the statement (Ex. 30 13, etc.) that the shekel was twenty gerahs, which 𝔊 translates '20 obols.' The obol meant by 𝔊 was presumably the Attic obol of the time ($\frac{1}{6}$ of the drachm of 67.28 grs.—*i.e.*, 11.21 grs.); and twenty of these make a weight of 224.2 grs. Any shekel of this weight, whether struck by a foreign king, or struck by a city like Tyre, could



FIG. *c*.

therefore be used for the payment of the tax for two persons; or the corresponding half-shekel (Phœnician didrachm of 112.2 grs.) for a single person. The half-shekel here illustrated (Fig. *c*) was struck at Tyre in the year 102 B.C. On the obverse is the head of Melkarth, the Tyrian Heracles, crowned with laurel; on the reverse an eagle standing with one foot on the prow of a galley, and a palm-branch over its shoulder; in the field are a club (the symbol of Melkarth), the numerals ΔΚ (the year 24 of the local era), and the monogram of the official of the mint responsible for the coin; around is the inscription ΤΥΡΟΥ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ—*i.e.*, '(coin) of Tyre, the sacred (city) and inviolable.' The weight of this specimen (106.9 grs.) is a little under the normal (*u*). The name 'sacred' applied to the shekel of this standard is due presumably to its being used for the temple tax, for which shekels of any other standard were not accepted. Hence the presence of money-changers in the outer court of the temple. The third part of the shekel of Neh. 10 32 is probably the third of the Phœnician shekel; the third is indeed a more usual denomination, both in the Phœnician and in the Babylonian standards, than the half.

6. Silver coins.

The Jews were, as a rule, content or obliged to use silver coins of foreign origin, and the two series of silver coins issued by them belong to periods of revolt against their rulers. A famous series of shekels and half-shekels issued during a period of five years has been most usually ascribed to the time of Simon the Hasmonæan; the tendency of recent criticism, however, is to give them to the time of the first revolt against Rome (66-70 A.D.).

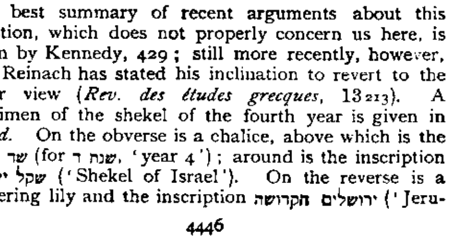


FIG. *d*.

The best summary of recent arguments about this question, which does not properly concern us here, is given by Kennedy, 429; still more recently, however, Th. Reinach has stated his inclination to revert to the older view (*Rev. des études grecques*, 13 213). A specimen of the shekel of the fourth year is given in fig. *d*. On the obverse is a chalice, above which is the date שד (for שנת ד, 'year 4'); around is the inscription שקל ישראל ('Shekel of Israel'). On the reverse is a flowering lily and the inscription ירושלים הקדושה ('Jeru-

salem the Holy'). The weight of this specimen is 220 grs.

The second series of silver coins of the Jews belongs to the second revolt; they are shekels and quarter-shekels issued by Simon Barcochba and 'Eleazar the High Priest' from 132-135 A.D. These coins are really Roman denarii, or tetradrachms or drachms of the mints of Cæsarea (in Cappadocia) and Antioch (in Syria), which have been used as blanks on which to impress Jewish types (Kennedy, 430 *f.*).

Both these series are, as we have said, exceptional, and the ordinary coinage of the Jews, from the time of John Hyrcanus, if not from that of Simon the Hasmonæan, onwards, consists merely of bronze.

7. Literature. F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1881; F. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Metrologie*,(2) 1882; W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, 1892; Th. Reinach, *Les monnaies juives*, 1887; A. R. S. Kennedy, in Hastings' *DB* 2 417 *ff.* G. F. H.

SHELAH. 1. שֵׁלָה, a name closely resembling SHILOH (σηλωμ [BADEF], σιλ. [L]), the youngest of Judah's sons by the daughter of the Canaanite Shua (cp Stade *GVI* 1 158, and see JUDAH i., § 2; Gen. 38 5 11 14 26 [J], 46 12 [P]; Nu. 26 20 σηλων [BAL, but -ωμ L. *v.* 19], 1 Ch. 2 3 σηλων [BL]). The clan is associated with Chezib in the Shephelah of Judah (cp Cozeba below, and see ACHZIB [i.]), and, apart from Gen. 38, occurs only in post-exilic writings. The further divisions of this clan are given in 1 Ch. 4 21-23 (σηλων [L]). The passage is extremely obscure and appears to represent the attempt of a scribe to get some meaning out of an already corrupt genealogy.

Lecah in *v.* 21*a* may be a corruption for Lachish, but the latter half of the verse is unintelligible. A reference to Bethlehem in *v.* 22*a* is not improbable, see JASHUBI-LEHEM. The reading, 'men of Cozeba . . . had dominion in Moab,' is doubtful; that of 𝔊BA, οἳ κατῴκησαν . . . ('who dwelt . . .'), is much more reasonable. Netaim (נטעים) and Gederah, *v.* 23, seem to have arisen from Etam (עֵיטָם) and Gedor; and the recurrence of both names in *v.* 3 *f.*—a list which in its present condition is fragmentary—makes it probable that in *v.* 3*a* we should read 'Shelah, the father of Etam' (correcting the difficult 'אלה אבי ע').[1] See ETAM, 2. A pre-exilic reference may safely be rejected; the 'ancient' matters spoken of need not, from the Chronicler's point of view, be pre-exilic. The patronymic is **Shelanite** (הַשֵּׁלָנִי, Nu. 26 20, ὁ σηλων[ε]ι [BAFL]), which in a list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem is twice written **Shilonite** (Neh. 11 5, δηλωνε [B], δ-ει [ℵ], ηλ-ι [A], σ-ει [L]; AV SHILONI, 1 Ch. 9 5; הַשִּׁי[ל]לֹנִי; τῶν σηλων[ε]ι, see EZRA ii., § 5 [6], § 15 [1]*a*). The former pointing with *ā* seems better (cp Be. Ke.). Maaseiah or Asaiah, to whom the patronymic is here applied, appears as the representative of Shelah b. Judah, just as Athaiah (Neh. 11 4) represents the Perezite division. [Cp *Crit. Bib.*] S. A. C.

2. (שֶׁלַח). SALAH AV in Gen. and SALA AV Lk. 3 35, the son of Arpachshad and father of Eber in the old genealogy of the Hebrews (Gen. 10 24 [R?], 11 13 *f.* [P], 1 Ch. 1 18 [B om.] 24, σαλα, σαλας [L in Gen. 10]). The key to 'Shelah' is of course Arpachshad. If the latter name contains Chaldæa, Knobel may be excused for seeking 'Shelah' in NE. Mesopotamia. If, however, Arpachshad comes from 'Arāb-Ḳadesh or -Cush [see UR OF THE CHALDEES], we must suppose 'Shelah' to represent some clan in the Negeb. In accordance with JUDAH, § 2, we may assume the existence of a Jeraḥmeelite clan called Shelaḥ (see SHELAH, 1), of Kenizzite (not Canaanite) affinities, and related to Sha'ul, of which Shelaḥ is a modification. The name Methusèlah is similarly related to Methushael; both these names are probably modifications of Mishael = Ishmael. It now becomes not impossible that Eber (עֵבֶר) in Gen. 10 24 may be miswritten for 'Arāb (עֲרָב).

To derive Shelah from 'to send,' and suppose it to refer to the *departure* of a portion of the tribe of Arpachshad previous to their 'passing over' (see EBER) the Tigris, is absurd. 𝔊 (in Gen.), on which Lk. 3 35 is based, inserts Cainan before Shelah to make Abram the tenth after Shem (see Di. *Gen.* 208). T. K. C.

[1] הַיּוֹצְרִים (*v.* 23) may spring from Beth-zur or perhaps rather הַצִּיעֹרִים (ZIOR lay to the SE. of Gedor).

SHELAH, POOL OF (בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלַח), Neh. 3 15 RV, AV 'pool of SILOAH.' See SILOAM.

SHELANITES (שֵׁלָנִי), Nu. 26 20; see SHELAH (1).

SHELEMIAH (שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ, שֶׁלֶמְיָה, either compounded with יה = יהוה, or an expanded form of a clan name borne by an individual [Che.], see SHALLUM, SHELAMIEL, and note the N. Arabian character of the names with which Shelemiah is associated. To illustrate the later (?) view of the name, cp Palm. שלמלת [if for שלמ·אלת a compound of the goddess al-Lāt]; σελεμιου). See SELEMIA.

1. b. Cushi, an ancestor of JEHUDI (*q.v.*) Jer. 36 [𝔊 43] 14, שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ, σαλαμιου [A].

2. b. Abdeel, one of the men sent by Jehoiakim to take Baruch and Jeremiah after Baruch had read the roll in the king's presence (Jer. 36 [𝔊 43] 26, שֶׁלֶמְיָהוּ om. BℵAQ).

3. The father of JEHUCAL or JUCAL (*q.v.*), temp. Zedekiah (Jer. 37 [44] 3 σεδεκιου [ℵ], 38 [45] 1, שלמיהו).

4. b. Hananiah, the father of IRIJAH [*q.v.*] (Jer. 44 [37] 13).

5. 1 Ch. 26 14; see MESHELEMIAH.

6. One of the b. Bani, Ezra 10 39 (σελεμια [B], -ει [L], -ιας [A], -εια [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 9 34, SELEMIAS (σελεμιας [BA]).

7. Another of the b. Bani (Ezra 10 41, שלמיהו, σελεμια [B], -ιας [A], -εια [ℵ], σαμαιας [L]), omitted in the parallel passage in 1 Esd. 9 34. It is interesting that the sequence of names here, Sharai (שָׁרַי), Azarel, and Shelemiah is almost identical with the names in Jer. 36 26 Seraiah (שְׂרָיָה), Azriel, Shelemiah.

8. The father of HANANIAH (*q.v.*), Neh. 3 30 (τελεμια [B], -ας [ℵ], σεεμια [A]).

9. A priest, a keeper of the storehouses (Neh. 13 13, σελεμια [B*A], ελ. [Bb], ιελεμια [ℵ]).

SHELEPH (שָׁלֶף, in pause, σαλεφ [AEL]), a son of Joktan (Gen. 10 26, om. B 1 Ch. 1 20†), has not yet been identified; but similar names are not uncommon in S. Arabia. Instances are *Sulaf* or *Salif*, a tribe in Yemen: Osiander, *ZDMG* 11 153 *ff.*; *Silf*, Hal. *Mél.* 86; *Salf* [many]: Glaser, 425; cp also a district *Salfie*: Niebuhr, *Arabien*, 247; and see other reff. in Di. *Gen.* [Cp SEPHAR, and on 'Joktan,' see *Crit. Bib.*] F. B.

SHELESH (שֵׁלֶשׁ; ζεμη [B], σελλης [A], σελεμ [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 35†.

SHELOMI (שְׁלֹמִי), father of Ahihud, a 'prince' of Asher (Nu. 34 27; σελεμ(ε)ι [BAFL]). See SHELUMIEL, and cp ASHER, § 1.

SHELOMITH (שְׁלֹמִית, interchangeable with שלמות [see below 5]; cp the fluctuations between Meshillemith and Meshillemoth. The vocalisation is doubtful [cp SOLOMON, § 1], and the name being evidently southern, a connection with either Ishmael or Salmah may be assumed [Che.]).

1. bath DIBRI [*q.v.*], who had married an Egyptian (or, perhaps, rather Miṣrite, *i.e.*, N. Arabian woman), and whose son was stoned for blasphemy (Lev. 24 11: σαλωμειθ [BAF], σαλαμειθ [Bab], σαλμιθ [L]).

2. Daughter of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 19; σαλωμεθει [B], -θι [A], -μιθ [L]).

3. A son of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 20; εμμωθ [B], σαλημωθ [A], σαλωμιθ [L]).

4. b. Josiphiah one of the b'ne BANI [*q.v.*, 2]: read in Ezra 8 10 'And of the sons of Bani; Shelomith, son of Josiphiah' (υἱῶν σαλειμουθ [B], υἱ. βαανι σελειμμουθ [A], τῶν υἱ. σαλιμωθ [L]), cp 1 Esd. 8 36, which gives ASSALIMOTH, RV SALIMOTH (ασσαλιμωθ [A, the ας belongs to the preceding βανι], [υἱῶν] σαλιμωθ [L], [βανιας] σαλειμωθ [B]).

Among the Levites we find (5) a Shelomith b. Shimei, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 23 9, Kt. שְׁלֹמוֹת, RV **Shelomoth**, αλωθειμ [B], σαλωμειθ [A], -μιθ [L]); (6) a chief of the b'ne Izhar, a Kohathite Levite (1 Ch. 23 18, σαλωμωθ [B], -ιθ [L], σαλουμωθ [A]), whose son was JAHATH (*q.v.*) (1 Ch. 24 22, שְׁלֹמוֹת, EV SHELOMOTH, σαλωμωθ [BA], -ιθ [L]); and (7) a Levite descended from Eliezer b. Moses (1 Ch. 26 25 *ff.*, RV SHELOMOTH, σαλωμωθ [BA], -ιθ and σαλαμιθ [L] *v.* 25, Kt. שלמות, and MT in *v.* 26).

SHELUMIEL (שְׁלֻמִיאֵל; σαλαμιηλ [BAFL]), b. ZURISHADDAI, a 'prince' of SIMEON (§ 9 ii. n.; Nu. 1 6 2 12 7 36 (σαμαλιηλ [F]) 41 10 19 † [all P]. In Judith

81 his name appears as SAMAEL, RV SALAMIEL (σαλαμιηλ [BA], σαμαμιηλ [א]).

Apparently the name means 'El is my health' (§§ 37, 50); really, however, it may come from שלמי; שלמא Shalamu is the name of a N. Arabian tribe allied to the Nabatæans (see SALMAH, SHALMAI). T. K. C.

SHEM (שֵׁם; CHM; *sem*), the eldest of the three sons of Noah, and therefore always mentioned first (Gen. 5 32 6 10 7 13 9 18 10 1 1 Ch. 1 4); the rendering of Gen. 10 21 in AV and RVmg. is certainly wrong (cp JAPHETH).

1. Name. If an appellative, Shem will mean 'name'—*i.e.*, renown. In this case, if in Gen. 9 it is really equivalent to Israel, it may conceivably denote the ruling or noble class (cp Gen. 6 4 Nu. 16 2 1 Ch. 5 24) in antithesis to the aborigines, who are called in Job 30 8, 'sons of the impious, yea, sons of the nameless, beaten out of the land' (so We. *CH*(3) 13, Bu. *Urgesch.* 328 *f.*). There is a strong presumption, however, that the name of this important patriarch has a longer history and a more recondite meaning. In short, the legends in the early part of Genesis being, according to the most plausible view, Jerahmeelite (see PARADISE, §§ 6, 9), and 'Ishmael' being used as a synonym for Jerahmeel, it is very probable that 'Shem' is a modified fragment of the ethnic name Ishmael.

To derive (with Goldziher) from שמה 'to be high,' and explain 'the high one' or even the 'Heaven-god,' has no indication in its favour. More probably, Shem is a shortened form of a name like SHEMUEL (*q.v.*), or rather, if we suppose that חם (Ham) is a fragment of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel), שם (Shem) has arisen out of a fragment of ישמעאל (Ishmael).

That the redactor, who here as elsewhere emended קנז (Kenaz) into כנען (Canaan) supposed שם to mean 'Israel' is possible enough. But critically, such a view is highly improbable. See Gunkel (*Gen.*(2) 74 *f.* [1902]), whose attempt, however, to bring what is said on Canaan in Noah's oracles into connection with the historical situation in the second millennium B.C. seems on the whole premature, in the absence of a thorough textual criticism.

2. Traditions. The special blessing by which Shem was rewarded is now often read thus:[1] 'Bless, O Yahwè, the tents of Shem (בָּרֵךְ י׳ אָהֳלֵי שֵׁם); let Canaan be his servant' (Gen. 9 26 J_1).

It is more plausible, however, to think that *v.* 26 *a* should run, ברוך י׳ ישמעאל. The Jerahmeelites were, in fact, (see MOSES, § 14) the early tutors of the Israelites in religion. Here and in *v.* 27 the underlying original text apparently spoke of Noah's eldest son as 'Ishmael.' The subjugation of Kenaz (not 'Canaan,' as the traditional text) refers to matters beyond our ken (cp KENAZ). Another writer thinks to explain 'Shem' to his readers by identifying 'Shem' with 'Eber' (Gen. 10 21). Here it is necessary to transpose *b* and *r*, and read 'Arāb: in fact, Ishmael (Shem) and 'Arāb are nearly synonymous. On all these subjects, as well as on the use of 'Shem' in P (Gen. 10 22 11 10, cp 1 Ch. 1 17 24) see *Crit. Bib.* The reference in Ecclus. 49 19 is no doubt to Shem's important genealogical position. A late Jewish tradition (adopted by Selden and Lightfoot) identified Shem with MELCHIZEDEK (*q.v.*). Cp SETHITES. T. K. C.

SHEM, NAMES WITH. Two Hebrew names have been brought under this head—Šemu'el (Samuel) and Šemida' (Shemida). The former of these is compared by Winckler (*GI* 1 130, n. 3) with Šumu-abi and Šumu-la-ilu, the names of two Babylonian kings of the third millennium B.C., whom this scholar considers to belong to a dynasty of western Semitic or rather Canaanitish conquerors. According to Hommel, Šumu-abi means 'Šumu is my father,' and *šumu* is a contraction of *šumhu* (*šumuhu*)—*i.e.*, 'his name,' a periphrasis for 'God' (*AHT* 85 *f.* 88 *f.*). He considers that Šemu'el and Šemida' may safely be explained as containing this element *šumhu*. It seems very improbable, however, that the periphrasis 'name' for 'God' should have been of such remote antiquity among the Israelites, when we recall that (see NAME, § 7) it is specially characteristic of the latest biblical Hebrew writing, and we may venture to follow Jastrow (*JBL* 19 105), who is of opinion that *šumu* in the names quoted by Winckler and Hommel is an entirely different word from the Hebrew *šem*.

Perhaps a sober criticism of these ancient names, the Babylonian as well as the Hebrew, may lead to the conclusion that etymologies which have the most superficial plausibility are generally fallacious. See, further, SHEMUEL, SHEMIDA. T. K. C.

[1] So Schorr, Grätz, and recently Ball, Holzinger, Gunkel.

SHEMA (שְׁמַע; CAM[A]A [BAL]), one of the cities in the extreme S. of Judah towards Edom (Josh. 15 26: CAΛMAA [B]). Cp the clan-name SHEMA, 1. It is not included in the list of Simeonite towns either in Josh. 19 1-6 or in MT of 1 Ch. 4 28-31 (but see *v.* 28 𝔊), but in the former of these passages (Josh. 19 2) we find SHEBA, plainly a mere variant (σαμαα [B]; but σαβ[ε]ε [AL]), and in 𝔊 1 Ch. 4 28 we find σαμα [BL], -αα [A]. The connection of Shema with Simeon seems obvious. The Sheba in Josh. 19 2 was probably introduced as a supplement from 15 26 after the calculation 'thirteen cities' (*v.* 6) had been made; RV's 'or Sheba' is too bold. See further JESHUA, SIMEON, § 10.

SHEMA (שֶׁמַע, § 50). 1. A Calebite clan which, like Ḳoraḥ, Tappuaḥ, and Reḳem, traced itself to Ḥebron, and is represented as the 'father' of Raḥam, the 'father' of Jorḳeam, 1 Ch. 2 43 *f.* (σεμαα [BA, the latter omits in *v.* 43], σαμα [L]). Note the accumulation of 'Jeraḥmeelite' names, and the place-name SHEMA.

2. A clan of REUBEN (§ 13); 1 Ch. 5 8 (σαμα [BA], σεμεει [L]).

3. b. Hushim in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β]; 1 Ch. 8 13 (σαμα [BA], σαμαα [L]), obviously the same as Shimei in *v.* 21. See *JQR* xi. 103 1. See SHIMEI (8).

4. In list of Ezra's supporters (see EZRA ii., § 13 [*f.*]); Neh. 8 4 (σαμαιας [BאAL]).

SHEMAAH (הַשְּׁמָעָה, whence AVmg. HASMAAH), a Gibeathite, father of AHIEZER (1 Ch. 12 3; AMA [Bא], CAMAA [A], ACMA [L]), see DAVID, § 11 *c*. The Pesh. presupposes here the name of a separate hero, שמעיה הגבעתי 'Shemaiah the Gibeathite.'

SHEMAIAH (שְׁמַעְיָה, also שְׁמַעְיָהוּ, see below, either a religious name='Yahwè hears,' or a late (?) expansion of the old clan-name שִׁמְעִי, SHIMEI [Che.]; note the frequency of the name among priests, Levites, and prophets, whose historical connection with the southern border-land is certain; CAMAIA[C]). It is impossible always to differentiate accurately or (as the case may be) to identify the various bearers of this name.

1. A prophet temp. Rehoboam, who deprecated war with Israel (1 K. 12 22=2 Ch. 11 2 [*ib.* שמעיהו]), and prophesied at the invasion of Judah by Shishak (2 Ch. 12 5 7, σαμμαιας [B]). He is mentioned as the writer of the history of Rehoboam (*ib.* *v.* 15), cp also in 𝔊B 1 K. 12 (24 *o*, ed. Sw.).

2. A false prophet who for endeavouring to hinder his work was sternly rebuked by Jeremiah (Jer. 29 [𝔊 36] 24-32 [σαμεας א *vv.* 24, 31 *f.*]; cp JEREMIAH [BOOK], § 17; in *v.* 24 שמעיהו).

He is styled the Nehelamite (הַנֶּחֱלָמִי, αιλαμειτην [B], ελαμιτην [אAQ]), which reminds us of τον ενλαμει applied to SHEMAIAH (1) in 𝔊's [B, in L ελαμιτην] addition to 1 K. 12 (*v.* 24 *o*). Probably both αιλαμειτην and ενλαμει point to חילמי = ירחמאלי 'Jeraḥmeelite' [Che.] (cp ירחמאל=חילם, 2 S. 10 16 [Che.]; see also SIBRAIM). The prophet Ahijah the Shilonite in 1 K. 11 29, it has elsewhere (see SHILOH, 2) been suggested by Cheyne, is most probably a man from the Negeb. So, to, in the intention of the writer, is this Shemaiah.

3. Father of Urijah of Kirjath-jearim, a prophet (Jer. 26 [𝔊 33] 20, שמעיהו, μασαιου [א]).

4. Father of Delaiah, a prince temp. Jehoiakim (Jer. 36 [𝔊 43] 12, σελεμιου [BAQ], σεδεκιου [א]).

5. b. Shechaniah, a descendant of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 22 σαμαα [B* once], σεμεα [L]). This is also the name of one of those who repaired the temple (Neh. 3 29, σεμεια [א]).

6 b. Joel, of REUBEN (§ 13) (1 Ch. 5 4, σεμεει [BL], σεμειν [A]).
7 b. Hasshub, a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 9 14 cp Neh. 11 15, σεμεειας [L]). See 13.
8. Father of Obadiah, a Levite belonging to Jeduthun (1 Ch. 9 16, σαμεια [B] σαμιου [A], cp Neh. 11 17 *b*). See 13.
9. Chief of the b'ne Elizaphan, temp. David (1 Ch. 15 8 σαμεας [ℵ], σεμαια [A], *v.* 11 σαμαι [ℵ], σεμειαν [A]).
10. b. Nathaneel, a Levite scribe (1 Ch. 24 6, σαμμαιας [A]).
11. b. Obed-edom (1 Ch. 26 4, σαμειας [A], *vv.* 6 *f.*, σαμαι [B *v.* 7], σαμεια, σεμεια [A]). See 13.
12. A Levite, temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 8, σαμουας [B], σαμουιας [A]).
13. A son of Jeduthun (2 Ch. 29 14, σαμειας [A]). Cp 7, 8, 11, and see GENEALOGIES i., § 7 (ii. *d*).
14. A Levite house temp. Hezekiah (2 Ch. 31 15, σεμεει [BAL]), probably the same as the name in Neh. 10 8 12 6 (Bℵ*A om., σεμειας, ℵ^c.a mg. sup.L), *ib.* 18 (Bℵ*A om., σεμεια, ℵ^c.a mg. inf.L) where Jehonathan is the head, 12 35 (where one Jonathan b. Shemaiah is named).
15. A Levite of the time of Josiah (2 Ch. 35 9, cp perhaps SHIMEI, 31 12; in both cases Cononiah precedes as the name of a brother). In 1 Esd. 1 9 SAMAIAS (σαμαιας).
16. One of the b'ne Adonikam, a post-exilic family who came up to Jerusalem with Ezra, Ezra 8 13 (σαμαεια [A]), in 1 Esd. 8 39 SAMAIAS.
17. A teacher, Ezra 8 16 (σεμεια [A], σεμεειδ [L]), in 1 Esd. 8 43 MASMAN, RV MAASMAS (μαασμαν [BA], σεμεια [L]), repeated in *v.* 44 MAMAIAS, RV SAMAIAS (om. L).
18. One of the b'ne Harim, the priestly family of Ezra 10 21, in 1 Esd. 9 21 SAMEIUS, RV SAMEUS (θαμαιος [B], σαμαιος [A]).
19. One of the sons of HARIM 'of Israel' (Ezra 10 31 σεμεα [ℵ], σαμειας [L]), in 1 Esd. 9 32 SABBEUS (σαββαιας [BA], σαμειας [L]).
20. b. Delaiah b. Mehetabeel, a prophet temp. Neh., bribed by Sanballat to hinder the Jews from building the wall (Neh. 6 10 σεμεει [Bℵ], σεμει [A]).
21, 22, two men present at Ezra's dedication of the wall (Neh. 12 34, σαραια [Bℵ], σααμαιας [A] 36).
23. RV but AV SAMAIAS, 'the great,' kinsman of Tobit (Tob. 5 12 *f.*, σεμεον [B], σεμελιου [ℵ], σεμειου [A], the Heb. Vs. ed. Neubauer has שלומית).

SHEMARIAH (שְׁמַרְיָה and [1 Ch. 12 5] שְׁמַרְיָהוּ; usually [§ 30] explained 'whom Yahwè guards,' but probably rather a modification of the ethnic SHIMRI [*q.v.*]; ϲαμαριά[c]). 2 Ch. 11 19 AV [by printer's error?] gives SHAMARIAH). All the occurrences suggest N. Arabian origin. T. K. C.

1. One of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 12 5 (σαμαραια [B]). See DAVID, § 11, (*a*) (iii.), col. 1030 *f.*
2. A son of Rehoboam, by Mahalath (= Jeraḥmeelith [Che.]), 2 Ch. 11 19.
3, 4. Contemporaries of Ezra, who had taken foreign wives, Ezra 10 32 (-εια [B], -ια [ℵA]); *v.* 41 (-εια [Bℵ], -ειας [A]).

SHEMEBER (שֶׁמְאֵבֶר), Gen. 14 2. See SHINAB.

SHEMED (שֶׁמֶד), 1 Ch. 8 12 RV, AV SHAMED.

SHEMER. 1. (שֶׁמֶר; ϲεμηρ, ϲαμηρ [B], ϲε. [A], ϲεμμηρ [L]). According to 1 K. 16 24 Shemer was the owner of the hill which Omri bought, whence the place received the name of Samaria (שֹׁמְרוֹן). See SAMARIA.

2 and 3. AV SHAMER (שֶׁמֶר), properly a clan-name (see Stade, *ZATW* 5 166), but applied to real or supposed persons: a Levite, 1 Ch. 6 46 [31] (σεμμηρ); and ben Heber in a genealogy of ASHER [*q.v.*, § 4 ii.], 1 Ch. 7 34 (σεμμηρ [B], σωμηρ [AL]); in *v.* 32 he is called SHOMER [*q.v.*].

SHEMIDA (שְׁמִידָע), a Gileadite clan belonging to MANASSEH (§ 9) (Nu. 26 32, ϲυμαερ; Josh. 17 2, ϲυμαρειμ [B], ϲεμιραε [A], ϲαμιδαε [L]; 1 Ch. 7 19 AV **Shemidah**: ϲεμειρα [BA], ϲαμειδα [L]), after whom the **Shemidaites** were called (Nu. *l.c.* הַשְּׁמִידָעִי; ϲυμαερ[ε]ι [BAFL]).

May we venture to hold that שם here is a divine appellation? See NAMES, § 43, SHEM [NAMES WITH]. The alternative is to suppose a corruption ישמעאל.

SHEMINITH, UPON, RV 'set to the Sheminith' (עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית; 𝔊^BNARU in Pss. υπερ τηϲ ογδοηϲ 𝔊^BNA in 1 Ch., αμαϲενειθ; Jer. *super octava* [Ps. 6 1], *pro octava* [Ps. 12 1]; επι τηϲ ογδοηϲ [Aq., Ps. 6 1], περι τηϲ ογδοηϲ [𝔊^L in 1 Ch., Sym.]; Tg. 'on the lyre with eight strings'), a technical phrase relative (according to the ordinary view) to the musical performance of certain psalms (Pss. 6 12; cp 1 Ch. 15 21). Ewald, Olshausen, Winckler, explain 'in the eighth mode, or key'; Gesenius and Delitzsch, 'for the bass'; Grätz agrees with the Targum. It is admitted, however, that these explanations are pure guesses, and the most plausible view of other psalm titles favours the assumption that the text is corrupt. Most probably על־השמינית is a corruption of לְאֵיתָנִים, 'of the Ethanites,' or better of לישמעאלים 'of the Ishmaelites.'[1] We thus obtain an adequate explanation of Sheminith in the titles of Pss. 6 and 12, and probably too of Gittith, Neginath, and Shoshannim (see PSALMS, BOOK OF, § 26, but cp MUSIC, § 9). We also find על־השמינית in 1 Ch. 15 21 where it seems to correspond to על־עלמות at the end of *v.* 20. Here, however, it is in all probability a corruption of the name SHEMIRAMOTH (*q.v.*), just as 'Azaziah,' which Benzinger (*KHC ad loc.*) rightly pronounces suspicious, is virtually a misplaced repetition of the name 'Aziel.' These two proper names occur close by, in *v.* 20.

It may also be noticed, since the commentaries give no very defensible explanations, that לְנַצֵּחַ (𝔊 τοῦ [ἐν]ισχῦσαι; RV 'to lead'), which follows עַל־הַשְּׁמִינִית in 1 Ch. 15 21 should be pointed לָנֶצַח; it is a synonym of תָּמִיד, 'continually,' which occurs in a similar context; see PSALMS, BOOK OF, § 26, col. 3945, n. 4. The other mysterious phrase על־עלמות (RV 'set to Alamoth') in 15 20 comes from לאמים, a mutilated and corrupt form of נבלים 'psalteries.' Cp Ps. 26 4*b*, where נאלמים is a corruption of נְבָלִים, 'impious.' T. K. C.

SHEMIRAMOTH (שְׁמִירָמוֹת), a Levite name, 1 Ch. 15 18 20 16 5 2 Ch. 17 8 (here Kt. שְׁמְרִימוֹת; variously ϲεμειραμωθ, ϲαμαρ[ε]ιμ., ϲαμειραμ., ϲεμιρ., ϲιμιρ.). According to Schrader (*KAT*^(2) 366) equivalent to the Ass. name Sammuramat, which occurs as a woman's name on the monuments, especially on the statues of Nebo from Nimrûd. G. Hoffm., however (*Syrische Acten*, 137), thinks that Shemiramoth was originally a place-name meaning 'images of Shemiram' (= Name of Ram or 'the Exalted One'), just as Anathoth may mean 'images of Anath.'

'Shem-ba'al' (name of Baal) was a name or form of Astarte (see Inscr. of Eshmun'azar, *l.* 48) and the story of the conquests of Semiramis in Upper Asia is 'a translation into the language of political history of the diffusion and victories of her worship in that region.' The main centre of this diffusion was Bambyce or Hierapolis (WRS, 'Ctesias and the Semiramis legend,' *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, April 1887, p. 317).

But what probability is there in either of the above explanations? None at all, if the analogy of other Levitical names in Ch. is to be trusted. In 2 Ch. 17 8 it is specially plain that the names among which this strange form occurs are ethnics (cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7 5). It so happens too that the form which appears in that passage suggests the true explanation. It is not שמירמות (Shemiramoth?), but שְׁמְרִימוֹת, where (מת)מות is presumably a corruption of a dittographed מרי, and may safely be disregarded. SHIMRI (*q.v.*) is a good Levitical name, according to the Chronicler; in 2 Ch. 29 13 it occurs just before Je'uel or Je'iel, which name (*i.e.*, Je'iel) is apparently a mutilated form of Ja'aziel (see 1 Ch. 15 18 16 5). שמירמות, too is, in 2 Ch. 31 13, worn down into 'Jerimoth' (= Jeraḥmeel). On 'Shemiramoth' in 1 Ch. 15 20 *f.* see further SHEMINITH. T. K. C.

SHEMUEL (שְׁמוּאֵל, ϲαμουηλ). 1. 1 Ch. 6 33 [18] RV SAMUEL, the prophet (see SAMUEL).
2. b. Ammihud, a chief of SIMEON (§ 8 iii., last note), Nu. 34 20; (σαλαμιηλ).
3. b. Tola, of ISSACHAR (§ 7) (1 Ch. 7 2; ισαμουηλ [B, a dittographed ι]).

The name is difficult. For discussions see NAMES, § 39, where 'bearing the name of God' is suggested; Driver, *TBS* 13 *ff.* (on 1 S. 1 20, where Gesenius's explanation, 'name of God' is pronounced 'as obvious as it is natural'); Hommel,

[1] עמן is several times (*e.g.* Ps. 92 11) miswritten for ישמעאל.

AHT, 100 ('his name is God'); Jastrow, *JBL* 19 [1900] 82 *ff.* ('name [=son] of God'). But is the final -el really = אֵל, 'God'? See SAUL, § 1, SHEBUEL, where the possibility of a connection between Šā'ūl and Šĕmū'ēl, and between Šĕmūēl and Šĕbū'ēl is referred to, and two other names are indicated, belonging perhaps to the same group, Ishmael and SHOBAL (*q.v.*). 𝔊's form, however, in 2 (also = MT's SHELUMIEL [*q.v.*]) suggests a comparison with SALMAH [*q.v.*]. Note that 'Ammihud' (see 2), or rather Ammiḥur, very possibly, like the shorter form Ḥur, comes from Jeraḥmeel. Father and son both seem to have ethnic names. T. K. C.

SHEN (הַשֵּׁן), a locality, between which and Mizpeh Samuel set up the stone Eben-ezer (1 S. 7 12). But הַשֵּׁן means merely '*the* rock' and one expects to find some *known* and specific place mentioned. 𝔊BAL (τῆς παλαιᾶς) and Pesh. point to the reading יְשָׁנָה (cp 2 Ch. 13 19), which is accepted by Wellhausen, Driver, H. P. Smith, and others. See JESHANAH.

SHENAZZAR [RV], or [AV] SHENAZAR (שֶׁנְאַצַּר), a son of Jeconiah (Jehoiachin), and uncle of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 18; σανεσαρ [BA], σανασαρ [L], *sennaser, senneser* [Vg.]). His name is variously explained as a mutilation of שושבלאצר (so Marq., see SHESHBAZZAR) and as = Sin-uṣur, 'Sin (the moon-god), protect!' cp on an Ass. seal שנסרצר, Sin-šar-uṣur, 'Sin, protect the king!'[1] *CIS* 2 88, where the same incorrect Assyrian pronunciation [ש for ס, see SANBALLAT] is presupposed. He was plausibly identified by Howorth (*Acad.*, 1893, p. 175), and then by Kosters (*Herstel*, 47), Ed. Meyer (*Ent. des Jud.* 77), Marquart (*Fund.* 55), with Sheshbazzar. Neither of the Assyriological combinations, however, is quite satisfactory, and the other names of sons of Jeconiah are explained elsewhere as representing gentilics of the Negeb. This suggests that שנאצר may be a corruption of שנער (see SHINAR), which is itself possibly a corruption of גשור—*i.e.*, the S. Geshur. See SHESHBAZZAR. T. K. C.

SHENIR (שְׂנִיר), Dt. 3 9 AV, RV SENIR.

SHEOL (שְׁאוֹל). The origin of the Hebrew term for the world of the dead is not a mere question of archæology; we cannot but expect it to throw light on the early religion, or superstition, of the Hebrews. Possibly, if not probably, it has an Assyrian origin. According to Frd. Delitzsch formerly (*Par.* 121; *Prol.* 47 145; *Heb. Lang.* 20) the Assyrian word corresponding to Šĕōl is Šu'âlu; he was followed by A. Jeremias (*Bab.-ass. Vorstell.* 62) and Gunkel (*Schöpf.* 154). Jensen, however (*Kosmol.* 222 *ff.*), denies the existence of such a word as šu'âlu, and Zimmern (in Gunk. *Schöpf.* 154, n. 5) says that certainty has not yet been attained. Delitzsch himself omits šu'âlu in his *Ass. HWB*, and Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 89, n. 2) assents to the decision of Jensen. A critical re-examination of the four relevant passages in Assyrian vocabularies was urgently called for. This has been given by Jastrow (*AJSL* 14 165 *ff.*), who comes to the conclusion that Jensen's position is untenable, and interprets the Ass. *šu'âlu* as 'the place of inquiry'—*i.e.*, the place whence oracles can be obtained.[2] Provisionally we may be content with this at any rate possible explanation, remembering that one of the Babylonian terms for 'priest' is *šâ'ilu* (lit. inquirer), and that the Hebrew *šā'al* is frequently used of consulting an oracle (*e.g.*, Judg. 1 1 Hos. 4 12 Ezek. 21 21 [26], etc.). We may venture therefore to hold that when the primitive Hebrews used the name Shĕōl they may have thought of the power of the dead in the underworld to aid the living by answering their inquiries. In course of time the priestly representatives of the established religion would naturally succeed in checking this practice. Of primitive Hebrew religion, however, we have in fact very little direct evidence; survivals of it may be found in later superstitious usages, and this is nearly all that we know. Nor must we suppose that all the dead had power to furnish oracles to the living. This power was an element of divinity, and it was probably only heroes like Ea-bani, who appears to Gilgameš (Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, 263; Jastrow, *RBA* 511; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 589), and like Samuel (1 S. 28 7 *ff.*), who were consulted for oracles.

To the later Hebrews Shĕōl appeared like a monster which 'enlarged its greed, and opened its mouth without measure' (Is. 5 14; cp Hab. 2 5 Prov. 27 20 30 15 *f.*). Its leading characteristic is darkness (Job 10 21 *f.*); it is the land of dust—עָפָר ('dust'), can indeed be used as a synonym for שְׁאוֹל (Shĕōl), see Job 17 16 20 11 21 26 Ps. 30 10 [9]. Like the Babylonian Aralû it was far below in the earth (Job 11 8 26 5, etc.). Hence שְׁאוֹל, Shĕōl and בּוֹר (pit) sometimes receive the epithets תַּחְתִּיָּה or תַּחְתִּיּוֹת, 'nether' (Dt. 32 22 Ps. 86 13 88 7 [6]); and heaven and Shĕōl are the farthest opposites (Is. 7 11 Am. 9 2 Ps. 139 8). Silence as a rule reigns supreme (see, however, Is. 14 10). It is a land whence there is no return (Job 7 10); so too the Babylonians called it *irṣit lā tāri*, 'the land without return' (for other names see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 215-225). Still it was a land of order; it was figured as a city with gates (Is. 38 10 Ps. 9 13 [14] 107 18 Job 38 17), and both in the gospels (Mt. 16 18, cp HADES) and in the Talmud the same conception is found. On the state of the dwellers in Sheol, see DEAD, ESCHATOLOGY (references on col. 1390 *f.*), and on the whole question see Jastrow, *Religion of Bab. and Ass.*, 560, 606 *ff.*; Charles, *Eschatology*; Schwally, *Das Leben nach dem Tode*, 59-66; A. Jeremias, *Bab.-ass. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode*, 106-126.

The following is the description of the Babylonian Hades at the opening of the 'Descent of Ištar' (*KB* 6 1, p. 81):—

To the land without return, the earth . . .
['Set'] Ištar, the daughter of Sin, her ear.
The daughter of Sin 'set' her ear
To the dark house, the dwelling of Irkalla,
To the house, from which he who enters never emerges,
To the way, going on which has no turning back,
To the house, into which he who enters is without light,
When dust is their nourishment, clay their food,
They see not light, they sit in darkness,
Dust (rusts) on door and bolt.

SHEPHAM (שְׁפָם, 'a bare height'?—§§ 75, 99), as the text of Nu. 34 10 *f.* stands, is the name of a point on the ideal eastern border of Canaan, mentioned with HAZAR-ENAN [*q.v.*] and RIBLAH [*q.v.*]; like Riblah, it is unmentioned in the ‖ passage, Ezek. 47 15-18. Van Kasteren's identification of it with *Ōfāni*, on the upper course of the *Nahr er-Raḳḳād*, SE. of the lake called *Birket Rām* (Baed.(2) 266), is not one of his best (*Rev. Bibl.*, 1895, pp. 23-36), and his argument to prove that the *'Aphamīyā* of Sam. and Targ. Jerus. is derived from Shepham is more ingenious than convincing. This and similar names are, according to the present writer's theory, distinctively 'Jeraḥmeelite' or S. Canaanitish names (Shephupham [1 Ch. 8 5 Shephuphan] and Shuphamite, Nu. 26 39; Siphmoth, 1 S. 30 28; Shuppim, one of the sons of Aher = Ahiram = Jeraḥmeel, 1 Ch. 7 12; Shiphmite, 1 Ch. 27 27). This confirms the view that the geography of Nu. 34 1-15 and of Ezek. 47 13-21 has been edited, with the view of expanding the limits of the region referred to. This editing, for which many parallels can be given (*e.g.*, Gen. 10 Nu. 13 21-25 Dt. 34 1-3 Josh. 11 2 S. 24 1-9), would not have been possible if some of the names in the original document were not found in more than one part of the country. A Riblah and a Hamath for instance doubtless existed in the far N., but it is not at all likely that a Shepham was to be found there. The real Shepham was apparently on the E. border of the land of Kenaz (the original document must have spoken of 'the land of Kenaz' [קנז], not 'the land of Canaan' [כנען]), between Hazar-enan (Hazar-elam =

1 [The provenience of this seal is unknown. Cp also the parallel formation אסר סר צר (= Ašur-šar-uṣur, *ib.* 2 50), 'Assur, protect the king!'—S. A. C.]

2 For Jastrow's views on the stem *ša'al* (whence both *šu'âlu* and *še'ôl*) see his article in *JBL* 19 [1900], pp. 82 *ff.*

H.-jerahmeel?) and Riblah or perhaps rather Harbel (=the city of Jeraḥmeel). See RIBLAH, SHIPHMITE.

(𝔊BAL in Nu. 34 10 *f.* gives *σεπφαμαρ* [𝔊F in *v.* 10, -*μα*]. In *v.* 11 *αρ* belongs to the following word *βηλα* [read *αρβηλα*]; *v.* 10 has been adjusted to *v.* 11.) T. K. C.

SHEPHATIAH (שְׁפַטְיָה, and שְׁפַטְיָהוּ in nos. 4, 5, 6, apparently 'Yahwè judges' [§ 36], cp יְהוֹשָׁפָט; CΑΦΑΤ[Є]ΙΑ [BℵAL]). [It may be safer to hold the name to be corrupt. In 1 the names of David's wives and children being in several cases, as it seems, corruptions of tribal names (*e.g.*, Abigail, Absalom, Haggith, Abital, Ithream, Eglah), and a name compounded with -iah being quite isolated in this list, we are bound to explain Shephatiah if possible as a tribal name. According to analogy it may well be an expansion of שְׁפָטִי = צְפָתִי, —*i.e.*, 'belonging to ZEPHATH' (see SHAPHAT). This theory explains all the occurrences of the name. In 2 the companions of Shephatiah are of 'Jeraḥmeelite' origin (see PASHHUR); for 4, cp the Calebite ḤAREPH, and see HARIPH; and in the case of 3, 5, 6 and 9 the names Reuel, Michael, Maachah and Mahalaleel are all corruptions of Jeraḥmeel. With regard to 7, it must be clear that, like the b'nē Araḥ and the b'nē Elam, the b'nē Shephatiah were of Jeraḥmeelite origin; cp Neh. 11 4, and see PEREZ. Read 'b'nē Ṣefāthī.' T. K. C.]

1. b. David and Abital (2 S. 3 4 1 Ch. 3 3, *σαβατεια* [B], *σαφαθια* [A in Sam.], *σαφατιας* [A in Ch. and L]). See DAVID, § 11, n.

2. b. Mattan, who with others sought to put Jeremiah in prison (Jer. 38 [45] 1, *σαφανιας* [BℵA], *σαφατ* [Q*], -*ιας* [Qmg.]).

3. AV SHEPHATHIAH, b. Reuel, father of Meshullam, of BENJAMIN (§ 9 [iii.]); 1 Ch. 9 8.

4. A HARUPHITE [*q.v.*], one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 5, שפטיהו, *σαφατιας* [L]). See DAVID, § 11, n. c.

5. b. JEHOSHAPHAT, king of Judah (2 Ch. 21 2, שפטיהו, *σαφατειας* [B], -*ιας* [BbAL]). The name follows Michael (see above).

6. b. Maachah, a Simeonite ruler (1 Ch. 27 16, שפטיהו, *σαφατιας*).

7. The b'nē Shephatiah were a post-exilic family numbered at 372 (Ezra 2 4, *ασαφ* [B], Neh. 7 9); the record, however, in Ezra 8 8, wherein the b'nē Shephatiah with Zebadiah at their head amount to 80 in number, is far more plausible (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH). The name appears as SAPHAT in 1 Esd. 5 9 (om. B, *ασαφ* [Ba.b mg.], *σαφατ* [A]), and as SAPHATIAS in 1 Esd. 8 34 (*σοφοτιου* [B], A om., *σαφατιου* [L]). See introduction, above.

8. A group of 'Solomon's servants' (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 57 = Neh. 7 59 = 1 Esd. 5 33, SAPHETH, RV SAPHUTHI (*σαφυει* [B], -*υθι* [A]).

9. One of the b'nē Perez, a son of Mahalaleel, and ancestor of Athaiah (Neh. 11 4, *σαφατιου* [L]).

SHEPHELAH, THE, or **LOWLAND [OF JUDAH]** (הַשְּׁפֵלָה; see PLAIN, 7; 𝔊 has CЄΦΗΛΑ in 2 Ch. 26 10 [AV 'low country,' RV 'lowland'], Ob. 19 [CΑΦΗΛΑ Qmg., AV 'plain,' RV 'lowland'], Jer. 32 44 [AV 'valley,' RV 'lowland'], 33 13 [om. A, AV 'vale,' RV 'lowland'], also in 1 Macc. 12 38 [ℵ*V CЄΦ. ΠЄΔΙΝΗ, AV Shephela, RV 'plain country']), a part of the territory of Judah, between the hill country (see JUDAH, HILL-COUNTRY OF), and the Mediterranean. On the geographical use of the term see G. A. Smith (*HG* 202 *f.*), who concludes that 'though the name may originally have been used to include the Maritime Plain, and this wider use may have been occasionally revived, the Shĕphēlah proper was the region of low hills between that plain and the high Central Range.' The cities of the Shĕphēlah are enumerated in Josh. 15 33-44; *vv.* 45-47, which mention Philistine towns as in the Shĕphēlah, are probably a later insertion (cp *Oxf. Hex.* 2 346). Eusebius, however (*OS* 296 10), describes this district as the plain (*πεδίον*) lying round Eleutheropolis, to the N. and the W., and Clermont-Ganneau and Conder (*Tentwork*, 277) state that they have discovered the name in its Arabic form Sifla about Beit-Jibrīn (Eleutheropolis). 𝔊 also gives *πεδίον* (see Dt. 1 7 Josh. 11 2 12 8) and *ἡ πεδινή* (see Josh. 9 1 10 40 Judg. 1 9, etc.) for שפלה, and a larger use is favoured by Dt. 1 7 Josh. 9 1 1 K. 10 27 2 Ch. 26 10, so that, even if the low hills behind the maritime plain were the most important part of the Shephēlah on account of the towns situated there, we can hardly deny that theoretically the maritime plain was included in the reference of this geographical term (see Buhl, *Pal.* 104, n. 164).

The RV has taken great pains to carry out a systematic rendering of *shĕphēlah* by 'lowland.' Compare the following passages: Dt. 1 7 Josh. 9 1 10 40 11 2 16 (*bis*, 𝔊B, *τὰ ταπεινα*, 𝔊AL *τὰ πεδινά* the second time), 12 8 15 33 Judg. 1 9 1 K. 10 27 1 Ch. 27 28 2 Ch. 1 15 9 27 26 10 28 18 Jer. 17 26 (𝔊B *γῆς πεδινῆς*) 32 44 33 13 Ob. 19 Zech. 7 7. Perhaps if RV had given the plural form 'lowlands,' it might have been more illuminative to the reader, for, as G. A. Smith (203) remarks, the Scottish lowlands, like the Shĕphēlah, are not entirely plain, but have their groups and ranges of hills.

SHEPHER (שֶׁפֶר), Nu. 33 23 *f.*, AV SHAPHER.

SHEPHERD OF HERMAS. Under the name of Ποιμήν (*Pastor*, 'Shepherd'), with which from an early date the name of Hermas came to be connected, a book of some size, originally written in Greek, has come down to us from Christian antiquity. At one time greatly read, and even for a while regarded as canonical, it afterwards fell very much into the background without, however, being wholly lost sight of.

1. Name: transmission of text.

The Greek text, though still without the concluding portion *Sim.* ix. 30 3-x., was first brought to light comparatively recently (1856). A Latin version, the Vulgate, was published as early as 1513 by Faber Stapulensis; an Ethiopic by Anton d'Abbadie in 1860. Ever since Cotelier's time (1672) the work has been wont to be included in editions of the so-called Apostolic Fathers. We now know the Greek text of *Vis.* i.-*Mand.* iv. 3 6*a* from the Codex Sinaiticus edited by Tischendorf in 1862; the contents of the rest of the work (apart from the concluding portion already spoken of, and certain lacunæ) from the so-called Athos MS of which three leaves are now in the University Library at Leipsic (since 1856) and six still remain in the Monastery of Gregory on Mt. Athos; that of *Sim.* 2 7-10 4 2-5 from an old papyrus now in Berlin, formerly at Fayyûm, described by U. Wilcken in 1891; that of other fragments, we have known for a longer period from the citations of ancient writers.

Valuable help can also be obtained throughout from two Old Latin versions, the Vulgate and (since Dressel, 1857) the Palatine, as also from the Ethiopic. For the establishment of the original text, since the edition of Anger and Dindorf, 1856, who at first were led astray by Simonides (afterwards proved to be a forger) but were ultimately put upon the right track by Tischendorf, as he in his turn was corrected by Lipsius, specially meritorious services have been rendered by A. Hilgenfeld, 1866(2), 1881(3), 1887; O. de Gebhardt, 1877; J. Armitage Robinson, *A Collation of the Athos Codex of the Shepherd of Hermas*, 1888; F. X. Funk, *Patres Apost.*,(2) 1901.

2. Division.

The *Shepherd*, in view of its contents, is usually divided into three parts, entitled respectively (1) Visions, (2) Commandments, (3) Similitudes. The printed editions, in fact, all follow each other in giving five Visions, twelve Commandments, and ten Similitudes. This division, however, is hardly accurate, and it would be better to say that the book in the form in which it has come down to us consists of Visions (Ὁράσεις) or Revelations (Ἀποκαλύψεις) of which the first (*Vis.* 1 1) can be regarded as an introduction to those immediately following (*Vis.* 1 2-4) and the last (*Vis.* 5) as an introduction to the immediately following series of Commandments and Similitudes (*αἱ ἐντολαὶ καὶ παραβολαί*: *Mand.* 1-12, *Sim.* 1-8) to which is added an appendix called 'The rest' (*τὰ ἕτερα*; *Sim.* 9) and a conclusion (*Sim.* 10).

3. Form and contents.

So far as the form of the book is concerned, Hermas, a former slave of a certain Rhoda in Rome to whom his father had sold him, and who had afterwards come into the service of the Christian church, now comes forward as a writer, relating certain things that have happened to him and what he has seen and heard—or, in a word, what has been revealed to him.

As he was walking outside the city 'to the villages,'—*εἰς κώμας*, as the Greek text has it, for which the printed editions, after a conjecture of Dindorf, wrongly read *εἰς Κούμας*, 'to Cumæ'—he falls asleep and there appears to him the woman whose slave he formerly had been and whom he had not been able to seek in marriage (*Vis.* 1 1). Afterwards the church appears to him at longer or shorter intervals (a year, or less); first in the form of an old woman (*Vis.* 1 2-4; cp 3 10-11), next with a more youthful aspect (*Vis.* 2; cp 3 12); again, as quite young (*Vis.* 3 1-10; cp 13); finally, as a maiden in wedding attire (*Vis.* 4).

She reveals to him the future and expounds with regard to it the will of God. She gives instructions and shows visions which

have reference to the necessity for repentance while yet the building of the tower, symbolising the church, is still unfinished, or rather suspended for a while—in other words while yet God affords the opportunity to repent, an opportunity which ere long will cease with the coming of the last great persecution. After these revelations (*Vis.* 1-4) Hermas relates how the angel of repentance appears to him in the form of a shepherd, as previously (*Vis.* 2 4 3 10) in that of a young man, and bids him write down 'commandments and similitudes' (*Vis.* 5). The twelve commandments which follow relate to faith in God; a life void of offence, full of compassion, love of truth; chastity; long suffering; our attendant angels, good and bad; the fear of the Lord; abstinence from all that is evil; prayer without ceasing and with unwavering confidence; two kinds of sadness; two kinds of spirit; two kinds of desire (*Mand.* 1-12). The eight similitudes which follow teach us how here we have no continuing city; how the rich can be helped by the prayer of the poor; how the righteous and the wicked cannot at first be discriminated, but will ultimately be separated (*Sim.* 1-4); how useful fasting is; how good it is to keep far aloof from luxury and temptation; how indispensable is chastening; how many are the varieties of saint and sinner (*Sim.* 5-8). Next, by way of appendix, is set forth in new images that which the Holy Spirit that spoke with Hermas in the form of the church had showed him. They are revelations vouchsafed to him by the Shepherd, the angel of repentance, with reference to those who are saved (*Sim.* 9). To round off the whole, yet a further earnest admonition is given by the angel who had sent the shepherd; a last exhortation to repentance in accordance with the precepts of the now completed work (*Sim.* 10).

The form in which the whole is clothed, far from being simple or natural, is artificial in the highest degree. It sets out, apparently, with the intention of relating what has passed between two known persons, Rhoda and Hermas. The names are reminiscent of a Christian woman Rhoda, mentioned in Acts 12 13, and of a Christian slave at Rome, Hermas, mentioned in Rom. 16 14. Here they become representatives, the one (Rhoda) of the church in various successive forms, the other as one devoted to her service, and one of her followers and members. 'Hermas' soon goes on to speak with poetic freedom like a Paul, a James, a John, a Barnabas, a Clement, an Ignatius, a Polycarp, in the epistles handed down to us under their names, as if he were the recognised elder and faithful witness addressing himself with words of warning and admonition to his 'house,' his 'children.'

4. The form artificial.

The original unity of the work in its present form, although frequently called in question since Hase (1834), cannot be denied. Even less, however, can the existence of inconsistencies and contradictions and other marks of interpolation, adaptation, and redaction be disputed. These point to it having been a composite work made up from earlier documents. Not in the sense (so Hilgenfeld, 1881; Hausleiter, 1884; Baumgärtner, 1889; Harnack, 1897) of its being a combination, effected in one way or another, of two separate works, entitled respectively 'Visions' and 'Commandments' and 'Similitudes' by one author, or by more than one; nor yet (so Johnson, 1887; Spitta, 1896; von Soden, 1897; Völter, 1900; van Bakel, 1900) in the sense of its being the outcome of repeated redactions of an originally Jewish writing. Rather in the sense of being a second edition of the original *Shepherd*, a bundle of 'Commandments and Similitudes' from the pen of but one writer who laboured on the whole independently, yet at the same time frequently borrowed from the books which he had before him. It is not possible to distinguish throughout between what he borrowed from others and what we ought to regard as his own.

5. Unity and composition.

The writer, who comes forward as if he were an older Hermas, the contemporary of Clement (*Vis.* 2 4 3), must not be identified with him of Rom. 16 14 nor yet with a younger one, brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome 140-155, who is referred to in the Muratorian fragment. The real name of the author remained unknown. From his work it can be inferred that he was an important member, perhaps even a ruler, of the Christian church, probably in Rome. A practical man. No Paulinist, nor yet a Judaiser in the Tübingen sense, but rather a professsor, little interested in the dogma of the Christianity that was already in process of becoming Catholic, in the days when it was grappling with the ideas and movements that had originated with Montanus. One who attached much value to revelations and yet was very particularly in earnest about the need for quickening, for the spiritual renewing of the Church, for which reason he laid peculiar stress upon the possibility of a second conversion. This possibility would ere long come to an end at the close of the present period; even now many were denying it as regarded those who once had received baptism, though others hoped to be able continually afresh to obtain the forgiveness of their sins. There is nothing that indicates the merchant supposed by Harnack-Hilgenfeld.

6. Author.

In date the author is earlier than Eusebius, Athanasius, Origen, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, Irenæus, but later than the apostles and their first followers, the martyrs and leaders of the church, such individuals as 'Hermas' and 'Clement' (*Vis.* 2 4 3). Later than the first great and flourishing time of the church (the history of which can already be divided into different periods, and the spiritual renovation of which, in conjunction with the revived expectation of Christ's second coming is regarded as imperatively needful); in the days when the spiritual life of Christians was being stirred by Montanistic movements. Therefore, certainly earlier than 180 A.D.; yet not much earlier, nor yet much later, than about the middle of the second century. Perhaps some chronological truth may underlie the tradition that 'Hermas' was a 'brother' of Pius I. (140-155 A.D.).

7. Date.

The work was from the first intended for reading aloud at the assemblies of the church whether in larger or in smaller circles (*Vis.* 2 4 3). Its value, at first placed very high from the point of view of the interests of edification, but afterwards almost wholly lost sight of in Christian circles, has in recent years in spite of the diffuseness of its contents come anew to be recognised. Not to be despised as a praiseworthy production in the field of edifying literature it is still more to be prized as a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the Christianity that was widely spread and held as orthodox about the middle of the second century.

8. Purpose and value.

9. Literature.

A. *Editions.*—F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*,(2) with prolegomena and notes,(1) 1901; also (in shorter form) *Apost. Väter*, 1901; O. de Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Hermæ Pastor* (=*Patr. Apost. Opera*, iii.), 1877, with introduction and notes; also in smaller edition,(4) 1901. Cp above; also CANON, §§ 65, 72; PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 31; HERMAS.

B. *Translations.*—English: Roberts, Donaldson, and Crombie, in *Apostolic Fathers* in Ante-Nicene Library, 1867; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1891. German: J. C. Mayer, 1869. Dutch: Duker and van Manen, *Oud-Christel. Lett.: geschriften der ap. Vaders*, with introduction and notes, i. 1871.

C. *Discussions.*—In addition to those already referred to, see G. Krüger, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.* 1895, § 12, and 'Nachträge,' 1897, p. 12; Th. Zahn, *Der Hirt Hermas*, 1868; also *Einl. i. d. NT* 1,(2) 1900, pp. 298, 430-8, 2 104, 154; J. M. S. Baljon, *Gesch. v. d. Bb. de NVs.* 1901, p. 451; G. Uhlhorn, *s.v.* 'Hermas' in *PRE*(3) 7 (1899) 714-718; C. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, 1892 (cp van Manen, *Th.T*, 1893, pp. 180-194); A. Hilgenfeld, 'Hermæ Pastor' *Novum Testamentum extr. Can. rec.*,(2) 1881, (3) 1887; P. Baumgärtner, *Die Einheit des Hermas-Buchs*, 1889 (cp van Manen, *Th.T*, 1889, pp. 552-550); E. Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. d. Urchristentums*, 2, 1896, pp. 241-437; A. Harnack, *Chronol.* 1897, 1 257-267, 437-8 (cp H. von Soden, *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 584-7); D. J. E. Völter, *Die Visionen des Hermas, die Sibylle u. Clemens von Rom*, 1900; H. A. van Bakel, *De Compositie van den Pastor Hermæ*, 1900.

W. C. v. M.

SHEPHO (שְׁפוֹ), b. Shobal, b. SEIR: Gen. 36 23 (σωφ [A], σωφαν [*D*L], σωρ [E]) = 1 Ch. 1 40 **Shephi** (שְׁפִי; σωβ [B], σωφαρ [A], σαπφει [L]). 𝔊[DL]'s reading in Gen. suggests comparison with SHEPHUPHAM (-AN). Cp also SHUPPIM, SHAPHAN.

SHEPHUPHAM, AV **Shupham** (שְׁפוּפָם: see SHEPHUPHAN), a son of BENJAMIN (§ 9 [i.]) in Nu. 26 39†, with patronymic SHUPHAMITE (*q.v.*) (שׁוּפָמִי; σωφαν,

δημος ο cωφανει [B] . . . cωφανι [AF], coφαn . . . coφανι [L]).

SHEPHUPHAN (שְׁפוּפָן, § 75 ; Gray, *HPN* 95, but the suggestion 'serpent' may be as fallacious as that of 'rock-badger' for SHAPHAN ; another form is SHEPHUPHAM), b. Bela, b. BENJAMIN (§ 12), 1 Ch. 8 5 (cωφαρφακ [B], cωφαn και αχιρα [A], ceπφαm [L]). Cp AHIRAM, SHEPHO, SHUPHAM, SHUPPIM, SHAPHAN.

SHERAH, or rather, as RV, SHEERAH (שֶׁאֱרָה, caapa [A], capaa [L]; 𝔊^B [en ekeinoic toic katαλοιποιc] and Pesh. connect with שׁאר, Niphal 'to be left'), a 'daughter' of EPHRAIM (§ 12) (1 Ch. 7 24*a*) who 'built' the two Beth-horons and UZZEN-SHERAH (1 Ch. 7 24*b*, אֻזֵּן שֶׁאֱרָה, RV UZZEN-SHEERAH).

In *v.* 24*b* 𝔊^L gives ηρσααδρα (for ηρσααρα?). 𝔊^BA makes Shera (σεηρα) and Rephah (*v.* 24) sons of οζαν (Uzzen).

Conder suggests, as the site, Bēt Sīrā, a village 2 m. SW. of the Lower Beth-horon (*Mem.* 3 16). But can we implicitly trust the name? [The name Ephraim fixed itself not only in central but also in southern Palestine, where it is perhaps more original, and some of the names in the genealogy have an unmistakable N. Arabian affinity. Sheerah may, therefore, be a corruption of אשׁחר 'Ashḥur,' which turns out to be a N. Arabian tribe-name (cp Geshur). Heres in 'Ir-heres' (see HERES, MOUNT) seems to have the same origin (*Crit. Bib.*).—T. K. C.] For אזן (Uzzen) we should probably (cp 𝔊^L) substitute עיר 'city,' and refer to Judg. 1 35. Cp EPHRAIM, § 12. Beth-shemesh or Ir-shemesh is a curiously parallel name, if 'shemesh' comes from 'cūshīm' (see SHAALBIM). See, however, NAMES, § 99, where 'ear (=earlike projection) of Sheerah' is suggested as the possible meaning of Uzzen-sheerah ; cp AZNOTH-TABOR.

SHEREBIAH (שֵׁרֵבְיָה, § 39, but form seems doubtful, σαραβια[s]), a post-exilic priest and family (Ezra 8 18 ἀρχήν [BA], ἐν ἀρχῇ σαρουια [L], *v.* 24 σαραια [BA], Neh. 8 7 9 4 αραβια [B, where σαραβια represents SHEBANIAH, σαραβαια [A], 9 5 om. 𝔊^BℵA, 10 12 [13] ζαραβια [B], ζαθαρια [ℵ*vid.], 12 8). In 1 Esd. 8 47 the name appears as ASEBEBIA, RV ASEBEBIAS (ασεβηβιαν [BA], ἐν ἀρχῇ σαρουια [L]), cp HASHABIAH, 7 ; in *v.* 54, ESEBRIAS RV ESEREBIAS (εσερεβιαν [BA]), and 1 Esd. 9 48, SARABIAS, σαραριας [A*vid.]. Many of the companion-names on the lists are obviously ethnics (Che.). See SHEBER.

SHERESH (שֶׁרֶשׁ ; coυpoc [B], copoc [A], φopoc [L]), a Machirite name in a genealogy of MANASSEH (§ 9 [ii.]) ; 1 Ch. 7 16.† See PERESH.

SHEREZER (שַׂרְאֶצֶר), Zech. 7 2 AV, RV SHAREZER, 2.

SHERIFFS (תִּפְתָּיֵא, 𝔊 τοὺς ἐπ' ἐξουσιῶν κατὰ χώραν, οἱ ἐπ' ἐξουσ. [also Theod.]), EV's rendering of a Bibl.-Aram. official title (such at least is the prevailing opinion) in Dan. 3 2 *f.* It has been generally connected with the Ar. *aftā* 'to advise' (whence the participial 'mufti'), and accordingly translated 'counsellor' (cp RV^mg., 'lawyers'). A still more far-fetched suggestion is to read הפתיא = ὕπατοι 'consuls'; for the ת instead of ט Grätz (*MGWJ* 19 347) compares פסנטרין = ψαλτήριον. Another scholar says, 'possibly a mutilated form of a Pers. title in *pat* "chief"' (Bevan, *Dan.* 80), and Andreas (Marti, *Gram. Bibl.-Aram.*, Glossary) suggests דנפתיא *denpĕtāyē*, 'chiefs of religion.' Nor does this exhaust the list of theories.

Can no step in advance be taken? Only by those who recognise that many narratives in the OT have been remodelled, so far as the geographical and historical background is concerned. It will become probable to any who adopt the present writer's theory that the supposed official tittles in Dan. 3 2 are really N. Arabian ethnics. One of these ethnics (אשחורי, Ashḥurite, miswritten אחשררי) passed, under the editor's hands, into אחשדרפניא] (see SATRAPS). Another (רחבתי, Rehobothite) appears three or four times in corrupt variants. The last of these variants תפתיא has probably come from רחבתיא through the intermediate form, which occurs earlier in MT's list, פחותא. 'All the rulers of the province' is, of course, an editorial insertion, the incorrectness of which is shown by *v.* 4, where the herald addresses 'peoples, nations, and languages.' Cp SATRAPS. T. K. C.

SHESHACH (שֵׁשַׁךְ, as if 'humiliation,' cp שכך 'to crouch') is generally explained as a cypher-form of 'Bābel' (Babylon), which indeed is given instead of 'Sheshach' by Tg. (Jer. 25 26 51 41). In Jer. 25 26 the whole clause, and in 51 41 'Sheshach,' is omitted in 𝔊 (Q^mg. adds in 25 26, καὶ βασιλεὺς Σησαχ πίεται ἔσχατος αὐτῶν, and in 51 41 inserts ὁ εισακ) ; Cornill follows 𝔊, and so too Giesebrecht in 51 41, whereas in 25 26 this scholar retains 'Sheshach,' but regards *vv.* 25 *f.* as an interpolation. But would a late glossator acquainted with the Athbash cypher (in which א = ת, ב = ש, etc.) have used it in interpolating a prophecy ascribed to Jeremiah? and what reason was there for using a cryptogram? 'Explication désespérée assurément' (Renan, *Rapport annuel de la soc. asiatique*, 1871, p 26). As to 51 41, there can be no doubt that 'Sheshach' should be omitted ; it mars the beauty of the elegiac metre (see LAMENTATION). To prove this let us put 50 23 and 51 41, both elegiac passages, side by side :—

(*a*) How is cut asunder and broken | the whole earth's hammer!
How is become a desolation | Babylon among the nations!

(*b*) How is [Sheshach] taken and surprised | the whole earth's praise!
How is become a desolation | Babylon among the nations!

As to Jer. 25 26, we must view the passage in connection with the whole list of peoples in *vv.* 18-26, and carefully criticise the text. The list begins with Judah. Next comes Miṣrim (so read ; cp MIZRAIM), Arabia, Zarephathim, . . . Edom, Moab, Ammon, Miṣṣur (a repetition, hid under 'Tyre and Zidon'), Dedan, Tema, Buz, Zarephathim, Arabia (thrice), Cushanim, Zimri (=Zimran), Jeraḥmeel (Elam and Madai), Zaphon, Jeraḥmeelim, Cush-jerahmeel (repetitions) ; then at the close something which by editorial manipulation became 'and the king of Sheshach (?) shall drink after them.'

The view of Lauth that 'Sheshach' is a Hebraisation of Šiška, a Babylonian district which gave its name (?) to an ancient Babylonian dynasty, according to Pinches's reading (but see Pinches himself, *TSBA*, 1881, p. 48), is untenable. Winckler (*GBA* 67 *f.* 328 ; *AOF* 1 275 *ff.*), and Sayce (*RP*(2) 1 13) read Uru-azagga. The Athbash theory is equally wrong. On this and on similar cyphers see Hal. *Mél.* 245 (his theory is peculiar); and cp LEB-KAMAI. T. K. C.

SHESHAI (שֵׁשַׁי, § 58, cp SHASHAI ; cec[c]ει [BFL]), one of the b'ne Anak, perhaps an old Hebronite clan-name (Nu. 13 22 cemει [A], Josh. 15 14 coυcει [BL], -αι [A], Judg. 1 10 † γεθθι [A]) ; see ANAKIM. Sayce (*Crit. Mon.*(1) 204) combines the name with *Šasu* √שסה (the Egyptian name for the Syrian Bedouins). But 𝔊^BL in Josh. 15 14, and the fact that סוס is frequently miswritten כוש, may suggest 'Cushi' (כושי) ; 'Anak' itself may come from 'Amalek' = 'Jerahmeel' (Che.). See, however, SHESHAN, JERAHMEEL, § 2*β*.

SHESHAN (שֵׁשָׁן, § 58 ; some MSS. שישן [Kenn.] ; cωcαm, cωcαn [B], cωcαn [A], cιcαn [L]), whose daughter married his servant JARHA (*q.v.*) and became the head of an interesting genealogical list (1 Ch. 2 34-41). See JERAHMEEL, § 2 *f.* The names may contain authentic tradition (Gray, *HPN* 234 *f.*) ; at all events, it is quite independent of the (possibly tribal) genealogy in *vv.* 25-33 (cp *v.* 33*b*), where Sheshan appears as the son of Ishi and father of Aḥlai (*v.* 31). The natural presumption that AHLAI was his daughter has no evidence to support it. Indeed, since it is probable that Jarḥa was not so much an 'Egyptian' as a Muṣrite, and since the name Sheshan is reminiscent of the old Hebronite SHESHAI [*q.v.*], it may be conjectured that we have here an allusion to the introduction of Hebronite and Muṣrite blood into the Jeraḥmeelites (see HEBRON).[1] Whether,

[1] That is to say, the fact that the Jeraḥmeelites married into the older inhabitants of Hebron, is expressed in genealogical fashion by saying that Jarḥa married a 'daughter of Sheshan' (cp DAUGHTER, GENEALOGIES i., § 1). It is possible that Sheshan (in spite of the philological difficulty) may have been connected with *šasu* (√שסה), the Egyptian designation for Bedouins (cp EDOM, § 2).

indeed, 'Jarḥa' was supposed to be etymologically akin to Jeraḥmeel (as a hypocoristicon) is a matter for conjecture. S. A. C.

SHESHBAZZAR (שֵׁשְׁבַּצַּר, § 83; ϲαϲαβαϲϲαροϲ [A, in Ezra 5 16 -αρ'], σαβασαρης [L]; but B in Ezra 1 8 σαβανασαρ, 5 14 βαγασαρ *ib.* 16 σαρβαγαρ. In 1 Esd. 2 12 15 SANABASSAR, σαναμασσάρῳ, σαμανασσάρου [B], σαναβάσσαρος, σαμα. [A], σασαβαλασσαρος [L], *ib.* 6 18 20; SANABASSARUS, σαβανασσαρος [B in *v.* 18], βασσάρῳ, σαμαβασσάρον, B *v.* 20, A, L, σασαβαλάσσαρος, -ης), the first governor of Judah under the Persians, Ezra 1 8 11 5 14 16†.

Van Hoonacker (*Acad.*, Jan. 30, 1892, *Nouvelles Études*, 94 *f.*) acutely explained the name as = Bab.

1. Name. Šamaš-bil(or -bal?)-uṣur—*i.e.*, 'O Sun-god protect the son'; cp Σαοσδουχῖνος (see ADRAMMELECH). So Che. *Acad.*, Feb. 6, 1892, Wellhausen (1894), and doubtfully Guthe (1899). But the Greek forms point to the name of the Moon-god Sin as the first element in the name. The only difficulty in this view is the ש for Ass. *s*; but this is hardly insuperable. Accepting 𝕲's form Sanabassar for Sheshbazzar we are enabled to accept the very plausible identification of San(a)bassar with Shenazzar (1 Ch. 3 18), first proposed by Imbert (1888-89), and accepted by Sir H. Howorth, Renan, and Ed. Meyer (*Ent. des Jud.* 77 *ff.*). Upon this hypothesis San(a)bassar was not identical with Zerubbabel (so van Hoonacker, Wellhausen), but his uncle and predecessor. That SANBALLAT (*q.v.*) and the first governor of the Jews should have had names compounded with Sin would be a striking coincidence. But though this may have been the learned redactor's meaning, it is doubtful whether the original narrator intended it. The chief captivity may have been in N. Arabia. In this case the first part of the name Sheshbazzar would represent כוש (Cush in N. Arabia); the second part might possibly come from צרפת (Zarephath). Cp SHENAZZAR, ZERUBBABEL.

In Ezra 1 8 Sheshbazzar is called loosely 'prince of Judah' (נָשִׂיא לִיהוּדָה); in 5 14 he is called 'governor'

2. Notices. (פֶּחָה), the same title which is given to Zerubbabel in Haggai (1 1 14 2 2 21). He is said to have received from Cyrus's official the sacred vessels which Nebuchadrezzar had taken away with a charge to deposit them in the temple at Jerusalem when it had been rebuilt. In 5 16 TATTENAI (*q.v.*) mentions that the foundations of the temple had been laid by Sheshbazzar. Kosters (*Herstel*, 33) admits that he is probably a historical personage, and that he bears a Babylonian name, but thinks that he was a Persian, and that the Chronicler introduces a Shenazzar into the genealogy of Zerubbabel from interested motives. That Sheshbazzar brought back the sacred vessels, and laid the foundations of the temple, Kosters denies. On the two latter points see *Intr. Is.* pp. xxxv, 281 *f.*, but bearing in mind the possibility that different views of the land of the captivity and of the circumstances attending the gradual lightening of the burdens of the Jews may have been taken by the narrator and the redactor respectively. But cp Meyer, *Ent. des Jud.*, pp. 75 *ff.*; Guthe, *GVI* 245; Winckler, *KAT*(3) 285, with references (Sheshbazzar a son of Jehoiachin); and see EZRA AND NEHEMIAH [BOOKS], § 7.

The identification of Sheshbazzar and Shenazzar (Shen'aṣṣar) is questioned by Löhr (*Theol. Rundschau*, 1 181 *ff.*), but justified by Ed. Meyer (*ZATW* 18 343 *f.*), who refers to the different pronunciation of the sibilants in Assyrian and Babylonian, and explains the differences in the reproduction of these names by differences of pronunciation. T. K. C.

SHETH (שֵׁת, ϲηθ). 1. Nu. 24 17†, regarded by AV, RVmg., 𝕲, Vg., Pesh., as a proper name, on the assumption that Seth the son of Adam is intended; this is in fact the old Jewish tradition—the 'sons of Sheth' are the 'sons of men' (Onk.), the 'armies of Gog' (ps.-Jon.). The assumption is untenable; but at any rate Sheth must be a proper name. The sceptre of Israel, we are told, 'shall smite the temples of Moab, and the crown of the head of all the sons of Sheth.' The name might come from the Suti, the Syrian Bedouins mentioned in the Amarna Tablets. But in the parallel passage, Jer. 48 45, we find שָׁאוֹן for שֵׁת, and this suggests כּוּשָׁן, 'Cushan' (cp *Crit. Bib.* on Am. 2 2). For מוֹאָב, 'Moab,' read probably מִצּוּר, 'Miṣṣur' (cp MOAB, § 14). The Miṣrites or Cushites were among Israel's chief foes. Most, however, with Dillmann, interpret שֵׁת (שֵׁאת?) in the sense of 'tumult' (so RV).

2. 1 Ch. 1 1, RV SETH (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

SHETHAR (שֵׁתָר), in Esth. 1 14, MT, one of the 'seven princes' at the court of Ahasuerus. 𝕲's ϲαρϲαθαιοϲ [BℵL$^{\beta}$], ϲαρεϲθεοϲ [A] seems to represent both SHETHAR and TARSHISH. According to Marquart (*Fund.* 69), Shethar comes from שרשתי, with which, however, compare the O. Pers. *šiyātis* 'joy.' This presupposes the accepted view that the scene of the Esther-story was always laid in Persia, and that consequently the names may be expected to have a Persian appearance. For another explanation see PURIM, § 3, and cp TARSHISH.

SHETHAR-BOZNAI, RV SHETHAR-BOZENAI (שְׁתַר בּוֹזְנַי, ϲαθαρβουζανα, -αν [B], -ναι, -νε [A], θαρβουζαναιοϲ [L]). The name of a Persian (?) official, mentioned with Tattenai, Ezra 5 3 6 6 6 13 1 Esd. 6 3 (σαθραβουζανης [BA], -βωζ. [L]) 7 (-βουρζ. [B], -βουζ. [A], -βωζ [L]) 6 27 7 1 (-βουζ. [BA], -βωζ. [L]), AV SATHRABUZANES. Four explanations may be mentioned; the fourth assumes that underlying the present narrative there is an earlier story of the relations between the Jews and the *N. Arabian* governors.

(1) Shethar-boznai may be a corruption of מתרבוזני = Μιθροβουζάνης, Old Pers. 'Mithrobauzana'—*i.e.*, 'having redemption through the Mithra.'[1] (2) Marquart takes a different view (*Fund.* 53 *f.*). He equates שתר with Old Pers. *Çithra* ('seed,' 'brilliance') and quotes names compounded with this word.[2] (3) Winckler (*Kohut Semitic Studies*, 34 *f.*), however, considers that שתר בוזני may be the title of an official (*e.g.*, chief clerk of the chancery), and compares the inscription on a weight from Abydos, where סתרא כספא is attested as such a title. In this case, for שתר we must read סתר. But the second part of the title seems incorrectly transmitted. Winckler's reason is that ש׳ ב׳ is not followed, as we should have expected, by a description of the office of the person so called. (4) Upon the theory mentioned above, it is at any rate possible that שתר comes from תרשיש (TARSHISH [*q.v.*]), the original of which may be אַשּׁוּרִי, and בוזני from כּוּשָׁנִי. 'Asshurite' and 'Cushanite' are two N. Arabian ethnics, used perhaps as personal names. See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

SHEVA (שְׁוָא). 1. b. Caleb b. Hezron, the 'father' of MACHBENA (1 Ch. 2 49; σαου [B], -λ [A], σουε [L]).

2. 2 S. 20 25 (Ktb. שְׁיָא); see SERAIAH (1).

SHEWBREAD (לֶחֶם הַפָּנִים), *léḥem hap-pānīm*, lit. 'bread of the face' or 'presence-bread' (RVmg.). See SACRIFICE, §§ 14, 34*a*; RITUAL, § 2; TEMPLE, § 16, and ALTAR, § 10 (8).

𝕲 ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου (1 S. 21 7 [6]), ἄ. [τῆς] προθέσεως (Ex. 40 23 [where לחם occurs alone], 2 Ch. 4 19), ἄ. τ. προσφορᾶς (1 K. 7 48), ἄ. ἐνωπίους (Ex. 25 30); Vg. *panes propositionis*. With the exception of 1 K. (‖ 2 Ch. 4 19), and 1 S. only in P.

Other expressions are (*a*) *léḥem hat-tāmīd*, לחם התמיד, EV 'the continual bread' (Nu. 4 7 [P], οἱ ἄρτοι οἱ διὰ παντός); (*b*) *l. ham-ma'ărāketh*, 1 Ch. 9 32 (AVmg. 'bread of ordering'), *ma'ăréketh l.* 2 Ch. 13 11 (ἄ. τ. προθέσεως, Vg. as above); (*c*) *l. ḳōdeš*, 1 S. 21 5 ('hallowed [RV "holy"] bread'; ἄ. ἅγιοι).

Zimmern (*Beiträge zur Kenntniss der Bab. Rel.*, *Rituals-*

[1] So Andreas, in Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gram.* 87; E. Meyer, *Ent. d. Jud.* 32. Μιθροβουζάνης occurs in Arrian, i. 16 3, Diod. 31 22.

[2] In the address of the letter of 'Tattenai the governor beyond the river and Shethar-boznai' (Ezra 5 6), the verb in MT is in the sing., and the suffix in כְּנָוָתֵהּ is also sing. Marquart suggests that Shethar-boznai may have come in from the subscription.

tafeln, 94) includes among the constituent parts of a Babylonian sacrifice 'the laying of loaves' (*akalu*) before the deity. It was usual to present either 12 or (3×12) 36. The loaves were of some fine meal, perhaps wheat. They were called *akal mutḳi*, 'sweet loaves'—*i.e.*, unleavened.

SHIBAH (שִׁבְעָה), Gen. 26 33 RV, AV SHEBAH (*q.v.*).

SHIBBOLETH (שִׁבֹּלֶת), the word which the fugitive Israelites mispronounced, so falling into the trap set for them by the Gileadites (Judg. 12 6).

𝔊ᴮ renders εἰπὸν δὴ στάχυς. Being unable to reproduce the *sh* in *shibbōleth*, the translator chose στάχυς, where στ was found rather difficult to pronounce. ('And he said, Sibboleth,' remains untranslated.)

So the French betrayed themselves by their pronunciation of *ceci* and *ciceri* in the Sicilian vespers, 13th March, 1282 (Bertheau). An analogous story is related by Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 155). When the Druses came on to slay Ibrahim Pasha's troops, a grace was accorded to the Syrians in the force. 'O man, say *Gamel*.' Every Syrian answered *Jemel* (J as in French, whilst in parts of Egypt J is pronounced as G). So the Damascene soldiers were saved.

On the phonetic point involved in the narrative see Marquart *ZATW* 8 (1888) 151 *ff.*, and cp G. A. Cooke in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.*

SHIBMAH (שִׂבְמָה), Nu. 32 38 AV, RV SIBMAH (*q.v.*).

SHICRON, RV SHIKKERON (שִׁכְּרוֹן; (εις) σοκχωθ [B], (εις) ακκαρωνα [A], (εις) σαχαρωνα [L]; *Sechrona* [Vg.]), at the western end of the N. boundary of Judah, Josh. 15 11,† apparently between Ekron (ακκαρων) and Jabneel.

SHIELD. The most ancient defensive piece of armour was the shield, buckler, roundel, or target. The weapon varied greatly in make, form, and size, therefore bore a variety of names.

1. Terms.

1. *ṣinnāh*, צִנָּה (√צנן, 'preserve,' 'protect'); most commonly rendered θυρεός, θυραῖος, but also, some five times, ὅπλον, in the sense in which that word is used by the Greek historical writers; cp ὁπλίτης; Vg. *scutum*, but also, less properly, *clypeus*. This was a large shield which is commonly found in connection with spear, and was the shelter of heavily-armed infantry (1 S. 17 7 41 etc.); it is also used figuratively of Yahwè's favour and faithfulness. We hear of this shield being borne in front of the warrior by a **Shield-bearer** (נֹשֵׂא הַצִּנָּה; 1 S. 17 7 RV).

2. *māgēn*, מָגֵן (√גנן, 'cover,' 'defend'); most commonly rendered θυρεός, but also occasionally ἀσπίς and πέλτη, *scutum*. This was a buckler, or smaller shield, which, from a similar juxtaposition with sword, bow, and arrows, appears to have been the defence of the light-armed infantry and of chiefs; it is used figuratively also of the scales or scutes of leviathan; as a metaphor for a king or ruler (Ps. 89 18 [19] Hos. 4 18 Ps. 47 9 [10]), etc.

3. *sōḥērāh*, סֹחֵרָה, Ps. 91 4†. A doubtful word. A second word for 'shield' in the same line of the stanza is improbable. 𝔊 reads κυκλώσει—*i.e.*, יְסֹבְבֶךָּ, which Whitehouse and Che. *Ps.*(2) adopt.

4. *šèleṭ*, שֶׁלֶט. The derivation and meaning of this word are both obscure. In 2 S. 8 7 χλίδων (reading צְעָדָה?) and in ‖ 1 Ch. 18 7 κλοιός (also reading צְעָדָה?); in 2 K. 11 10 τρισσός [BA], δόρυ [L], but in ‖ 2 Ch. 23 9 ὅπλα (L δόρυ, ἄσπις, and ὅπλα); Cant. 4 4 βολίδες; Jer. 51 (28) 11 φαρέτρας.

5. *kīdōn*, כִּידוֹן. See JAVELIN, 5.

6. θυρεός, Eph. 6 16 (metaphorically, of faith).[1]

2. Form, etc.

Among the Hebrews, as among other peoples at an early stage of development (cp Evans, *Anc. Bronze Implements of Gt. Brit.* 343), shields were no doubt at first made of wicker-work, wood, or hide. The leather coverings would vary in thickness; a single hide, if suitably prepared, sometimes serving as well as a double. At a later date the wooden framework was bordered with metal. The partial employment of metal would soon suggest the discarding of wood almost (or quite) entirely.

[1] [To these, according to some (Baethgen, Kirkpatrick), should be added עֲגָלָה, *'ăgālāh*. In Ps. 46 9 [10], where MT has עֲגָלוֹת, properly 'waggons' [EV 'chariots'], 𝔊 has θυρεούς, and Tg. עֲגִילִין, 'shields.' But in Nu. 31 50, Ezek. 16 12 עָגִיל, *'āgīl*, means 'a ring,' and it is not probable that the Psalter should contain two words for 'shield' (see 3) found nowhere else in the OT. On the assumption that in Ps. 46 and elsewhere (see PSALMS, § 28) the Jeraḥmeelites or Edomites are the foes chiefly referred to, Cheyne (*Ps.*(2)) would read מגן ירחמאל; corrupt forms of ירח' often present נ instead of ח. Cp Ps. 76 3 [4], as restored in *Ps.*(2),

He has broken the quiver of Cusham,
The shield and the sword of Jeraḥmeel. T. K. C.]

In Egypt the shield 'was most commonly covered with bull's hide, having the hair outwards, like the *laseïon* of the Greeks, sometimes strengthened by one or more rims of metal, and studded with nails or metal pins, the inner part being probably wickerwork or a wooden frame, like many of those used by the Greeks and Romans, which were also covered with hide' (Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* 1 198 *f.*).

We may infer that the early Israelites—or at any rate the Canaanites—borrowed the forms in use in Egypt.[1] Their common shields would therefore be a kind of parallelogram, broadest and arched at the top and cut square beneath. They were of wood covered with leather; a late prophet (Ezek. 39 9) speaks of them as easily burned.

The *ṣinnah* was most likely what in the feudal ages would have been called a *pavise*, for such occurs on the Egyptian monuments. Sometimes such a weapon was above 5 ft. high.[2] An example of an Egyptian weapon of the kind is to be seen in Erman's picture (*Life in Anc. Egypt*, 524; see also Wilk. *Anc. Egypt.* 1 202) of a soldier of the Middle Empire. The body is not protected by other armour—a fact which suggests that in ancient times the shield was large in proportion as other defensive armour was lacking. This shield resembles a Gothic window in shape. Shields of such dimensions must have been made of light material. During a march they were, at any rate in the time of Rameses II., hung over the soldiers' backs (see Erman, 546). At a later date the Assyrian pikemen carried an 'enormous shield, sometimes round and convex, sometimes arched at the top and square at the bottom' (Masp. *Struggle of the Nations*, 627 *f.*). But the Assyrians had shields of all sizes. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 193 *f.*) found bronze shields at Nimroud. They were 'circular, the rim bending inwards, and forming a deep groove round the edge.' They had iron handles, 'fastened by six bosses or nails, the heads of which form an ornament on the outer face of the shield. The diameter of the largest and most perfect is 2 feet 6 inches.'

The lighter shields may perhaps have been soaked in oil (2 S. 1 21, but see col. 2334, and cp Löhr, *ad loc.*, Is. 21 5, yet see Duhm, who keeps the text, though declining the usual interpretation, and *Crit. Bib.*, where the text is criticised), 'in order that the weapons of the enemy might the more readily glide off them' (Dr. *TBS* 183). As to the source whence shields were procured, one must have recourse to conjecture. It has been suggested (Kitto, *Cycl.*) that 'hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and elephant skin shields may have been brought from Ethiopia, and purchased by the Israelites in the Phœnician markets; such small whale-skin bucklers as are still used by Arabian swordsmen would come from the Erythræan Sea.' In Nah. 2 4 shields 'made red' (with copper, according to Nowack) are spoken of; but the text is too doubtful to be trusted. Among the 'Hittites' one of the three occupants of a chariot bore a small shield with which he protected himself and the others (see CHARIOT, col. 729); on the other hand, the single chariot-soldier of Egypt had to

[1] In a picture of a 'Philistine' ship of war given by Maspero (*The Struggle of the Nations*, 701) the combatants carry small round shields. In the picture of the storming of Dapuru, the fortress of the Kheta, given in Erman (*Anc. Egypt*, 533), shields of various shapes and sizes are well illustrated.

[2] Cp Hewitt, *Ancient Armour in Europe*: 'besides the ordinary Northern shields, we sometimes find them represented of so large a size as to cover the whole person.' Hewitt points out that the same kind of shield is to be seen in Egyptian, Assyrian, and Indian monuments (77), and that 'the Chinese still (1855) use a large round shield of cane-wicker' (*ib.* note *m*).

protect himself as well as manage his chariot (Erman, *Anc. Egypt.* 550). During the Assyrian and Persian supremacy the Hebrews may have used the square, oblong, and round shields of those nations, and may have subsequently copied those of Greece and Rome. High personages might have shields of precious metals (1 S. 17 6 1 K. 14 27 [brass], 2 S. 8 7 1 K. 10 16 *f.* 14 26; cp 1 Macc. 14 24 15 18 [gold]; the exaggeration in 1 Macc. 6 39 cannot be added; shields partly of brass or gold seem to be intended).

3. Management. To facilitate their management the shields had a wooden or leathern handle, and they were often slung over the neck by a thong. With the larger kinds a testudo could be formed by pressing the ranks close together; and while the outside men kept their shields before and on the flanks, those within raised theirs above the head, and thus produced a kind of surface, sometimes as close and fitted together as a pantile roof, and capable of resisting the pressure even of a body of men marching upon it. We learn from Erman (529 *f.*) that when the soldiers of the first army of Amon [Amen] pitched their camp, they arranged their shields to form a great four-cornered enclosure.

To break the force of a blow, 'bosses' or ὀμφαλοί were attached; cp ἀσπίδες ὀμφαλόεσσαι (Hom. *Il.* 4 48). But whether such 'bosses' are really referred to in Job 15 26, where MT (and consequently EV) makes the wicked man 'run upon' God 'with the thick bosses of his bucklers,' בַּעֲבִי גַּבֵּי מָגִנָּיו, is, to say the least, doubtful. The whole verse has a suspicious aspect.

Shields were hung upon the battlements of walls (Ezek. 27 11, if the text is correct [but cp *Crit. Bib.*], Cant. 4 4 [?], cp 1 Macc. 4 57), and, as still occurs, chiefly above gates of cities by the watch and ward. In time of peace they were covered to preserve them from the sun, and in war uncovered; this sign was poetically used to denote coming hostilities, as in Is. 22 6 etc.

Besides the works mentioned above, use has been made in a few instances of the article 'Arms' in Kitto's *Bib. Cyclop.*

M. A. C.

SHIGGAION (שִׁגָּיוֹן), Ps. 7 1 (title). The traditional Jewish view (cp Aq. ἀγνόημα, Sym., Theod. ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας) connects it with שׁגה, *šāgāh*, 'to wander,' supposing an 'error' of David (see IGNORANCE, SINS OF) to be referred to,[1] whilst Rödiger, Ewald, Delitzsch, and others explain it as 'dithyramb' on the same etymological theory (𝔊BNAR simply ψαλμός). More plausible would be 'a prophetic rhythm' (שׁגע = שׁגה; cp Ar. *saj'a*, the rhyming prose of the Arabian kāhins or diviners).[2] Ps. 7, however, is not in the Hebrew or in the Arabian prophetic style, nor is its tone more prophetic than that of other psalms. Zimmern (*Busspsalmen*, 1; cp Hal. *Rev. Sém.*, 1894, p. 1) connects Shiggaion with *šigû*, the name of a class of Babylonian hymns; but *šigû* is properly 'vehement lamentation' (Del. *Ass. HWB*), a description which does not apply to Ps. 7.

In Hab. 3 1 the plur. **Shigionoth** (שִׁגְיֹנוֹת, Aq. Sym. [ἐπὶ] ἀγνοημάτων; Vg. [*pro*] *ignorantiis*; AVmg. 'variable songs or tunes') is plainly an error for שְׁמִינִית,[3] (see SHEMINITH, UPON). The clever suggestions of Grätz (שיר נגינת) and Wellhausen (נגינות) (cp 𝔊BNAQ, μετὰ ᾠδῆς; also, in Ps. Sol. 17, title) fail to do justice to the facts. Grätz neglects על; Wellhausen changes ש into נ, and gives נגינה a plur. form and a meaning to which it has no right (see NEGINAH, but cp HABAKKUK [BOOK], § 8).

T. K. C.

SHIHON (שִׁיאוֹן), Josh. 19 19 AV, RV SHION (*q.v.*).

SHIHOR OF EGYPT, RV **Shihor [The Brook] of Egypt** (1 Ch. 13 5, שִׁיחוֹר מִצְרַיִם [ἀπὸ] ὁρίων αἰγύπτου [BNAL]),

[1] See the Midrash, and cp Field, *Hex.*, *ad loc.*
[2] See Wellh. *Ar. Heid.*(1) 130; Hoffm. *ZATW* 3 89, and cp PROPHET, § 13. Hitzig on Ps. 7 1 makes the above comparison, but combines with it an arbitrary theory.
[3] גי (like ני) may proceed from an original מ.

or 'SHIHOR (RV THE SHIHOR), which is before [*i.e.*, eastward of] Egypt' (EV, Josh. 13 3, הַשִּׁיחוֹר אֲשֶׁר עַל־פְּנֵי מִצְרַיִם, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀοικήτου [יְשִׁימוֹן?] τῆς κατὰ πρόσωπον αἰγ. [BAL]), Is. 23 3, **Shihor** (שִׁחֹר; μεταβόλων = סֹחֵר [BNAQ]), Jer. 2 18 (שִׁחוֹר, γηων [BNAQ], σιωρ [Qmg.]).

The position of the Shihor question was until lately as follows. In Is. 23 3 Jer. 2 18 either the Nile, or more strictly (Frd. Del. *Par.* 311) the Pelusiac arm of the Nile, seemed evidently to be intended, which appeared to make it probable that in 1 Ch. 13 5 Josh. 13 3 also the reference was to the Nile. This required the assumption that both the Chronicler and R_D gave an idealistic extension to the SW. frontier of Canaan. It was urged, on the other hand, that in Nu. 34 5 Josh. 15 4 1 K. 8 65 2 K. 24 7 Is. 27 12 the S. or SW. frontier specified is the נַחַל מִצְרַיִם (MT), which is supposed to be the Wādy el-'Arīš (see EGYPT, RIVER OF), and according to Franz Delitzsch and Kautzsch-Socin this wady is also referred to in Gen. 15 18 as the נְהַר מִצְרַיִם (MT). Were there, then, two Shihors? Steuernagel removes the difficulty in part by reading המדבר, 'the desert' instead of השיחור, 'the Shihor' (see 𝔊), in Josh. 13 3, and Benzinger does the same for 1 Ch. 13 5 by supposing that a thoughtless scribe substituted שיחר for נחל מצרים (cp 1 K. 8 65)—*i.e.*, the Wādy el-'Arīš. In Is. 23 3 Jer. 2 18 the reference to the Nile has been pretty generally admitted. All that remained was to get a probable explanation for Shihor. The existence of the name SHIHOR-LIBNATH in the territory of Asher seemed to favour a Hebrew meaning; and it was thought that 'Shihor' might mean 'the dark-coloured turbid stream,' in allusion to the black mud of the Nile (cp the native name of Egypt, *Kēmet*, 'the black land,' EGYPT, § 1). Hommel, however, in 1897 (*AHT* 244), changed the position of the Shihor question, by showing that in all probability there was, to the SW. of Canaan, a land of Asshur or Shur, extending from the Wādy el-'Arīš to the region of Beersheba and Hebron, and pointed out the striking parallelism between 'the Shihor which is before מצרים' in Josh. 13 3 and 'Shur which is before מצרים' in Gen. 25 18. He even went so far as to explain גשור (Geshur) as 'simply a contraction of Gê-Ashûr or Gê-Shûr.' The present writer's investigations are in the main independent of those of Winckler and Hommel, though stimulated by the earlier writings of these scholars. He is of opinion that the true name of this region is neither Geshur nor Asshur but Ashḥur (out of which the other forms arose), and that Shiḥor is a cognate of this, also that Ashḥur, Asshur, or Geshur acquired a wider reference than Hommel has indicated.

The theory of the present writer is that this term occurs in many passages of the OT as practically synonymous with Jeraḥmeel, and we can well believe that the נחל מצרים (if this phrase may be taken to mean 'the wādy of Miṣrim'—*i.e.*, of the Arabian Muṣri), was also at an early period called the wādy of Ashḥur, and at a later time the wādy Shiḥor (a modification of Ashḥur, cp SHEHARIAH); between 1 Ch. 13 5 and 1 K. 8 65 there will, therefore, if these views are correct, be no inconsistency.

A fair estimate of this theory is only possible in connection with a thorough methodical study of the OT, or at least of the greater part of it, from the point of view indicated at the end of the article NAME. There is little reason to suppose (see *Crit. Bib.*) that the result will be adverse to the theory.

It should also be emphasised that the critical investigation here referred to supports the view that Winckler's explanation of the name מצרים as the N. Arabian Muṣri in the phrase נחל מצרים, and in a large number of passages besides those which contain this phrase, is correct. Hommel's more recent theory that מצור (*i.e.*, according to him, Moṣar or Maṣor) means Midian—*i.e.*, the NW. Arabian coast from Leukekome to 'Aḳabah, is closely akin to that of Winckler, who regards Muṣri as the name of a N. Arabian kingdom, in vassalage to the more powerful Minæan kingdom, and peopled by the race called Midian (cp *KAT*(3) 143).

We have still to ascertain whether Is. 23 3 and Jer. 2 18, critically regarded, are, or are not, consistent with the theory respecting Ashḥur, Asshur, or Geshur, stated

above. (*a*) Is. 23 3, as it now stands, is fairly rendered by RV :—

'And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile (יאור), was her revenue; and she was the mart (?) of nations.'

With the exception of Duhm all commentators have admitted that Shihor here means the Nile, though Dillmann noticed the awkwardness of the style here and elsewhere in the poem, which, together with the occurrence of 'Kaśdīm' (Chaldæans) in *v.* 13, suggested his theory that the original work (*vv.* 1-13) was recast by a later hand (cp *Intr. Is.* 139-143). Duhm, however, thinks that the writer means the Shihor on the S. border of Asher (see SHIHOR-LIBNATH), 'which, according to Gen. 49 20 (Ezek. 27 18), supplied Zidon with corn and the like.'

He regards יאור (no tin 𝔊) as an incorrect gloss. Duhm speaks of 'Zidon' rather than 'Tyre,' because צר in *vv.* 5 (?) 8 is, in his opinion, miswritten for צירון. Marti assents to this, but thinks that the gloss (יאור) is correct, and that 'Shihor,' after all, does mean the Nile. If, however, it is highly probable (see PROPHET, § 35 *ff.*) that the geographical names have been transformed by an editor in very many of the prophecies, it becomes at once probable that here, as elsewhere, צר should be מִצַּר, and צירון either סְרֵין or perhaps מִצּוּר. In this case we can hardly doubt that שִׁחֹר (Shihor), which is not understood by 𝔊 to be the name of a river, or even a proper name at all, should be either סחרים, 'merchants' (so 𝔊), or rather אַשְׁחוּר, 'Ashḥur.' תרשיש in *vv.* 1 6 10 has the same origin (see TARSHISH), whilst יאור presumably comes from יְעִיר. At any rate, the presence of שחר and סחר close together points to the existence of much uncertainty as to the right reading of the word which *underlies* both words.

(*b*) In Jer. 2 18 the prophet reproaches the Jews for being continually on the road to מצרים, 'to drink the water of Shihor,' and to Asshur, 'to drink the water of the river.' Most think that מצרים means 'Mizraim'—*i.e.*, Egypt—and that 'Asshur' is the great kingdom whose capital was Nineveh. But in the context (*v.* 16) we only read of the 'sons of Noph and Tahapanes.' Either then 'Asshur' is superfluous, or it denotes the same country as מצרים. In the latter case מצרים must mean the N. Arabian Muṣri, and נף ותחפנס ('Noph and Tahapanes' ?) must be corrupt.[1] Clearly this is preferable; the quatrain in *v.* 18 must not be mutilated. 'Shihor' and 'Asshur' are ultimately the same name, but 'Shihor' has already become differentiated from 'Asshur,' and means the נהר מצרים (Gen. 15 18).[2] That 𝔊 in *v.* 18 reads γηων (Gihon) instead of 'Shihor' is hardly of importance for textual criticism.

It does, however, prove that the Greek translator did not understand Shihor, and therefore substituted for it a name which, owing to a misinterpretation of Gen. 2 13 (where 'Cush' becomes 'Ethiopia'), he supposed to be a Hebrew name for the Nile. It is no objection to our exegesis that in *v.* 36 אשור is represented as distinct from מצרים, for in *v.* 18 the right reading probably is, not אשור (Asshur), but אשחור (Ashḥur).

The above is written independently of Hommel's later investigations (*Aufsätze*, 3 1 [1901]) as well as of Winckler's more recent writings. Hommel holds that in Josh. 13 3 and in 1 Ch. 13 5 'the Shihor' is inaccurately put for the 'naḥal Moṣar.' He derives 'Shihor' from 'Shiḥon,' which he identifies with Seiḥân, the Arabic name of one of the rivers of Paradise. The 'Gihon' is the 'river' (נהר) of Asshur (or as he points it, Ashur—*i.e.*, Edom); this he identifies with the Wādy Sirḥan (reckoned with the Euphratean stream region), the Ḥiddeḳel (as he thinks) of Gen. 2 14. Hommel's statements are criticised unsympathetically by König, *Fünf neue arabische Landschaftsnamen im AT beleuchtet* (1902). T. K. C.

SHIHOR-LIBNATH (שִׁיחוֹר לִבְנָת; CEIWN [B], C[E]IWP [AL], KAI ΛABANAΘ; *Sihor et Labanath*), apparently near Carmel on the S. boundary of Asher (Josh. 19 26†). The ancients, including Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 275 23 136 2), distinguished two places called respectively Shihor and Labanath. Since, however, SHIHOR [*q.v.*] occurs elsewhere only as the name of a river, the moderns prefer to take Shihor-libnath as a compound phrase meaning 'the Shihor of Libnath.' There may have been a place near called Libnath, and Hommel (*AHT* 243) ingeniously conjectures that the Asherites, who originally dwelt between Egypt and Judah (cp ASHER, § 1), called the stream which marked the S. boundary of their territory by the name of Shihor in memory of the Nile. 'SHIHOR' [*q.v.*], however, does not mean the Nile. It is more probable that just as כרמל (Carmel) comes (according to the present writer's theory) from ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel), so שיחור (Shiḥor) in Josh., as well as elsewhere, comes from אשחור (Ashḥūr), and that both names indicate that the sites called 'Carmel' and 'Shiḥor' had been originally occupied by Jeraḥmeelites and Ashḥurites (a distinction without a difference ?) respectively. There were probably other places called Ashḥur (Ḥeres, for instance [see HERES, MOUNT]); one of them was near Libnath, or belonged to a Laban or Libnah clan. See SHIHOR.

From the earlier point of view, Dillmann's identification of 'the [river] Shihor of Libnath' with the Nahr ez-Zerḳā (*i.e.*, 'the dark blue river,' a little to the N. of Cæsarea, appeared plausible (but cp Buhl, *Pal.* 105). J. D. Michaelis and Gesenius (*Thes.* 1393) thought of the river Belus (now Nahr Na'mān, S. of 'Akkā), from the fine sand of which, according to Pliny, glass (לבנה, 'transparence' ??) was made. T. K. C.

SHIKKERON (שִׁכְּרוֹן), Josh. 15 11 RV, AV SHICRON (*q.v.*).

SHILHI (שִׁלְחִי, § 52), apparently the name of the father-in-law of king Jehoshaphat, 1 K. 22 42 (CEMEEI [B], CAΛAΛA [A], CEΛEEI [L in 16 30], 2 Ch. 20 31 (CAΛEI [BA], CEΛEEI [L]), but really, as the CEMEEI of 𝔊[B] in 1 K. 22 42 (from CEΛEEIM = SHILHIM [*q.v.*]) shows, the name of the birthplace of Azubah, the king's mother. The majority, if not all, of the names of Jehoshaphat's brothers, together with his own, suggest a family connection with the Negeb. Cp HALLOHESH. T. K. C.

SHILHIM (שִׁלְחִים). A city of Judah 'towards the border of Edom,' Josh. 15 32 (CAΛH [B], CEΛEEIM [AL]). Perhaps the same as SHARUHEN (*q.v.*); cp also Shaaraim (Buhl, *Pal.* 185). Azubah, bath SHILHI (*q.v.*), was probably a native of Shilhim (see SHILHI). T. K. C.

SHILLEM (שִׁלֵּם), Gen. 46 24, **SHILLEMITES** (הַשִּׁלֵּמִי), Nu. 26 49; in 1 Ch. 7 13 SHALLUM, 7.

SHILOAH, WATERS OF (מֵי הַשִּׁלֹחַ), Is. 8 6. See SILOAM.

SHILOH (שִׁילוֹ, Judg. 21 21 Jer. 7 12, שִׁלוֹ, Judg. 21 19 1 S. 1 24 3 21 Jer. 7 12 14 26 9 41 5, but here 𝔊[BℵQ] σαλημ, 𝔊[A] σαλωμ, cp SALEM; Ps. 78 60; שִׁלֹה thirteen times; σηλω, -ωμ, -ων; Jos. σιλοῦς and σιλω).

A town of Ephraim, where the sanctuary of the ark was, under the priesthood of the house of ELI (*q.v.*).

1. Ephraimite town. According to 1 S. 3 3 15, this sanctuary was not a tabernacle, but a temple with doors. Josh. 18 1 [P], however, has it that the tabernacle was set up there by Joshua after the conquest. In Judg. 21 19 *f.* the yearly feast at Shiloh appears as of merely local character. Shiloh seems to have been destroyed by the Philistines after the disastrous battle of Ebenezer (cp Jer. 7 12 14 26 6 9; see ISRAEL, § 11). The position described in Judg. 21 19 (cp *OS* 152 1) gives certainty to the identification with the modern *Seilūn* lying some 2 m. ESE. of Lubban (Lebonah), on the road from Bethel to Shechem. Here there is a ruined village, with a flat, double-topped hill behind it, offering a strong position, which suggests that the place was a stronghold as well as a sanctuary. A smiling and fertile landscape surrounds the hill.

Cp PRIEST, § 2; *OTJC*(2) 268-271; L. W. Batten, 'The Sanctuary at Shiloh,' *JBL* 19 [1900] 29-33; Graf, *De templo Silonensi*; and Aug. Köhler, *Bibl. Gesch.* ii. 1 12 *f.* W. R. S.

[1] Read נפתח ירחמאל; see NAPHTUHIM.

[2] Even if the Wādy of Ashḥur and the Wādy of Muṣri were, strictly speaking, distinct, some laxity in a Hebrew writing is intelligible.

That there was a Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim, is undeniable. It is probable, however, that there was another place with at least a similar name, in Benjamin, which was confounded by later writers (Jer., Ps.) with the northern Shiloh.

2. Probable Benjamite town.

שילו, שלו, and שלה, are all regarded by the present writer as connected with שָׁאוּל (Shaul) and שָׁלִשָׁה (Shalishah), names of Edomite, or rather Jeraḥmeelite, origin, which were not confined to one part of the country. He sees reason to think that the names, both of Eli and of his two sons, connect Eli's family with the Jeraḥmeelites, and there is evidence in the genealogy of Samuel connecting his family with the same N. Arabian stock; indeed the name of Samuel (see SAUL, § 1) may appear identical with the Jeraḥmeelite name of Saul.

It is very possible that the sanctuary of the ark was in the Benjamite not in the Ephraimite Shiloh (or rather Shalishah?); also that in the original narrative from which Josh. 18 1 (cp 19 51 21 2 22 9 12) is derived, the place intended was Shalishah in Benjamin. We can now probably understand aright the statement in Judg. 18 31 that the shrine containing Micah's graven image remained 'all the time that the house of God was in שלה.' Laish or Dan was not improbably the famous city of Ḥalūṣah in the Negeb (see MICAH, § 2), and of course shared the fortunes of the sanctuary in Benjamin which contained the ark. The question also arises whether the enigmatical statement about the 'daughters of Shiloh' in Judg. 21 19 *ff.* does not really refer to a southern city. In SHILOH ii. it has been argued that in all probability שילה (EV Shiloh) in Gen. 49 10 has been corrupted out of לַיְשָׁה (Laishah), which in turn is a popular distortion of Ḥalūṣah. It is possible that the place near which, according to the narrative, the capture of wives was effected by the Benjamites was really Laishah—*i.e.*, Ḥalūṣah. The transformation of names in Judg. 21 19, which this theory presupposes, is not stranger than similar transformations which we have assumed elsewhere. Bethel is the southern Bethel—containing the sanctuary of Ḥalūṣah, Shechem should be Cusham (see SHECHEM), and Lebonah is a southern Libnah (cp Nu. 33 20 *f.*). Cp also MELCHIZEDEK.

Not only the names Eli, Hophni, Phinehas, but also Aḥitub, strongly favour the view that the family of Eli was Jeraḥmeelite, and to some extent make it natural to place the sanctuary of the ark in one of the territories known as Jeraḥmeelite. For אחיטוב (in accordance with types of corruption which we have often conjectured) is probably from רְחֹבוֹת, 'Reḥoboth,' or רְחֹבוֹתִי 'Rehobothite,' a view which is somewhat confirmed by the famous reading of 𝔊B in 1 S. 4 21, *ουαιβαρχαβωθ*, if we may take it (nearly as We., col. 2144) as אוֹי רְחֹבוֹת, 'Alas, Rehoboth!' It is, in fact, not improbable (as 1 S. 14 3 [see below] shows) that אי כבוד (Ichabod) and אחיטוב (Ahitub) are ultimately the same name. The corruption of רחבות into אחיטוב is not worse than many assumed corruptions, while the other corruption אי כבוד would be suggested by pious sentiment. Both corruptions, it will be noticed, imply the dropping out of ר from what we may assume as the *original* name—*i.e.*, אוי רחבות, 'Oi-rehoboth.' May we then assume that there was a Rehoboth close to the Shalishah in Benjamin where the sanctuary of the ark may be best supposed to have been? It is better to hold that 'Rehoboth' and 'Jeraḥmeel' were used as synonyms. A clan of N. Arabian origin might indifferently be called 'Reḥobothite' and 'Jerahmeelite' (see REHOBOTH). Thus an Ephraimite site for the sanctuary of the ark, though believed in by later writers, becomes more and more improbable.

1 S. 14 3 runs אחיה בן־אחיטוב אחי אי־כבוד בן־פינחס בן־עלי. There are many parallels for the view tnat אי כבוד is a variant to אחיטוב; אחי would be inserted as a link when the variant made its way into the text. Note the warning Paseḳ.

T. K. C.

SHILOH (שִׁילֹה; on versions see below), a proper name in EV of Gen. 49 10.

In the 'Blessing of Jacob' (Gen. 49 1-27; cp GENESIS, § 4, end) it is said—between the comparison of Judah to a lion, and the poetic description of the flourishing vine-culture in his territory—that 'the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be,' into which rendering of AV, however,

1. Text and versions.

RV introduces the alterations 'the ruler's staff' for 'a lawgiver' (transferred to RVmg.), 'obedience' for 'gathering,' and 'peoples' for the archaism 'people.' RVmg. also gives, 'Till he come to Shiloh, having the obedience of the peoples,' and records the ambiguous reading שֶׁלּוֹ. The Hebrew of MT is:—

לֹא יָסוּר שֵׁבֶט מִיהוּדָה
וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו
עַד כִּי־יָבֹא שִׁילֹה
וְלוֹ יִקְּהַת עַמִּים׃

Ginsburg gives as Ḳre שִׁילוֹ, which is a rare spelling of the place-name Shiloh, if it is not rather meant to signify 'his son,' see note.

A critical conspectus of the diverse interpretations of this passage would require many pages (for this we may refer to the special monographs).[1] We can only give such references to ancient or modern hypotheses as may save the student from committing himself to untenable or precarious views, and justify the offering of a new interpretation based upon a critical examination of the text, and confirmed by the study of some important historical passages elsewhere. It is not enough to rest in interpretations, however widely prevalent, which have an insecure textual basis; we are bound to attempt to lift the exegesis of this much disputed passage to a higher level, and to free it from the uncertainties of theological or semi-theological controversy.

The ancient renderings that chiefly concern us are:—

1. 𝔊 (and Theod.): *οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.* Several MSS have *ᾧ ἀπόκειται*, a few *ὃ ἀπόκειται αὐτῷ* or *ὃ ἀπόκειται*. The rendering *ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ* is one of the signs that the interpretation of the passage was influenced by Dt. 28 57. *προσδοκία* suggests the reading תִּקְוַת. On *τὰ ἀποκ. αὐτῷ*, see below.

2. Aq. *οὐκ ἀναστήσεται σκῆπτρον ἀπὸ Ἰ. καὶ ἀκριβαζόμενος ἀπὸ μεταξὺ ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ . . . καὶ αὐτῷ σύστημα λαῶν.* Sym. *οὐ περιαιρεθήσεται ἐξουσία ἀπὸ Ἰ. . . .*

3. Pesh. (*a*).

ܠܐ ܢܥܒܪ ܫܒܛܐ ܡܢ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܡܢ
ܒܝܬ ܪ̈ܓܠܘܗܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܕܝܠܗ ܗܝ.
ܘܠܗ ܢܣܟܘܢ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ

'The staff shall not depart from Judah, nor the interpreter from between his feet, until he cometh to whom it belongs, and for him do the peoples wait.'

(*b*) Aphraates (ed. Wright, 320) instead of last three words.

ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܠܗ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܢܣܒܪܘܢ.

'[to whom belongs] the kingdom, and for him do the peoples hope.'

4. Tg. Onk.

לא יעדי עביד שולטן מדבית יהודה וספרא
מבני בנוהי עד עלמא עד דייתי משיחא דדיליה
היא מלכותא וליה ישתמעון עממיא׃

'The wielder of power shall not pass away from the house of Judah, nor the scribe from his sons' sons for ever until that the anointed one come to whom belongs the kingdom and to him shall the peoples submit themselves.'

We have first to ask, Can Shiloh be a proper name, as the Reformation Versions mostly suppose?[2] As Driver has well observed, 'no ancient version, and indeed no known authority for several centuries after the Christian era, implies the Massoretic reading, or sees in the passage a proper name. It is true that it was generally interpreted in antiquity of the Messianic

2. Shiloh not a proper name.

[1] Chr. Werliin, *De laudibus Judæ* (Havniae, 1838); S. R. Driver, 'Gen. 49 10; an exegetical study,' *Journ. Phil.* 14 (1885) 1-28. The former takes Shiloh to mean 'peace-bringer'—*i.e.*, Solomon; the conclusion of the latter scholar is given in the text in his own words. These monographs may be supplemented by the notes of Delitzsch, Dillmann, Gunkel, and Ball, in their works on Genesis. Cp also G. Baur, *Gesch. der Alttest. Weissagung* (1861), 227-290.

[2] Driver traces this rendering to Seb. Münster (1534), who gives 'quousque veniet Silo.' Pagninus (1528) gave 'Messias'; Luther (1534), 'der Held.'

or ideal future of Israel; but this sense was reached in virtue of the general context of the passage, and not through a proper name Shiloh.' Indeed, a proper name meaning Peace-bringer (which is the sense postulated for the proper name Shiloh) can certainly not be derived from √שלה, 'to be quiet, careless, secure'; the phrase we should have required is שַׂר שָׁלוֹם, 'prince of peace' (cp Is. 9 5 [6]), or, if the text of Mic. 5 4 [5] is correct, שָׁלוֹם, 'peace'—*i.e.*, [König, *Styl.* 21] 'auctor pacis.'[1]

Those who (like Delitzsch, Dillmann) defend the rendering, 'until he come to Shiloh,' see a reference to the

3. No reference to the place 'Shiloh.'

assembly of the tribes of Israel held, according to P, at Shiloh (Josh. 18 1), when 'the land had been subdued before them.' They take שֵׁבֶט to mean, not the royal sceptre, but the staff of the chieftain or leader, exactly like מְחֹקֵק (if this word really means 'staff of authority'); so that the passage will mean, 'Judah shall continue to be the valiant leader of the tribes of Israel, till, the peoples of Canaan having been subdued, they can celebrate the victory by a solemn religious assembly at Shiloh.' This, however, puts too much into the simple phrase 'until he comes to Shiloh,' and *v.* 10*d* conveys the impression that the victory over the 'peoples' is the victory, not of all the tribes, but of Judah. Moreover, שִׁילֹה is not one of the recognised ways of spelling the place-name 'Shiloh,' and it is even doubtful whether the Massoretes intended to favour this interpretation.[2]

Hence some good critics adopt the old reading שֶׁלֹּה or שֶׁלּוֹ (see 𝕲). According to Driver, the rendering

4. 𝕲's reading unacceptable.

'till he whose [it is] shall come' would afford an excellent sense, but is not reconcilable with the absence of the subject in the relative clause. 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'we should fall back upon the original LXX construction, and render "Till that which (or, he that) is his shall come," and regard the clause as an indeterminate expression of the Messianic hope, which was afterwards defined more distinctly.' The reading שֶׁלּוֹ is also adopted by Wellhausen (*Gesch.* 1 375, n. 1, but cp *CH* 321), Stade (*GVI* 1 159, n. 5), Ball (doubtfully), Briggs, v. Orelli, Holzinger, Gunkel. It is thought to be presupposed, not only by 𝕲, but also by the language of Ezek. 21 32 [27], עַד־בֹּא אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט, 'until he come whose right it is.'

If, however, τὰ ἀποκ. αὐτῷ is a genuine rendering, שֶׁלּוֹ cannot be the whole of the text which the translator had before him. The present writer, therefore (*Theol. Rev.* cited at end), suggested יוּשַׁת לוֹ or (as Rönsch before him) יוּשַׂם לוֹ. Most probably, however, 𝕲 simply made the best of the obscure reading שֶׁלּוֹ, a reading unworthy of acceptance,[3] and clearly a fragment of some longer word. שֶׁלּוֹ וְלוֹ would, in fact, be intolerable. As to Ezek. 21 32, it is by no means clear that the prophet was thinking of Gen. 49 10. Very possibly the reading שֶׁלּוֹ was *suggested by a misleading reminiscence of Ezekiel.*[4]

But if the passage is, at any rate in the larger sense, Messianic—and this is generally assumed, because of the reference in *d* to a universal empire,—what are we

[1] König, however (*l.c.*), qualifies his statement by an 'at least' in the next sentence. There can hardly be a doubt that the text needs emendation (see MICAH [BOOK], § 5, *e*).

[2] A favourite Jewish interpretation of שִׁילֹה (found in Ibn Janâḥ and Ḳimḥi) was 'his son' (cp Talm. שְׁלִיל, Ar. *salîl*, 'extractus, filius'); *e.g.*, Tg. ps.-Jon. paraphrases וְעֵיר בְּנוֹי, 'his youngest son,' an interpretation which, according to Driver, is 'perhaps embodied in the Massoretic pointing.'

[3] It is usual to find in שֶׁלּוֹ a deliberate affectation of mystery. But it is more than mystery; it is grammatical obscurity. In a solemn benediction like this, nothing but Ezek.'s אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט would be tolerable, if a veiled reference to the legitimate king of Judah were intended.

[4] See Volz, *Die vorexil. Jahweprophetie und der Messias*, 82, n. 1.

to read in place of שִׁילֹה or שֶׁלֹּה or שֶׁלּוֹ? Matthew Hiller (*OS*, 1706, p. 931), Lagarde ($OS^{(1)}$ 295, $OS^{(2)}$ 368), the present writer (*op. cit.*), as an alternative, and Bickell (*Carmina VT metrice*, 1882, p. 188), took שִׁילֹה to be a contracted form of שְׁאִילָה, 'he whom Judah prays for'; cp perhaps Dt. 33 7, where, according to Gunkel,[1] 'bring him to his people,' means 'bring the Messianic king to his people.' This is at any rate more plausible than the idea that שִׁילֹה should be שָׁלֻחַ or שִׁלֹחַ (Vg., 'qui mittendus est'), with which compare the view of Grotius (col. 1803) that Jn. 9 7 identifies 'Siloam' with 'Shiloh.' But *is* the passage before us really Messianic? Critics who in our day hold this view, generally regard Gen. 49 10 as a later insertion. This is, of course, a permissible hypothesis; but, on different grounds from those of Gunkel, we are compelled to reject it.

The truth is, we believe, that the text of the passage in its context requires a much more thorough examination

5. The restored text and its meaning.

before we can proceed to exegesis. There are serious difficulties both in *v.* 10 and in *v.* 11 *f.* Does מְחֹקֵק mean 'staff of authority'? and, if *not*, how can שֵׁבֶט be parallel to it? Is מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו, however it be explained, at all natural? And is יְקָהַת a sound reading? Then, in *v.* 11, is סוּתֹה correct, and are such expressions as these possible—'he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes with the blood of grapes'? In *v.* 12 is חַכְלִילִי correct?[2] and is not the whole verse superfluous?

By a careful criticism the present writer has elsewhere reached the following text:—

לֹא־יָסוּר שֹׁפֵט מִיהוּדָה	A champion shall not depart from Judah,
וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין גְּדוּדָיו	Nor a marshal from between his bands,
עַד כִּי־יָבֹס לַיְשָׁה	Until he tramples upon Laishah,
וְלוֹ [יִשְׁמְעוּ] יְרַחְמְאֵלִים	And the Jerahmeelites are obedient unto him.[3]

Verse 11 may here be passed over with the remark that it probably continues the description of the conquest of the Negeb by Judah, and that כִּבֵּס בַּיַּיִן לְבֻשׁוֹ should probably be יִכְבֹּשׁ בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל, 'he shall subdue the b'ne Ishmael,' the proof of which is that in *v.* 12, which should certainly be read יְרַחְמְאֵלִים בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל יְרַחְמְאֵל, the true text contained a correction of the miswritten words in *v.* 10. See *Crit. Bib.* Laishah, considered already, may be, as we have seen (SHILOH, 1), Ḥalūṣah, one of the most important cities of the Negeb. Who the Jerahmeelites are, we also know; they are the same as the Zarephathites or 'Pelethites' (the Philistines of MT) who were the chief enemies of Israel in the days of Saul and the early period of David. If this theory be adopted there is no reason for the hypothesis of interpolation. Contrary to the prevalent opinion, the whole of the blessing of Judah is continuous. Beginning with a description of the fierce and fearless courage of the tribe of Judah, it goes on to prophesy that judges or champions of Judah's rights (the rights of the strongest) will never be wanting till its troublesome neighbours, the Jerahmeelites or Zarephahthites, have been conquered,—a conquest which in the original song was described in some detail.

The theory suggested with regard to שִׁילֹה throws a fresh light on 1 K. 11 29, where (see JEROBOAM i., end)

[1] *Genesis*, 436, (2) 424. The singular theory connected with this interpretation cannot be here discussed.

[2] Contrast Prov. 23 29.

[3] For the confusion of שֵׁבֶט and שֹׁפֵט, cp 2 S. 7 7 1 Ch. 17 6 (parallels in We. *TBS* 170); and for the sense 'ruler,' 'marshal,' see 𝕲 and Onk. For the correction גדודיו, cp ENSIGN, § 1 *b* (on דגל; Sam. here דגליו). For יָבֹס, cp *SBOT* on Is. 41 25. In *d* ישמעו fell out through the vicinity of words (שילה=עמים) containing virtually all these letters. Cp also JERAHMEEL, § 4.

the true text perhaps said that Jeroboam had just come from Miṣrim, or rather Ishmael, where he was 'found' by the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite. Was Ahijah really an Ephraimite prophet? It is more natural to suppose that he was of a place much nearer to the N. Arabian land from which Jeroboam had come, viz., of Laishah (*i.e.*, Ḥalūṣah), a name which we have found to have been altered by a scribe's error into Shiloh in Gen. 49 10.

The literature of Gen. 49 10 is extensive. See the works of Oehler, Schultz, Smend, Riehm, Delitzsch, and Briggs, on Israelitish religion, and the commentaries of Tuch, Delitzsch, Kalisch, Dillmann, Holzinger, Gunkel; the *Genesis* (Heb. text) of C. J. Ball in *SBOT*; Pusey, *Daniel the Prophet*, 254-256; Cheyne, 'A disputed prophecy in Genesis,' *Theolog. Review*, 12 300-306 (1875), and *Proph. Is.*(1) [1881] 2 189 *ff.*; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 94 *ff.* (1886); and especially the three discussions (Werliin, Driver, Baur) already mentioned.

T. K. C.

SHILONI (שִׁי[ו]לֹנִי), 1 Ch. 9 5. See SHELAH, 1.

SHILONITE (שִׁילֹנִי, שִׁילוֹנִי, and שִׁלֹנִי [Neh. 11 5]; σηλων[ε]ιτης).

1. Gentilic from שִׁילֹה Shiloh, used with reference to the prophet Ahijah (temp. Jeroboam I.), 1 K. 11 29 12 15 15 29 2 Ch. 9 29 10 15. See SHILOH ii. (end).

2. In a post-exilic list, miswritten for שֵׁלָנִי (1 Ch. 9 5) and שֵׁלָנִי (Neh. 2 5)—*i.e.* 'Shelanite.' See SHELAH.

SHILSHAH (שִׁלְשָׁה; σαλεισα [BA], σελεμσαν [L]), b, Zophah, a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii.), 1 Ch. 7 37†. Cp SHUAL, 2.

SHIMEA (שִׁמְעָא, § 51). 1. Brother of David. See SHAMMAH.

2. Son of David [*q.v.*, § 11, *n.*] (1 Ch. 3 5) σαμαν [B], σαμαα [AL]; but 2 S. 5 14, 1 Ch. 14 4 שַׁמּוּעַ, SHAMMUA; σαμμους, σαμαα [B]; σαμμουε, σαμμαου [A] respectively; σαμαα [L *bis*]; 1 Ch. 14 4 σαμαια [א]).

3. A Merarite Levite; 1 Ch. 6 30 [15] (σομεα [B], σαμα [A], σαμαα [L]).

4. A Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 6 39 [24] (σαμαα [BAL]).

SHIMEAH. 1. (שִׁמְעָה [kri], § 51), brother of David. See SHAMMAH.

2. (שִׁמְאָה), b. Mikloth in a genealogy of BENJAMIN [*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β], 1 Ch. 8 32 (σεμαα [B], σαμεα [A], σαμαα [L]), but 1 Ch. 9 38, שִׁמְאָם, **Shimeam**, σαμαα [BאL], σαμα [A]. See *JQR* 11 110-113, §§ 10-12.

SHIMEATH (שִׁמְעָת [Bä. Gi.], cp שִׁמְרִת and NAMES, § 78, ιεμουαθ [BAL]), father of Jozachar (2 K. 12 22 [21]) called by the Chronicler, according to MT and 𝔊L (2 Ch. 24 26; σαμα [B]; σαμαθ [A]; σαμααθ [L]), an Ammonit*ess* (cp SHOMER). In 𝔊BA, however, it is Shimeath's son that is Ammonite. Possibly 'Ammonite' stands for 'Jerahmeelite' (Che.). See SILLA, SHIMRITH.

SHIMEATHITES (שִׁמְעָתִים; σαμαθιειμ [BA], -θειν [L]), 1 Ch. 2 55. See JABEZ.

SHIMEI (שִׁמְעִי, a gentilicium of שִׁמְעוֹן [see WRS, *Journ. Phil.* 9 96]; σεμε[ε]ι). 1. b. Gera of BAHURIM (*q.v.*), a Benjamite of the house of Saul who cursed David as he fled from Absalom[1] (2 S. 16 5-13). On David's return after the death of Absalom Shimei is said to have been the foremost of the 'house of Joseph' to go down (with a thousand Benjamites), to welcome the king. In return he begged for forgiveness (2 S. 19 16-23). In David's last words, however (1 K. 2 8 *f.*), the king charges his son to put Shimei out of the way, as a proof of his wisdom (see DAVID, col. 1034, n. 1; Ki. *Hist.* 1 181, but cp Wi. *GI* 2 247). Upon his accession, Solomon permits Shimei to dwell at Jerusalem on certain conditions (see KIDRON, § 2), which after three years Shimei violates, ostensibly in order to recover two slaves who had fled to Achish king of Gath[1] (rather, of REHOBOTH). He is slain by Benaiah at the royal command (1 K. 2 36-46). The exact course of events is not free from doubt, but this at least is clear: Shimei was a leader of the Benjamites who was politically dangerous, and it is likely that he really sought to draw Nahash, king of Rehoboth, into his schemes. Nahash may in fact very possibly have been displeased at the *coup d'état* which had made Solomon his suzerain. On the 'legend' of Shimei, cp Winckler (*GI*, *l.c.*), and see below, nos. 2 and 10.

2. Shimei and Rei and the *gibbōrīm* who belonged to David are enumerated among those who did not join Adonijah in his attempt on the throne (1 K. 1 8, σαμαιας [L]). It seems best to assume with Winckler (*GI*, *l.c.*) that Shimei 1. is intended, while REI (*q.v.*) may be = Ira, a *kōhēn* or perhaps *sōkēn* ('minister') of David, mentioned in 2 S. 20 26. Stade, however (*GVI* 1 293, n. 1), thinks that they were two officers of David's bodyguard; the fact that the two names do not occur elsewhere in 1 K. 1 only shows the fragmentariness of our knowledge of the times. Some think that one of David's heroes, SHAMMUAH (3) or Shimei, may be meant; Ewald's suggestion that David's brother Shammuah (or Shimeah) is intended is unlikely (see RADDAI).

3. b. Elah, high officer of Solomon in Benjamin (1 K. 4 18; om. B, σεμεει [A], σαμα [L]). See SHAMMAH, 3.

4. 2 S. 21 21, σαμαα [L] AV SHIMEAH, see SHAMMAH, 2.

5. b. Pedaiah; brother of Zerubbabel (1 Ch. 3 19 om. B), perhaps the same as SHEMAIAH (*v.* 22).

6. b. Zaccur, of SIMEON (§ 9 ii.) (1 Ch. 4 26 *f.*), who had sixteen sons and six daughters, and is described as the father of an important clan (*gens*) which overtopped all others, but did not equal the b'ne Judah (within whose territory it was settled); cp perhaps Shemaiah, *v.* 37.

7. b. JOEL, of REUBEN (§ 13), 1 Ch. 5 4 (σαμεε [L]); cp *v.* 8, Shema (σεμεει [L]) b. Joel.

8. AV **Shimhi**, a Benjamite, the father of Adaiah, Shimrath, and BERAIAH [*q.v.*,] (1 Ch. 8 21 σαμαειθ [B], σαμαι [A], in *v.* 13 called SHEMA [*q.v.*, no. 3]). See AIJALON.

9. A Ramathite, or man of Ramah (הָרָמָתִי, ὁ ἐκ ραηλ [B], ὁ ῥαμαθαῖος [AL]), one of David's officers who was 'over the vineyards' (1 Ch. 27 27). Which of the southern Ramahs is meant, is unknown. 𝔊B's ραηλ may spring from 'Jeraḥmeel' (Che.).

10. b. Kish, a Benjamite, an ancestor of MORDECAI (Esth. 2 5 . . . τοῦ σεμεειου [BאLβ], . . . τοῦ σεμειου [ALα]); in the apocrypha of Esther (11 2) σεμεειου [B], σεμειου [אLαβ], SEMEI, RV SEMEIAS. Shimei is here evidently, like Kish, a clan-name; a reference to the person who 'cursed David' is out of the question.

11. Shimei occurs frequently in the later writings as a son of Gershon b. Levi (Ex. 6 17 [AV **Shimi**] Nu. 3 18, 1 Ch. 6 17 [2]). He appears in 1 Ch. 6 as the *son* of Jahath, *v.* 42 (27), with which contrast 1 Ch. 23 9 *f.* where he is the *father* of Jahath; again in *v.* 29 [14] (σομεει [B]) Libni, who elsewhere is his brother, appears as his son, and both are Merarite Levites. He is the founder of the **Shimites** (AV) or more correctly (with RV) **Shimeites** (Nu. 3 21: הַשִּׁמְעִי; τοῦ σεμεει [B, om. F], . . . σεμει [AL]). What is meant by 'the **Shimeites**' (so RV; AV 'Shimei,' הַשִּׁמְעִי; but 𝔊 and Pesh. have 'Simeon') in Zech. 12 13, Nowack pronounces to be unknown. Baudissin (*Priesterthum*, 248), however, thinks that the above-mentioned Shimeites of Gershon are meant. [For a revision of the text of the whole passage, without attempting which probably no single detail can be understood, see *Crit. Bib.*]

12. One of the sons of Jeduthun (1 Ch. 25 17: [σ]εμεει [B], σουρει [L]), whose name should be inserted in *v.* 3 with 𝔊BA (but 𝔊L ιεζδρει) to make up the full number six.

13. A son of Haman (2 Ch. 29 14).

14. A Levite, Ezra 10 23 (σαμου [BA], -ουδ [א]); in 1 Esd. 9 23 SEMIS, RV SEMEIS (σενσεις [B], σεμεις [A]).

15. One of the b. HASHUM (Ezra 10 33); in 1 Esd. 9 32 SEMEI.

16. One of the b. BANI (Ezra 10 38); 𝔊BאA, however, for BINNUI, SHIMEI, reads 'the sons of Shimei,' but 𝔊L υἱοὶ βουνει σ. In 1 Esd. 9 34, SAMIS, RV SOMEIS (σομεεις [BA]).

S. A. C.—T. K. C.

SHIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן), Ezra 10 31 = 1 Esd. 9 32 SIMON CHOSAMEUS (σιμων χοσαμαος [B], . . . ομαιος [A]).

[1] In 1 K. 2 8, however, no mention is made of David's being a fugitive on account of Absalom.

[1] [Note that Achish is called 'ben Maachah.' Maachah, like Ahiman (which 𝔊L has instead of 'Maoch' in 1 S. 27 2), may plausibly be taken to be a popular corruption of Jerahmeel. Achish, then, was connected with N. Arabia. ('Achish,' however, should perhaps be emended into 'Nahash.' See NAHASH, 2. Tradition seems to have varied.)]

SHIMMA (שִׁמְעָא), 1 Ch. 2 13 AV, RV (better) SHIMEA. See SHAMMAH.

SHIMON (שִׁימוֹן, cp § 77; σεμε[ι]ων [BA], σαμι [L]), a name in the Judahite genealogy (1 Ch. 4 20†).

SHIMRATH (שִׁמְרָת, § 78; σαμαραθ [BA], -ρει [L]) of BENJAMIN (§ 9), assigned to the b'ne SHIMEI (1 Ch. 8 21†).

SHIMRI (שִׁמְרִי; σαμαρ[ε]ι [AL]), a N. Arabian and S. Palestinian ethnic; the original seat of the clan seems to have been called Har-shimron, according to a very necessary emendation of Am. 6 1, 'Woe unto the secure in Ishmael,[1] the careless in Har [mountain of]-shimron; cp PROPHETS, § 35, SHIMRON.

1. Of SIMEON (§ 9 iii.) [cp MEUNIM], 1 Ch. 4 37 (σαμαρ [B], -ιου [A]).

2. Father (or clan?) of Jediael (from Jerahmeel?), one of David's heroes, 1 Ch. 11 45 (σαμερει [Bא]).

3. AV SIMRI, a Merarite, eponym of one of the 'courses' of the door-keepers, 1 Ch. 26 10 (φυλάσσοντες [BA], σαμαρι φ. [L]).

4. A Levite, one of the sons of Elizaphan [cp ZEPHANIAH], 2 Ch. 29 13 (ζαμβρει [B], σαμβρι [AL]). See also SHOMER, SHIMRITH. T. K. C.

SHIMRITH (שִׁמְרִית; σαμαριθ [A], σομαιωθ [B], σαμιραμωθ [L]). As the text stands, the mother of one of the murderers of Joash, described as 'the Moabitess,' 2 Ch. 24 26 (הַמּוֹאָבִית); cp JEHOZABAD, 1. The ‖ 2 K. 12 21 [22] has SHOMER (1). More probable than either reading is SHIMRI (*q.v.*).

Similarly read הַמּוֹאָבִי, or rather (the confusion between מואב and מצור being so frequent) הַמִּצְרִי. The 'Shimrite' clan was in fact located in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (cp Am. 6 1, see SHIMRI, *ad init.*). 𝔊, however, reads המואבי, applying the title to Jehozabad. Cp SHIMEATH. T. K. C.

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן; συμοων [B]), a place in Zebulun, mentioned between Nahallal and Idalah and Bethlehem (2), Josh. 19 15 (σεμρων [AL]). Idalah (𝔊[B] ιερειχω—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel) may be only a variant to Bethlehem (*i.e.*, Beth-jerahmeel). At any rate, if possible, we need a site between Ma'lûl (NAHALLAL) and Beit-lahm (BETHLEHEM, 2). Such a site we have in Semûnîyeh, the Simonias of Josephus (*Vit.* 24), the Simonia of the Talmud (Neub. *Géogr.* 189); according to Tomkins, the Š'mâna of Thotmes III., nos. 18 and 35 (*RP*[(2)] 5 44 46), with one of which (35) E. Meyer (*Glossen*, 73) identifies the Šamḫuna of Am. Tab. 220 4.

1. Name; identifications.

As the text of Josh. 11 1 *ff.* now stands, we are led to assume that Shimron (σομερων [AFL]) was anciently a royal city, and that its king, together with those of Hazor, Madon, and Achshaph, was defeated by Joshua beside the 'waters of MEROM.' The same royal city is evidently referred to in Josh. 12 20 as **Shimron-meron** (מְראוֹן [מרון Kr.] שִׁמְרוֹן; βασιλέα συμοων, β. μαμρωθ [B], β. σαμρων, β. φασγα, β. μαρων [A], β. [σ]αμαρων [L]). 𝔊, however, does not recognise a compound name; certainly Meron must be wrong.[2] Either it has simply arisen through dittography or (S. A. Cook) it is a variant of 'Madon' in *v.* 19 (see MADON) which has found its way into the text.[3] If Josh. 11 1 *ff.* is to be our guide in locating Shimron, Mühlau's identification of it with es-Semûrîyeh, about 1 hr. N. from Accho (Riehm, *HWB*; Bäd.-Socin) deserves attention, though the modern form rather suggests Shāmīr (Sta. *ZATW* 5 167).

The question, however, has been raised in *Crit. Bib.* whether the textual problem is not more complicated than critics have supposed. As the result of a close examination of the text of Judg. 4 5 and Josh. 11 it is there held that the original scene of the events related was more probably in the S. of Palestine. The names throughout having become corrupted, they were editorially emended under the influence of a later historical view respecting the conquest of Canaan.

2. Larger problems involved.

Jabin, it is held, comes from Jamin—a popular distortion of 'Jerahmeel,' a suitable name for any king of Hazor. 'Canaan' (כנען) in Judg. 4 2 5 19 (as in Gen. 10 6, and a number of other passages) was originally 'Kenaz' (קְנַז); by 'Achshaph' (Josh. 11 1) was probably meant 'Cusham' (see CUSH, 2), and by 'Shimron' the 'Shimron' referred to in Am. 6 1 (see SHIMRI). 'Madon' or rather 'Marom' (Eus. μαρωμ) can equally well be accounted for on this hypothesis. It is the place referred to in the phrase מי מרום, cp מי מגדו (Judg. 5 19). Both these phrases, if the scene of the war was in the S., come from מי מגדל, 'waters of Migdol' (or rather [cp SHECHEM, TOWER OF] of Jerahmeel), a phrase parallel to נחל כּוּשָׁן, 'the torrent of Cushan.' So *Crit. Bib.* Cp, however, MEROM, WATERS OF. T. K. C.

[1] 'Ishmael' here = 'Jerahmeel'—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelite Negeb. See *Crit. Bib.* on Am. 6 1.

[2] The proposal of Frd. Delitzsch (*Par.* 287) and Halévy (*REJ*, 1881, p. 12) to emend the name into שמש־מרן—*i.e.*, Samsi-muruna, a place whose king is mentioned by Sennacherib at the head of the Canaanite tributaries (cp MENAHEM), fails to take account of the easy development of glosses, etc.

[3] [In support of this view we may refer to the treatment of the second part of the name in 𝔊 and Vg. 𝔊[BA] om. Madon, *v.* 19, and read μαμρωθ or μαρων (for Meron), *v.* 20, as a separate name. 𝔊[L] and Vg. read only 'Shimron' in the latter verse, and evidently found 'Madon' (λαμορων) in *v.* 19. There seems to be, therefore, an identity between 'meron' and 'Madon,' which latter name, as shown under MADON, should probably be read with ר instead of ד.—S. A. C.]

SHIMRON (שִׁמְרוֹן, § 10; properly a place-name? see, however, SHAMIR, 2; σαμ[α]ραμ [BAF]), one of the (four) sons of ISSACHAR (§ 7), Gen. 46 13 (ζαμβραμ [A], -αν [*D*], σαμβρα καὶ ζαμβριν [L]) = Nu. 26 24 (αμβραν [A], -μ [L]), 1 Ch. 7 1 (σεμερων [B], σομβραν [L] [AV **Shimrom**, but AV of 1611 'Shimron']). The patronymic **Shimronite** (שִׁמְרֹנִי; σαμαρανει [B], σαμραμι [Bab], σαμβραμι [F], αμβραμ[ε]ι [AL]) occurs in Nu. 26 24.

SHIMSHAI (שִׁמְשַׁי, on meaning see below; σαμσαι [A], σαμαιας [L]), a state official (secretary) who, with REHUM [*q.v.*] and others, sent a letter to Artaxerxes to induce him to stop the rebuilding of the temple (Ezra 4 8: σαμασα [B], *v.* 9: σαμεε [B], 17: σαμεαισ [B], 23: σαμεσα [B]). In 1 Esd. 2 17 he is called SEMELLIUS, RV SAMELLIUS (σαμελλιος [B], σεμ., or σεβ., or σαμ. [A], ραμελιος [L]; cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 2 1, σεμελιος).

[A right explanation of the name would be one of the results of a thorough critical examination of Ezra-Nehemiah. E. Meyer (*Ent.* 34) claims it as Syriac. At any rate, it looks as if it were derived from שֶׁמֶשׁ, 'the sun' (cp § 76). But there are still two possibilities. (1) שמשי may be a Hebraised form of an Iranian ששמי—an abbreviation of such a Persian name as σισιμάκης or σισάμνης (see Rawl., Be.-Rys., and cp Marti, *Bibl.-aram. Gloss.*). (2) The forms in 1 Esd. suggest as the original either שמלי or רמלי—*i.e.*, ישמעאלי or ירחמאלי. This view is preferable. It may naturally be combined with the theory (see REHUM) that the geographical and personal names in Ezra-Neh. have been systematically altered; but independently of this theory Marquardt (*Fund.* 62) decides in favour of שמלי. Rehum has probably a similar origin.—T. K. C.]

SHINAB (שִׁנְאָב; Sam. שנאר; σεννααρ), king of ADMAH [*q.v.*], Gen. 14 2. He is mentioned with SHEMEBER (שֶׁמְאֵבֶר; Sam. שמאבר; συμοβορ [A*D*E]; συμορ [L]), king of ZEBOIM [*q.v.*]. The tokens of corruptness are so evident that many moderns decline the attempt to explain these names. If, however, we feel sure that there is a historical substratum to the story, we may be inclined to equate Shinab with Sanibu, the name of an Ammonite king in the time of Tiglath-pileser III. (so Frd. Del. *Par.* 294; cp *KAT*[(2)] 141; *KB* 2 21), or with the Ass. Sin-šar-uṣur (cp SHENAZZAR), and Shemeber with the Ass. Sumu-abi (so Sayce, *Exp. T* 8 463; cp SHEM, NAMES WITH). The reading of the Sam. suggests that an edifying comment ('name has perished') has taken the place of the true name; similarly the Midrash (*Ber. Rab.* 42) explains Shinab as שואב ממון, 'one who draws money (wherever he can),' and Shemeber as שם אבר, 'one who makes to himself pinions (to fly in search of treasure).'[1] If, however, the narrative in Gen. 14 only owes its appearance of historicity to an editor who had before him a corrupt text, and if by

[1] Ball's suggestions ('Shinab' [rather שנאר] = Ar. *sunnār*, Aram. *šūnerā*, 'cat'; 'Shemeber' [rather שמאבר] = שם אבר, 'name lost,' a marginal gloss) lack probability.

applying the right key we are able to restore the original sufficiently to understand it aright, it becomes probable that only one king was mentioned on either side of the contest, viz. the king of Geshur (or Ashḥur) and the king of Sodom (?), and that just as 'Jeraḥmeel' occurs apparently no less than six times (five times in variants) in *v.* 1, so 'Ishmael' occurs five or six times (owing to variants) in *v.* 2. Among the variants referred to are שנאב (Shinab) and שמאבר (Shemeber). See further SODOM AND GOMORRAH. T. K. C.

SHINAR (שִׁנְעָר), according to the prevalent view a name of Babylon (cp GEOGRAPHY, § 13 *a*). It is mentioned eight times in all: Gen. 10 10 11 2 14 1 9 Josh. 7 21 Is. 11 11 Zech. 5 11 Dan. 1 2†. In Am. Tab. 25 49 we find the king of Šanḫar mentioned as an ally of the king of Ḫatti, and in the Egyptian inscriptions a king of Sangara often appears (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 279). Ed. Meyer (*Ægyptiaca*, 63 *f.*) argues that both these forms are equivalent to Karduniaš, the Kassite name for Babylonia;[1] this, however, is not more than plausible (cp Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 180). The older views explaining Shinar as 'the land of two cities' (sani-'iri, *KAT*(1) 34), or as = sumer in the phrase Sumer and Accad = S. Babylonia, are untenable.[2] Probably the identification of Shinar with Babylonia, though an early theory, is erroneous, and except in Josh. 7 21 Dan. 1 2, we should everywhere read Geshur.[3] NIMROD [*q.v.*] was a N. Arabian, not a Babylonian, hero; and originally the great Tower (Gen. 11 1-9) was probably placed not in Babylonia but in Jeraḥmeel.[4]

In Josh. 7 21, however, a different emendation is necessary. The goodly mantle (see MANTLE, § 2) in the spoil of Jericho, coveted by Achan, came neither from 'Shinar' nor from 'Geshur.' שנער (EV Shinar) is most probably a corruption of שִׁרְיוֹן, 'a coat of mail' (see, however, MANTLE, § 2 [5]); this word probably stood in the margin as a correction of the erroneous לשון (EV 'wedge'), for which it has been elsewhere (see GOLD, § 2) proposed to read שִׁרְיוֹן. On the other passage see *Crit. Bib.*

In Josh., *l.c.*, 𝔊B gives ψιλὴν ποικίλην for אד' שנער, disregarding טובה (𝔊AFL καλήν); Vg. *pallium coccineum* (*valde bonum*). Generally 𝔊 gives σεν(ν)ααρ; but in Zech. 5 11 βαβυλων, unless בבל here comes from ירחמאל; cp Is. 11 11 where in like manner βαβυλωνίας may = בבל = ירחמאל (cp PATHROS). T. K. C.

SHION (שִׁיאֹן), a city of Issachar, Josh. 19 19 (ϹΙѠΝⲀ [B], ϹЄΙⲀΝ [A], ϹΗѠ [L]; *Seon* (*OS*(2) 154 18) in Jerome's time was a village near Tabor, which may be identified with the *'Ain Sha'īn*, 4 m. NW. from Tabor, near which is a ruin called *Khirbet Sha'īn*. There is also a *Neby Sha'īn*, NW. from Nazareth. The name may be akin to Shunem, which occurs in *v.* 18.

The current AV rendering Shihon differs from that of the edition of 1611, which, like RV, has Shion.

SHIP. The Hebrew term אֳנִיָּה, *ŏniyyah*, and the Greek πλοῖον are used somewhat loosely in OT and NT in references to navigation, and EV in most cases renders by the equally vague, and often obviously too pretentious term, 'ship.' Sometimes there seems to be no good reason for the choice of this term, as the Hebrew adds a qualifying word to indicate what is really meant. In Job 9 26 for instance, we find the phrase (elsewhere [see OSPRAY] indicated as corrupt) אֳנִיּוֹת אֵבֶה, *ŏniyyōth 'ēbeh*, 'ships of reed' (RVmg.), but in EV 'swift ships' (‖ 'as the eagle that swoopeth on the prey'); with this Dillmann and most critics [but cp *Crit. Bib.*] compare Is. 18 2 where the expression כְּלֵי-גֹמֶא, *kĕlē gōme'*, is given in AV as 'vessels of bulrushes' (see RUSHES), but where the natural meaning is 'vessels [better, boats] of papyrus' (RV). In both cases light boats or skiffs are meant, such as those mentioned by Lucan (*Phars.* 4 36), Pliny (*HN* 13 11) and other ancient writers. These were used on the Nile (Eg. name, *baris*; Copt. *bari*), carried only one or two persons (Plin. *HN* 7 57), and were so light that where navigation was difficult or dangerous they could be carried forward on the shoulders (Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 18).

1. Light boats and rafts.

In their oldest and most primitive form these vessels were mere rafts, and such rafts are not unknown in modern times (see the description in the *Mémoires* of the Duc de Rovigo in Che. *Proph. Is.* 2 304). Speaking of the smaller boats of this kind, Erman (*Anc. Eg.* 479) says, 'these boats had no deck, they were in fact little rafts formed of bundles of reeds bound together. They were rather broader in the middle than at the ends, the hinder part was generally raised up high whilst the front part lay flat on the water.' They were propelled by poles or paddles, not with oars. Larger boats of the same kind were used for carrying light freights; with these is perhaps to be compared the Assyrian *kelek* or raft made of a framework of wood supported by inflated skins, though these seem to have been capable of carrying considerable loads (see Masp. *Dawn of Civ.* 615 *ff.*; Place, *Ninive*, pl. 43; cp Layard, *Nineveh*, 1 13 2 5; Peters, *Nippur*, 2 340). We seem to have references to some conveyance of the latter kind in OT. At least, as the text of 1 K. 5 9 stands, the timber for Solomon's temple was brought from Lebanon to Joppa by sea in 'floats' (1 K. 5 9, דֹּבְרוֹת; 2 Ch. 2 16, רפסדות; 𝔊 in both cases σχεδίαι). In 1 K. RV has 'rafts.' A similar statement is made with reference to Zerubbabel's temple (1 Esd. 5 55, σχεδίας; EV 'floats').[1] Such primitive modes of navigation are alluded to in Wisd. 14 5 *f.* A certain floating bridge or landing-stage at Alexandria went by the name of Schedia (3 Macc. 4 11).

The papyrus boats of later times, however, were of more elaborate construction. Light boats have often been constructed with some kind of framework—a keel and ribs—as well as of papyrus or other reeds, like the bark canoes of Australia and more especially of the American continent. Boats of this kind may have carried a sail. As in the case of the Madras surf-boats the wood was no doubt fastened by thongs.

2. Use of wood.

'Vessels thus stitched together, and with an inserted framework, have from a very early time been constructed in the Eastern seas far exceeding in size anything that would be called a canoe, and in some cases attaining to 200 tons burthen' (*EB*(9) 21 804 *b*).

They were not so primitive in construction as the Indian canoes made of a hollowed tree-trunk (Herod. 3 98; cp the ancient boats of the Swiss lake dwellings), but would seem to rank between these and the wooden boats made in pieces (see below).[2] The round *kufas* or coracles of the Assyrians made of plaited willow (Herod. 1 192; see Masp. *Dawn of Civ.* 615) were apparently used for short distances—as ferry-boats for crossing rivers; they were thus an improvement on the simple inflated skin (cp ASSYRIA, § 10 *b*).

Larger boats were constructed entirely of wood fastened by pegs or tree-nails. To craft of this kind perhaps the phrase אֳנִי-שַׁיִט, *ŏnī-šāyiṭ*, 'row-boat' (EV 'galley with oars'), of Is. 33 21, used in connection with streams and rivers, may be supposed to refer. Such boats were also used on the Nile (Herod. 2 96; cp the boats in use among the Polynesian islands[3]—the modern *nuggur*). They were often of considerable size, even under the Old Empire. They had oars for rowing (not for paddling, as in the papyrus boats) fixed into row-locks, or through the sides of the boat, and fastened by a rope to prevent loss; oars were used also for steering—one for small boats, several on either side at the stern for larger craft.

1 See Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 1 411.

2 Against the latter see Sayce, *PSBA*, June, 1896, p. 173, who argues that if Ḫammurabi = 'Amraphel, king of Shinar' (Gen. 14 1), and if Ḫammurabi reigned in N. Babylonia, it follows that Sumer (= S. Babylonia) cannot be the biblical Shinar. So, too, *Pat. Pal.* 67.

3 'Miṣṣur' is a less probable emendation, though it would suit in Gen. 11 2, if בבל in *v.* 9 was originally בלע = צער = מצור. ('Bela' probably comes from 'Jeraḥmeel.')

4 מקדם, *v.* 2, was doubtless originally בירחמאל (so also 13 11). Cp PARADISE, § 6.

1 [These statements are open to criticism, both on the ground of their inherent improbability and because there are indications that the original form of the text (already corrupt in the redactor's time), was very different from that in MT, whilst the statement in 1 Esd. is an invention suggested by the manipulated form of the narrative of Solomon's temple.—T. K. C.]

2 They would seem to have been heavier than the boats of the Esquimaux, constructed of skins and whale-bone; see Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*(6), 483 *f.*

3 On Polynesian navigation cp A. De Quatrefages, *The Human Species*(5) (*ISS*), p. 191 *ff.*

At a later date boats of this build carried, in addition to oars, 'a rectangular square sail which was probably made of papyrus matting' (Erman). For the mast two pieces of wood fastened together at the top were employed; it was held in its place by large ropes or shrouds fastened at the bows and stern, other ropes being attached to other parts of the boat to give additional strength. 'The yard-arm rested on the point of the mast' (see Erman, 481). These were long flat boats. Having little depth, a cabin[1] fitted on the deck suffices both for the ship-master's accommodation and for a hold; in some of the rowing-boats nearly the whole length of the deck is taken up by the cabin so that a sail can hardly have been used. A cargo would, of course, have to be stowed on deck, and boats carrying a large freight seem always to have been towed.

3. Boats with sails.

A great advance is made under the Middle Empire. The double mast gives place to a stout single one, the steering-oars to a large rudder; the sail now has two yards, the upper one being fastened to the mast by ropes, not, as before, fixed to the top of it. In the New Empire the vessels increased in size and complexity, and were elaborately adorned (cp Ezek. 27). In the sailing-boat of Queen Ha'tshepsu (see fig. 1) the mast and sail have assumed huge proportions, and the yards are constructed of two pieces of wood. Here we get a craft to which we may strictly apply the term 'ship.' Something of the kind may perhaps be meant by the צִי אַדִּיר, *ṣī 'addīr*, EV 'gallant ship,' of Is. 33 21, which is contrasted with the *ŏnī-šáyiṭ* in the same passage.

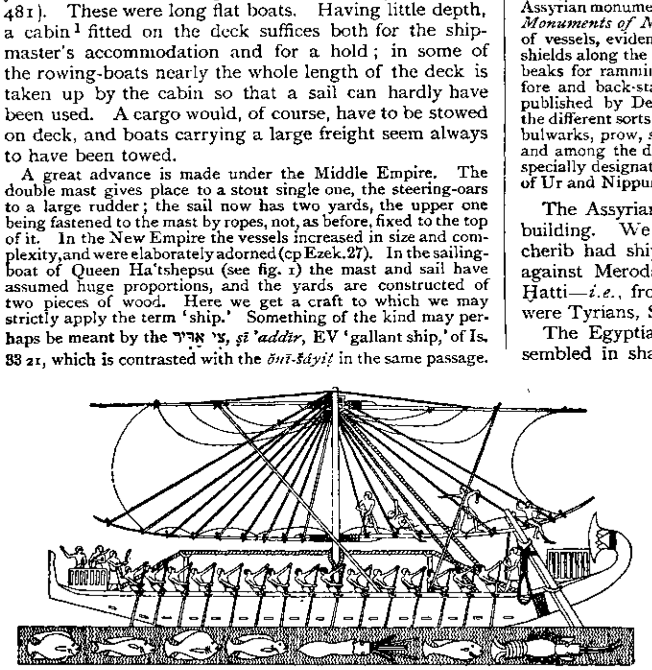


FIG. 1.—Sailing boat of Queen Ha'tshepsu (Chnemtamun). After Erman.

In *v.* 23 'tackling' (חֲבָלִים, *ḥăbālīm*), 'mast' (תֹּרֶן, *tōren*), and 'sail' (נֵס, *nēs*), are referred to. Nor must we overlook the fine poetic similitude of Ezekiel (chap. 27) in which Tyre is compared to a ship. The oars are said to have been made of oak, the deck of ivory inlaid in cedarwood. The sail was of fine linen with embroidered work to serve as ensign; the cabin of blue and purple stuffs. It has been suggested that the many-coloured sails of the ancients may have served as distinguishing signs. Flags, as Cornill (on Ezek. 27 7) seems to have conclusively shown, were not known in antiquity.[2]

4. Chaldæan ships.

In a famous passage of II. Is. we find the phrase 'even the Chaldæans, in the ships of their rejoicing' (Is. 43 14, RV).[3] That the ships of Uru on the Persian Gulf (see UR OF THE CHALDEES) appear prominently in very early inscriptions, and that there is evidence of commercial intercourse between Babylonia and India at least as early as the seventh century B.C. (OPHIR, § 2), is undeniable. The Babylonian Deluge-story, moreover, gives an elaborate account of an *elippu* or ship—*i.e.*, the 'ark.' And even the Assyrians, who were an inland people, were by no means limited to the round *kufas* or coracles, or to the *kelek* or raft.

Kufas and *keleks* are not the only vessels represented on the Assyrian monuments and referred to in the inscriptions. Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh* (pl. 71) gives illustrations of a number of vessels, evidently war-ships, having two banks of oars, and shields along the bulwarks. 'Five have sheer prows, and sharp beaks for ramming, and these have also a mast, a single yard, fore and back-stays, braces, and halliards.' A text (K. 4378) published by Delitzsch (*Ass. Lesestücke*,(2) 86-90) enumerates the different sorts of vessels. Masts, sails, yards, rudder, rigging, bulwarks, prow, stern, deck, hold, and keel are all mentioned; and among the different kinds of vessels the 'Assyrian ship' is specially designated, along with those of the Babylonian cities of Ur and Nippur.

The Assyrians, however, had no great skill in ship-building. We are told that in 696 or 695 B.C. Sennacherib had ships built at Til Barsip for his expedition against Merodach-baladan. But the carpenters were Ḫatti—*i.e.*, from the land of the West—and the sailors were Tyrians, Sidonians, and Ionians (Javnâi).

5. Merchant-ships in OT.

The Egyptian ships mentioned above (§ 3, end) resembled in shape the war-ships of a later time rather than the merchant vessels, for whilst the war-ships (πλοῖα πολεμικά, 1 Macc. 15 3) were, like these, long (μακραί; *navis longa*), the merchant-ships (אֳנִיּוֹת סוֹחֵר, *ŏniyyōth sōḥēr*; Prov. 31 14, *oneraria*) became round and deep (στρογγύλαι). The increase in depth allowed of a hold (cp the [rare and late] term סְפִינָה, *sĕphīnāh*, in Jon. 1 5, from √ספן, 'to cover,' and the expression יַרְכְּתֵי הס", *yarkĕthē hassĕphīnāh*, 'sides of the ship'). We hear in the OT of a special class of merchant-ship—the so-called Taršiš ships (אֳנִיּוֹת תַּרְשִׁישׁ, *ŏniyyōth taršīš*, 1 K. 22 48). They seem to have been ships of large build, and the expression has often been compared to our East- or West-Indiamen. They were no doubt provided with oars as well as with a sail or sails.

Elsewhere (see TARSHISH) the phrase, or rather the probable earlier reading of the phrase, has been explained as meaning 'galleys with oars.' Torr (*2 f.*), assuming with most that *taršīš* is the correct reading, makes the following suggestion. 'Among the Greeks the oars of a ship were collectively termed *tarsos*, and among the Hebrews ships of a certain type were known as ships of taršiš; and Tarsos and Taršiš were the Greek and Hebrew names for Tarsus in Cilicia. The coincidence suggests that this city was pre-eminent in furthering the use of oars upon the Mediterranean. But of this there are no records.'

6. Navigation among the Jews.

In spite of their surroundings, however, the Israelites (see PALESTINE, PHŒNICIA, GALILEE [SEA OF], RED SEA, NILE, etc.) seem to have taken little interest in navigation.[1] Not until the Maccabæan times was the importance of harbours realised, and the value of ships to some extent appreciated, whether for the purposes of trade or for war.[2] Simon the Maccabee converted Joppa into a Jewish port (1 Macc. 14 5), and Herod established another harbour at Cæsarea (Jos. *BJ* i. 21 5 *Ant.* xvii. 5 1 xv. 9 6)—a harbour famous on account of the part it plays in the story of Paul's journeys (Acts 9 30 18 22 27 2). Israel's knowledge of

[1] The hut or cabin seems to have been quite an ancient feature. Dr. Budge in *A History of Egypt* (1 73 *f.* [1902]) gives illustrations of ships drawn from predynastic vases in the British Museum, which he describes as follows: 'Each boat contains two small huts, which are placed amidships, and attached to one of these is a sort of mast, on the top of which is an emblem of some kind; in the front of the boat is placed what appears to be a branch or bough of a tree, and in some examples a rope for tying up is represented under the front of the boat, and steering poles are represented at the stern.'

[2] Egyptian ships seem to have received names at quite an early date. See L. B. Paton, *The Early History of Syria and Palestine*, 71 *f.* Standards are found, according to Dr. Budge (*A History of Egypt*, 1 78), on the boats represented upon predynastic vases. The object of the bough or mat in these boats (see above, n. 1) 'seems to have been to supply to all beholders information concerning the tribe and family of the occupant of the boat. The short mast which was attached to the aft cabin was probably used for displaying a flag or symbol which either referred to the country or city of the master of the boat, or declared his rank.'

[3] [So Kittel, 'the text seems incurably corrupt.' Dillmann, it is true, accepts the text, and only stumbles at the ו before כַּשְׂדִּים. For the present state of the question see 'Isa.' *SBOT* (Heb.), *ad loc.*, and *Crit. Bib.*]

[1] Their lack of interest and ignorance in this respect is somewhat surprising. Cp, however, what we learn of certain maritime tribes among the Esquimaux, viz., that they are 'ignorant, even traditionally, of the existence of a boat.'—Ross, *Baffin's Bay*, 170 (quoted by Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*,(6) 483).

[2] In AV of 1 Macc. 1 17 2 Macc. 12 9 the term NAVY is used.

SHIP

ships, such as it was, must after the settlement have been derived from the Phœnicians and Philistines in whose hands were the harbours along the coast. It is true that some of the tribes seem to figure in the early legends as seafaring (cp Ps. 107 23-30); but, apart from the fact that these stories are legendary, the text does not seem to have been transmitted to us in its original form (cp Gen. 49 13 Dt. 33 19 Judg. 5 17, and see ASHER, DAN, ZEBULUN). The description of the ARK (*q.v.*) also shows a slight knowledge of such matters (see Now. *HA* 1 248). It has been pointed out, too, that when David had an opportunity of seizing Philistine harbours it did not occur to him to take it. Solomon's connection with the sea—he is said to have had a 'NAVY of Tarshish'—seems to have been due to Hiram; we know that his ships were manned by Hiram's men (1 K. 9 26 *f.*). On the difficulties of these passages see SOLOMON, §§ 3 *b* 4. Jehoshaphat is said to have built 'Taršiš-ships'; but his naval experience was a disastrous one (1 K. 22 48 2 Ch. 20 36*f.*; see EZION-GEBER). The war-ships of which we hear in the Apocrypha (1 Macc. 8 26 15 3; cp Dan. 11 30) were no doubt similar to those in use amongst the Greeks and Romans. See Smith's *Dict.* under 'navis.'

In the NT we hear of vessels on the sea of Galilee (Mt. 4 21 *f.* 8 24 14 24 Mk. 4 37). The Greek term commonly employed is πλοῖον,[1] which AV translates 'ship.' RV renders 'boat,' but, as has been pointed out elsewhere (Kitto, *Bibl. Cycl.* under 'ship'), passages in Josephus which refer to navigation on the lake (*BJ* iii. 10 1; *Vit.* 33) suggest that the barks on this piece of water were something

7. Boats in NT.



FIG. 2.—A merchant-ship of 186 A.D. After Torr (*Ancient Ships*).

more than boats (they carried an anchor, and are called σκάφη by Josephus). In the time of Jesus some of these were owned by his disciples (Mt. 4 21 Jn. 21 3 Lk. 5 3), and the same writer points out that, having regard to the evidence in Josephus, it is a mistake to 'represent the Galilæan fishermen as of the poorest class.'

8. Merchant-ships in NT.

The most important references, however, to ships and navigation in the NT are found in the story of Paul's voyage to Rome.[2] This narrative (Acts 27 *f.*) may be best illustrated by studying two representations of ancient merchant-ships that have come down to us, in which all (or most of) the parts mentioned are depicted. A merchant-ship of 186 A.D.,[3] for instance, is represented on a coin of the emperor Commodus (see fig. 2; cp Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul,*(4) 202). Here we see the two steering-oars (cp Acts 27 40, τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων) at the stern (ἡ πρύμνα), which supplied the place of the rudder of later times; in this case it is to be noted that the upper parts of the oars are protected from the waves by a covering—'a prolongation of the upper waling-pieces, or something of the sort' (Torr); and that the sails have bands of rope sewn across to strengthen them. Such a ship would rely for travelling on the large square sail which is figured in about the centre (cp Acts 27 17, τὸ σκεῦος). The small sail at the bow was subsidiary; the name of this foresail[1] was *artemon* (ἀρτέμων, Acts 27 40), not *dolon* (δόλων), as has sometimes been thought.

The object at the stern, which Smith takes to be a mast, might be taken to suggest that there was also a sail at the stern, as Pliny (*Proœm.* in lib. xix.; see Smith, p. 192) asserts that there sometimes was; but the use of such a sail would seem to have been quite exceptional, as it does not appear to be represented in the pictures that have come down to us. In fig. 2 the object does not resemble a mast (as in Smith's reproduction) so much as an oar. In any case it may be only a spare mast (or oar), or may even be an addition on the part of the original artist.

These merchant-ships were often of considerable size. The Alexandrian ship (πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινόν; Acts 27 6) in which Paul is said to have started on his voyage to Rome carried, according to the Alexandrian MS, 276 persons (the Vatican MS, however, has 76) in addition to its cargo (*v.* 37); and when this vessel was wrecked another merchant-ship took on board all these passengers in addition to its own freight.

9. Undergirders.

In Acts 27 17 we are told that when the ship was in danger of shipwreck 'they used helps, undergirding the ship' (βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο, ὑποζωννύντες τὸ πλοῖον). These helps, which are called elsewhere hypozōmata (ὑποζώματα), were cables for undergirding and strengthening the hull, especially in bad weather. As to the method in which they were attached, however, there is some question.

According to Torr they were 'fastened round the ship horizontally; the two ends of each cable being joined together, so as to make it a complete girdle extending from stem to stern along the starboard side and back from stern to stem along the port side.' Smith, however, contends that the hypozomata were bound 'round the middle of the ship at right angles to the length, and not parallel to it (he is followed by Ramsay, p. 329).' He claims that Böckh (who held the alternative view;[2] p. 134 [see § 12]) has misquoted the passage on which he relies as evidence (Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, x. 15 6). Böckh gave as the crucial words 'quemadmodum navis a puppi ad proram continetur.' Smith ((4) p. 213) gives as the correct text 'q. *malus* navis, etc.,' which he maintains supports his view ('the word "malus" is omitted in the edition of Schneider, but is retained in the later carefully edited edition of Poleni, Utini, 1829'). Torr's quotation (41, n. 100), however, agrees with that of Böckh; he adds, 'this shows that the girding cables went from the stem of a ship to the stern.' In Teubner's text (1899; ed. V. Rose) the words are 'ita religati quemadmodum navi a puppi ad proram'; but in the notes 'navis' is given as the common reading. The whole passage, moreover, seems to be obscure. On the strength of a passage from Isidore (*Orig.* 19 4, 'tormentum, funis in navibus longis qui a prora ad puppim extenditur quo magis constringantur; tormentum autem a tortu dicta'), Smith admits that 'it does appear that ropes were occasionally applied in a longitudinal as well as in a transverse direction, to prevent ships from straining' (p. 213). In the passage on which this admission is based, however, the reference may be to a rope such as that which we see stretched amidship over posts from stem to stern of the Egyptian ships on the relief from Deir-el-Baḥri—a rope which was designed perhaps more for strengthening the heavily-laden mast than for holding together the hull, round which, as a matter of fact, the ends of the rope are fastened at right angles to the length (see fig. 1). If, as Smith affirms (p. 214),—speaking as one who had had practical experience in seamanship—undergirding lengthways is 'a mode which must have been as impracticable as it would have been

1 There is mention also of a πλοιάριον or of πλοιάρια, especially in Jn.

2 As a tent-maker Paul may also have been a sail-maker, and may have travelled in this capacity.

3 Figs. 2 and 3 have been chosen for their illustrative value. As to the date of ACTS (*q.v.*) no suggestion of course is here offered.

1 A writer in Schenkel (*BL*) speaks of the *artemon*, or top-gallant sail, but see Smith, 192 *ff.* 'The word has been interpreted by various writers as meaning nearly every sail which a vessel carries.'—R. J. Knowling, *Expos. Gk. Test.* 2 535.

2 So also Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten* [1886], p. 670; see Knowling, p. 524, who also inclines to follow Böckh.

unavailing for the purpose of strengthening the ship,' the other view seems preferable until further evidence is forthcoming.

Another interesting representation of a large merchant-ship is that of about 200 A.D. on a relief found at Porto near the mouth of the Tiber (see fig. 3).

10. The Porto relief.

This picture illustrates many features in the ancient merchant-ships. The hull of a ship was commonly painted, sometimes for a special purpose—as in war, to make the vessel as little conspicuous as possible; but in addition to this it was often decorated, especially at the stern. We see an example of this decoration in the Porto relief, a group of figures being depicted at the stern. The ornament on the stern-post was often a swan or goose head (χηνίσκος). It figures at a very early period; it is represented for instance on the Asiatic ship of the naval battle of Rameses III. as represented on a bas-relief at Medinet Habu (see Warre-Cornish, *Dict. of Gk.*

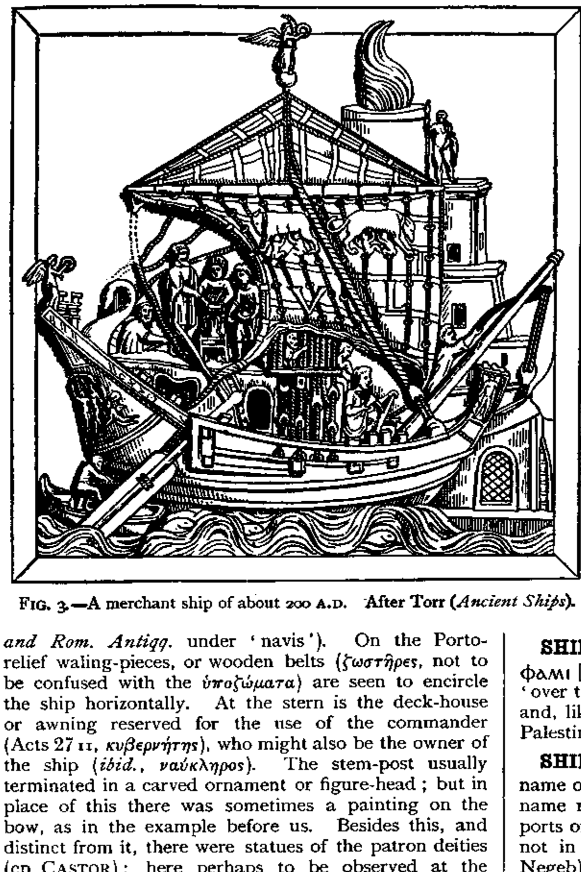


FIG. 3.—A merchant ship of about 200 A.D. After Torr (*Ancient Ships*).

and Rom. Antiqq. under 'navis'). On the Porto-relief waling-pieces, or wooden belts (ζωστῆρες, not to be confused with the ὑποζώματα) are seen to encircle the ship horizontally. At the stern is the deck-house or awning reserved for the use of the commander (Acts 27 11, κυβερνήτης), who might also be the owner of the ship (*ibid.*, ναύκληρος). The stem-post usually terminated in a carved ornament or figure-head; but in place of this there was sometimes a painting on the bow, as in the example before us. Besides this, and distinct from it, there were statues of the patron deities (cp CASTOR); here perhaps to be observed at the stern. In this ship there are galleries projecting at the bow and the stern; the latter contains the deck-house (mentioned above), in that at the bow were probably stowed the anchors and other instruments (στροφεῖα καὶ περιαγωγεῖς, windlasses, etc.?). At the stern are the steering oars, here again protected by the upper waling-pieces. The large sail in the centre has brailing-ropes (κάλοι) and rings, and the mast is kept in position by a number of other ropes. The rope by which the lower corner of the sail was attached to the side of the ship—the sheet—was called *pes veli* or πούς; in the case of a large sail, such as this, when two ropes would be required, πούς would denote the rope which drew it aft, whilst πρόπους (*propes*) designated the rope which drew it forward, or the tack. Various designs were often woven upon the sail; we seem to have an example in this picture. At the bow is a smaller mast to carry the *artemon.* But a third sail is to be noted on this ship. This is above the large square sail. Being triangular in shape and having its base along the main-yard and its apex attached to the top of the mast, it requires no topsail-yard. Similar triangular topsails are represented on some of the coins of the Emperor Commodus. Lastly, we notice that a small boat is being towed astern (cp Acts 27 16, ἡ σκάφη); this would be used for various purposes, but it was of special importance as a life-boat in case of shipwreck (Acts 27 16 30 32). It could even be hoisted on board.[1]

From Acts 27 29 it appears that sometimes several anchors were carried.

11. Anchors, etc.

At first stones were used for this purpose; later, the anchors resemble very much those of modern times, they were provided with arms, stocks, and crowns, but had no flukes at the extremities of the arms.[2] Ships also carried a plumb-line for sounding (cp Acts 27 28, βολίς); but the want of a compass made navigation often very dangerous—the stars, by which the course of a vessel was directed, not always being visible (cp Acts 27 20).[3]

An ancient ship could sail, according to Smith, at an angle of about seven points with the wind. 'We have no information,' he says, 'as to the exact angle with the wind which an ancient ship could sail. It must, however, have been less than eight points, but more than six, the usual allowance for a modern merchant-ship, in moderate weather. I have, therefore, in my calculations taken seven as the mean between these extremes, and I cannot suppose it would be much greater or less' (p. 215).

Before putting out to sea it was usual to make supplication to the protecting deities for a prosperous voyage (Wisd. 14 1).[4] Cp, further, TRADE.

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M. A. C.

SHIPHI (שִׁפְעִי), ancestor of ZIZA (*q.v.*): 1 Ch. 4 37† (ϲαφαλ [B], ϲεφει [A], ϲωφει [L]).

SHIPHMITE (שִׁפְמִי; ο τογ ϲεφν[ε]ι [BA], ϲαφαμι [L]), a gentilic attached to ZABDI, 3, who was 'over the increase of David's vineyards' (1 Ch. 27 27), and, like his companions, presumably belonged to S. Palestine. See SHEPHAM.

SHIPHRAH (שִׁפְרָה, § 51; ϲεπφωρα [BAFL]), the name of one of the Hebrew midwives; Ex. 1 15. This name may be regarded (Che.) as one of the minor supports of the theory that the sojourn of the Israelites was not in Miṣraim (Egypt), but in Miṣrim (in part of the Negeb). Cp MOSES, § 4.

SHIPHTAN (שִׁפְטָן; ϲαβαθα [B], ϲαβαθαν [A], ϲαφαταν [F], (ϲ)αφαθα [L]), an Ephramite, father

1 The above description is based upon Torr's standard work (see § 12).

2 See the coin of Antoninus Pius (given in Smith, 210).

3 Cp A. De Quatrefages, *op. cit.* p. 193: 'The Polynesians knew perfectly well how to direct their course at sea by the stars, and the route from one point to another once observed was inscribed, if we may use the expression, in a song which would never be forgotten.'

4 Cp the description in Grote, *Hist. of Greece*: 'Silence having been enjoined and obtained by sound of trumpet, both the crews in every ship and the spectators on shore followed the voice of the herald in praying to the gods for success, and in singing the pæan. On every ship were seen bowls of wine prepared and the epibatæ made libations with goblets of silver and gold.'

of Kemuel; Nu. 34 24. For a theory of the origin of the name cp SHAPHAT, and KEMUEL.

SHIRT (Judg. 14 12), AVmg., AV SHEET.

SHISHA (שִׁישָׁא, 1 K. 4 3†), in 1 Ch. 18 16, SHAVSHA.

SHISHAK (שִׁישַׁק, cp Vg. *Sesac*, 1 K. 14 25, more correctly שׁוֹשַׁק—*i.e.*, Shōshaḳ [Kt.]), the king of Egypt to whom Jeroboam fled (1 K. 11 40) and who plundered Jerusalem and the temple in the fifth year of king Rehoboam, 1 K. 14 25 (2 Ch. 12 2 5 7 9).[1]

1. Šošenk I. Egyptologists have always recognised in this name the first king of the twenty-second, Bubastide, dynasty, Shoshenḳ I. His personal name *Sa-ša-n* (sometimes *nu*, sometimes assimilated)-*ḳ*[2] is undoubtedly of Libyan etymology, like several other names of that royal family. The vowels of the name are rendered *Su-si-in-ḳu* (*i.e.*, Shoshenḳ) by the Assyrians,[3] and the biblical orthography confirms this pronunciation. Josephus (*Ant.* vii. 5 3 viii. 10 2) has the form Σουσακος (in another recension Σισωκος) after 𝔊. Manetho transliterates Σεσῶγχις (var. Σεσωγχασις), and according to Wilcken (quoted *Beitr. zur Assyr.* 1 351) a Theban ostracon has the name Σέσογχσι.[4] This vocalisation Sheshónk is later but not necessarily wrong, as the Libyan languages (like modern French, for example) have little or no accent. The original pronunciation may thus have been *Shâshânk*, exactly as the name is spelt in Egyptian. The assimilation of *n* is sometimes met with already in hieroglyphics (cp above). The reading of 𝔊, Σουσακ(ε)ιμ, seems to have arisen from an attempt to put in again this assimilated *n*.[5]

On the origin of this founder of a new dynasty from a family of Libyan officers, see EGYPT, § 63.[6] The connection by marriage with the high priests of Memphis seems to mark the first step towards high influence for these 'commanders of the Mashauasha.' The exact date of Shoshenḳ I.'s accession to the throne would be of the highest importance for biblical chronology, but cannot be determined exactly with our present material. The end of the twenty-second dynasty seems to fall somewhat after 800 B.C. Manetho gives the sum of the dynasty as 120 (the single items amount to 116), which would bring us to about 920; but the Manethonian dates conflict with monumental dates which give at least 220 years.[7] We have, evidently, a great many co-regencies for which we may allow some fifty years, so that the beginning of Shoshenḳ's reign would be about 950.

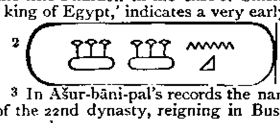
More cannot be said; but, fortunately, the Tyrian chronology in Menander[8] seems to show that we can place the first year of dynasty twenty-two after 950 B.C. (On the campaign against Jerusalem, cp below, § 3, and CHRONOLOGY, § 32). Twenty-one years are monumentally attested for Shoshenk on an inscription in the quarries of Silsileh, announcing that the king ordered stone to be quarried for great constructions in the temple of Amon at Thebes. These seem to be the constructions on the SE. side of the second pylon; their completion would point to a somewhat longer reign. Manetho, however, in Julius Africanus, gives only twenty-one years to the king.

Sculptures on the S. wall of the great temple at Karnak present the list of Palestinian cities conquered by this king,[1] a monument of great historical importance, for a specimen of which see EGYPT, § 64. So far, 133 ovals with names are known,[2] of which, however, many are destroyed. Each oval is surrounded by a line indicating a fortified wall; a bound captive above indicates that this strong city was conquered by Pharaoh. The figures are certainly not portraits, but symbolical. The names have been distributed very awkwardly by the ignorant sculptor; *e.g.*, one name has been mechanically divided into three names, so that now (107) 'the fields (108) of Arad (109) the Great' reads as if three separate cities were intended. The rendering of the names, which is good for the consonants, but very imperfect for the vowels, suggests sources in so-called Phœnician letters in an Aramaic or half-Aramaic language (*As. u. Eur. ll.c.*). A geographical arrangement of the list (which properly begins only with the

2. List of cities. 11th oval) cannot be established; the most important cities come first, Israelitish and Judæan names being freely mixed. Many writers have been surprised at the mention of N. Israelite cities, because from 1 K. 11 48 we should have expected Shoshenḳ to have been a friend and helper of Jeroboam.[3] C. Niebuhr (*Chronologie der Gesch. Isr.*, vii.) thinks that the Pharaoh conquered the Israelitish cities for his vassal (cp Wi. *GI* 1 160); cp, however, Stade's correct observation in *GI* 1 354. The truth is (see Masp. *Hist.* 2 774, and cp *As. u. Eur.* 166) that it is not necessary to assume that any of these northern cities were attacked by the Egyptians. Their enumeration merely means that the northern kingdom was tributary; it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to the actual conquest,[4] and these seem to belong to Judah. The tribute, which the Pharaoh claimed everywhere, was promptly given by Jeroboam who owed his throne to Egypt; in Judah it had to be exacted by force. The Philistine cities were omitted in the list. As usual, no full record of the conquests was given, but only a specimen which, in this case, comprised David's and Solomon's kingdom. The Philistines were certainly not exempt from the tribute, and it would be strange if the expedition had not comprised Phœnicia, at least.[5]

The date of Shoshenk's expedition is unknown. Maspero's conclusion (*Hist.* 2 773) that it must have been not more than two or three years before the opening of the quarry in Silsileh, is very precarious. It would be more natural to assume that the king undertook the expedition not long after his accession,

1 See PHARAOH, § 2 [5], for an explanation of the absence of the title Pharaoh in the case of Shishak; that he is only called 'king of Egypt,' indicates a very early source.

2 

3 In Ašur-bāni-pal's records the name is used of a descendant of the 22nd dynasty, reigning in Busiris (*Bu-ši-ri*) as a simple nomarch.

4 Pseudo-Callisthenes and others (see Wiedemann on Herod. 2 102) have preserved the name as Sesonchosis. They confound the king with the fabulous Sesostris. We can thus see that Sheshonḳ-Sesonchosis must later have enjoyed the reputation of being a great warrior.

5 The variant *ša-ša-ḳ(e)-n* occurs, but too rarely to be considered legitimate (see Lieblein, *Dict. de noms*). Wiedemann, *Gesch. Æg.* 548, quotes *Shesakus* from Abulfarag, *Asochæus* (as also some late MSS. of Josephus have) from Method. in Phot. 300 *b*.

6 The unfortunate theory that the family was Assyrian (Birch, Lauth, Brugsch) and that in Takelōt we have to recognise Tiglath (Assyrian *tukultu*), in *Ne-ma-ra-te* (probably Ašur-bāni-pal's *Lamintu* furnishes the correct pronunciation) Nimrod, etc., is now generally abandoned.

7 See *MVAG* 5 31, for a summary of the chronological question.

8 See Wi. *KAT*(3) 120.

1 Published Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* 148; Champollion, *Monuments*, 284; *Notices*, 2 113; a revision by Maspero, *Rec. de Travaux*, 7 100. A considerable literature has been called into existence by this list. See Blau in *ZDMG* 15 233; Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* 2 56; Masp. *ÄZ*, 1880, 44 (and in the *Victoria Institute*, vol. xxvii.); Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 661; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 166, etc. It may be mentioned that another copy, unfortunately hopelessly defaced, has recently been found in another locality (Hibeh in Upper Egypt); cp *Annales du service des antiquités*, 2 154.

2 Two more rows have recently been excavated. A new edition of the whole monument by the present writer will soon appear in *MVAG*, to which the reader must be referred.

3 According to 𝔊 of 1 K. 12 24, which is modelled on 1 K. 11 (see HADAD), Shishak was Jeroboam's father-in-law.

4 Such as the 'surrounding' (חקל, Aramaic word) of, or the road to, a city.

5 Name 29, *Yu-d-h-ma-ru-k* was explained by Champollion as 'roi de Juda' and this error which seemed to furnish a portrait of Rehoboam has become as popular as most flagrant errors. The present writer has (*PSBA* 10 81) proposed יַד־הַמֶּלֶךְ, 'hand (*i.e.*, sign, monument?) of the king,' as name of a city. The article would, however, be uncommon, and this makes the explanation somewhat doubtful. The interpretation of Brugsch (*Geogr. Inschr.* ii. 6 2) and Maspero (*Hist.*(2) 2, ll.), Jehud in Dan, does not agree with the orthography.

after the manner of so many kings. A reference to 'expeditions in the countries of the Syrians' (*R-ṭ-nu*), which seems to mean Shoshenḳ's campaign, is discussed in *OLZ* 4 280; a determination of the year in which a certain official was governor of Thebes (or vizir) would furnish the date of the expedition.

The other constructions of the king of which traces have been found in Thebes, Memphis, Pithom, Tel(l) el-Yehūdeh,[1] Bubastus (Naville, *Bubastis*, 46), Hibeh (see above) do not seem to have been very considerable.

Shishak's wife had the name *Ka-r-'-ma*, frequent in dynasty 22. At any rate, 1 K. 11 19 need not be referred to, since Hadad's exile in Miṣraim seems rather to point to an old misinterpretation of Muṣri, S. of Palestine. See HADAD, 3; JEROBOAM, 1; SOLOMON. W. M. M.

3. Shishak = Cushi? The study of the historical episodes with which the name of Shishak is connected has passed into a new phase owing to Winckler's discovery of the N. Arabian land of Muṣri in a number of passages in the OT (see Winckler, in *KAT*(3) 146 *f.*, and for a fuller, though still incomplete, list of OT references, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). Already in 1898 (*MVAG*, 1898, 1, pp. 14 *f.*, note, (3) cp *GI* 2 269 *f.* [1900]) this scholar pointed out the possibility of the view that Jeroboam fled not to Egypt but to Muṣri, and in 1899 (*JQR*, July, see especially 558-560, and cp JEROBOAM, 1) Cheyne discussed at length and in their connection the references to מצרים in the accounts of Solomon and Jeroboam. In 1902 (*KAT*(3) 243, cp *GI* 1 160) Winckler reaffirmed the view of C. Niebuhr that Shishak conquered N. Israel for Jeroboam, adding that even if Jeroboam took refuge in Muṣri, not in Egypt, it was natural for a Pharaoh to favour the plans of Jeroboam on the principle *divide et impera.* He remarks, however, that Egyptian supremacy in Palestine did not last long; the mutual enmity of Israel and Judah drove them into the arms of their stronger neighbours, Tyre and Damascus. He still holds that 'Shishak' in 1 K. 11 40 is an interpolation (so also Che. *JQR*, *l.c.*). Unfortunately there are four not altogether insignificant objections to this view.

1. There is much evidence in the OT for the view that N. Arabian potentates were constantly interfering in the affairs of Palestine in the regal period, whilst most probably there is no evidence (cp SOLOMON, § 5 *ff.*) that Egypt even occasionally interfered, until we come to the time of Neco and Apries, and even in the case of these kings there is room for doubt whether the Hebrew editor has not fallen into misunderstandings.

2. If 'king of מצרים' means 'king of Miṣrim' in 1 K. 11 40, the presumption is that it has the same meaning in 1 K. 14 25; we can hardly doubt that the invasion of Judah there referred to has some connection with the plot which Jeroboam hatched in Miṣrim during his sojourn there.

3. The fortresses built by Rehoboam, according to 2 Ch. 11 5-10, were most probably intended to guard against a N. Arabian invasion (see REHOBOAM).

4. From a text-critical point of view it is difficult to doubt that שישק (MT) and שושקים (𝔊 σουσακειμ) are corruptions of כוש and כושים respectively. They belong to well-ascertained types of textual corruption (cp *Crit. Bib.* on Is. 66 20 Zech. 14 15 where סוס comes from כוש, and see SHESHACH, SHASHAK). In 2 Ch. 12 3 ('the Lubim, the Sukkiim, and the Cushites') the second of the three ethnics is no ethnic at all (but cp SUKKIIM); כושים was written the first time כשים (cp Am. 9 7). לובים should be לודים—*i.e.*, probably גלעדים (the people of the southern Gilead [Jer. 8 22 and often]. We may, therefore, hold that, whether or no Shoshenḳ I. really invaded Palestine, the event which is recorded in 1 K. 14 25 and 2 Ch. 12 2 9-12 is a N. Arabian invasion, such as is referred to in 2 Ch. 14 9. Shishak and σουσακειμ both represent כושי 'Cushi,' a name such as might appropriately be given to a king of Miṣrim. It is just possible that the redactor had heard of an Egyptian invasion by Shoshenḳ (cp PHARAOH, § 2 [5]); but no stress can safely be laid upon this. W. M. M. § 1 *f.*; T. K. C. § 3.

SHITRAI (שִׁטְרַי Kt., שִׁרְטַי Kr.; ασαρταις [B], σατραι [AL], Pesh. follows Kr.), a Sharonite, superintendent of Solomon's herds in Sharon; 1 Ch. 27 29. Kr. 'Shirtai' is probably right; the name (like SHAPHAT, which follows) comes from צרפתי, 'Zarephathite.'

T. K. C.

SHITTAH-TREE (שִׁטָּה; πυξος [Sym. ακαρπον ξυλον, Theod. ακανθα], Is. 41 19†), RV 'acacia-tree,' and **Shittim wood**, RV 'acacia wood' (עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים, ξυλα ασηπτα, Ex. 25 5 10 and often, Dt. 10 3). Originally *šinṭah;* borrowed from Ar. *sanṭ;* Egypt. *šnṭ* (perhaps *sondᵉt*) 'may very possibly be also a loan-word' (Erman, *ZDMG*, 1892, p. 120). Mentioned in Is., *l.c.*, between the cedar and the myrtle in a list of choice trees (see Jerome's comment), and used, according to Dt. (but interpolation is probable) in the construction of the ark, to which P in Ex. adds staves, boards, bars, table, pillars, altars in the tabernacle. It is perhaps too much to say with Tristram that the *Acacia seyâl* must be meant. It is true 'the timber [of that tree] is very hard and close-grained, and admirably adapted for fine cabinet work' (*NHB* 39). But Tristram's remark that this is 'the species of Acacia found' in the Arabian desert is not borne out by Doughty who writes thus (*Ar. Des.* 2 91):

'The eyes of the Aarab distinguish four kinds of the desert thorns; *ṭólḥ* (the gum-acacia), *sámmara*, *sillima*, and *siâla;* the leaves of them all are like [*i.e.*, small and pinnate], but the growth is diverse. The desert smiths cut *ṭólḥ*-timber for their wood work, it is heavy and tough; the other kinds are too brittle to serve them.' Elsewhere (2 678) he states that the *ṭólḥ*-timber is used for shipbuilding on the Arabian Red Sea coast. It must be difficult to those who are not 'Aarab' to distinguish the *ṭólḥ* (*ṭûlḥ*) from the *seyâl*, and both from the *sanṭ*.

Several species of acacia, including the *seyâl* and the *sanṭ*, are found, says Tristram, in the Holy Land to-day; probably all bore the same Heb. name *šiṭṭah*—*i.e.*, the 'prickly' or 'thorny tree' (Theod. ἄκανθα).

The *sanṭ* (*Acacia vera*, *Mimosa Nilotica*) grows both in Lower and in Upper Egypt, as Hasselquist long ago stated (*Travels*, 250). Robinson found it in Palestine in the western part of the Wādy es-Sanṭ, where perhaps formerly it was more abundant, since it has given its name to the Wādy. The *seyāl* too is abundant not only in Arabia (though less so, doubtless, than formerly), but also near En-gedi, where these trees form a characteristic feature of the landscape.

'They are trees of middle height, gnarled, with conspicuous branches, which form a head like a parasol, covered with light, elegant, and beautifully green leaves. The gum-arabic exudes from them in the autumn, at the base of the trunk, between the crevices of the bark, and coagulates in 'tears' as large as a hazel-nut, of a pale yellow colour, and almost transparent' (Lortet, *La Syrie d'aujourd'hui*, 111).

The golden-headed tufts of blossom are much admired (Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 489). The *seyāl* is 'less dependent on moisture than the palm, though certainly its finest specimens are found near springs' (E. H. Palmer, *Sinai*, 39). All these trees have painful thorns; 'happy I was, in those often adventures of night travelling in Arabia, never to have hurt an eye' (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 495). The species to which they belong includes more than 400 varieties, found in the dry, hot regions of Asia, Africa, and Australia (Delitzsch, in Riehm, *HWB* 1 66). See also ABEL-SHITTIM; BETH-SHITTAH; ELAH, VALLEY OF; MULBERRY-TREES.

T. K. C.

SHITTIM (הַשִּׁטִּים), Nu. 25 1, etc. See ABEL-SHITTIM; ELAH, VALLEY OF, col. 1253.

SHIZA (שִׁיזָא; possibly a battered clan-name; but cp שזא, the name of a Palmyrene family [Mordtmann, *Neue Beiträge zur Kunde Palmyras*, Munich, 1875, no. 55]), father of ADINA [*q.v.*], 1 Ch. 11 42 (σαιζα [B], σεζα [ℵ], σεχα [A], σιζαι [L]).

SHOA (שׁוֹעַ; σουε [BQ], σουδ [A]; Aq. *τύραννον*; Vulg. *tyrannos;* Pesh. reads *lud*), the name of a people, mentioned beside Koa, whose seats were not far from Babylonia (Ezek. 23 23). Delitzsch identifies it with Sutū, which occurs often in the cuneiform inscriptions beside Ḳutu (see KOA). A shorter and more original form is Su, whence the Hebrew form Shoa'. The country of the Su or Sutū lay on the Tigris, and extended as far as the southern declivities of the Medo-Elamite mountains (Del. *Par.* 235). On the dangers to which Babylonia was exposed from the incursions of the Sutū, see Sargon's Khors. inscription, 1 135 *f.* (*KB* 2 73). Ezekiel's list of names, however, has to be criticised before we can venture on identifications. How can 'all the Assyrians' be said to accompany the Sutū and the Ḳutu? PEKOD (*q.v.*) gives the key. The three names are—Rehoboth, Ishmael [שע], and Jerahmeel; and the 'b'ne Asshur' are the people of Ashhur (almost = Jerahmeel). See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

[1] Enumerated by Wiedemann, *GÄ* 550.

SHOBAB (שׁוֹבָב, cωBαB, as if 'backsliding,' but see below). 1. One of the sons of DAVID [§ 1 *a*, n. 2, § 11, n.] (2 S. 5$_{14}$: σωβαδαν [A], ιεσσεβαν [L]; 1 Ch. 3$_{5}$: σωβαν [B]; 14$_{4}$: ισοβοαμ [B], σωβηβ [L]). SHARAR in 2 S. 23$_{33}$*b* should perhaps be Shobab; cp HARARITE, 3.

2. A descendant of Caleb and Azubah (1 Ch. 2$_{18}$: ιασουβ [B], σουβαβ [L]).

The names of David's sons evidently spring from ethnics. ιεσσεβαν and ισοβοαμ point to ישבעל—*i.e.*, ישמעאל, 'Ishmael' (cp some of 𝔊's readings under ISHBAAL, JASHOBEAM). This explanation suits both 1 and 2. Cp *Crit. Bib.* on שׁוֹבָבִים, Jer. 50$_{6}$. The theories suggested under AZUBAH refer, on the whole, to MT. T. K. C.

SHOBACH (שׁוֹבָךְ), captain of the army of Hadad-ezer who was defeated and slain by David at Helam (2 S. 10$_{16-18}$: cωBαK [BA], [σαβ. Au. 18], cαBεε [L]). His name appears in 1 Ch. 19$_{16-18}$ as SHOPHACH (שׁוֹפָךְ, σωφαρ, σαφαθ [B], εσωφαρ [ℵ*], -αχ [ℵ$^{c.a?}$], σωφαχ, σωβαχ [A], σωφακ [L]).

If Hadad-ezer was really king of Muṣur, and not of Zoba (see ZOBA), 'Helam' (חילם, חילאם) will be a corruption of Jeraḥme'el (ירחמאל), and 'Shobach' (שובך) connected with יִשְׁבָּח, ISHBAH. Cp SHOBEK. T. K. C.

SHOBAI (שֹׁבָי; αBαOΥ, cαBει [B], cωBαι, cαBαι [A and ℵ in Neh.], cωBαι [L]). A family of NETHINIM [*q.v.*] in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9), Ezra 2$_{42}$ Neh. 7$_{45}$ = 1 Esd. 5$_{28}$; AV SAMI, RV SABI (σαβει [A], σωβαι [L], B om., unless τωβεις represents this name). If the Nethinim are Ethanite families (see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS), שבי will come from ישבי (as often from ישמאל). It was an Ishmaelite—*i.e.* Jerahmeelite—family. Cp. SHOBI. T. K. C.

SHOBAL (שׁוֹבָל, probably related to Ishmael, cp Ashbel, Ishbaal; hardly 'young lion,' as WRS *Journ. Phil.* 9$_{90}$ [see Gray, *HPN* 109], cωBαλ [BADEL]), b. Seir, a Horite (Gen. 36$_{20\ 23\ 29}$ [σωβαρ E] 1 Ch. 1$_{38\ 40}$; COΥBαλ [L in Ch.]). Another genealogical scheme (cp GENEALOGIES i., § 5) represents him as son of Hur (which, as it happens, may be shortened from Ashḥur[ite] or from Jeraḥmeel[ite]), and of Calebite origin (1 Ch. 2$_{50}$, σωβα[ρ] [BL]), and since the name 'Caleb' may also plausibly be traced to 'Jeraḥmeel,' and Judah was represented by legend (see JUDAH, § 3) as partly Jeraḥmeelite, it is natural to find Shobal appearing also as a *son* of Judah (1 Ch. 4$_{1}$, σουβαλ [BA]). The name Shobal is also perhaps to be identified with SHUBAEL [*q.v.*]. Turning to 1 Ch. 2$_{52}$ (σωβα[L]), we find that whilst one of Shobal's sons (Haroeh) appears at first sight to bear a personal name, all the rest bear gentilic names. The presumption is that Haroeh also is gentilic, and when we see the name under the form Reaiah (4$_{1}$) we cannot doubt that it is a shortened form of 'Jeraḥmeel.' This Haroeh, or (better) Reaiah, is said to be the 'father' of Kirjath-jearim, and there is now plausible historical evidence for the view that Kirjath-jearim is a corruption of Kirjath-jeraḥmeel (that is to say, the place was originally a Jeraḥmeelite settlement). To this place four families are assigned (2$_{53}$). Their names, however, have come down to us in a corrupt form. They appear to be partly parallel to the three 'families' of Kirjath-sepher (*i.e.*, Kirjath-sārĕphāthīm), given, according to the most probable reading, in 2$_{55}$. 'Ithrites' may correspond to 'Tirathites' (where an old tribal name Jether [cp ITHRITES] may be suspected); 'Shumathites' to 'Shimeathites' (cp Šimeon); 'Puthites' may come from 'Perathites' (Perath or Ephrath was an important name in the Negeb); 'Mishraites' (like 'Zorathites'?) reminds us of the 'Miṣrites,' a race akin to the Jeraḥmeelites (see *Crit. Bib.*).[1] The MANAHETHITES [*q.v.*] and Zorites or Zorathites (see ZORAH) are reckoned (if the text is correct) partly to Shobal and partly to Salma (*i.e.*, Bethlehem). 𝔊 found *vv.* 52 *ff.* unintelligible, and copied slavishly, but Pesh. ceases at *v.* 52 with an obscure enumeration of the sons of Shobal in Kirjath-jearim, thus omitting the sons of Salma [*v.* 54] and the notice of the Kenites [*v.* 55*b*]. The latter notice is enigmatical. We are perhaps meant to trace a connection between the Kenites and 'Salma' (see SALMAH, 2). It may be added that Hammath (so RV, following MT) is very possibly miswritten for מַעֲכָה, Maachath (but cp HEMATH). T. K. C.

[1] So partly Winckler (*GI* 2 186, n. 3). That 'Puthites' = a clan called 'Peleth' is improbable. See PELETHITES.

SHOBEK (שׁוֹבֵק; cωBHK [BℵA], cωBειρ [L]), signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10$_{24}$ [25]. Cp SHOBACH.

SHOBI (שֹׁבִי, see on SHOBAI), son of Nahash, of Rabbath-ammon, who brought supplies to David at Mahanaim (2 S. 17$_{27}$: OΥεcBει [BA], cεφεει [L]; Pesh. reads 'Abishai' [which is a corruption of 'Ishmael'], cp ZERUIAH). The combination of this enigmatical member of the Ammonite royal family with a Machir, whose real existence is certainly not proved by the reference in 2 S. 9$_{4}$ *f.*, and an old Gileadite who bears the difficult name Barzillai, and whose son bears the equally doubtful name Chimham, and both of whom are introduced again in a narrative of strongly romantic appearance, suggests critical caution. It is too slight a remedy to omit 'son of Nahash' as an incorrect gloss (We. *TBS* 201 n.). The verse is largely made up of corrupt variants and glosses, and the genuine kernel probably is, 'And it came to pass . . . that Jeraḥmeel, son of Jonathan, the Gilgalite,' where 'Jeraḥme'el' corresponds to 'Shobi' [Ishmael; see below], Machir to '[son of] Ammiel,' 'Jonathan' to 'Nahash,' and 'Gilgalite' to 'Gileadite.' The words 'Rabbath of the b'ne Ammon' are a corruption of 'Rehoboth-jeraḥmeel.' See, further, MEPHIBOSHETH, NAHASH, ROGELIM. But cp AMMON, § 4 (end), and HPSm., *ad loc.*, for attempts to explain MT.

S. A. Cook (*AJSL* 16 164 *f.* [1900] proposes to read ויבא for ושבי, and to omit בן as a later insertion consequent on the corrupt reading ('and Nahash, etc., brought'). It is better from our present point of view to read ויבא שבאל; ויבא easily fell out before שבאל, which form, being intermediate between שבי and ישמעאל, may once have taken the place of שבי. T. K. C.

SHOCHO (RV **Soco**), 2 Ch. 28$_{18}$; **SHOCHOH** (RV **Socoh**) 1 S. 17$_{1}$, and **SHOCO** (RV **Soco**) 2 Ch. 11$_{7}$. See SOCOH.

SHOES. Under this heading it will be convenient to take note of all coverings for the feet whether sandals, shoes, or boots, so far as they were known among the early Hebrews.

1. Introduction.

This treatment is in fact necessary on account of the ill-defined use of the various terms to denote coverings of this nature. The term 'sandal' is usually applied to a foot-covering consisting simply of a sole bound on with thongs, but it was also *tied* on, and so the word is roughly used by 𝔊 to denote the *na'al* (נַעַל, see § 3), the ordinary Hebrew term. The Gk. ὑπόδημα (lit., 'that which is bound *under* [the foot]') originally denoted a sandal; but it came to be applied to the Roman *calceus* (a shoe covering the whole foot), and is used by Josephus (*BJ* vi. 1 8) of the *caliga* (the thick shoe, studded with nails, worn by Roman soldiers).[1]

Coverings for the feet have not always formed a regular part of the clothing of the Oriental. Primarily, of course, everything depended upon the climate and the nature of the country. Upon the Assyrian monuments the warriors are not unfrequently barefooted, and many of the royal statues are totally devoid of any covering for the foot. In Egypt sandals were not in use before the fifth dynasty, their introduction was gradual, and their popularity a work of time; 'they were, when off the feet, sometimes carried by an attendant, showing that they were not always worn' (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2$_{336}$ n.).

[1] Examples of such extensions of usage could be easily multiplied (*e.g.*, Talm. מוקא, boot; מוקים, breeches). A shoe corresponding with the *caliga* is evidently referred to in *Shabb.* 60 *a*. In Syr., *na'lā* and its denominative are used of horse-shoes.

Examples of the ordinary sandals abound (for Egypt, see *op. cit.* 2, figs. 443 *f.*), and are represented upon the oldest monuments depicting inhabitants of Sardinia (WMM *As. u. Eur.* 374), Cilicia (*ib.* 340 *f.*), Western Asia Minor (*ib.* 364 *f.*), etc. They vary from a mere sole bound with a thong, to elegant and elaborate shoes of the richest ornamentation, and are variously made of such materials as palm-leaves, and papyrus stalks (Egypt), linen (Phœnicia), and leather (Assyria, etc.).[1]

2. Illustrations from the monuments.

In Assyria the simplest and most common variety consists of a sole with back and sides bound to the foot by two bands over the instep (see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc., 1 76), at times a third band crosses the toes, and is, again, sometimes connected with the straps over the instep.[2] In a painting on stucco from Nimrūd (*op. cit.*, 2, pl. xiv.), the sandals are coloured black, the straps yellow. A more serviceable and not uncommon variety is seen to advantage in the foot-gear of Ašur-bāni-pal's followers (*op. cit.*, 1 145, 2, opp. p. 138). Over a kind of tight-fitting bandage enveloping the leg is a boot reaching mid-way up the back of the calf, the uppers being connected by straps. Similar straps are interlaced from the top of the boot (top-lacings ?) and appear to be held up by a garter worn just below the knee.[3] A third important variety is seen in the turned-up boot, a characteristic feature of the Hittites (cp Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Judæa*, 2, fig. 282, and *passim*), a good example of which is seen in the representation of one of Ašur-naṣir-pal's vassals at Nimrūd (*Art in Ass.* 2, fig. 64). Finally, from the Egyptian monuments, we perceive that the Bedouins of the Sinaitic peninsula customarily went barefooted (as is common at the present day, see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 224); on the occasion of long journeys, however, they appear to have worn a sandal of black leather, the females, on the other hand, being depicted with a sort of boot, reaching to the ankle, of red leather with a white border.

From a consideration of these circumstances and our knowledge of the statues of the earliest Hebrews, we may suspect that they, too, at first, were unaccustomed to wear shoes save in travelling (cp Ex. 12 11 Dt. 29 5 Josh. 9 5 13),[4] although the fact that, in later times, to go barefooted (*i.e.*, to revert to the older practice) was looked upon as a deprivation and as a manifestation of grief (Is. 20 2-4 Ezek. 24 17 23, cp 2 S. 15 30) shows that the custom of wearing shoes soon became firmly established.

Shoes or sandals are frequently mentioned.

3. Heb. and Gk. terms.

The ordinary term is *nă'al*, נַעַל (√to confine, shut in),[5] EV 'shoe,' but RV 'sandals' in Cant. 7 1 [2], 𝔊 ὑποδήματα frequently, and σανδάλια in Josh. 9 5 Is. 20 2. Both occur in the NT, ὑποδήματα, Mt. 3 11 10 10 Mk. 1 7 etc. (EV 'shoes'), and σανδάλια, Mk. 6 9 Acts 12 8 (EV 'sandals'). Vg. has both *calceamenta* and *sandalia*. In the Mishna the term for a shoemaker is רַצְעַן סנדלר; the word 'sandal' had become naturalised. The strap by which the sandal is bound under the foot is called in biblical Hebrew *šĕrōk*, שְׂרוֹךְ (σφαιρωτήρ; and ἱμάς, with which cp Mk. 1 7 etc.) or *ḥūṭ*, חוּט (σπαρτίον), 'thread' (see, for both, Gen. 14 23). Once, according to most moderns (*e.g.*, Ges.-Buhl, Siegfr.-Stade, Di.-Kittel's *Is.*, Duhm, Kautzsch), who follow Ḳimḥi, there is mention of the military 'boot.' This is in Is. 9 5 [4] where RVmg. offers the reading, 'for every boot of the booted warrior,' etc. This view of the meaning is supported by a reference to Ass.,[1] Syr., and Eth. parallels. It is unknown, however, to the old exegetical tradition, which, so far as it presupposes סאון (or some word like it), supports the rendering 'tumult' (as if שָׁאוֹן); see Vg., Pesh., Sym., also Rashi, Ibn Ezra, AV ('battle'), one part of which probably supports the rendering 'armour,' the other 'tumult.' [𝔊's πᾶσαν στολὴν ἐπισυνηγμένην δόλῳ possibly represents כָּל־חֹסֶן חָסוּן בְּרֶשַׁע. Vg., Pesh., Sym., also Rashi, and Ibn Ezra explain שָׁאוֹן, 'tumult.'] AV ('battle') favours the latter view; RV the former.[2] Our right course is perhaps to compare parallel descriptions of the abolition of war elsewhere (*e.g.*, Ps. 46 9 [10]). So at any rate Cheyne, who rejects סאון altogether, and, finding other improbabilities in the text of Is. 9 4 [5], proposes a possible reconstruction (*SBOT*, 'Isa.,' *l.c.*).

4. Hebrew customs—references to the shoe.

There are many references to the shoe in the OT which have a close relation to important Hebrew customs, but the Hebrew and even the Greek text sometimes requires close preliminary investigation. (*a*) We notice first the command to Moses to draw off his shoes[3] when on holy ground (Ex. 3 5, cp 12 11 Josh. 5 15). This supplies a trace of a primitive taboo, to which those who assisted at religious festivals, especially in the sacred dance or procession (cp DANCE, §§ 2-6), were subject.[4] Tunics and the like were washed to avoid this taboo. In Egypt, too, we find that the priests frequently took off their sandals when officiating in the temple. On the other hand, a worshipper such as Ašur-naṣir-pal offers a libation still wearing them (Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc., 2 fig. 113). The Talmud says (*Yĕbāmoth*, 6 *b*) that no one was allowed to approach the temple with staff, shoes, purse, or dirt on the feet.[5]

(*b*) Next, we have to deal with an obscure reference in Ps. 60 8 [10] 108 9 [10]. We know from Ruth 4 7 (see below) that drawing off the shoe meant giving up a legal right. May we assume from Ps. *l.c.*, that casting a shoe on a piece of land was the sign of taking possession of it? Rosenmüller (see Delitzsch's commentary) quotes an Abyssinian custom of this sort; Delitzsch and Baethgen follow him. Others (see RVmg.) think that Edom is here represented as a slave to whom the shoe is cast, that he may carry it.[6] But this is forced; and the reference to Moab as a 'washpot' being at least equally strange, it may be necessary to suppose corruption of the text (see Che. *Psalms*(2)). The idiom which the psalmist would have used, had he wished to describe the ***humiliation*** of a conquered country, would have been 'upon Edom will I place my feet,' or the like (cp Josh. 10 24). Wilkinson (2 326) gives a picture of a captive in the lining of an Egyptian sandal, depicting the humiliating condition considered suited to the enemies of the country.

(*c*) In the MT of Am. 2 6 and 8 6 a 'pair of sandals,' which, made in a few minutes, would be dear at a penny, would seem to be proverbial for something of small value.[7] But the parallel clause has 'for money'; נעלים may not be the correct reading.

It is true that it is supported by 1 S. 12 3 𝔊 and Ecclus. 46 19*b* 𝔊 Lat., which agree in representing Samuel as too honourable to accept even ὑποδήματα (sandals) as a bribe. But no doubt

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1 Leather shoes are referred to in Ezek. 16 10 (ואנעלך תחש, 𝔊 ὑάκιθον; see BADGERS' SKINS [5]).

2 One is reminded of the Roman *soleæ* where the thong passes between the great and the second toe and is fastened to another, the *ligula*.

3 Especially curious are the swathes and bandages covering the foot of Marduk-nādin-aḫē (*op. cit.*, 2, fig. 43). At the present day the shepherds of Palestine wear rough simple shoes (cp Conder, *Tentwork*, 2 281) with leather gaiters covering the calf of the leg, on account of the rocks and thorns among which they climb. The *miṣĕḥōth* (מִצְחוֹת, 1 S. 17 6, 'greaves') of Goliath may have been similar; see GREAVES.

4 Josh. 9 5 affords the interesting phrase נְעָלוֹת בָּלוֹת וּמְטֻלָּאוֹת, 'shoes, worn out, and patched.'

5 *min'āl*, מִנְעָל, Dt. 33 25 AV. RVmg. 'shoes' (so 𝔊) is properly 'bars' (RV, Dr., Steuernagel, etc.), cp *man'ūl*, מַנְעוּל, Neh. 3 3, Cant. 5 5.

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1 On Ass. *šenu*, 'shoe' (the ideogram means 'road-leather'), see Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.*, and Haupt on 'Isa.' *l.c.*, in *SBOT*, 'Isa.' (Heb.), 88.

2 Hitzig supports the rendering 'armour' by the Syr. ܙܝܢܐ 'weapon.'

3 The verb used is נשל, elsewhere שׁלף in Ruth 4 7 *f.*, and חלץ in Dt. 25 9 Is. 20 2.

4 See WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2) 453; We. *Heid.*(2) 110.

5 Analogies from Crete and Rhodes are cited by Frazer, *Paus.* 5 202. Conversely, on the occasion of ceremonial sacrifices the worshippers or initiated members are shod in slippers made of the skin of the victim. W. R. Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 438) cites such a case from a late Syrian rite, and Greek and Roman analogies are quoted by Frazer, *l.c.* It is somewhat remarkable that the Levitical law is silent on the matter of the priest's shoes, and interesting also is the silence of the Roman rubrics.

6 So Hupf., Riehm. Cp Mt. 3 11. In Egyptian paintings servants are represented performing this menial duty.

7 So *šis'* (*lorum soleæ*), in the Arabic poets (G. Jacob, *Altarab. Parallelen*, 17); cp also Goldziher, *ZA* 7 296 *f.* (1892).

נעלים (which these versions presuppose, and which the Heb. text of Ecclus. actually has) is a corruption of שְׁלוּם (Mic. 7 3), which must have been the original reading in 1 S. 12 4 [Che.].[1]

(*d*) We have already alluded to Ruth 4 7 *f.* (see *b*). 'A man pulled off (שָׁלַף) his shoe,' we read, 'and gave it to his neighbour' to indicate transference of rights. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 98) explains that the shoe, being part of the seller's attire, was passed on to the buyer as an attestation of his right. Cp RUTH, and for an Arabian parallel, references in TRADE, § 82 *e* 2 (5).

(*e*) Similarly, in the ceremony for freeing the husband's brother from the duty of the levirate marriage (Dt. 25 9) his shoe was removed in token of renunciation.[2] So in a Bedouin divorce the husband says; 'she was my *slipper* and I cast her off' (WRS *Kins.* 269). The renunciation of the brother was considered contemptible; hence the woman spat in his face, or, as the Rabbis explain, in his presence. So, too, the shoe was not removed by the brother himself, but by the woman, in token that he was abandoning a privilege as well as a duty. Note the phrase in Dt. 25 10, 'the house of the unsandalled one' (בֵּית חֲלוּץ הַנָּעַל). Cp FAMILY, KINSHIP.

(*f*) Sandals were put on the feet of the prodigal son on his restoration to favour (Lk. 15 22). It would seem, then, that in the time of Jesus, sandals were not worn by the lowest class. The sandals of the rich could no doubt be sumptuous, like those of the ladies of Egypt (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 336). Cp Cant. 7 1, Judith 10 4 16 9.

5. Difficult NT references.

[Having considered a very obscure and familiar passage of a psalm (60 8 [10]) and a not perfectly satisfactory phrase in a prophecy (Is. 9 5 [4]), we now approach a still more sacred passage which is repeated under slightly different forms in all the four gospels. These are the four versions of the Baptist's words:—

Mt. 3 11, He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV^mg.) to bear.

Mk. 1 7, There cometh after me he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV^mg.) to stoop down and unloose.

Lk. 3 16, There cometh he that is mightier than I, the latchet of whose shoes I am not sufficient (RV^mg.) to unloose.

Jn. 1 27, He that cometh after me—the latchet of whose shoe I am not worthy to unloose.

The difficulty is twofold. What does 'bearing the shoes' (τὰ ὑποδήματα βαστάσαι) mean? and how came the other traditional form of words into existence, which substitutes 'unloosing the latchet' for 'bearing the shoes'?

(1) B. Weiss (1876) explains the phrase in Mt., 'carrying the sandals after him'; so, too, Holtzmann, who describes it as a *constant* duty of the slave, thus contrasting with the *occasional* duty of unloosing the master's sandals on his return home. There seems, however, to be no more evidence that those who chose (not as mourners) to walk barefoot had their sandals carried after them than for the carrying of a washpot behind a king when he travelled (see above). (2) The change from βαστάσαι to λῦσαι is ascribed by Nestle (*Phil. Sacra*, 11) and Chajes (*Markusstudien*, 5) to the freedom of a translator. Bertholet (Meyer, *Jesu Muttersprache*, 120) prefers to look for some Semitic word which, through being misunderstood, could be rendered in two different ways. He thinks that Mk. and Lk. give the right rendering of למשקל סינין, which Mt., not inexcusably, misunderstands. Unfortunately, as Nestle (*l.c.*) remarks, למשקל cannot mean 'to unloose.'

We must look more deeply into the text of the Baptist's sermon as given in Mt. It is largely composed of phrases which occur or might occur in the OT, and *vv.* 11 12 are parallelistic. The latter consideration is of special importance. 'He that cometh after me is mightier than I' is not suitably followed by the words given in EV—'whose shoes I am not worthy to bear'; the second expression ought to expand and amplify the first. The 'mighty one' that 'cometh' is neither God (Is. 53 1 *f.*) nor the Messiah; he is a warrior, and we do not expect the prophetic narrator to condescend to mention his sandals. Not his sandals but his weapons must be referred to, and the speaker may be expected to say that he is not mighty enough himself to wear, or to bear, the warrior's armour; ὑποδήματα must have displaced a word meaning armour, and ἱκανός must mean, not ἄξιος ('worthy'), but 'strong enough.' A probable remedy at once suggests itself. The passage may have been written in Hebrew, and נְעָלִים, 'shoes,' have been misread for כֵּלִים,[1] 'weapons.' Read אֲשֶׁר קָטֹנְתִּי מִשְּׂאֵת כֵּלָיו, 'whose weapons I am too puny to bear.' The passage is now surely worthier of the second Elijah, who did in fact both carry and wield the sword of the Mighty One.—T. K. C.] I. A.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

SHOHAM (שֹׁהַם, § 71; ιc[c]οαм [BA], ιєccαм [L]), a Levite, b. Merari (1 Ch. 24 27)†. The name is of interest, having possibly come by transposition of letters from מֹשֶׁה, 'Moses.' Cp MOSES, § 2.

T. K. C.

SHOMER. 1. (שֹׁמֵר; cωмнρ [B], pr ωc [A]; cєммнρ [L]; the name appears as שֶׁמֶר, SHEMER [*q.v.*] in 1 Ch. 7 34), father of JEHOZABAD, 1 (2 K. 12 22). In 2 Ch. 24 26 the form is שִׁמְרִית, SHIMRITH (*σομαιωθ* [B]; *σαμαριθ* [A]; *σαμιραμωθ* [L]).

2. (שׁוֹמֵר, שָׁמֵר; *σαμηρ, σεμμηρ* [B], *σωμηρ* [AL]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER [*q.v.*, § 4, ii.], 1 Ch. 7 32. In *v.* 34 SHAMER, RV SHEMER [*q.v.*, 2] (שֶׁמֶר).

SHOPHACH (שׁוֹפַךְ 1 Ch. 19 16-18, in 2 S. 10 16-18 SHOBACH.

SHOPHAN. See ATROTH-SHOPHAN.

SHOSHANNIM; SHOSHANNIM-EDUTH; SHUSHAN-EDUTH, UPON (עַל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים; אֶל־שֹׁשַׁנִּים עֵדוּת; עַל־שׁוּשַׁן עֵדוּת); phrases found in the respective headings of Pss. 45 69 80 and 60 in AV; RV for 'upon' gives 'set to' and in mg. renders 'lilies,' 'lilies, a testimony,' and 'the lily of testimony.' As in the case of other enigmatical elements of psalm-headings, Shoshannim and Shoshannim (or Shushan) Eduth are often taken to be the catchwords of a song, to the air of which the psalm which followed was to be sung (so already Ibn Ezra).[2] The 'testimony' (*i.e.*, the law?) might be compared to lilies. Others (*e.g.*, Thrupp) think of a musical instrument in the shape of a lily, or (Rashi, strangely) with six strings, while others (Grätz; Haupt in 'Pss.' *SBOT*, Eng., p. 183) render the phrase 'with Susian instruments,' comparing *al 'ălāmōth*='with Elamite instruments' (?) in the headings of two psalms close to Ps. 45. That the Susians are called Susanchites (?) in Ezra 4 9, may not be decisive against this view. But why should Susian instruments be mentioned as well as Elamite? A similar hypothesis with regard to Gittith is rejected elsewhere (GITTITH) as untenable, and our experience both with Gittith and with other strange words in psalm-headings leads us to suspect textual error. ש and ת were easily confounded in pronunciation, and letters were often transposed by the Scribes. ששנים, שושן may be regarded as corruptions of כֻּשָׁנִים, כּוּשָׁן, 'Cushan,' 'Cushanites' (cp SHEMINITH). EDUTH must also be a corruption. Possibly עדות has sprung out of עַל־ידותון, 'upon (?) Jeduthun.' On Jeduthun, see PSALMS, § 26 [10].

[1] Halévy restores שְׁלוּם in Ecclus. but not in Sam. This further step, however, is clearly necessary (Che). Cowley and Neubauer (cp Lévi, *L'Ecclés.* 1 120) render נ׳ in Ecclus. 'a secret gift.' This, however, presupposes MT of 1 S. 12 4, which, as Thenius (*KGH* 'Sam.'(2)) rightly saw, is incorrect. The argument of Löhr (*KGH* 'Sam.'(3)) seems indecisive.

[2] [For a similar Ar. usage see Goldziher, *Abhandl. z. Arab. Phil.* 147 (1896).]

[1] כ became נ, and ע, as in other cases, intruded.

[2] In Ps. 80, however, the words 'on Shoshannim' are marked off from what follows by the accent Athnāḥ.

𝔊 g ves, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοιωθησομένων (שֹׁשַׁנִּים), or, in Ps. 60, τοῖς ἀλλοιωθησομένοις ἔτι (עֵדוּת, Rom. ἔτι), in Ps. 80 adds μαρτύριον. Aq. ἐπὶ τοῖς κρίνοις, ἐπὶ κρίνων, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων μαρτυρίας; Symm. ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθῶν, ὑπὲρ τ. ἀ. μαρτυρία; Theodot. ὑπὲρ τῶν κρίνων; Jer. *pro his qui (quæ) commotabuntur*. Cp Bä. *JPT*, 1882, p. 631. T. K. C.

SHOULDER. The words are (1) זְרוֹעַ, *zᵉrōa'*; (2) כָּתֵף, *kātheph*; (3) שְׁכֶם, *šĕkem* (cp SHECHEM). The sacrificial 'shoulder' of Nu. 18 18 AV becomes in RV 'thigh' (שׁוֹק). Cp SACRIFICE.

SHOVEL. The words are :—

1. יָע, *yā'* (√יעה, to sweep together), only in plur. יָעִים, utensils for cleaning the altar (see ALTAR, § 9; COOKING, § 4), Ex. 27 3 38 3 Nu. 4 14 [all P], also 1 K. 7 40 45 2 K. 25 14 2 Ch. 4 11 16 Jer. 52 18†.

2. יָתֵד, *yāthēd*, usually 'pin,' especially 'tent pin' (see TENT); in Dt. 23 13 RVᵐᵍ· for 'paddle' of EV; plainly, from the context, an implement suitable for digging with.

3. רַחַת, *rāḥath*, Is. 30 24†. See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

SHRINE. 1. The rendering suggested by RVᵐᵍ· in Am. 5 26 for כִּיּוּן. See CHIUN.

2. εἰδώλια [אV*, εἴδωλα, AVᵃ] in 1 Macc. 1 47 (in plur.) is rendered in RV 'shrines for idols,' in AV 'chapels for idols'; cp 2 Macc. 11 3 (AV 'chapels,' RV 'sacred places'); 1 Macc. 10 83 (idols' temple), Bel 10 ('temple'). See TEMPLE, § 1.

3. ναός (Acts 19 24). See DIANA, § 2.

SHRUBS (שִׂיחִים), Gen. 21 15. See BUSH, 2.

SHUA (שׁוּעַ), a Canaanite (or Kenizzite?), Gen. 38 2 12 (AV SHUAH [iii.]), whence BATH-SHUA (*q.v.*), a Canaanite (or Kenizzite?) woman, 1 Ch. 2 3; see JUDAH, § 2.

SHUA (שׁוּעָא), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 ii. and note—perh. = SHUAL? cp 𝔊ᴮᴬ), 1 Ch. 7 32† (ϲωλα [BA], ϲογα [L]).

SHUAH (שׁוּחַ; ϲωγε), son of Abraham by Keturah (Gen. 25 2 1 Ch. 1 32: ϲωε [B], ϲογε [L]). Very possibly the original text had כּוּשׁ, 'Cush' (cp Jokshan, in the same passage, from Cushan, and see HUSHAM). Upon the common theory, however, Shuah is identified with the Sûḫu of the Assyrians (temp. Ašur-nasir-pal, about 860 B.C.), the name of a land situated on the right bank of the Euphrates, between the mouths of the Beliḫ and Ḫabor (Del. *Par.* 297 *f.*, Schr. *KGF* 142 *f.*), perhaps represented by the σαυη of Ptol. v. 19 5 (Di. on Gen. *l.c.*). Friedr. Delitzsch, Dillmann, and Cheyne (*Job and Sol.* 15) connect with the ethnic SHUHITE (שׁוּחִי, ὁ σαυχ[α]ίων, σαυχ[ε]ίτης, αὐχ) applied to Job's friend BILDAD, in Job 2 11 (and elsewhere). But when the old story of Job, which came down in a very fragmentary form to post-exilic times (see JOB, BOOK OF, § 4) was recast, so as to form a setting for a theoretic treatment of the problem of the suffering righteous, it is not likely that the Hebrew artist or poet brought one of the wise men (Job's friends) from a country which had no reputation for 'wisdom.' Besides, 'Bildad' reminds us forcibly of Bedad (?= Birdadda), an Edomite name (Gen. 36 35; see BEDAD). Now it so happens that in 1 K. 4 31 [5 11], we hear of certain wise men, not Israelites, who were famous in Hebrew legend (see HEMAN). The exact reading of their names is uncertain. Possibly 'Darda' in 'Calcol and Darda' (כלכל ודרדע) is a corruption of בלדד. If so, Bildad's description ought to be 'the Jerahmeelite' (son of Mahol = son of JERAHMEEL). But 'Cush' and 'Jerahmeel' are practically equivalent. 'Shuhi' may easily have come by transposition from Ḥushi = Cushi (cp SHUHAM). Otherwise we might perhaps venture to read 'the Zarhite' (הַזַּרְחִי). Cp ELIHU. T. K. C.

SHUAH (שׁוּחָה) 1 Ch. 4 11, AV, RV SHUHAH.

SHUAH (שׁוּעַ), Gen. 38 2 12, RV SHUA (i.).

SHUAL. 1. (אֶרֶץ שׁוּעָל; [ΤΗΝ or Τ. ΓΗΝ] ϲωγαλ [BL, missing in A]), 'Land of Shual' is the name of the district in, or near, which OPHRAH lay (1 S. 13 17†). Its resemblance to HAZAR-SHUAL [*q.v.*] and to SHAALIM [*q.v.*] is remarkable. Cp ASHER, § 4 note, also *JQR* 11 110. 2. (שׁוּעָל; ϲογλα [B], ϲογαλ [A], -Ν [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 7 36†.

It should be noted that SHUAL and SHILSHAH (*q.v.*) occur in the same group of names, just as in 1 S. 9 4 SHALISHAH (*q.v.*) occurs close to SHAALIM [*q.v.*]. Cp also שָׁאוּל, SAUL.

SHUBAEL (שׁוּבָאֵל; on origin of name, see below; ϲογβαηλ [BA], -ιηλ [L]). A Levitical name given to a descendant of Amram b. Kohath b. Levi (1 Ch. 24 20, ιωβ. [B]); also under the form SHEBUEL to the chief of the sons of Gershom b. Moses (1 Ch. 23 16, שְׁבוּאֵל), 'ruler over the treasuries' (1 Ch. 26 24, שְׁבָאֵל, ιωηλ [B], σωβιηλ [L]). Tg. Chron. identifies Shebuel with JONATHAN [*q.v.*] b. Gershon b. Moses (Judg. 18 30). SHEBUEL also appears as a son of Heman, 1 Ch. 25 4 (σουβαηλ [L]); but *v.* 20 returns to the original *šûbāēl* (cp 23 16).

In the period of the Chronicler Shubael may perhaps have been derived from שׁוּב, 'to return,' and אֵל, 'God' (cp NAMES, §§ 31, 79, ii.). But the name is probably very old, and may be identified with SHOBAL [*q.v.*], a name borne by a family originally Calebite, which afterwards became merged in Judah (for parallels, see GERSHOM, HEMAN, KORAH). The further possibility must be admitted that שְׁמוּאֵל, Shĕmûēl (Samuel) is only a modification of שְׁבוּאֵל, Shĕbuel, and therefore of Shobal (cp Jastrow, *JBL* 19 102 [1900]). In 1 S. 1 1 Samuel's origin is traced to Jeroham—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel. In 1 Ch. 25 4 Shebuel is followed by Jerimoth (= Jeraḥmeel?), and in 23 23 the name of this son of MUSHI (*q.v.*) again occurs. T. K. C.

SHUHAH (שׁוּחָה), brother of Chelub (1 Ch. 4 11; AV SHUAH, ϲογα [L], *sua* [Vg.]); 𝔊ᴮᴬ and Pesh. omit his name and give after Chelub 'father of Achsah,' a reading which Benzinger (*KHC*) favours. But Shuhah may be identical with Hushah (חוּשָׁה), *v.* 4—*i.e.*, Cushah.

SHUHAM (שׁוּחָם; ϲαμ[ε]ι [BF], ϲαμειαη [A], ϲαμε [L]), and the family of the **Shuhamites** (הַשּׁוּחָמִי, Δημοϲ ο ϲαμ[ε]ι [BAF], Δ. ο ϲαμε [L], Δ. ο ϲαμειΔηι [A in *v.* 46]) exhaust the list of 'the sons of Dan after their families' in Nu. 26 42 *f.* = Gen. 46 23, HUSHIM—*i.e.*, Cushim (Che.); cp MICAH, 2, on a theory of Danites in the Negeb. See also DAN, § 9.

SHUHITE (שׁוּחִי), Job 2 11. See SHUAH.

SHULAMMITE, THE (הַשּׁוּלַמִּית), *i.e.*, the woman of Shulem,[1] the designation of the bride in Cant. 6 13 [7 1]. The true form, however, is probably הַשּׁוּנַמִּית, 'the Shunammite,' which should possibly be restored for עמי נדיב in 6 12, and for עננים in 7 7 (see CANTICLES, § 16; *JQR*, Oct. 1899, p. 133). Perhaps Shulem was an alternative form for 'Shunem'; cp Bethel = mod. Beitin, Jezreel = mod. Zer'in, and see Kampffmeyer, *ZDPV* 15 32, also the statement of Eus. and Jer. (SHUNEM). Whether the poet is speaking directly of the historical Shunammite damsel who was David's 'companion,' or simply means to compliment any and every Jewish woman at whose wedding festivities Canticles may be used, is disputed. The latter view (Budde's) seems the more probable (see CANTICLES, § 6). The Shunammite was the type of a fair woman (1 K. 1 3; cp Cant. 1 8 5 9). Budde does not, however, completely explain why this type was selected. Possibly (though this is no part of Budde's theory) a tradition known to the poet stated that Solomon

[1] Apart from the article, the name שולמית might be a proper name. Cp 'Salome' and שְׁלִימַת, an Aramaic proper name (Ges.(13); cp Cook, *Aramaic Glossary*, 113).

actually took the Shulammite for his wife. In this case, we may venture to suppose that for 'Naamah the Ammonitess' (הָעַמֹּנִית, 1 K. 14 21 31) we should read 'Naamah the Shunammite' (הַשֻּׁנַמִּית). 'Abishag' (1 K. 1 3 15 2 17 21 *f.*), like Abital, is no real name. See SOLOMON, § 2, near end, and article in *JQR*, referred to above.

𝔊's readings are *σουμανειτις* [B], *σουλαμιτις* [ℵA, and most cursives]. Vg., It., two Onomastica (*OS* 198 66 204 41), Procop., Theodoret, favour *σουλαμιτις*; Philo of Carpasia, strangely, *οδολλαμιτις*. The older and more original 𝔊 reading is that of B (Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes*, 1899, pp. 105 *f.*). Aq. *ἐν εἰρηνευούσῃ*; Sym. *τὴν ἐσκυλευμένην*.

T. K. C.

SHUMATHITE (שֻׁמָתִי), 1 Ch. 2 53. See SHOBAL.

SHUNAMMITE (שׁוּנַמִּית, 1 K. 1 3 15 2 17 2 K. 4 12 25; שֻׁנַמִּית, 1 K. 2 21 *f.* 2 K. 4 36). A gentilic (fem.), applied to Abishag and to the hostess of Elisha, both women of SHUNEM [*q.v.*].

𝔊 in Kings invariably has *σωμαν[ε]ιτις*, *σωμανιτης*, *σουμανιτις*, or *σουμανιτης*. Cp SHULAMMITE, and, for Eus. and Jer. see SHUNEM.

SHUNEM (שׁוּנֵם, in Josh. ϲογναν [B], -μ [A], ϲγνημ [L]); in 1 S. ϲωμαν [BL], γωναμαν [A]; in 2 K. ϲογμαν [B], ϲωμαν [B^a mg. L], ϲιωναμ [A*vid.], ϲιωμαμ [A?]; on Eus. and Jer. see below). 1. A place in Issachar, grouped with Jezreel and Chesulloth (Josh. 19 18), and mentioned in the Egyptian lists among the places in Palestine which submitted to Thotmes III. and Shoshenk (*RP*(2) 5 46; *As. u. Eur.* 170). Shunem must be the mod. *Sôlem*, which is a small village, with beautiful fruit- and flower-gardens, well situated on the SW. slope of the Nebi Dahi (Little Hermon), and looking over the whole plain as far as Carmel. Two natives of Shunem are specially mentioned—viz., Abishag, David's 'companion' (1 K. 1 3 2 17 21 *f.*), and the 'great woman' who entertained Elisha (2 K. 4 8 *ff.*); many add, as a third, the 'Shulammite' of Canticles. We also learn from 1 S. 28 4 that the 'Philistines,' in the time of Saul, pitched their tents in Shunem, over against the Israelites on Gilboa (1 S. 28 4). (On Elisha's miracle at Shunem and its NT parallel, see NAIN.)

2. If we may hold that the scene of Saul's last struggle with the Philistines, and also that of Elisha's prophetic ministry, have been mistaken by the editor or editors who brought the texts of 1 S. 28 and 2 K. 4 into their present form, there was a second Shunem in the Negeb. This is, of course, not a mere isolated theory, but a part of a general theory that much of the OT has been recast, on the basis of a partly corrupt text, and under the influence of wrong theories of the geography and (partly) the history of ancient Israel. On this matter, so far as it concerns Shunem, see SAUL, §§ 4 *b ff.*; PROPHECY, § 5 *f.* 'Shunem' is probably the place called 'Beth-shan' in 1 S. 31 10—that is to say, perhaps the Bor-ashan of 1 S. 30 30 (see ASHAN), and 'Mt. Carmel' to which the 'great woman' rode, and where Elisha dwelt, was Mt. Jerahmeel. If so, it becomes very possible that Abishag 'the Shunammite' was a native of the Shunem in the Negeb; indeed, David's close connection with the Negeb makes this in itself highly probable.

It is remarkable that Eus. (*OS* 294 56, *s.v.* *σουβημ*) and Jer. (*OS* 152 17, *s.v.* *Sunem*), who say that the Issacharite locality was in their time called Sulem, do not identify it with the Shunem of Elisha's hostess. This they refer to separately as *σωναμ*, *Sonam* (*OS* 295 86 153 18), and identify with the *σανιμ* or *Sanim* of their own day, 'a village within the border of Sebaste in the region of Acrabattene.'

T. K. C.

SHUNI (שׁוּנִי; ϲαγνιϲ, ϲογνι [A], ϲαγνειϲ [*D*], ϲογνει [B], ϲογνι [F], ϲαγνειϲ, ϲωγνι [L]), one of the sons of Gad (Gen. 46 16 Nu. 26 15), a corruption either of Sharonite (GAD, § 13) or of Shunammite (Gad having been originally settled in the land of SIHON [from Cushan], or of the Negeb, where there appears to have been a Shunem).[1] The patronymic is **Shunite,** Nu. 26 15 (הַשּׁוּנִי, *σουν[ε]ι* [BAF], *σωυνει* [L]).

T. K. C.

SHUPHAM, RV **Shephupham** (*q.v.*), whence the gentilic **Shuphamite** (שׁוּפָמִי), Num. 26 39. Cp SHUPPIM, also SHAPHAM and SHEPHAM, originally names belonging to the Negeb, whence Benjamin also may be held to have come (Che.).

SHUPPIM (שֻׁפִּים, § 75). 1. A son of Benjamin:[2] 1 Ch. 7 12 15† (*σαπφειν*, *μαμφειν* [B], *σαφειμ*, *σεφφειμ* [A], *σαφαν*, *σαφιν* [L]). The preferable form is probably SHUPHAM (*q.v.*).

2. According to 1 Ch. 26 16 MT, the westward lot fell 'to Shuppim and Hosah' (see HOSAH) when the courses of the doorkeepers were arranged in David's time (*εἰς δεύτερον* [B, as though שֵׁנִים], *εἰς δ. τοῖς πυροθύροις* [L, as if it read סִפִּים], *τῷ σεφιειμ* [A]). The name is probably a mere error arising from the repetition of the last two syllables of the preceding verse (הָאֲסֻפִּים, 'the stores').

SHUR (שׁוּר; ϲογρ; but in 1 S. 15 7 αϲϲογρ [B], ϲογλ [L]; 1 S. 27 8 [γελαμ] ψογρ τετειχιϲμενιον [B],—ϲογρ . . . τετ. [A], γεϲϲογρ [L]; Gen. 25 18 ϲογηλ [A]), generally supposed to be a locality on the NE. border of Egypt (1 S. 15 7 27 8 Gen. 16 7 20 1 25 18); adjoining it was the 'wilderness of Shur' (Ex. 15 22). If, however, we examine these passages and their contents historically, we soon see that Egypt is not at all likely to be referred to; the scene of all the narratives in question is the Jerahmeelite Negeb (see NEGEB). מצרים should therefore be vocalised Miṣrim (= the N. Arabian Muṣri) not Mizraim (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), and the Shūr or Asshūr (correction or gloss in Gen. 25 18 and 1 S. 15 7 𝔊^B) is a region south of Palestine and adjoining Miṣrim or Muṣri.

The passages are—(1) Gen. 16 7; Hagar is found 'by the fountain in the way to Shūr' (*i.e.*, between Kadesh and Bered [on the phrase in 16 14 see *Crit. Bib.*]). (2) 20 1; Abraham dwelt 'between Kadesh and Shūr' (see GERAR). (3) 25 18; the Ishmaelites dwelt 'from Havilah [= Jerahmeel] as far as Shūr that is in front of Miṣrim, [to the entrance of Asshur].' (4) Ex. 15 22; after leaving the *yām sūph* [RED SEA], the Israelites 'went out into the desert of Shūr,' after which they came to Marah and Elim [together = Jerahmeel; cp REPHIDIM]. (5) 1 S. 15 7; the Amalekite country 'from Havilah [rather Jerahmeel] to the entrance of Shur that is in front of Miṣrim.' (6) 27 8; the Amalekites whom Saul defeated, and the other peoples named, inhabited 'the land which is from Jerahmeel (מעלם comes from ירחמאל, and corresponds to מחוילה in the ‖, Gen. 25 18) to the entrance of Shur.' To these may be added two phraseologically similar passages, though the name given is not Shur, but in one case Asshur and in the other Shihor, viz., (7) Gen. 2 14; Hiddekel (*i.e.*, the wādy Jerahmeel) which 'goes in front of Asshur'; and (8) Josh. 13 3; the territory of the Geshurites, etc., 'from Shihor (= Ashhur) which is in front of Miṣrim as far as the border of Ekron (rather 'Jerahmeel') northward.' See PARADISE, § 5; SHIHOR.

Thus, to the equivalent forms Asshūr, Ashḥūr, and Gĕshūr, we may now add a fourth 'Shūr.' The view based upon 𝔊^BA of 1 S. 27 8, held formerly by Wellhausen (*TBS* 97) and still assented to by H. P. Smith (*Sam.* 133), that Shūr originally meant the wall (or line of fortresses) which extended from Pelusium through Migdol to Hero, and protected Egypt against the Arabians (cp Brugsch, *Gesch. Aeg.* 119, 195; *Die Bibl. Sieben Jahre*, 80), must apparently be abandoned. [No such line of fortifications is known. W. M. Müller

[1] All the names of the sons of Gad in Gen. 46 16 (from Ziphion or Zephon = Zaphon, to Areli = Jeraḥme'eli) can, according to the present writer's theory, be explained as Negeb names.

[2] Or rather, son of Bela b. BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9 i.), 1 Ch. 8 5. EV Shephuphan. Cp *JQR* 11 108 *f.*, § 8.

SHUSHAN

(cp *Asien*, 102, 134) thought of a comparison of Shur with the great Egyptian frontier-city and fortress, *Jaru* (pronounce about Zor?), S. of Pelusium, part of which that city held in earlier time. Phonetic difficulties would of course still remain.] Cp Winckler, *Muṣri*, 2 (*MVG*, 1898, 4) p. 6 *f.* T. K. C.

SHUSHAN (שׁוּשַׁן, COYCA[N]), always (except in Esth. 3 15*b* where הָעִיר שׁוּשָׁן, cp 𝔊's constant ἡ πόλις) with the addition of 'the palace,' or rather [RV^mg.] 'the castle' (הַבִּירָה; see BDB, 108*a*), in the time of Daniel's Belshazzar, capital of the province of ELAM (*q.v.* and cp PERSIA, § 12); in that of Nehemiah's Artaxerxes and of Esther's Ahasuerus, the residence of the kings of Persia (Dan. 8 2 Neh. 1 1 Esth. 1 2 5 3 15, twice). The

1. Ancient Susa. identification with Susa, which in the Ass. inscriptions is repeatedly referred to as Šušan (= the Šušin or Šušun of the Susian inscriptions), is obviously agreeable to the intention of, at any rate, the last redactor of Dan., Neh., and Esth.; whether the reading 'Shushan' was that of the original narratives, remains to be considered. Where the ancient Susa was situated, and what it was like in the glorious period which begins with its second foundation by Darius Hystaspis, we now know more fully than was once possible, owing to the explorations of Loftus and M. Dieulafoy, though ancient tradition had told of the magnificent walls and of the hoards of gold found in the treasury by the victorious Alexander. Of the first Susa with its palace (Rogers, *Hist. Bab. Ass.* 1 420) and its zikkurrat (see BABYLONIA, § 16) of alabaster, which was destroyed by Ašur-bani-pal (*KB* 2 205), we have no mention, primary or secondary, in the OT, though the SUSANCHITES in Ezra 4 9, whom 'the great and noble Osnappar (?) brought over' (to Samaria) are generally thought, incorrectly perhaps but with no slight plausibility, to have come from the district of Shushan. The situation of Susa, indeed, was so suitable for a large city that a revival of its ancient prosperity might have been with some confidence predicted.

'It is at a distance of 15 m. in a SW. direction from Dizful that the prodigious mounds of Shush, or Susa,

2. Situation. stand up against the sky. They are situated on the left bank of the river Shaur (originally Shapur), which rises at no great distance to the north and flows in a deep, narrow bed below the Tomb of Daniel, and between the larger rivers Ab-i-Diz (Eulæus), 6½ m. distant on the E., and the Kerkhah (Choaspes), 1½ m. distant on the W. The Choaspes divided the populous quarter of the ancient city from the citadel and palace. The entire circumference of the mounds is from 6 to 7 m. They consist of three levels: the lowest conceals the remains of the ancient city; the second, which is a rectangular platform 2½ m. round and 72 ft. high, was the fortified *enceinte* that contained the palace; the uppermost, 120 ft. in height, 1100 yds. round the base, and 850 yds. round the summit, was the citadel, and is still known as Kaleh-i-Shush.'[1] So strong was this citadel (the μεμνόνιον of Strabo xv. 3 2; cp Herod. 5 54) that it successfully withstood Molon in his war with Antiochus the Great (Polyb. 5 48). The original palace, however, was destined to a somewhat short existence; it was destroyed by fire in the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Artaxerxes Mnemon restored it. According to Xenophon (*Cyrop.* viii. 6 22) Susa was the winter residence of the Persian kings, the rest of the year being spent by them at Babylon and Ecbatana. Susa was still a flourishing city under the Sassanians. It was razed to the ground after a revolt, but rebuilt by Shapur II., under the title Iranshahr Shapur. The fortifications were dismantled at the Moslem conquest, but the

[1] Curzon, *Persia*, 2 309. A little below the great mound is the alleged Tomb of Daniel.

site was still inhabited in the Middle Ages, and a seat of the sugar manufacture of Khuzistan.

If M. Dieulafoy may be followed, the excavations which he brought to so successful a close at Susa are of high importance for the study of the book of Esther. Among other matters, he refers to the *bīthān* (EV 'palace') mentioned twice, once as the place in the court of the garden of which a feast was made by the king for all the people of 'Shushan the castle' (Esth. 1 5), and again in connection with the 'banquet of wine' at which occurred the crisis in the fortunes of the 'wicked Haman' (7 7 *f.*). The word (בִּיתָן) occurs nowhere else, and all that scholars can say is that it is a new formation from בית. M. Dieulafoy, however, thinks that when for two years one has interrogated the soul of the Memnonium, it is impossible not to recognise in the 'Bithan' of the OT the Susian apadâna.[1]

'Alone of all the palace buildings, the tabernacle consecrated to the divinised king could and ought to rise in the midst of a paradise [παράδεισος]; alone, it was sufficiently isolated from the apartments reserved for the sovereign to make it possible conveniently to introduce a considerable number of persons. Like the *bīthān*, the apadâna was surrounded by groves immediately adjoining the house of the women; like the *bīthān*, it was preceded by an immense vestibule, capable of holding the guests of Ahasuerus; like the *bīthān*, it was a hypostyle, and paved with coloured marbles. Lastly, like the *bīthān*, it played a special part in the life of the kings of Persia and the ceremonial of the Achæmenian court.' 'The apadâna, or throne-room, resembled a Greek temple; the king occupied the place of the divine statue. The throne-room of Susa covers more than a *hectare* (2½ acres); the porticoes, the staircases, the enclosures open out on a terrace eighteen times more considerable in area, and divided in two parts by a pylon. On this side a colossal staircase led from the *place d'armes* outside to the level of a vast parade; on the other, radiant with its crown of enamels, buried in the foliage of a hanging garden, was the apadâna, past which marched the ambassadors of all the states of Greece.'[2]

That this is satisfactory we cannot bring ourselves to admit. We will not insist on the אפדנו (*appadnō*) of Dan. 11 45 (EV 'his palace'), for, in spite of the tendency of scholars to identify this word with the Old Pers. *apadâna*, we feel the strong probability that this word is corrupt (see PALACE, § 1 [9]). But is it likely that the narrator in Esther should have known the Persian architecture so accurately when (see ESTHER, § 1) the book is in other respects so full of patent improbabilities? A little experience of the ways of the scribes shows a better way out of the difficulty of the ביתן. That it is a parallel formation to בית, is a purely arbitrary theory. Much more probably ביתן is a corruption of בָּטְנִי. It was an orchard (גִּנַּת) of pistachio nut-trees that was meant (cp the 'garden of nuts' [גִּנַּת אֱגוֹז] in Cant. 6 11).

The improbabilities of the story of Esther would

3. Present writer's theory. become less striking, if we could reconstruct the original story, which the editor (according to a theory for which there seem to be analogies elsewhere in the OT) has converted as well as he could into a story of the Jews under Persian rule, whereas originally the story had reference to the period when the Jews were (it may be held) in captivity under the N. Arabian Jeraḥmeelites. The present writer sees reason to think that the books of Daniel and even Nehemiah (besides Judith and Tobit) have passed through a similar process. Into the details of this we cannot enter here (see *Crit. Bib.*).

We may, however, point out (1) that 'Shushan habbirah' (not a very probable phrase[3]), in all the places where it occurs, may very possibly have come from 'Cushan-hārabbah'; (2) that בעילם המדינה may be an editor's recast of בעילם [ירחמאל], where 'ירח' may be a correction of the corrupt word עילם; (3) that אובל אולי in the same verse may represent two corrupt forms of ירחמאל (*i.e.*, the river of Jeraḥmeel, Ezekiel's 'Chebar' or rather 'Barachel' = Jeraḥmeel). The parallelism between Daniel on the banks of Ulai (?) and Ezekiel by the 'river

[1] M. Dieulafoy has constructed an imaginatively restored model of the palace of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which stands in the Louvre.

[2] 'Le livre d'Esther et le palais d'Assuérus,' *REJ*, April-June 1888, pp. 275-277.

[3] G. Jahn (*Das B. Esther*, 1901, p. 2) thinks that 𝔊 read העיר for הבירה.

Chebar (?)' has already been noticed by commentators. Parallels for the corruptions here assumed will be found in *Crit. Bib.*

The result of accepting the theory referred to would be that we get in each case two documents instead of one—first the original narrative, in so far as it can be traced, which had to do with N. Arabia, and next, the edited and recast narrative, which shows the acquaintance, slight indeed, but genuine, of a much later Jew with Persian geography and history. If, then, we are tempted to criticise severely the historical errors in these books (Dan., Ezra-Neh., Esth.), which have absorbed so much time with so little result, let us remember that, according to this theory, the editor had to make the best that he could of partly corrupt material, and that he is not to be judged by the standard of an original narrator.

Cp Delitzsch, *Par.* 326, and *Calwer Bib.-Lex.*(2) 875 *f.*; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 343 *ff.* (1857); Mme. Jane Dieulafoy, *La Perse la Chaldée et la Susiane; Relation de voyage* (1887); M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de la Suse* (1890); Billerbeck, *Susa* (1893); Nöldeke, *Gesch. der Perser aus Ṭabari* (1879), p. 58. See also ULAI. T. K. C.

SHUSHANCHITES (שׁוּשַׁנְכָיֵא), Ezra 4 9 RV. AV SUSANCHITES.

SHUSHAN-EDUTH (שׁוּשַׁן עֵדוּת), Ps. 70 title. See SHOSHANNIM.

SHUTHELAH (שׁוּתֶלַח), an Ephraimite clan-name, Nu. 26 35 *f.* (𝔊 39 *f.*, ϹΟΥΤΑΛΑ [B], ΘΩϹΟΥϹΑΛΑ [A *v.* 39], ΘΟΥϹ- [A *v.* 40] *σουθαλα* [FL]), ethnic **Shuthalhite**, RV **Shuthelahite** (הַשֻּׁתַלְחִי, *v.* 35, Ο ϹΟΥΤΑΛΑΕΙ [B], -ΘΑΛΑΙ [FL], ΘΟΥϹ- [A]). The name (see SHELAH) probably came from the Negeb. It should perhaps be inserted in Gen. 46 20*b* with 𝔊 (*σουταλααμ* [AD] -*θ*. [L]); see, however, EPHRAIM, § 12, n. 1.

It occurs twice in the much-edited genealogy of EPHRAIM [*q.v.*, § 12], 1 Ch. 7 20-27; in *v.* 20 *f.* (*σωθαλα* [A *v.* 20], -*θ*. [B *ib.*], -*ελε* [Ba.b.mg., om. B* A *v.* 21], *σουθαλα[αμ]* [L]), and, again, in the corrupt form TELAH in *v.* 25 (תֶּלַח, *θαλε* [A], -*εες* [B], *θαλ* -*α* [L]).

SHUTTLE (אֶרֶג), Job 7 6. See WEAVING.

SIA (סִיעָא [Neh.]) or **SIAHA** (סִיעֲהָא [Ezra]), the family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nethinim.

Ezra 2 44 (*σωηλ* [B], *ασαα* [Avid.], *ιωσιου* [L]) = Neh. 7 47 (*ασουια* [B], *ιασουια* [א], *σιαια* [A], *ιωσιου* [L]) = 1 Esd. 5 29 SUD, RV SUA (*σουα* [B], *σουσα* [A] *ιωσια* [L]).

The longer form of the name has probably arisen from a combination of two readings סיעא and סיעה; cp NEPHUSHESIM, Neh. 7 52.

SIBBECHAI, RV **Sibbecai** (סִבְּכַי, ϹΑΒΡΗΧΗϹ or ϹΟΒΑΚΧΙϹ [Jos.; cp 𝔊L 2 S. 21 18, 1 Ch. 20 4]), a Hushathite (or man of Hushah, a place apparently near Ephrath—*i.e.*, Bethlehem = Beth-jerahmeel [Che.][1]) renowned in popular tradition through his combat with a giant in the Philistine war (see SAPH); 2 S. 21 18 (ΟΕΒΟΧΑ [B], ϹΕΒΟΧΑΕΙ [A], ϹΟΒΕΚΧΙ [L]), 1 Ch. 20 4. Critics (Wellh., Dr., Klost., Budde) agree in restoring his name in place of the corrupt MEBUNNAI (*εκ των υιων* [BA]: *σαβενι* [L]) in 2 S. 23 27: this is supported by several MSS of 𝔊 (including 𝔊L *σαβενι*), and by the parallel passage (1 Ch. 20 4; *σοβοχαι* [B], *σοββ*. [A], *σοβακχι* [L]), also by 1 Ch. 11 29 (*σοβ[β]οχαι* [BA], *σοβοχε* [א], *σοβοκχά* [L]). But we decline to follow Chronicles—1 Ch. 27 11 (*σοβοχαι* [BA]; *σαχεκι* [L])—when it makes Sibbechai commander of the eighth part of David's army.

SIBBOLETH (סִבֹּלֶת), Judg. 12 6. See SHIBBOLETH.

SIBMAH (שִׂבְמָה; AV SHIBMAH in Nu. 32 38), or (masc. form) SEBAM (שְׂבָם, only Nu. 32 3; AV SHEBAM; Sam. שבמה; usu. ϹΕΒΑΜΑ; in Nu. 32 3, ΕϹΕΒΕΜΑ [Bab], ϹΕΜΑΒΑ [F]), a place beyond the Jordan with extensive vineyards; Reubenite, according to Nu. 32 38 (cp *v.* 39 and Josh. 13 19); Moabite, according to Is. 16 8 *f.* (ϹΑΒΑΜΑ [Q in *v.* 9]), Jer. 48 32 (ΩϹΕΡΗΜΑ [Bאc.a], ΩϹ ΕΡΗΜΟϹ [א*], ΑϹΕΡΗΜΑ [A], ϹΑΒΑΜΑ [Q]), a passage in a prophecy written, at any rate, long after the fall of Israel. Jerome (on Is. 16 8) states that it was hardly 500 paces from Heshbon. Conder identifies it with the important site Sūmia, with tombs and ruined vineyard towers, 2½ m. W. of Heshbon (*PEFQ*, 1882, p. 9). As Derenbourg has suggested, Sibmah may be referred to in MI *l.* 13.

The passage runs, 'And I settled therein (*i.e.*, in the conquered city of ATAROTH, *q.v.*) men of שרן.' In the Jerus. Targ. שרן is given for שבם and שבמה. So also Schlottmann (*ZDMG*, 24 259). Cp ZERETH-SHAHAR. T. K. C.

SIBRAIM (סִבְרַיִם; ϹΕΒΡΑΜ [B], ϹΕΦ- [A], -ΡΑΙΜ [Q], ϹΑΒΑΡΕΙΜ [Qmg.], Pesh. reads 'Sepharvaim'), a city on the ideal northern border of Canaan (Ezek. 47 16), described in MT as lying between the territory of Damascus and that of Hamath. According to Cornill (see 𝔊) this definition belongs strictly to another city HELAM (*q.v.*), the name of which should be inserted after Sibraim. It is more important, however, to notice that the original text, which has been redacted by an uncomprehending editor (cp TAMAR), probably referred (as also Nu. 34 1 *ff.*) to the Jerahmeelite Negeb. The four names in the MT of Ezek. 47 16*a* will in this case represent Maacath, Rehoboth, Zarephath, Cusham (see MAACAH, REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH). Nor could we hesitate to explain Helam (חילם) as = Jerahmeel. If on the other hand we suppose the MT to give the original text, the difficult question arises, where is Sibraim to be placed? In accordance with his view of the ideal frontier as a whole, van Kasteren identifies Sibraim with Khirbet es-Sanbarīyeh, 4½ m. SSE. of Kh. Serādā (see ZEDAD), near the bridge of the Nahr Ḥasbānī, on the road to Bāniās (*Rev. bib.*, 1895, p. 31). The form Sanbarīyeh, however, would rather (as van Kasteren himself remarks) point to a Hebrew form Sabbarim or Sibbarim. Nor is Furrer's identification, which arises out of an opposite view of the situation of the frontier, less free from difficulty (see below). Sibraim was at any rate a place of importance, if we may accept Halévy's view (*ZA* 2 401 *f.*) that both Sibraim and Sepharvaim are identical with the Šabarain which was destroyed in 727 by Shalmaneser IV. according to the Babylonian Chronicle discovered by Pinches (see SEPHARVAIM, and note the reading of Pesh. given above). The objections are (1) the representation of ס by š (which, however, is not an insuperable difficulty), and (2) the possibility of reading Šamarain. See SAMARIA, SHALMANESER.

[The conjecture of Furrer that Sibraim is the mod. *Shaumeriya* (*ZDPV* 8 29) on the E. side of the lake of Emesa, rests mainly on the doubtful reading *σαμαρειμ* in some copies (*e.g.*, 68, 87) of the LXX.—W. R. S.] T. K. C.

SICCUTH (סִכּוּת), Am. 5 26. See CHIUN AND SICCUTH, SALMAH.

See also Muss-Arnolt, *Expos.* 2, 6th ser. [1900], 414-428.

SICHEM (שְׁכֶם), Gen. 12 6 AV, RV SHECHEM (*q.v.*).

SICKLE (מַגָּל, חֶרְמֵשׁ). See AGRICULTURE, § 7.

SICYON (ϹΙΚΥΩΝ[1] [אV], 1 Macc. 15 23). Sicyon appears in the list of cities and countries to which 'Lucius, consul of the Romans' (*i.e.*, probably Lucius Calpurnius Piso, consul in 139 B.C.) wrote in favour of the Jews. We may infer that Jewish settlers and traders formed a considerable element in the population of the places named. Reference is made in the authorities to the extent of the Jewish Dispersion about this date (cp *Orac. Sibyll.* 3 271, *πᾶσα δὲ γαῖα σέθεν πλήρης καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα*—*i.e.*, about 140 B.C.

[1] Ephrath in the Negeb is probably intended. See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE, and note that in 1 Ch. 27 11 Sibbecai is connected with the Zerahites.

[1] The change from the early form *Σεκυών* or *Σεικυών* to the form *Σικυών* is dated by the coins to the time of Alexander the Great (Leake, *Num. Hell.* 95).

See also the quotation to the same effect from Strabo in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2 and cp *id. BJ* vii. 3 3). Philo Judæus testifies to the wide diffusion of the Jewish race over the far East and Asia Minor, and after enumerating Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, and Attica as regions in which Jews were plenteously scattered he adds Argos and Corinth, and 'the most and the best parts of the Peloponnese' (*Leg. ad Caium*, 36, Mang. 2 587, τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου. Cp Philo, *In Flaccum*, 7, Mang. 2 524).

Sicyon was one of the most ancient cities of Greece, advantageously placed about 2 m. from the sea on a terrace over-looking a fertile plain on the S. shore of the Corinthian Gulf, about 18 m. W. of Corinth. Though she could not rival Corinth, Sicyon next to that city was renowned for skill and industry in all kinds of manufacture (Strabo, 382).

At an early date Sicyon became a flourishing home of plastic art (see Gardner, *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, 1 190 *f.*). The ancient wealth and importance of the town is attested by the large number of its coins still extant, dating from about the middle of the fifth century B.C. (usual type, a Chimæra and flying wood-pigeon; see Head, *Hist. Numm.* 345 *f.*). The destruction of Corinth by the Romans in 146 B.C. would tend to revive the commercial importance of Sicyon, more especially as Sicyon received an accession of territory thereby (cp Paus. ii. 2 2). Nevertheless the town gradually sank into decay, even before the restoration of Corinth, and was burdened with debt (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* i. 19 9 i. 20 4 ii. 1 10); in the second century A.D. it was in a miserably decayed condition (Paus. ii. 7 1).

W. J. W.

SIDDIM, VALE OF (עֵמֶק הַשִּׂדִּים; Vg. *vallis silvestris;* for 𝔊 see below), the scene of the battle between the king of Sodom and Chedorlaomer (and their respective allies), Gen. 14 3 8 10. It is said, as the text stands, to have been 'full (a conjectural paraphrase, see AV) of slime-pits,' or rather of 'pits of bitumen' (חֵמָר; see BITUMEN), which proved fatal to two of the kings (see SODOM).

In 14 3 the 'vale of Siddim' has the gloss, 'that is, ים המלח (EV 'the salt sea'). The notion is supposed to be implied that the 'salt sea' at a later time extended itself over the vale of Siddim where Sodom and Gomorrah stood. 𝔊ADEL gives the strange rendering ἐπὶ τὴν φάραγγα τὴν ἁλυκήν· αὕτη (ἐστὶν) ἡ θάλασσα τῶν ἁλῶν (*v.* 3; ἡ κοιλὰς ἡ ἁλυκή, *vv.* 8 10). Theod., however, gave (according to Jerome; see Field's *Hex.*, n.) τῶν ἀλσῶν—*i.e.*, הָאֲשֵׁרִים, '(the vale of) the Asherahs'; and 𝔊 may once have had the same reading. This, however, can hardly be correct, nor is it satisfactory to keep the letters of MT, pointing הַשֵּׁדִים, 'the demons,' with Renan (*Hist.* 1 116), Wellhausen (*IJG*(4) 103), and Winckler (*GI* 2 33 108).[1]

If the view of Gen. 14 set forth elsewhere (SODOM) is correct, the notion that the vale of Siddim has any connection with Sodom and contained pits of bitumen must be abandoned. The 'vale of *hassiddim*' has most probably arisen by corruption from Maacath-cusham—*i.e.*, Maacah of Cusham. See SODOM, § 6 (*c*).

T. K. C.

SIDE (ϹΙΔΗ [ANV]), 1 Macc. 15 23. A rich and flourishing seaport of Pamphylia, lying between the rivers Eurymedon (W.) and Melas (E.). It was founded by the Cymæans (Strabo, 667) and possessed a temple of Athena apparently of some celebrity.[2] Attaleia and Side were the two outlets for the products of Pamphylia. Side had close commercial relations with Aradus[3] in Phœnicia (cp Livy 35 48, where the contingents of Aradus and Side form the left wing of the fleet of Antiochus the Great, as those of Tyre and Sidon the right—*quas gentes nullæ unquam nec arte nec virtute navali æquassent;* see also *id.* 37 23 *f.*). According to a tradition current at Side itself the town was of Hellenic origin, but the Asiatic elements gradually asserted themselves, until, by the time of Alexander the Great, Greek was no longer spoken there, but a peculiar idiom which differed also from that of the neighbouring aborigines (Arrian, *Anab.* 1 26). This curious statement is borne out by the fact that a series of the coins of Side has the legend Σιδητικόν supplanted by inscriptions in characters resembling the Aramaic which have never been deciphered with certainty (see Waddington, in *Rev. Num.*, 1861, 13).

After the defeat of Antiochus by the Romans, Side retained practical autonomy, and became one of the chief places of mintage on this coast. Its importance is indicated by the fact that the Attic tetradrachms of Side were allowed to circulate in Asia assimilated in value or tariffed with the cistophori which under ordinary circumstances were the only legal tender (Momms. *Hist. Mon. Rom.* 1 99). This coinage lasted a long time and is of astonishing abundance, perhaps owing to the fact that Side was the great mart in which the Cilician pirates disposed of their booty (Strabo, 664). It is, therefore, not surprising to find Side enumerated in 1 Macc. 15 23 as containing a strong Jewish element. Antiochus VII. (138-128 B.C.) owed his by-name Sidetes to the fact that he had been brought up at Side.

Side continued to be a town of importance under the Empire, to which fact its coins testify in various self-laudatory epithets—λαμπροτάτης, 'splendid,' ἐνδόξου, 'honourable,' or πίστης φίλης συμμάχου Ῥωμαίων. Aspendus on the Eurymedon was her rival (Pol. 5 73), and later also Perga. Both Side and Perga claim the title πρώτη Παμφυλίας. In fact, the ecclesiastical lists always separate Pamphylia into Pamphylia Prima under Side, and Pamphylia Secunda under Perga, although the civil organisation recognised but a single province (Rams. *Hist. Geog. of A.M.* 393).

The remains of Side (now *Eski Adalia*) on a low peninsula are now deserted. Its two ports are silted up; its theatre is one of the largest and best preserved in Asia Minor (for description and views, see Beaufort, *Karamania*, 140 *f.*).

W. J. W.

SIDON, SIDONIANS. (צִידוֹן; צִידֹנִים; ϹΙΔΩΝ, Ϲ[Ε]ΙΔΩΝΙΟΙ, ΦΟΙΝΙΚΕϹ). For the early history, see PHŒNICIA.

1. Etymology. Ancient writers already explained 'fish-town' from *ṣūd* (צוד), 'to hunt,' and in Phœnician also 'to fish' (see Justin 18 3). If we accept this, 'Sidonians' originally meant the fishing population *on the coast;* but perhaps we should rather derive the name from some tribal god *Ṣid* (צד), after whom both town and people were named.[1] We do not indeed find any trace of a worship of Ṣid; but the gods Ṣid-melkart and Ṣid-tat are both met with (cp PHŒNICIA, § 12).

Ṣīdōnīm, **Sidonians**, both (*a*) in Phœnician and Assyrian inscriptions and (*b*) often in OT, means the Phœnicians generally.

2. Use of 'Sidonians.' (*a*) Hiram II. calls himself *mélek ṣīdōnīm* (מלך צדנם), 'king of the Sidonians' upon a votive inscription, and Tyrian coins of the time of Antiochus IV. bear the legend *lᵉṣōr ēm ṣīdōnīm* (לצר אם צדנם) 'of Tyre, the metropolis of the Sidonians.' So too in Assyrian inscriptions Elulæus king of Tyre and suzerain of most of the Phœnician coast is called Lule, king of Sidon. Of course, we also find the narrower use of the term both on Phœnician coins and in Assyrian inscriptions.

(*b*) In Gen. 49 13*b* 'Sidon' is, not the town—which lies too far N.—but the Phœnician coastland, and in Judg. 18 7 the phrase 'the manner of the Sidonians' refers to the unwarlike Phœnician traders. Ittobaal (see ETHBAAL, but also SOLOMON, § 3 *b*) is called 'king of the Sidonians' in 1 K. 16 31, and Solomon (1 K. 5 6 [20]) admits the superiority of the 'Sidonians' to the

[1] The 'Valley of Spirits,' thinks Winckler, is a fictitious name derived from Babylonian mythology (*GI* 2 108).

[2] Hence, on the interesting series of coins of Side, Pallas frequently appears. The coin-type or symbol of the town, playing upon its name, is the fruit of the pomegranate, which the Greeks called σίδη (see Hill, *Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins*, 176).

[3] The name of Aradus occurs immediately after that of Side in the enumeration in 1 Macc. 15 23.

[1] Winckler also questions the explanation 'fish-town.' He supposes 'Ṣidon' to be a Semitised form of a pre-Phœnician name (*AOF* 1 427).

Jews in the hewing of timber. In both cases the Phœnicians are meant. 'Sidonians' as the name of a people must once have been as common as the ethnic names Moabite, Edomite, Ammonite, and the rest.[1] Quite rightly, then, in Gen. 10 15, Canaan (=Syria, as in Amarna Tablets) is said to have two sons, Sidon (the Phœnicians) and Heth (the Hittites). Of these Sidon is the firstborn, because, as we now know, the Hittites did not penetrate into central Syria till the fourteenth century. 'Afterwards,' so the writer continues (*v.* 18*b*), 'the tribes of the Canaanites spread themselves abroad'; *v.* 16*b* is admitted to be an interpolation (see *e.g.*, Dillmann). The same use of 'Sidonians' is common in Greek literature.

The Phœnicians are in Homer very often called Σιδόνιοι (*Il.* 6 290; *Od.* 15 118=4 618), and their land Σιδονίη (*Il.* 6 291; *Od.* 13 205). True, Φοίνικες is also found (*Il.* 23 743 *f.*; *Od.* 13 272, 14 288 *ff.* 15 415 *ff.*). Both names occur together likewise in the celebrated verses concerning Menelaus' wanderings (*Od.* 4 83 *f.*). The name of the *town* Sidon is found in *Od.* 15 425. From the fact that Sidon, not Tyre, is mentioned we must not draw political conclusions as some have done; through the influence of the ethnic name 'Sidonian' the name of Sidon was familiar to the Greeks at an earlier time than that of Tyre, although the latter was then much the more important.

Roman poets, too, frequently use 'Sidonius' (as a synonym for 'Poenus') in the sense of 'Phœnician' (cp Ovid. *Fast.* 3 108, etc.). E. M.

A king of Sidon has dealings with Zedekiah (Jer. 27 3), and Jewish prophets mention Sidon by the side of Tyre

3. Other biblical references.

both in the Babylonian and in the Persian period (Jer. 47 4 Ezek. 27 8 Joel 3 [4] 4). Unfortunately the OT references to Zidon, as well as to Tyre, often occur in passages where corruption may with probability be suspected (so Cheyne; for instances see MIZRAIM, TIRAS, ZAREPHATH).[2] Whether the destruction of Sidon by Artaxerxes Ochus (351 B.C.) is really referred to in Is. 23 1-14 (Duhm), 24 10 (Cheyne), is also at any rate doubtful. The comparative revival of Sidon in later times is attested by Lk. 6 17 Acts 27 3.

A bishop of Sidon ('a city of note,' Eus. *OS*) attended the Council of Nicæa (325 A.D.). Again and again Sidon is mentioned in the annals of the Crusades. Several

4. Later History, etc.

times destroyed, it was for three centuries quite insignificant till at the beginning of the seventeenth century it began to recover under the Druse Emir Fakhr ed-Dīn. The present town of Ṣaida contains about 15,000 inhabitants. The northern harbour still survives; but the large southern harbour was filled up by Fakhr ed-Dīn, to make it inaccessible to the Turks.[3] E. M., § 1 *f.*

SIEGE. The proper term for 'besiege' is the ḳal of *ṣūr* (צוּר) Dt. 20 12 2 S. 11 1 1 K. 15 27 16 17 20 1 2 K. 6 24 *f.* 17 5 18 9 24 11 Is. 29 3 Jer. 21 4 32 2, usually followed by עַל or אֶל. The corresponding substantive is *māṣōr* (מָצוֹר), Nah. 3 14, and the phrase יָשַׁב בַּמָּ׳ or הָיָה בַּמָּ׳ is used to express the passive 'to be besieged.' בּוֹא בַּמָּ׳ is used in the same sense when applied to a city Dt. 20 19 2 K. 24 10 25 2 Jer. 52 5. The Greek equivalents are πολιορκεῖν (ἐπι), περικαθίζειν (ἐπί, ἐν), περικαθῆσθαι ἐπί, ἐπικαθῆσθαι ἐπί, συγκλείειν, χαρακοῦν ἐπί, or διακαθίζειν ἐπί, or καθίζειν ἐπί. The Assyrian word is *lamû* (*esêru* used of persons).

The earliest pictorial representations of sieges and assaults of fortified towns come to us from ancient

1. Egypt; Amarna Tablets; early Israel.

Egypt. Thus the tomb of Beni-Ḥasan portrays a fortress of the Middle Empire and presents a vivid example of a siege.

Like the Assyrians of a later time, the Egyptians 'advanced under cover of the arrows of the bowmen; and either instantly applied the scaling ladder to the ramparts or undertook the routine of a regular siege, in which case having advanced to the walls, they posted themselves under cover of testudos, and shook and dislodged the stones of the parapet.' This they accomplished by means of what might be called a hand battering-ram, consisting of a long lance or pole with a strong metal point. In case the fortress resisted all attacks by scaling ladders and assaults by the hand-ram the testudo or pent-house would be employed, which concealed as well as protected the sappers who undermined the walls. This testudo was a rude framework covered with hides large enough to contain several men (Wilk. *Anc. Egp.* 1 242 *ff.* and woodcut; Rosellini, *Monumenti civili dell'Egitto*, 118).

The Tell-el-Amarna despatches (1450-1400 B.C.) yield us but little information. The Egyptian governor Rib-Addi, in repeated letters to the King of Egypt, compares himself to a 'bird sitting in a snare' (?cage, basket),[1] when besieged in Gebal by the hostile forces commanded by Abd-Aširta. We are reminded of Sennacherib's phrase in the Taylor-cylinder in which he boasts that he had shut in Hezekiah 'like a bird in a cage' (col. 3 20). Rib-Addi addresses repeated pathetic appeals to the Egyptian sovereign to send him ṣabi (or amilûti) maṣarta(-ti), 'garrison troops' (cp Heb. מָצוֹר), and says (in another letter) that he remains helpless and inactive in his town and dare not pass outside the city gates (64, *ll.* 20 *f.*); but we have no details respecting siege operations.

When we come to the latter part of the thirteenth century B.C. (19th dyn.), however, the reign of Rameses II. affords us interesting glimpses into the methods of siege and assault. The scenes are depicted in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, 3 166. We have a representation of the storming of Dapuru (?), a fortress of the Ḥeta.

'This fortress, as we see, deviates somewhat from the ordinary style of building. Below, a battlemented wall surrounds an immense lower building which supports four towers, the largest of which has windows and balconies. Above the towers is seen the standard of the town, a great shield pierced through with arrows. . . In order to protect themselves from the shower of stones and arrows that the besieged pour down from above, the Egyptian soldiers advance under cover of pent-houses. Then ensues the actual storming of the castle by means of scaling-ladders. . . Some of the besieged let themselves down over the wall, more than one being killed in this attempt to escape' (Erman, *Life in Anc. Egypt*, 533). See fig. 4 in EGYPT.

In the earliest periods of Israel's history we do not read of regular siege operations. No attempts were made to capture cities save by assault, since the early nomad Hebrews did not possess engines of war or other appliances requisite for the regular reduction of a fortress. In capturing a city-fortress by direct assault, as in the case of Jerusalem which was stormed by David's warriors (2 S. 5 6-8, a very obscure passage),[2] there must have been enormous loss of life. Some skilful stratagem was sometimes resorted to by the besiegers, as a pretended retirement followed by an ambuscade (Josh. 8 4 *f.*) or a night-attack (Judg. 7 19 *f.*).

It is doubtful how far the Assyrians resorted to the slow methods of siege in reducing the fortress-cities to

2. Assyria.

subjection in the earliest period, viz., in the reign of Tiglath-pileser I. Even in the records of Ašur-naṣir-abal and Shalmaneser II. we have no account of such operations, though the monuments portray them occasionally. Thus in describing the capture of Madara in the annals of Ašur-naṣir-abal (col. 2, *ll.* 98 *f.*, *KB* 1 89) we are only told; 'The city was very strong (*danân danniš*). Four walls (*durâni*) encircled it. I stormed the town; they feared my fearful weapons.' In an earlier passage (col. 2 54) no details are furnished of siege-operations (in the capture of Amalu), and many other similar instances might be given. It is certainly probable that in a large number of cases regular siege operations were not carried on. These involved a considerable expenditure of time as well as of means and material. Engines of war, like chariots, were difficult objects of transport in a mountainous country. We have already had occasion to notice the passages in the annalistic inscriptions

1 For other OT evidence see Dt. 3 9 Judg. 3 3 (=Josh. 13 4-6), 10 6 12 1 K. 11 5 33 Is. 23 2, etc.

2 ציד and צור would easily arise out of an indistinctly written מצור.

3 [From a series of newly-found Phœnician inscriptions it appears that Sidon consisted of at least two divisions, one of which was called צדן ים, 'Sidon-super-mare' (C. C. Torrey, *JAOS*, 28 (1902) 156 *ff.* Cp the Eshmunazar inscription, *l.* 16 צדן ארץ ים (*CIS* 1 n. 3), and the Ass. form *Asdud-immu* (see ASHDOD).]

1 See Winckler, *KB* v. 55 45-48, 60 35, etc., 62 13 *ff.*, 64 34 *ff.*, 84 8-10, etc. *Kima iṣṣuri ša ina libbi ḫuḫari kilubi.* With this expression cp Jer. 5 27.

2 [See *Crit. Bib.*]

which record that chariots were left behind for this reason (CHARIOT, § 4).

When we come to the records of Sargon II. (721-705) we have in his great triumphal palace-wall inscription a vivid account of his campaign against Merodach-baladan. This document (*KB* 2 68 *ff.*), as well as the annals (where the defence of Dûr-Athara is recounted, *ll.* 248 *f.*), describes the precautions taken by the besieged. Merodach-baladan flees from Babylon, his capital, takes refuge in the fortress of Dûr-Yakin, strengthens its walls, summons the neighbouring tribes to his assistance, and posts them before the great wall. He then dug out a trench of immense size, 200 cubits broad and 18 cubits deep, and filled it by cutting a



FIG. 1.—Siege-Operations by Assyrians.

channel to the Euphrates (Triumph. Insc. *ll.* 127 *f.*). Having thus flooded a large area around the city with water, he broke the bridges. What follows is certainly somewhat obscure. Merodach-baladan is described as pitching his royal tent in the midst of this defensive lake 'like a *tušmi* bird.' In flamboyant style Sargon says that he (Sargon) transported his warriors over the flood 'like eagles.' We may suppose that some rafts were constructed (see Winckler's remarks in the Introduction to his *Keilschrifttexte*, 34). The battle must have been fierce and murderous and the waters were stained with the blood of Merodach-baladan's warriors (*l.* 130). We read of no prolonged attempt to reduce Dûr-Yakin

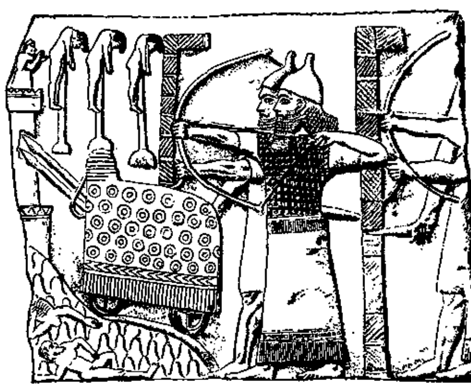


FIG. 2.—Sharp-shooters behind Shelters.

by regular approaches. Similarly, in the case of the fortress Dûr-Athara, into which on another occasion Merodach retreated, defending it by means of a deep fosse, filled from the river Surappi (*ll.* 248 *f.*), the siege operations were of brief duration, for we are told that the town was reduced before sunset (*l.* 252).

In the Taylor-cylinder of Sennacherib (col. 3 21 *f.* *KB* 2 95) we read that the Assyrian general erected against Jerusalem ramparts (*ḫalṣâni*, probably 'towers') which effectually shut in the defenders of the city. Cp Rassam cyl., col. 2 52. Ašur-bani-pal, in his description of the operations against Urdamani, says that he blockaded him and deprived him of food and water (*KB* 2 168), and in another passage (cyl. col. 3 109) refers to the warriors posted on the walls of the cities. These are, however, very slight details and bear reference to defence rather than attack.

What these verbal descriptions omit is supplied to us in fair abundance by the monumental representations. The accompanying figure of the siege of a city by Ašur-naṣir-abal (fig. 1) furnishes the details which we require and enables us to realise the enormous slaughter which the storming of a fortress entailed. Another figure (fig. 2) portrays the siege of a town by Tiglath-pileser III. Archers are depicted shooting at the walls from behind wicker screens, while the battering-ram is wielded below, and we behold the ghastly spectacle of captives impaled *ad terrorem* before the walls. To this horrible practice the inscriptions bear witness. Thus Ašur-bani-pal (Rassam-cyl. col. 2 3 *f.*) in the account of his Egyptian campaign describes how his generals attacked the hostile cities of the Delta, hung the corpses of the rebels on stakes and, after having flayed them, placed their skins on the city walls.

The monumental reliefs show that the usual course in storming a fortress was for the heavy-armed to advance first and with shield in hand to mount the tall ladders which were placed against the city-walls and reached almost to the summit of the latter. The archers meanwhile from behind the protective screens made of wicker- or wood-work discharged arrows against the defenders on the walls and especially against the towers where the enemy were concentrated. Doubtless fire was employed, and missiles covered with tow and resin or pitch would be hurled against anything combustible. Thus in the early Israelite episode (narrated in Judg. 9 46-49) we read that Abimelech and his followers cut down branches and set fire to the hold of the temple of El-Bĕrīth into which the occupants of the tower of Shechem had betaken themselves.[1]

The historical books of the OT and occasional passages in the prophets enable us to supply a few details of the ancient siege-operations carried on in the wars of pre-exilian Israel. Thus 2 S. 11 furnishes some account of the siege of Rabbath Ammon, and it can be readily inferred that it lasted a considerable time. On the other hand there is no reference to any entrenchments, engines of war, or other siege operations or appliances. The Hittite URIAH (*q.v.*) was simply slain by a sortie executed by the Ammonites against Joab's beleaguering force. Yet it can hardly be asserted that Israel by that time was not conversant with any other methods of warfare than night-attacks, surprises, feigned retreats or ambuscades. For in 2 S. 20 15, where the siege of Abel-beth-maacah is described, a mound or embankment (*sōlĕlāh*) is thrown up against the city. This embankment stood in the intervening space between the principal wall and a smaller outer-wall (*ḥēl*). And we are

[1] [On the obscure word צְרִיחַ see HOLD; and on the narrative, SHECHEM, ZALMON.]

apparently to understand that under the protection of this embankment, occupied probably by archers or engines of war, some of the Israelite troops were occupied in undermining (so Ewald) or battering down the walls.[1] The passage shows that the Hebrews under Joab's energetic military guidance were beginning to make some progress in siege operations, not improbably under Phœnician influence. See FORTRESS, § 2, and cp 2 S. 5 11.

When we turn to another important passage, in 1 K. 20, descriptive of the siege of Samaria by Benhadad (= Hadadezer, the Dad'idri of Shalmaneser's inscr. read by Winckler Bir'idri)[2] we find several elements that are obscure [see *Crit. Bib.*]. The account, moreover, is from two distinct sources (see Kittel). In *v.* 12 a word seems to have dropped out between וישׂימו and the following עַל-הָעִיר. 𝔊 read οἰκοδομήσατε χάρακα 'build a rampart' or perhaps 'palisaded camp.' The former seems here to be the meaning of χάραξ, which is also employed in a collective sense by Polybius (in the sense of 'entrenched camp'). The omitted word, corresponding to this Greek word for 'rampart,' was in the original Hebrew text used by the 𝔊 מָצוֹר (cp Dt. 20 19 Heb. and 𝔊) 'siege-works' or 'lines of circumvallation.' There is an alternative view, that the word to be supplied here is כָּרִים 'battering-rams'; but this has no basis of support in the 𝔊, and is only plausibly sustained by the use of the phrase שׂים על in Ezek. 4 2 in connection with the word כָּרִים. Over these lines of entrenchment, within which Benhadad and his Syrian troops thought themselves secure, Ahab made a desperate sally with 7000 men and utterly routed the enemy.

The importance of the military embankment (סֹלְלָה) for siege operations may be clearly discerned in the monumental reliefs. The סֹלְלָה was constructed of earth and stones and might even reach almost to the level of the confronting fortress-wall. Sometimes a path paved with bricks or tiles was formed on this rampart and upon this lofty six-wheeled movable turrets, carrying bowmen on the summit, and provided with a powerful

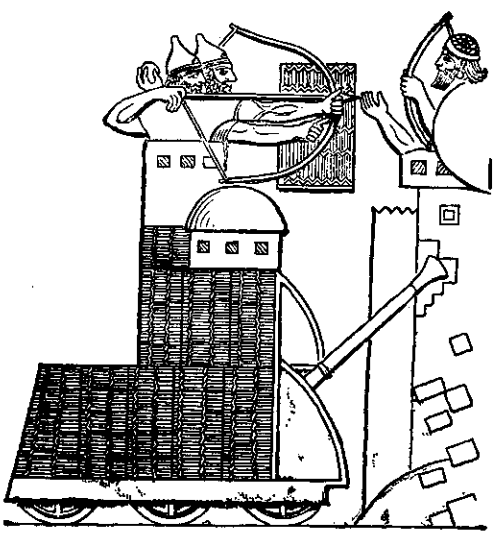


FIG. 3.—Wheeled Turret with Ram.

battering-ram, were driven down the paved slope against the hostile wall or tower. Some of these movable rams (fig. 3), mounted on wheeled conveyances, were of much smaller size. These possessed a powerful head or spur, shaped like a ram's head, and the body of the conveyance was framed of thick planks which afforded protection to the warriors inside against the arrows and stones discharged by the defenders of the besieged city. The more simple and primitive contrivances, consisting of long beams or poles with metal heads (such as the ancient Egyptians used, see above), which were driven by hand only against the lower portions of the walls, were employed even as late as in the days of Shalmaneser II. (middle of 9th cent. B.C.), and even in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, if we can trust the details of Ezekiel's portrayal of his operations against Tyre, 26 9 (see below). The larger movable towers with powerful rams may be found depicted on the monuments of Ašur-naṣir-abal. Billerbeck thinks that they must have been employed at a much earlier period to reduce the enormous walls of strongholds that were erected in Babylonia as far back as 3000 B.C.[1]

As we approach the close of the regal period in Hebrew history the methods adopted by the Assyrians became familiar to Israel. Thus the word for battering-ram, *kār*, is several times employed by Ezekiel (4 2, 21 27 [22]).

3. Later pre-exilic Israel.

We cannot, however, lay stress on the details of 2 Ch. 26 15 in which it is recorded that King Uzziah placed *catapults* or *ballistæ* (חִשְּׁבֹנוֹת, see ENGINE) for discharging stones and darts on the towers of Jerusalem. Probably the passage reflects the tradition as to defensive apparatus in a besieged town of the early Greek period (300 B.C.). Certainly catapults were employed by the Assyrians for discharging stones and darts at the defenders in the days of Uzziah, and it is possible that Israel was familiar before 750 B.C. with these military engines; but we have no mention of them in pre-exilian literature. In Jer. 6 6 reference is made to one of the characteristic accompaniments of a siege, viz., the destruction of trees. Fruit-trees are here not specifically mentioned, but all the trees whose wood served for palisades or hurdles, as shelters for the archers or as timber for the pent-houses. That the Hebrews, like the Assyrians, employed the services of slingers (see SLING) in sieges is clearly shown by 2 K. 3 25.

In Ezek. 4 2 we have an enumeration of the various forms of siege-work to be depicted on the tile in which the central figure represents Jerusalem itself. Around it are placed the rampart (*dāyēḳ*) and the embankment (*sōlĕlāh*). Encampments are to be made and battering-rams erected on every side. It is quite evident that these clear and definite features have been derived from the prophet's acquaintance with the military operations of Nebuchadrezzar's armies. A fresh and vivid detail should be noted in Ezek. 26 8 in the prophecy against TYRE (*q.v.*). Nebuchadrezzar will besiege Tyre. The embankments will be cast up and the *testudo* reared against her. Kraetzschmar, however, doubts the rendering of *ṣinnāh* by *testudo*, and prefers to regard it as meaning the high shield carried by the Babylonian soldiery, under whose protection they undermined the walls. In favour of this view he cites Delitzsch, *Beiträge zur Assyr.* 3 175. In *v.* 9 the doubtful words מְחִי קָבָלוֹ probably refer to the battering-ram, and we should render with Cornill, 'And his battering-ram he places against thy walls and thy towers he demolishes with his lances.'

The Books of Maccabees throw some light on the

[1] Heb. מַשְׁחִיתִם לְהַפִּיל הַחוֹמָה. Ewald regards מַשְׁחִיתִם as denom. verb from שַׁחַת 'hole,' and is followed by Böttcher and Thenius. 𝔊, however, render, ἐνοοῦσαν (L ἐνενόουν), which leads Wellhausen and Klostermann to restore מְחַשְּׁבִים (cp Prov. 24 8 Jon. 1 4), 'were meditating to overthrow, etc.'—a weak meaning.

[2] [To reference in BENHADAD, § 1, add now *KAT*(3) 1 250.]

[1] See 'Fortress-construction in the Ancient East,' by Colonel Billerbeck in *Der alte Orient*,(1) no. 4 (Leipsic, 1900). The present writer much regrets that this careful study came into his hands too late for him to utilise in the article FORTRESS. Billerbeck gives a ground-plan (16) of the ancient fortress of King Gudea (about 3000 B.C.) inscribed on a stone slab preserved in the Louvre.

siege operations of the second century B.C. In the siege of Mt. Zion described in 1 Macc. 6_{51} *f.* we read of stations to shoot from (*βελοστάσεις*, probably embankments, כֵּלֹּלוֹת) and engines of war for the discharge of fire-brands (*πυροβόλα*) and stones (*λιθοβόλα*), as well as *σκορπίδια* which seem to have been a smaller kind of *σκορπίος* or great cross-bow (called also *γαστραφέτης* 'stomach-bow').[1] Lastly we have slings (see SLING). Engines were also constructed by the besieged to repel these attacks. In the days of Simon the Maccabee strongholds were erected in Judæa 'fortified with high towers, great walls, gates, and bars' and well provisioned. In 1 Macc. 13_{43} we read that Simon besieged Gaza and invested it with intrenched camps and brought a particular engine called *ἑλέπολις* (or 'city taker') to bear against the city, and battered one of the towers and captured it. 'The occupants of the *ἑλέπολις* then leaped into the city and there was a great commotion in the city and the inhabitants rent their clothes and went on the walls with their wives and children and cried with a loud voice beseeching Simon.'

4. Details in Maccabees and Josephus.

This *ἑλέπολις* was invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes in the siege of Salamis in Cyprus in 306 B.C. It was a tower 120 feet high and measured 60 feet laterally. It was carried on four wheels, each 12 feet in diameter, was divided into nine stories, and was manned by 200 soldiers, who moved it by pushing the parallel beams at the base (Warre-Cornish). An even larger machine was employed at the siege of Rhodes in the following year, pyramidal in shape and with iron plates on the three sides.

The use of *slings* in sieges to which 2 K. 3_{25} 1 Macc. 6_{51} bear witness was also characteristic of the Roman period of domination. When Sabinus the Roman procurator was besieged by the Jews, the attackers used slingers as well as archers (Jos. *Ant.* xvii. 10_{2}) and they were also employed by Pompey with considerable effect when he besieged Aristobulus in Jerusalem (Jos. *BJ* i. 7_{9}). This siege was memorable for the enormous labour involved in filling up not only the ditch in front of the N. side of the temple, but the deep valley as well.

Josephus in his *De Bello Judaico* furnishes abundant material for detailed description — though not infrequently exaggerated[2]—of a Roman siege. Especially interesting are the vivid particulars, derived from personal experience, of Vespasian's operations against the naturally strong fortress of Jotapata (*BJ* iii. 7_{4} *f.*). Hurdles were formed of the wood cut down from the mountains for the protection of the soldiers in the construction of the embankment. Meanwhile the Jews hurled darts and stones at the troops so engaged. Vespasian, on the other hand, set up 160 engines which discharged javelins, stones a talent in weight, arrows, and fiery missiles, and thus made the walls untenable by the defenders, when they came within range. Sallies, however, were made from the walls, the hurdles dragged away, and the workers at the embankment killed. The attempt made by Josephus to raise the height of the city walls was carried out, in spite of the volleys of missiles, by the ingenious expedient of covering fixed piles with raw hides from newly killed animals, which owing to their moisture were proof against fire. Another device, to neutralise the shock of the battering ram,[3] consisted in letting down sacks of chaff to meet the impact (§ 20). As an effective mode of defence scalding oil was poured upon the Roman soldiers and penetrated within their armour.

We have no space to describe further the varied expedients in offence and defence in this memorable siege, nor to recount other phases of warfare that present themselves either in the investment of Gamala or in the operations carried on by Titus around Jerusalem. These, like the account of the siege of Alesia in Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* 7 68-89, belong to classical rather than biblical archæology.

The *ethics* of ancient warfare are almost universally conspicuous by their absence. The religious sanction of *ḥērem* (see BAN) was given to wholesale slaughter which the Hebrews like other Semites ruthlessly inflicted on the captured inhabitants (Joshua, *passim*, 1 S. 15_{33} 2 S. 8_{2}; cp 2 K. 8_{12} 15_{16} Hos. 14_{1} [13_{16}] Am. 1_{13}. Also see Stone of Mesha, *l.* 17). Even the deuteronomic legislation made it incumbent (Dt. 20_{13}) that every male inhabitant of a town that resisted should be put to the sword, but women, children, and cattle should be carried away as captives. Assyrian monuments depict the terrible closing scenes of the tragedy of a captured town. Mothers and maidens on the walls are portrayed with dishevelled hair and outstretched hands praying for mercy. But mercy was scant. Ašur-naṣir-abal, after storming a mountain stronghold, boasts that he cut off the heads of 260 warriors and built them up into a pyramid (col. 1_{64}). In the capture of Ḫulai 3000 prisoners were burnt (*l.* 108). The strong fortress of Tela with three encircling walls received a fearful punishment. Many prisoners were burnt. Others were deprived of hand, arm, nose, ears, or eyes. The Assyrian boasts that he erected a column of writhing agony (*l.* 118). Boys and girls were burnt in the flames (col. 2_{1}). That all the survivors became slaves was the natural outcome of universal custom. Walls were razed to their foundations, the city totally demolished, while cattle and valuables were carried off as spoil. The fruit-trees around the city were utterly destroyed by the invader. Thus Tiglath-pileser III. in describing his operations against Chinzer (Rawl. Nimrud-insc. II., 67, 24) says, (iṣu) ḳirî (iṣu) musukkani ša diḫ dûrišu akisma išten ul ezib; 'The plantations of palm which abutted on his rampart I cut down, not a single one did I leave.' Though Elisha recommended a like course in the war against Moab (2 K. 3_{19}), the growing humanitarian spirit gradually broke into the old ruthless tradition of *ḥērem*. The fruit-trees around the city were to be spared (Dt. 20_{19} *f.*). Yet the old spirit of warfare still remained in full force (*vv.* 13-17), especially in reference to Canaanite towns. But this was after all a trait of the dead past. Greater mercy was to be shown in wars with more distant peoples (*vv.* 11-15). And this growing spirit of humanity is reflected in the conduct of Simon the Maccabee towards the inhabitants of Gaza (Gazara), an episode already narrated (§ 4). In response to their entreaties he becomes reconciled.

5. No ethics for sieges.

The duration of a siege varied with the resisting power of the walls and its defenders as well as the strictness of the investment. Other factors co-operated, such as the provisions stored in the city and the water-supply. Disease also might accelerate the end. The siege of Samaria lasted more than two years. The siege of the island of Tyre by Shalmaneser IV. and Sargon II. lasted probably five years, and by Nebuchadrezzar thirteen years (unsuccessfully). Of the great straits to which a prolonged siege reduced the inhabitants we have a vivid portraiture in 2 K. 6_{25} Ezek. $4_{10\ 11}$ $5_{10\ 11}$ Jer. 19_{9} Lam. 2_{20} Dt. 28_{53}. Cp the language of Lk. 21_{23} *f.*

6. Duration of a siege.

O. C. W.

SIEVE (כְּבָרָה, Am. 9_{9}†; נָפָה, Is. 30_{28}†) and **SIFT** (σινιάζω), Lk. 22_{31}. See AGRICULTURE, § 10.

[1] See Warre-Cornish, *Concise Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiqq.*, 'Tormentum,' 636 *b.*

[2] *E.g.*, *BJ* iii. 7_{23}.

[3] This battering-ram (*BJ* iii. 7_{19}, §§ 214 *ff.*) was far more formidable than the rams employed by the Assyrians described above, and propelled by different means. It was a vast beam of wood like a vessel's mast, with a thick piece of iron at the head and swung in the air by ropes passing over its centre and suspended like a balance in a pair of scales from a second beam supported by other beams passing on both sides of the second like a cross. This battering-ram was then pulled by a great number of men with united force. In order to protect them it was cased with hurdles all over the upper part, secured with skins.

SIGN, SIGNS. 1. נֵס, *nēs*, and 2. אוֹת, *'ōth*. See ENSIGNS, § 1*a c*. For 'signs' in phrase אֹתוֹת וּמֹפְתִים, *σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα*, see WONDERS; also GOSPELS, § 137 *ff.*

3. צִיּוּן, *ṣiyyūn*, Ezek. 39 15 Jer. 31 21 2 K. 23 17. See col. 2978 (*e*).

4. מַשְׂאֵת, *maś'ēth*, Jer. 6 1, RV 'signal.'

5. *παράσημος*, Acts 28 11. See CASTOR AND POLLUX.

6. *σημεῖον*. See above, 2.

For '**the twelve signs**' (מַזָּלוֹת, 2 K. 23 5 EVmg., and מַזָּרוֹת, Job 38 32 AVmg., RVmg. 'signs of the Zodiac'), see MAZZALOTH, MAZZAROTH, STARS, § 3*d*.

SIGNET (חוֹתָם, *ḥōthām*; טַבַּעַת, *ṭabbá'ath*; עִזְקָא, *'izkā'*; δακτύλιος). See RING.

SIHON (סִיחוֹן, סִיחֹן; ΣΗΩΝ [BAF], ΣΙΩΝ [L]), a king of the Amorites, in the time of the early Israelites. There are serious problems arising out of the accounts of Sihon. Our object must be, first, to give a sketch of the traditions in their present form, and to state the position of previous critics as to their historical value, and next, to point out the great simplification of the whole question produced by the application of a keener criticism to the text of the narratives.

1. The traditional text. Sihon is represented in the traditional text as a king of the Amorites beyond the Jordan, whose dominion was bounded by the Jabbok on the N., by the Arnon on the S., and by the Jordan on the W., and extended eastwards to the desert (Judg. 11 22). According to Josh. 12 3 13 27, however, it also included the ARABAH [*q.v.*] between the Jabbok and the sea of Galilee (called Chinnereth or Chinneroth), and in Josh. 13 21 the five kings of the Midianites killed by the Israelites (Nu. 31 8) are called 'princes of Sihon' (*σειων* B], *σηωρ* [A]). When Israel asked leave of this Amorite king to pass through his land, in order to reach the Jordan and invade Canaan, he refused it, and took the field against them, but was defeated and slain at Jahaz (Nu. 21 21-24; Dt. 2 26-36; Judg. 11 19-22). The Israelites took Heshbon, Sihon's capital, and with it all the territory between the Jabbok and the Arnon. OG [*q.v.*] and his kingdom they also conquered, and so, as it would appear unintentionally, they became the masters of the whole of the trans-Jordanic region called, in the wider sense, Gilead (see GILEAD, § 3). The northern part—the former kingdom of Og—was given to half Manasseh, the southern to Gad and Reuben. From Nu. 21 27-30 Josh. 13 25 Dt. 2 36 it is inferred that Sihon 'had crossed the Jordan, and driving Moab southwards over Arnon and Ammon eastwards to the sources of the Jabbok, had founded a kingdom for himself.'[1] The extraordinary negotiations described in Judg. 11 14-27 are based upon the asserted fact that the territory between the Jabbok and the Arnon originally and properly belonged to Ammon. The Ammonites sought in vain to conquer their ancient territory from the Israelites, and in 1 K. 4 19 we find one of Solomon's prefects ruling over 'the land of Gilead, the country of Sihon king of the Amorites and Og the king of Bashan.'

The circumstance that neither J nor P mentions the fight with Sihon has suggested to Meyer (*ZATW* 5 36 *ff.*) and Stade (*GVI* 1 117) that the fight with Sihon can have formed no part of the original tradition, and arose out of a misunderstanding of the old song in Nu. 21 27-30. Their objections are noticed and replied to by Kittel (*Hist.* 2 228-231) and by G. A. Smith (*HG* 561), but not altogether conclusively.

2. Critically emended text. The redactors and editors of the already corrupt Hebrew texts have ventured to alter the historical and geographical details in accordance with their own inaccurate ideas; but they use their liberty so conscientiously that it is almost always possible in a greater or less degree to discern the true text underlying the false. Og the king of the Amorites was really Agag king of the Arammites or Jerahmeelites (= Amalekites), and the region occupied by his branch of the Jerahmeelite race was called Cushan—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Cush, which adjoined Miṣṣur or Muṣri. This 'Cushan' (כושן) was miswritten Sihon. Whether the capital of the land was called 'Ḥeshbon' (חשבון) or 'Ḥeshmon' (חשמן) may be doubtful. There are traces of a clan called חֲשַׁב or the like (cp Ḥashabiah, Ḥashubah) as well as of one called חֻשָׁם (cp Ḥeshmon, Ḥusham). That the five kings of the Midianites should be called 'princes of Sihon' (Josh. 13 21) need not surprise us. Their names are based on the three ethnic names Jeraḥmeel, Zārephath, and 'Arāb; it is not more wonderful that such personages should be connected with Cushan than that Balak, a son of Zippor (*i.e.*, a Zarephathite), should be introduced to us as king of Miṣṣur ('Moab,' in Nu. 22 4, etc., as often, is miswritten for 'Miṣṣur'), and that these kings should be called 'Midianites' harmonises with the fact that Balak king of Miṣṣur ('Moab') is closely connected with the elders of Midian.[1] The reconstruction, whether partial or complete, of all the other Sihon passages would occupy too much space here (see *Crit. Bib.*). Suffice it to say that the view of E. Meyer, Stade, Bacon, and the *Oxf. Hex.* that Nu. 21 26 is an editorial insertion arising out of a misunderstanding of the song which follows seems fully justified. The song itself, in a revised form which probably approaches the true text somewhat more nearly than earlier revisions, appears to run thus:—

27*b* Let the castle of Heshbon be built,
Let the city of Cushan be established!
28 For a fire burned Heshbon,
A flame the city of Cushan,
It devoured the cities of Miṣṣur,
It consumed the citadels thereof.
29 Wo to thee! [O people of] Miṣṣur,
Thou art undone, O people of Cusham!
He has given up his sons as fugitives,
(Yea), Jeraḥmeel his daughters into captivity.
30 Cushan as far as Rimmon has perished,
Miṣṣur as far as Naphtoaḥ is desolate.[2]

The criticism of Judg. 11 12 *ff.* given elsewhere (JEPHTHAH, §§ 3, 5) may be here reaffirmed, so far as it asserts that the narrative has been editorially recast, and in particular that the account of Jephthah's message to the king of Ammon (?) must originally have referred to the compact between Laban and Jacob or Israel (Gen. 31 44-54). But the theory that עַמּוֹן has often arisen out of עֲמָלֵק or ירחמאל, taken in connection with the view of the earlier tradition respecting Moses suggested elsewhere (see MOSES, § 18), suggests a better key to the problem. The Og-story itself (see OG) did not originally have Hauran for its scene; this naturally suggests a more radical treatment of the Sihon-narrative. On the statement in 1 K. 4 19 (MT and 𝔊), which Kuenen wrongly supposed to confirm the tradition of an Amorite king Sihon, see *Crit. Bib.* Solomon's twelve prefects (as the original text must have stated) were most probably placed over the Israelite territory in the Jerahmeelite Negeb; see SOLOMON, § 6, n. 1.

See Kuenen, *Th. Ti.* 18 516 *ff.* [1885], E. Meyer, *ZATW* 5 36-52 [1885]. T. K. C.

SIHOR (שִׁיחוֹר), Josh. 13 3 AV, RV SHIHOR (*q.v.*). Cp also EGYPT, RIVER OF, and NILE.

SILAS, SILVANUS. **Silvanus** (in this form of the name) is mentioned only four times in NT. In

1. NT data. 1 Thess. 1 1 2 Thess. 1 1 he appears as joint author, along with Paul and Timothy, of the respective epistles; according to 2 Cor. 1 19 he preached the Gospel in Corinth along with the same two; according to 1 Peter (5 12) that Epistle was written 'through' (*διά*) Silvanus.

Silas (in this form of the name) is met with only in

[1] G. A. Smith, *HG* 557 *f.*

[1] Either the large ethnic term 'Midian' covers the smaller one of 'Jeraḥmeel' (or 'Zarephath'), or more probably מדין is written in error for מִצֻּר (Miṣṣur); cp Joel 3 [4] 4, צר וצידון, where צידון may come from מְצוּר, a correction of צר, and the poem in Is. 23, where both צר and צִידוֹן are the scribe's errors for מָצוֹר, the oracle being concerned with Miṣṣur. In Nu. 22 7 (MT and 𝔊) 'elders of Moab' and 'elders of Midian' are mentioned side by side; מדין apparently comes from צידון, and this from מְצוּר (the original reading out of which מואב sprang).

[2] See *Crit. Bib.* The last line seems to baffle Prof. Sievers (*Metrische Studien*, 2 411). But Pesh.'s reading מדבר (see MEDEBA) might have suggested the remedy. Cp נאות מדבר (Ps. 65 13 [12]), *i.e.*, אַרְמְנוֹת מִצּוּר.

Acts 15 22-18 5. At the council of Jerusalem he is chosen along with Judas Barsabas to accompany Paul and Barnabas in name of the primitive church to Antioch and there deliver the letter embodying the apostolic decree which at the same time is to be communicated by word of mouth also (15 22 27). After some time so spent they return to Jerusalem (15 32 *f.*). In connection with their appearance in Antioch they are called 'prophets' (προφῆται); when chosen at Jerusalem they are referred to as 'chief men among the brethren' (ἄνδρες ἡγούμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς); 15 32 22.

After the separation of Paul and Barnabas in consequence of the difference about John Mark before the second missionary journey, Paul makes choice of Silas to take the place of Barnabas as his companion (15 40). The next mention of Silas is in connection with the incidents at Philippi when he and Paul were apprehended, beaten at the instance of the Roman authority, and cast into prison. It is described how as they prayed aloud at midnight they were miraculously delivered and how they baptised the gaoler and his family. When orders came to let the prisoners go, Paul claimed for himself and his companion their privileges as Roman citizens, thus compelling the magistrates to come in person and beg them to leave the city (16 19-40).

In connection with the sojourn in Thessalonica it is recorded of Silas that he took part in the successful missionary work there; and after a tumult was escorted out of the town by the Christians there on his night journey with Paul towards Berœa (17 4-10*a*). In Berœa with Paul he was again successful in the synagogue. Along with Timothy (of whom there has been no mention by name since 16 3) Silas remained in Berœa whilst Paul, in consequence of a tumult, was brought by the Christians to Athens (17 10*b*-15*a*). These bring back a message from Paul begging Silas and Timothy to join him as soon as possible, he awaiting their arrival there (17 15*b* 16). But it is not until after he has gone on to Corinth that they actually come up with him (18 5).

2. Possible identity. The question whether by the two forms of the name the same person is denoted is one which must be determined mainly by the contents of the passages in which they respectively occur; the mere suggestion of a person having two names does not in itself create any difficulty (§ 7).

(*a*) It is in agreement with 2 Cor. 1 19 that, as we read in Acts 18 5, Silas and Timothy rejoin Paul in Corinth.

(*b*) According to 1 Thess. 3 1 *f.* 5, Paul, before the composition of 1 Thess., sent Timothy from Athens to Thessalonica. According to this we shall have to assume at all events a hiatus in Acts. If, as we read in Acts 18 5, Timothy first rejoined Paul not at Athens, but at Corinth, then if he was to be sent by Paul from Athens to Thessalonica he must first have again made the journey to Athens from Corinth along with the apostle.

Of any such break in Paul's sojourn in Corinth, however, we find no trace in Acts 18 1-18*a*. Moreover, it is impossible to assign the journey to Athens to a later date; for, according to Acts 18 18*b*-22 Paul's route from Corinth leads him directly by way of Ephesus to Syria. The third missionary journey is not to be thought of in this connection; for in it the apostle came to Macedonia first, proceeding afterwards to Hellas (Acts 20 1 *f.*; whether to Athens or no is not at all said), whilst according to 1 Thess. 2 18 3 4 he had not been in Thessalonica again before the letter was composed.

Unless we are prepared to assume that a journey of Paul from Corinth to Athens has been omitted, the only alternative is to seek for the lacuna in what we are told concerning Timothy (and Silvanus), and suppose somewhat as follows. While Paul was still in Athens (Acts 17 16-34), not afterwards when he was in Corinth, he was joined from Berœa by Timothy, whom he then sent (from Athens) to Thessalonica. As for Silvanus, it is not necessary to suppose even a lacuna, if we conjecture that his meeting with Paul did not occur at Athens but only after Corinth had been reached. But if in Acts the arrival of Timothy at Athens is left unmentioned and the journeys of Timothy and Silvanus are always represented as having been made together, there is also the other possibility that Silvanus joined Paul along with Timothy while the apostle was still in Athens. Only, in that case, when Timothy set out from Athens for Thessalonica Silvanus must have been sent off somewhere else, as we find Paul saying that the journey of Timothy to Thessalonica had for its consequence that he himself was left in Athens alone. The plural in 1 Thess. 3 1 *f.* 'we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone and sent Timothy' seems to allow the supposition that Paul remained in Athens along with Silvanus; but the singular in 3 5 'I . . . sent' shows that this is excluded.

It is to be emphasised that the introduction of a coming of Timothy (and Silvanus) to Paul in Athens is quite contrary to the view of Acts; for according to 17 16 Paul awaits both in Athens, yet in point of fact (18 5) they do not reach him till he is in Corinth and this last circumstance is stated in such a form as makes the meeting there entirely the result of the apostle's injunction recorded in 17 15. If, however, the student is prepared to accept the assumption of the one lacuna or the other in Acts as above, there is nothing to hinder the identification of Silas with Silvanus.

3. Two distinct persons? Weizsäcker (*Ap. Zeitalter*,[2] 256, ET 1 292 *f.*) nevertheless doubts the identification. He thinks that the companion of Paul was Silvanus but that the composer of Acts substituted for him Silas, a member of the primitive church, with a view to expressing by this means also the connection of Paul with Jerusalem. It is correct to say that this tendency really is at work in Acts (see ACTS, § 4; CORNELIUS, § 5; COUNCIL, §§ 6, 10). In point of fact one can very easily find cause for bringing it into requisition in the case of Silas when regard is had to the parallel case of Barnabas.

Silas is Paul's companion on the second missionary journey as Barnabas was on the first. Now we find Barnabas figuring in Acts 11 19-26 as the emissary of the primitive church who is charged by it with the task of inspecting the first Gentile Christian church at Antioch and who fetched Paul from Tarsus to Antioch. Not only is this difficult to reconcile with the known independence of Paul; it is also excluded by the order of the provinces, Syria and Cilicia, to which, according to Gal. 1 21, Paul betook himself after his first visit to Jerusalem. As, then, in Acts, for the first period of his activity Paul is placed under the guiding hand of Barnabas, so also is it possible to conceive that under the influence of the same tendency he has assigned to him a companion from Jerusalem for the second missionary journey, a companion who shall be the guarantee that in the missionary activity of the apostle the connection with Jerusalem shall not be lost. The same composer in fact in 21 20-26 goes so far as to affirm that Paul, on the last occasion of his coming back to Jerusalem, took upon himself a Nazirite vow and fulfilled it in order to prove with all publicity the completeness of his adherence to the Mosaic law. As against this see ACTS (§ 7, 11 end). In particular, in 16 4 a main business of the second missionary journey is represented as having been that of communicating and inculcating the decree which we are told had been arrived at in the Council of Jerusalem. (As against the historicity of this decree, see COUNCIL, § 11.) For such a purpose Silas must have seemed a singularly suitable companion for Paul, as along with Judas Barsabas he had been the messenger solemnly charged by the primitive church to carry the decree to Antioch.

All this, however, supplies no compelling reason for assuming a substitution of the Jerusalem Silas for a companion of Paul not belonging to Jerusalem who was named Silvanus. Precisely by the instance of Barnabas ought we to be put on our guard against too far-reaching critical operations. That Barnabas was a prominent missionary companion of Paul is assured by Gal. 2 1 9, and that he was a Jew—a Jew in fact who notwithstanding all his daily intercourse with Paul had nevertheless not as yet succeeded in freeing himself from the yoke of the law—is shown by Gal. 2 13. This being so, Paul can very well be supposed to have selected also a second Jew—Silas, to wit—for a travelling companion. Had Silas really been the bearer of the decree of the council, Paul assuredly would not have done so; it must be remembered, however, that no such decree was ever made and, least of all, carried to Antioch. It is possible to recognise the tendency of Acts, spoken of above, to represent Paul as in con-

nection with Jerusalem by means of his companion Silas, and yet, to decline to be shut up to the supposition that this tendency brought about the substitution of this Silas in the place of another companion of the apostle; it is enough to discern the error and the tendency of Acts simply in its representation of the Silas who actually did accompany Paul as a prominent person in the primitive church and, in particular, as guarantor of the apostolic decree.

That the companion of Paul was a Jew is presupposed not only by the composer of Acts as a whole, inasmuch as he represents Silas in 17 10 (2-4) as coming forward in synagogues and also (16 3) represents circumcision as being necessary in a companion of Paul (in the case of Timothy), but also by the author of the 'we'-source (see ACTS, § 1, 9 end), who includes Silas among the number of those who (according to 16 16) go to the synagogue or, as the case may be, to the Jewish place of prayer, and (16 13) teach there. In 16 20 Paul and Silas are even called Jews expressly—though only in the mouths of their accusers, it is true, on which account the passage must be set on one side as possibly meaning to suggest that the accusers were in error (cp 16 37).

Amongst the views of critics we find not only the distinction between Silas and Silvanus just spoken of; there is also the attempt to identify the individual to whom both names are assigned with other persons as well. With Luke, to begin with. This hypothesis was put forward by Van Vloten (see below, § 10) in the interests of his proposed answer to the question as to the authorship of the 'we'-source in Acts.

4. Silas-Silvanus same as Luke?

There is much that speaks for the view that this author was Silas; other considerations speak for Luke; yet neither theory is in itself alone quite satisfactory (see ACTS, § 9). Van Vloten accordingly sought to combine the advantages of both by identifying the two persons. In particular he found difficulty in the supposition that in 16 10 the author of the 'we'-source should have joined Paul as a travelling companion without the fact being mentioned. The supposition is necessary as long as one chooses to see in this author some one not named in Acts—Luke, for example; it can be dispensed with (he thinks) as soon as we see in him one who has already been spoken of as a member of the travelling company—Silas, for example. Van Vloten sought to establish the possibility of his identification with Luke by the consideration that the words from which Silvanus and Lucanus (the original form underlying the abbreviation Lucas; see LUKE, § 6) are derived, have the same meaning (silva = lucus = wood); also by the argument that in 2 Cor., 1 and 2 Thess., and 1 Pet. only the name Silvanus is met with, but conversely in Col. (4 14), Philem. (24), 2 Tim. (4 11) only that of Luke.

To all this the answer must be that identity of etymological meaning in the case of two proper names by no means establishes any title to identify the persons who bear them. Moreover, it is not objectionable but befitting the seemly modesty of the author if his joining the company of travellers is indicated not by the mention of his name but simply by the transition from the third to the first person, whether he is really himself the eyewitness or falsely makes himself appear as such (see ACTS, § 1). The transition to the first person, too, is not made any more explicable if the person so indicated has already been named. Since he is not the only one who has been so named we do not learn from the 'we' who he is. Moreover, Van Vloten has not at all succeeded in disposing of the difficulties by which the hypothesis that Silas wrote the 'we'-source is beset (see ACTS, § 9), or even in lessening them; the identification with Luke contributes absolutely nothing at all towards their removal.

The identification of Silas-Silvanus with Titus has been attempted in quite other interests. (*a*) It has long been regarded as a conspicuous instance of silence due to 'tendency' that in Acts the name of Titus, who, according to Gal. 2 3, was the subject of so violent a contention at the Council of Jerusalem, is mentioned neither in this connection nor yet anywhere else (see COUNCIL, § 7). This difficulty would disappear if Titus was identical with Silas. Titus, however, was a Gentile Christian, we learn (Gal. 2 3); whilst Silas, according to Acts 15 22, was a member of the church of Jerusalem.

5. Silas-Silvanus same as Titus?

SILAS, SILVANUS

In order to identify the two in spite of this consideration, Märcker and Seufert (see below, § 10) find themselves reduced to the violent expedient of interpreting Acts 15 22 in the following sense: 'it seemed good to the apostles and the elders, with the whole church, to choose men out of their company and send to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas, Judas Barsabbas and Silas, chief men, *in company of* (ἐν) the brethren.' On this interpretation Judas and Silas are distinguished from the brethren chosen from out the church of Jerusalem, and therefore Silas may possibly be a Gentile Christian. On the other hand, even apart from the violence done to the language of the text, this supposition is, in its substance also, in the highest degree improbable; for it would be impossible to have chosen as exponent of the apostolic decree any more unsuitable person than Paul's uncircumcised comrade. No less astonishing is the other supposition, that of Graf, which seeks to reach the same result by the opposite route; the supposition, namely, that Titus-Silas was from the first a member of the church of Jerusalem and was chosen from its midst. In other words, we are asked to suppose that an uncircumcised person had been for years a member of the church in Jerusalem. Apart from the inherent difficulties, neither form of the hypothesis serves in any adequate degree the purpose for which it is introduced; for though it is true that on this hypothesis Acts does not leave out the name of Titus-Silas altogether in connection with the Council of Jerusalem, it omits the principal thing—viz., that the demand for his circumcision was frustrated by Paul.

(*b*) A peculiar position is taken up by Seufert. He does not write in the apologetic interest; rather does he ascribe to the composer of Acts a tendency similar to that supposed by Weizsäcker (§ 3 above), that, namely, of putting forward Titus, by the selection of his Jewish-sounding name Silas (see below, § 7*b*), as a man standing in close connection with the Jerusalem Christians, and so bridging over the gulf between these and Paul. It will be time to consider this theory when the identity of Titus and Silas has been established; but, as has been shown, what is proved is their distinctness.

The acme of complexity is reached by the hypothesis of Zimmer (see below, § 10). According to him, Silas the Jewish Christian of Jerusalem is mentioned only in Acts 15 22 27 32 *f.*; distinct from him, but identical with Silvanus and Titus, is the Silas named in Acts 15 40-18 5.

6. One Silas identical with Titus, another not?

(*a*) The Silas who, according to Acts 15 40, is chosen by Paul, then in Antioch, to be his travelling companion, cannot be the same person as the Silas who, according to 15 33, returned from Antioch to Jerusalem.—But why not? Paul might have summoned him back from Jerusalem; or, without the circumstance being expressly mentioned, Silas could, after the interval named in 15 35 *f.*, have again returned to Antioch.[1]

(*b*) The Roman citizenship which, according to Acts 16 37, Silas possessed, does not disprove that he belonged to Jerusalem; for either he or his parents can have acquired it somewhere in the Diaspora in the same manner as, for example, the 'libertini' of Acts 6 9 possessed it (see Schür. *GJV*(2) 2 537 *f.*, ET ii. 2 276 *f.*). Besides, this citizenship of Silas is itself exceedingly doubtful (see below, § 8 *a*).

(*c*) Zimmer argues that in 2 Cor. 8 23 the same thing is said of Titus as is said of Silvanus in 1 19, and therefore the two are identical. But the statements are by no means completely coincident. Titus could rightly be called 'fellow-worker' (συνεργός) of Paul in writing to the Corinthians, even if he had not been the companion of the apostle in the founding of that church, simply in view of the fact that after their alienation from Paul he had won them back to him; on the other hand, the expression employed with reference to Silvanus ('preach the gospel') relates to the founding of the church.

[1] We have no need, therefore, in order to maintain the identity of the Silas of 15 33 with him of 15 40, to fall back upon the interpretation—in point of fact a very unskilful one—offered by *v.* 34*a*, 'But it seemed good to Silas that they should remain' (ἔδοξεν δὲ τῷ Σίλᾳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτούς). It presupposes that the ἀπελύθησαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν of *v.* 33 does not mean 'they took leave of the brethren and set out on their journey'—a meaning which nevertheless is assured by 28 25, and in our present passage is made specially necessary on account of the addition 'unto those that had sent them forth' (πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστείλαντας αὐτούς)—but, 'it was said to them by the brethren that it was not desired to detain them longer in Antioch.' Had the composer of Acts held this to have been what actually happened, he would not in any case have regarded it as a thing worth recording. Matters are not made any better by the reading 'it seemed good to Silas to remain there' (αὐτοῦ) with the further addition 'but Judas alone proceeded' (μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη). They become still worse if this last clause, which D and Vg. are almost alone in giving, be omitted (so, for example, RVmg.); for in that case ἀπελύθησαν must necessarily mean, 'they on their side took leave,' and why Silas should then suddenly have changed his mind is left wholly unexplained.

SILAS, SILVANUS

(*d*) The apologetic aim—followed by Zimmer as well as by Märcker and Graf—of freeing Acts from the charge of silence with a purpose, is even less successfully realised in the case of Zimmer than it is in that of the other two, since the Silas who, according to Zimmer, is identical with Titus is not mentioned at all in connection with the Council of Jerusalem.

(*e*) The difficulty (only arising in connection with Zimmer's hypothesis) that in Acts two separate persons of the name of Silas should be mentioned in such close proximity (15 32 40) without any indication of their being distinct individuals is hardly less than that which presses upon all forms of an identification of Titus with Silas-Silvanus—this, namely, that Paul should have designated one and the same fellow-worker now as Silvanus now as Titus, and should have interchanged the two names even within the limits of so short a passage as 2 Cor. 1 19-2 13.

As for the forms of the names, the identity of Silas and Silvanus admits of being shown in a variety of ways.

7. The names. (*a*) Silas may be an abbreviation of Silvanus. This sort of abbreviation used for pet names (hypocoristica) is, properly speaking, native to Greek soil; but that in NT times it was also applied to Latin names is shown by the instance of Luke (see LUKE, § 6). Strictly speaking, the form we should have expected would be Silvas; but the form Silas is also possible, since abbreviation followed no hard and fast rules.

It can be shown that **Μενέστας** (not **Μενέστρας**) is equivalent to **Μενέστρατος** (Polyb. iv. 16 9 xx. 10 5 xxii. 12[14] 13) and **'Αρχίστας** to **'Αρχίστρατος** (Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*,(2) 73). For Lucas too no hesitation is felt in assuming Lucianus (not to mention other forms which have been suggested) as the unabbreviated name. Jos. *BJ* vii. 8 1 *f.* 5, §§ 252, 275-279, 306 *ff.*, ought not to be cited as against this, for the Σίλουας[1] there named is, according to Schürer (*GJV*(2) 1 541, ET i. 2 259) and Forcellini (*Onom. Latinitatis*, 3 (1883) 116*a*), L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, so that the name does not come into consideration here at all. Still less ought appeal to be made to the fact that in MSS of the NT the word is accentuated Σίλας, although if an abbreviation from Silvanus it really ought to be Σιλᾶς;[2] for the accentuation of MSS is in no sense authoritative. The circumstance, too, that the name Silas, according to Zahn (*Einl. i. d. NT* 1 22 *f.*), does not occur at all elsewhere on Latin soil, and has been met with on Greek soil only at Thespiæ (*CIG Septentrion.* 1, no. 1772, *l.* 12[3]) is far from being decisive, indeed, against abbreviation from Silvanus, yet at least points to another alternative, viz. that

(*b*) Silas may also be a Semitic name.[4] Silvanus in this case will be the Roman form nearest possible in sound to his own name, a Roman form assumed by this Jew for intercourse with the non-Jewish world (see NAMES, § 86).

As regards etymology, the derivation from שָׁלשׁ, 'three,' is inadmissible. The שֶׁלֶשׁ (SHELESH) named in 1 Ch. 7 35 becomes Σελλης in 𝔊A. Should one choose to conjecture שֶׁלֶשׁ (with sĕgōl) as the Hebrew form—as is perhaps done by Hoole (*Classical Element in the NT*, 1888, p. 61 *f.*)—the Greek, after the analogy of סֶלֶד in 1 Ch. 2 30, which appears in the LXX as Σαλαδ [BA] or Σαλεδ [L], would in no case be Σιλας. Thus also the conjecture that Silas is identical with the Tertius of Rom. 16 22 (so Franz Burman, *Exercitt. Acad.* 2, Rotterdam, 1688, p. 161) is seen to be quite baseless.

Jerome (on Gal. 1 1; ed. Vallarsi, vii. 1 374) and *OS* (ed. Lag. 71 16 72 25 199 70) derive Silas and Silvanus alike from שָׁלַח (*missus*: *OS* 198 61 has Σιλας μεσίτης). So also Zimmer, who cites the שֶׁלַח (SHELAH, 2) of Gen. 10 24 11 13-15 1 Ch 1 18 24. This last, however, appears as Σαλα in 𝔊 (or Σαλας [L once in Gen. 10 24]), in Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 4 *f.*, §§ 146, 150, as Σαλας, Σαλης or Σελας. For this reason we must also reject the conjecture of Seufert (above, § 5 *b*) that the choice of the Hebrew name which the composer of Acts gives to Silvanus was determined by the attribute of its bearer as being an apostle or one 'sent.'

In all probability the root of Silas is שאל. The Palmyrene inscriptions nos. 17, 18, and 95 in de Vogüé (*Syrie Centrale, inscript. Sémit.*, 1868, pp. 21, 65) show—and indeed in the case of no. 17 with the Greek parallel text *του Σεειλα*[1]—the form שאילא which is equivalent in meaning to the Heb. שָׁאוּל, 'he who has been asked for'; cp Nöld., *ZDMG*, 1870, p. 96 *f.* As the aleph in the middle was hardly audible, the form Sila easily arose out of this. So in *CIG* 3 4511 = Le Bas et Waddington (see n. 1) 2 3, no. 2567, p. 586, explic. p. 589 *f.*: *Σαμσιγεραμος ὁ καὶ Σειλας* in Emesa in Cœlesyria, 78-79 A.D.; שילא several times in Talmud (cp Nöldeke, *l.c.*, and Zahn, 1 23); also שילי in eastern Aramaic in the fifth century A.D. (*CIS* 2, no. 101, according to Zahn). On this etymology Σίλας will be the correct accentuation.

The form τῷ Σειλεα in Acts 15 34 D (d: Sileæ) is noticeable, as also the (only graphically different) τῷ Σιλαια of Acts 17 4 D, whilst elsewhere D invariably has Σιλας or Σειλας. The Σιλβανός found in 2 Cor., 1 and 2 Thess. (Dd Ee FG), and in 1 Pet. (B) is only another writing for Σιλουανός.

We come now to the question of the credibility of the data regarding Silas-Silvanus.

8. Credibility of Acts, 1 and 2 Thess., and 1 Pet. on Silas. (*a*) As regards Acts it has been remarked already (§ 2 *f.*) that the share of Silas-Silvanus in Paul's second missionary journey is not open to any question, especially when confirmed as it is by 2 Cor. 1 19 (on the genuineness of which epistle see GALATIANS, §§ 6-9), but that Acts needs between 17 15 and 18 5 some supplementing, and so far as its entire presentation of the 'apostolic decree' is concerned is completely unhistorical. The same holds good of the miraculous deliverance of Paul and Silas from prison at Philippi, as soon as 1 Thess. is accepted as genuine, for in 1 Thess. 2 2 Paul alludes to the evil treatment he had received at Philippi and yet attributes it not to any outward miracle but to his own inward disposition that he nevertheless found fresh courage for the preaching of the gospel in Thessalonica (cp ACTS, § 2). The fact also that the Roman citizenship is here so unexpectedly attributed to Silas rouses the suspicion that the author may have expressed himself carelessly and included Silas in his statement, although in fact all that he really knew of was the citizenship of Paul (see above, § 6 *b*).

(*b*) Whilst the genuineness of 1 Thess., and so also the designation of Silvanus as joint author (1 1), is open to no well-grounded objection, that of 2 Thess. must be given up, especially on account of 2 1-12. It will not avail to plead for the genuineness of the rest after this has been set aside; rather must we regard those portions of 2 Thess. which coincide with 1 Thess., including that in which Silvanus is named, as being imitations by which it was sought to give the epistle the appearance of being a genuine writing of Paul (cp Schmiedel in *HC zum NT* 2 1; Holtzmann, *ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 97-108).

(*c*) Since after the sojourn of Paul at Corinth in the course of his second missionary journey (Acts 18 5 2 Cor. 1 19), Silvanus is not again mentioned as having been in the company of the apostle, it is in itself possible that when 1 Pet. was written Silvanus was in the company of Peter—the epistle being assumed to be genuine and to have been written after that date. Of those who do not regard 1 Pet. as genuine, many find in the affirmation of 5 12 that Peter is writing 'through Silvanus' (διὰ Σιλουανοῦ) and particularly in the words ὡς λογίζομαι (AV 'as I suppose') which RV, certainly correctly, takes as referring to 'faithful' (πιστοῦ, 'by Silvanus, our faithful brother, as I account him, I have written unto you briefly'), a veiled reference to the fact that Silvanus had written the epistle after Peter's death. If, however, the epistle dates from 112 A.D. (see CHRISTIAN, § 8) this theory is excluded by consideration of what would have been Silvanus's age at that time. Thus we

1 To be accentuated so, according to Winer,(8) §§ 6 8*a*, 5 n. 73, because ου stands for a consonant and other MSS write Σιλβας.

2 Thus, if for no other reason, because in the longer form the accent lies upon the second not upon the first syllable. That all hypocoristica should have the circumflex on the last syllable is in accordance indeed with the principles laid down by Herodian (ed. Lentz, 1 50-59) but not with the examples he gives; cp Winer,(8) § 6 7*g*.

3 With Greeks it might be an abbreviation of Σιλανός which occurs—*e.g.*, so early as in Xen. *Anab.* vi. 2 [4] 13.

4 In Josephus the following Jews bear the name of Silas:—(*a*) a tyrant of Lysias (*Ant.* xiv. 3 2 § 40); (*b*) a friend of Agrippa I. (xviii. 6 7, § 204; xix. 6 3, § 299; 7 1, §§ 317-325; 8 3, § 353); (*c*) a commandant of Tiberias (*Vit.* 17, § 89 *f.*; 53, § 272; *BJ* ii. 21 6, § 615): (*d*) a commandant from Babylon (*BJ* ii. 19 2, § 520, iii. 2 1 *f.*, §§ 11, 19).

1 The Greek text also in *CIG* 3, no. 4484, and in Le Bas et Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, 2 3, 1870, no. 2601 (p. 594; explications, p. 600).

shall have to suppose that the mention of Silvanus, as also that of Mark (5 13), who also can hardly have been still alive at so late a date as 112 A.D., subserves a definite purpose. Both had been members of the primitive church (for Mark, cp Acts 12 12) and at the same time companions of Paul; thus, on the one hand, they become fitted to figure as comrades of Peter, and, on the other, the naming of them creates the impression that Peter had a thoroughly good understanding with Paul the founder of many of the churches included in the address of the epistle (Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia). The remaining contents of the epistle show little of that tendency to bring about a reconciliation between Paulinism and Jewish Christianity which the Tübingen school attributed to it; but the closing verses which have been under our consideration must doubtless be taken in this sense (cp PETER, EPISTLES OF, § 6, end).

In doing so it is a matter of indifference whether we are to understand by 'through' (διά) that Silvanus is indicated as the individual who, like Tertius in Rom. 16 22, wrote the epistle at the apostle's dictation (so the subscription to Rom. in cod. 133: 'it was written through Tertius,' ἐγράφη διὰ Τερτίου), or whether, as the analogy of the other spurious subscriptions of Pauline letters would warrant, we are intended to look upon him as the bearer of the letter; all that is excluded is the attribution to him of any sort of independent share in the composition of the epistle.

9. Later views. In the lists of the 'seventy' (Lk. 10 1) Silas and Silvanus figure as distinct individuals, the former as bishop of Corinth, the latter as bishop of Thessalonica. According to the Περίοδοι Βαρνάβα John Mark was baptized by Barnabas, Paul, and Silas in Iconium (Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* i. 203, ii.1 9*f.* 2 277 280 285). Many interpreters maintain Silas to be the 'brother' referred to in 2 Cor. 8 18*f.* This brother, however, must rather have been a Macedonian, as he was chosen by the Macedonians to represent them in conveying the collection to Jerusalem. Against the theory that Silas was the author of the 'we'-source of Acts see ACTS, § 9. Against the view put forward in 1825 by Böhme and Mynster that Silas was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews the same considerations hold good as have been urged against the authorship of Barnabas in so far as they both belonged to Jerusalem (see BARNABAS, § 5).

10. Literature. Van Vloten, 'Lucas u. Silas' in *ZWT*, 1867, pp. 223*f.*; 1871, pp. 431-434; against him, Cropp, *ibid.* 1868, pp. 353-355; Märcker, *Stellung der Pastoralbriefe im Leben des Paulus*, Gymnasialprogramm, Meiningen, 1861, pp. 10-12; *Titus Silvanus*, *ibid.* 1864; Graf in Heidenheim's *Vierteljahrsschrift für englisch-theologische Forschung*, 2, 1865, pp. 373-394; Seufert, *ZWT*, 1885, pp. 359-371; Zimmer, *Ztschr. f. kirchl. Wissensch. u. kirchl. Leben*, 1881, pp. 169-174; *JPT*, 1881, pp. 721-723; against him Jülicher *JPT*, 1882, pp. 538-552; Adolf Johannes (catholic), *Comm. zu.* 1 *Thess.*, 1898, pp. 147-153.

P. W. S.

SILENCE (דּוּמָה; ᾅδης; *infernum*), a title of SHEOL (*q.v.*), Ps. 94 17 115 17.

The existence of such a word is, however, most improbable, and there is no Ass. parallel. 𝔊's ᾅδης may = צַלְמָוֶת. See SHADOW OF DEATH.

SILK occurs in AV as the rendering of three different words.

1. שֵׁשׁ, *šēš*, is rendered 'silk' in AV text of Pr. 31 22, and mg. of Gen. 41 42 Exod. 25 4. On this see LINEN (7).

2. מֶשִׁי, *mĕšī* (τρίχαπτος),[1] Ezek. 16 10 13†. Amidst the variety of ancient renderings there is a general agreement that some cloth of fine texture is intended; Jewish tradition favours 'silk' (Ges. *Thes.*), a meaning with which the rendering in 𝔊 is not inconsistent; and Movers (*Phön.* ii. 3 264) contends that silk was, at least as far back as Ezekiel's time, conveyed from China into W. Asia by the land route through Mesopotamia, though it was probably almost unknown in Europe till after Alexander's conquests, and did not come into general use before the period of the Roman Empire.[2] Cp TRADE, § 62. In any case the reference in Ezek. 16 10 is to a long outer vail of fine material which covered the entire person (Smend, *ad loc.*).

[1] *I.e.*, 'woven of hair'; Aq. has ψηλαφητός and ἄνθιμος, Sym. ἐπένδυμα and πολύμιτος; Th. merely transliterates. Vg. *subtilia* and *polymitus*, Pesh. *ḥellā* ('vail'), and *teklēthā* ('blue').

[2] Cp *EB*(9) 22 56.

3. σιρικόν, *i.e.*, σηρικόν, the familiar Greek name for silk (from Σηρ: see Strabo, 516, 701), occurs in Rev. 18 12†, in the enumeration of wares which formed the merchandise of the apocalyptic Babylon.

The references in classical writers show that, under the early empire, silk was of great costliness, and its use a sign of extreme luxury.

The larva of the silk-worm moth, *Bombyx mori*, so called from its feeding on mulberry leaves, produces far the greatest bulk of the silk in use. Inferior silks are, however, produced by several species of the same genus, and Tussar silks are spun from the cocoons of *Antheræa pernyi*, which feeds on oaks, in China; and of *A. mylitta* in India, and from other species mostly belonging to the family Saturniidæ. The silk is the hardened extract of certain silk glands which open just below the mouth of the caterpillar, and is excreted to make the cocoon within which the insect passes its pupal stage.

Cp Hitzig, *ZDMG* 8 212 *ff.* N. M.—A. E. S.

SILLA (סִלָּא; σελλα [Eus. *OS* 296, 99]; *SELA* [Jer., Vg.]), a place-name in the account of the murder of Joash (2 K. 12 20 [21]). 'At the house of Millo [or, at Beth-millo] which goeth down to Silla,' as AV gives, is clearly wrong (ἐν οἴκῳ μααλω τὸν γααλλα [B, ἐν γ. B[ab]], . . . μαλλων τῷ ἐν τῇ καταβάσει αλλων [L], . . . μααλω τὸν καταμένοντα γααλαδ [A, sic ut vid.]), *kad neḥēth las'la'* [Pesh.]).

The key to the problem is supplied by the theory that the people with whom the Israelites had most constant relations were the Jeraḥmeelites, and that Solomon most probably obtained his timber for building, not from the Lebanon, but from the mountain-country of the Negeb. The mysterious word מלוא (Millo) is most probably a corruption of ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel), and so too is הירד סלא (see MILLO). It was at Beth-jeraḥmeel that Joash was slain, and since the context requires a place in Jerusalem, the most plausible view is that 'Beth-jeraḥmeel' means the 'house of the forest of Lebanon,' for Solomon's Lebanon, or perhaps Gebalon, appears to have been in the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb (see SOLOMON, § 3 *b*). The same building is probably specified in the true text of 2 Ch. 24 25 (see *Crit. Bib.*). Cp, however, Winckler, *KAT*(3) 260, n. 2, and the commentaries of Benzinger and Kittel (less satisfactory conjectures).

T. K. C.

SILOAM, SILOAH, SHELAH, SHILOAH. The four places in which Shiloah or Siloam are mentioned are: (1) Is. 8 6 (מֵי הַשִּׁלֹחַ[1]; τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σειλωάμ [Bℵ], τ. ὕ. τ. Σιλ. [AQΓ], **The waters of Shiloah**, EV); (2) Neh. 3 15 (בְּרֵכַת הַשֶּׁלַח; κολυμβήθρα τῶν κωδίων [B], om. κωδιων ℵ*, hab. κωδιων ℵ[c.a mg.], ℵ adds θε τοῦ Σιλωαμ, τῆς κρήνης τοῦ Σιλωα [L]; **The pool of Siloah** AV, **of Shelah** RV); (3) Lk. 13 4 (ὁ πύργος ἐν τῷ Σιλωάμ; **The tower in Siloam**); (4) Jn. 9 7 and (not in best MSS) 11 (τὴν κολυμβήθραν τοῦ Σιλωάμ, **The pool of Siloam** 'which is by interpretation, Sent'; the better reading seems to be τὸν Σ.).

Possibly also there is an allusion to Siloam in the 'fountain' and 'pool' of Neh. 2 14. For topography and description see JERUSALEM, § 3 and diagram; also §§ 11, 18 *f.*, and map facing col. 2420; also CONDUITS, § 5, where a translation of the famous Siloam inscription is given. Josephus (*BJ* v. 4 1 § 140) speaks of the waters of the fountain (πηγὴ Σιλωᾶς) as sweet and abundant, and (*BJ* v. 9, § 410) reports himself in his speech to his compatriots as having pointed out that Siloam and the other springs which were formerly almost dried up when under the control of the Jews, had, since the advent of Titus, run more plentifully than they did before. Jerome (*Comment. in Esa.* 86) also mentions the irregular flow of Siloam—a feature which has been noticed by most subsequent pilgrims and travellers, and is explained by the geological formation of the district. In NT times certainly, and probably earlier, a healing virtue was attributed to the waters of Siloam. On the mystical meaning of Jn. 9 11 see GOSPELS, § 56, col. 1803, but cp SHILOH, and, on the miracle, cp JOHN, § 35, col. 2539.

In Is. 8 6 the waters of Shiloah 'that go softly' (at least if the text is sound; see, however, *Crit. Bib.* [Che.]) represent either the power of the house of David, which certainly was insignificant, or the might of Yahwè which seemed but was not really slight; they are contrasted with the 'waters of the River, strong and many' (*v.* 7), which symbolise the vast physical power of Assyria. In Jn. 9 7 the ἀπεσταλμένος has been taken by most

[1] √שלח, *emisit*? cp *emissary*?

interpreters from Theophylact onwards to refer to Christ the true Siloam (cp 6 29 38 *f.* 7 28 8 26 17 3 21). Whether this is at all probable may be doubted; other interpretations however (see Holtzmann, *ad loc.*) are no better. Lücke has pointed out the possibility that the clause is merely a marginal gloss. Such explanations abound in the *Onomastica*.

SILVANUS (ϲιλογανοϲ), 2 Cor. 1 19, etc. See Silas.

SILVER (כֶּסֶף, *késeph*; Aram. כַּסְפָּא; Syr. *kespā*; Ass. *kaspu*; root-meaning perhaps 'paleness,' see WRS *J. Phil.* 14 125).

The word is sometimes used, in its proper sense, of silver ore, *e.g.*, Ezek. 22 20 22 (figuratively), etc., but also often of silver as a measure of weight and value, *e.g.*, 'silver 30 shekels' (Ex. 21 32), '400 silver shekels' (Gen. 23 15), and, with the omission of 'shekel' or 'shekels,' 'a thousand of silver' (Gen. 20 16), 'twenty of silver' (37 28). Hence more often still 'silver' (*késeph*) = 'money,' cp ἀργύριον and the French *argent*, but not necessarily coined money, *e.g.*, Gen. 31 15 42 25 27 Dt. 23 20 [19]. In Gen. 42 25 35 the plural form (as if 'monies') is found.

1. OT references.

On silver mining, alluded to in Job 28 1, and on the methods of refining the crude ore alluded to in (Is. 1 25) Ezek. 22 20 22 Zech. 13 9 Mal. 3 3 Prov. 17 3 27 21 (we must not add Ps. 126 1 [7]), see Metals. The separated silver was called *késeph ṣārūph* (כֶּסֶף צָרוּף, Ps. 12 7 [6]); *k. mezukkāk* (כ׳ מְזֻקָּק, 1 Ch. 29 4 Ps. 12 7 [6]); *k. nibḥār* (כ׳ נִבְחָר, Prov. 10 20). The crucible is called *maṣrēph* (מַצְרֵף, Prov. 17 3 27 21).[2] In Jer. 10 9 we read of 'silver beaten out into plates'; where it came from we shall have to ask presently. Hebrew traditions told of great abundance of silver in early times. These traditions, which are supported by the use of *késeph* (silver) for 'money,' are doubtless correct. Abram and Ephron 'the Hittite' have certainly no lack of silver, according to Gen. 23, and, though this passage comes from the much disparaged priestly writer, he probably does but repeat the statements of earlier writers.

According to a view which, even if new, may nevertheless do justice to old and forgotten truth, the scene of the transaction described was not at Hebron but at some place of hallowed associations in the Negeb—probably Rehoboth,[3] which would justly be represented as Kirjath-'arab,[4] 'city of Arabia.' In this connection we may refer to Joseph's silver divining cup (Gen. 44 2). It is not impossible that the original scene of the fascinating story of Joseph was not in Egypt but in the Negeb. But even if this was not the case, we are assured on the best authority that silver in Egypt had at first a higher value than gold (see Egypt, § 38). The *true* Hittites, too (whose capital was Kadesh on the Orontes), had abundance of silver in the time of Rameses II.; the treaty between them and this powerful Egyptian king was on a silver tablet.

In Solomon's time, it would appear as if the larger introduction of gold depreciated the value of silver. We are told (1 K. 10 21) that none of the king's 'vessels' were of silver, which 'was nothing accounted of in

[1] 𝔊, as we now have it, gives in Ps. *l.c.* δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ. In Prov. 27 21 δοκίμ. corresponds to מַצְרֵף, 'crucible.' Did the text of 𝔊 in Ps. at one time run, ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον ἐν δοκιμίῳ (=δοκιμείῳ) without τῇ γῇ? Deissmann (*Neue Bibelstudien*, 90) thinks that the only tolerable sense of δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ is 'genuine silver for the land.' At any rate both the MT and 𝔊 of Ps. 12 7 [6] attest the activity of scribes working upon a corrupt text. Cp n. 2.

[2] Nestle (*Exp.T* 8 287) would give the same sense to עֱלִי, which in Prov. 27 22 = 'pestle.' This affects the criticism of בעליל. May we read בַּעֲלִי, 'in the crucible'? There seems to be a better solution.

[3] 'Hittite' itself, when used of any person in the S. of Palestine, is a mutilated form of 'Rehobothite.' See Rehoboth.

[4] For instances of numerals which are corruptions of ethnic names, see Moses, § 11, Prophet, § 7, *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 15 13. 'City of Four' (Kirjath-arba) is as improbable as 'daughter of Seven' (see Solomon, § 2).

the days of Solomon,' and (*v.* 27) that he 'made silver to be in Jerusalem as stones.'

From what sources was this plentiful supply of silver derived? It is geologically impossible that either gold or silver should exist in the mountains of Syria and Palestine. We may suppose that most of the silver of the 'Hittites' came from the mines of Bulgar Dagh in Lycaonia. According to Prof. Sayce:—

2. Sources.

'The Hittite inscription found near the old mines of these mountains by Mr. Davis, proves that they once occupied the locality. It is even possible that their settlement for a time in Lydia was also connected with their passion for "the bright metal." At all events, the Gumush Dagh, or "Silver Mountains," lie to the S. of the Pass of Karabel, and traces of old workings can still be detected in them.'[1]

As to the treasures of Solomon, we are told in 1 K. 10 22 (cp Solomon, § 4, end) that the 'navy of Tarshish' brought silver as well as gold. Upon this Prof. W. M. Müller remarks (*OLZ* 3 269) that this points to great ignorance of the Red Sea coasts. There was, however, according to the Arabic notices, no lack of silver in the mountains of Yemen, and it was hence, as Oskar Fraas thinks (*HWB*(2) 1007*a*), that Solomon derived the precious metals. And what is to be said of Tartessus? If the current opinion is correct, though Solomon's ships did not get out so far as Spain, the later supply of silver to Palestine was largely derived from the rich territory by the Guadalquivir. We fear the opinion needs to be accepted with reserve. Tartessus was, no doubt, in a rich district. The story is, that since the Phœnicians found that they could not carry all their silver away, they made 'silver anchors' in place of those that they had brought (Aristot. *De Mirab.* 148; cp Diod. 5 35).

Unfortunately, there is considerable danger that, except in late passages like 2 Ch. 9 21[2] Jon. 1 3, 'Tarshish' is a corruption of 'Asshur'; and there is one extremely late passage (Jer. 10 9) where the same restoration ('silver . . . brought from Asshur') should apparently be made. Perhaps the most important passage is Ezek. 27 12 where, according to MT, silver, together with iron, tin, and lead, is represented to have been brought to Tyre from Tarshish. A close investigation of the passage in its context suggests that Miṣṣur (not Tyre) provides the market, and N. Arabian peoples provide the merchandise disposed of (see *Crit. Bib.*). The Asshurite merchants, it would seem, were the middlemen between the miners in some perhaps distant part o. Arabia, and the rich and powerful people of Miṣṣur. Another evidence of the abundance of silver in N. Arabia is supplied by 2 S. 8 10-12 (in the light of criticism), where the spoil taken by David from Zobah [*q.v.*], or rather Miṣṣur and other N. Arabian regions bordering on Palestine (such as 'Aram'—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel), is said to have consisted in vessels of silver, of gold, and of brass. It is noteworthy, too, that the poem of Job, which most probably arose either in N. Arabia or under strong N. Arabian influences (the names point decidedly to this, see Job [Book], §§ 4, 9), shows great interest in gold and silver mines. On two out or the three references in Job (22 25 28 6), see Gold, § 1, col. 1750.

T. K. C.

SILVER, PIECE OF (αρΓγρια), Mt. 26 15. See Stater, *ad fin.*

SIMALCUE (ϲινμαλκογη [A]), 1 Macc. 11 39 AV, RV Imalcue.

SIMEON

Where settled? (§ 1).	Extra-biblical? (§ 6).
Gen. 34 49 (§ 2).	Conclusion (§ 7).
Deut. 33 (§ 3).	Name (§ 8).
Judg. 1 (§ 4).	Genealogical lists (§ 9).
1 Ch. 4 (§ 5).	Geographical lists (§ 10).

Simeon (שִׁמְעוֹן; ϲγμεων [BAL]; see below, § 8) was the brother[3] of Levi and Dinah (Gen. 34 25, J; cp 49 5). What genealogical scheme underlay this representation we do not know.[4] In the scheme followed by the final redactors Simeon had five full brothers; how many sisters (Gen. 37 35, J; 46 7, D) we are nowhere told. Moreover,

1. Where settled?

[1] *The Hittites* (1888), 95.

[2] We do not add 1 K. 22 47 (see Jehoshaphat, col. 2352).

[3] On אחם in Gen. 49 see § 8, i.

[4] It is natural to suppose a genealogy that made Simeon, Levi, and Dinah the only children of their mother. We cannot assume this with confidence however. Simeon and Reuben form a pair in Gen. 48 5 (P), and Simeon is styled brother of Judah in Judg. 1 3 (J).

Simeon the brother of Dinah figures as a tribe in the district of Shechem, whereas the Simeon whose cities are enumerated in the well-known lists (§ 10) is there connected with the S. country and associated with Judah rather than Israel.[1] It has been customary to identify these two Simeons. It is not impossible, however, to hold that there were more Simeons than one (see below, § 6). If, however, we identify them, are we to regard the two representations as variant theories, belonging to a time when the real life of the tribe had been forgotten? Or may we suppose that they both contain reminiscences of history, that in fact Simeon lived, let us say, in the neighbourhood of Shechem and then removed to the S.? There would be more chance of giving confident answers to these questions, if we knew whether the framers of our sources had actual knowledge of a Simeon tribe or Simeon families; if, for example, we could point with confidence to sanctuaries which at least had been distinctively Simeonite, where therefore there might have been preserved a tradition of Simeon's having come S. from the highlands of central Palestine. It is, no doubt, natural to suppose that Beersheba was such a sanctuary. It may very well have been; it was certainly famous, and, in particular, was at least at times in touch with northern Israel. The difficulty is to prove that it, or any other definite spot, was Simeonite. Simeon is never mentioned as a component part of the southern kingdom.[2]

2. Gen. 34 49.

Still, although we may not be able to point with confidence to any contemporary statement about Simeon in the literature accessible to us, the editors whose work has reached us may have had such evidence lying before them.[3]

i. It must be remembered that the end of J's story of the Shechem exploit ascribed to the tribe has been lost. That may have told of Simeon's removal towards the south. From the fact that the redactor suppressed the passage we may plausibly conjecture that what it narrated was more or less of the nature of a catastrophe discreditable to 'Israel.' It may therefore have been historical, and may have come from a time when Simeon was still really a tribe. How a later writer would have told (and did tell) the story we can perhaps see from Gen. 35 5: After the incident which forms the subject of chap. 34 the Israelites moved off leisurely, their god having interfered in their behalf so that there fell on the natives of the land an awe such as fell on the Greeks when Apollo brought the seemingly vanquished Hector back to the fight strong as ever (*Il.* 15 279 *ff.*). So, a later writer thought, must it ever fare with Israel. The older story, however, told not of 'Israel,' but of Simeon and Levi.[4] All that a later editor was willing to retain of it was the remonstrance of Jacob: you have brought a disaster (עכרתם) on us, in making us abominable to all the natives of the land; as we are but a small company they will band themselves against us and defeat us, and we shall be destroyed.

ii. What the sequel of the older narrative was can probably be inferred from Gen. 49 5-7. Even there we are not told explicitly what happened; but there was a power to fulfil itself in the father's curse (cp BLESSING AND CURSING): I will divide them in Jacob, And scatter them in Israel. What meaning the writer would put into these words is uncertain. Steuernagel thinks that Jacob is here a tribe name and that the verse means that Simeon was dispersed in the highlands of central Palestine (*Einwanderung*, 104), some, however, perhaps wandering southwards (*ib.* 15). As treating of the early fortunes of Shechem, the story of Gen. 34 is dealt with elsewhere (see EPHRAIM, § 6, DINAH). Dinah was perhaps supposed to have disappeared completely (see DINAH, § 6); what the real history of Levi was is a difficult question (see LEVI, LEVITES, GENEALOGIES, § 7). It is with Simeon that we are here concerned. That it was not always counted as a tribe appears to follow from its absence from Dt. 33 (blessing of Moses).[1]

3. Dt. 33.

It has been questioned, however, whether the omission of Simeon in Dt. 33 is original.

Not only does 𝔊AL apply *v.* 6*b* to Simeon (*καὶ συμεων* [𝔊B om. *σ.*] *ἔστω πολὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ*), to whom the words, however they are to be taken (REUBEN, § 4), are quite as applicable as to Reuben. It has been thought also (Graetz, *Gesch.* ii. 1 486 *f.*, Heilprin, *Hist. Poet. Heb.* 1 113 *f.*; cp Halévy, *J. As.*, 1897*a*, pp. 329-31) that 7*a* perhaps belonged to Simeon (there might be a play on the name in 'Hear'). If these proposals were combined the Simeon saying[2] would read:

Let Simeon be a small company.
Hear, Yahwè, his voice,
And bring him in unto his people.

The case for such a text, however, is not strong (see Driver, *ad loc.*).[3]

If the passage really mentioned Simeon in some such way it would seem to imply that Simeon had somehow come to be severed from 'his people.' That would be an interesting variant of the view of Simeon represented in the 'Jacob Blessing' (Gen. 49), where Simeon is not detached from his people but dispersed among them.

Moreover if Simeon is really mentioned in the Esarhaddon tablet to be discussed later (§ 6, iii.), a position of detachment for Simeon at a comparatively late period would be established by contemporary extra-biblical evidence. Gen. 49 (and 34) is, however, by no means the only biblical reference to movements on the part of Simeon.

4. Judg. 1.

Of special interest are the references in Judg. 1, as giving a theory, doubtless widely held, as to Simeon's arrival on the scene. There, as we have seen (col. 4524, n. 4), Simeon's brother is Judah (*vv.* 3 17). Israel, having agreed to a division of the land among the tribes, inquires of Yahwè who is to begin the attack. The answer being 'Judah,' Judah asks Simeon to join in the expedition, promising to return the favour later. Simeon consents, and the two peoples advance against the Canaanites, defeating them signally at Bezek, if the text is sound (see BEZEK). Whether the tradition made Simeon and Judah then settle in the central highlands is not clear.[4] The meagreness of the account of Judah's campaign suggests that the old story of Judah's advent was lost or suppressed: we hear of Caleb's appropriation of Hebron, Othniel's of Debir, the Kenites' of the district of Arad (Judg. 1 16; on the text see the comm.), and Simeon's of Zephath-Hormah;[5] but nowhere are we told where or how Judah settled.[6] It is difficult to think that this is accidental: the redactor would have told of Judah's southward progress if he could. Perhaps one reason why he could not was that, as Graf suggested (*Stamm Simeon*, 15), the district which ultimately bore the name of Judah was entered from the S. If Judah is primarily the name of the southern kingdom, which consisted of Kenites, Calebites, Jerahmeelites, Simeonites, and other southern elements, the settlement stories would naturally deal with the fortunes of its component

1 Cheyne, however, suggests that the Shechem-story also dealt originally not with central Palestine, but with a district on the N. Arabian border, in or near the Negeb (cp MOSES, § 13); SHECHEM, 2.

2 On Simeon's never being assigned to either kingdom cp Graf, *Stamm Simeon*, 19; also, on theories connecting him with the northern kingdom, *ib.* 33. For the Chronicler's notice see below, § 5, iv.

3 On 1 Ch. 4 38-41 see below, § 5.

4 There seems, however, to have been an independent story which *did* speak of 'Israel.' See Gen. 48 21 *f.* [E] (cp Gunkel in *HK*(2) *ad loc.*), and the legend in Jubilees 34 2-8 (cp Charles *ad loc.* and the literature cited by him).

1 On its omission in Judg. 5 see below, note 4.

2 This theory thus suggests that the Judah saying is: 7*b* 11.

3 On the various proposals see further, Graf, *Der Segen Moses*, 24-26 (1857).

4 If so, are we to suppose that old tradition did *not* always distinguish between Judah and 'Levi'? (Gen. 34). Only in this connection can the absence of any reference to Simeon in Judg. 4 or Judg. 5 have any significance.

5 To infer from the Hormah exploit being elsewhere (Nu. 21 3 see HORMAH) given to 'Israel,' that some assigned to Simeon in early times a position of great importance would be precarious.

6 Gen. 38 is somewhat different.

parts.[1] Even, however, if the other Judah elements entered from the S., Simeon might first have lost a footing temporarily gained in Central Palestine. That might account for the Shimeon at Semūnīyeh (right across Esdraelon from Ibzīḳ) of Josh. 11 1 12 20 if that is the true reading (see SHIMRON, and below, § 6, ii.). On the other hand the story of the partnership of 'Judah' and Simeon may not rest on prehistoric relations so early as the settlement. It may reflect a later time.

It has been thought, for example (Wi. *GI* 2 201 n.), that underneath what now appears in 1 Ch. 4 24 as a mere list of names it is possible to detect a statement relating to a migration of Simeon southwards. According to this theory Simeonites were settled in the southern part of the territory out of which Saul carved an extensive Benjamite state (above, col. 2583, n. 1), and rather than yield to him they moved south. That would be a likely thing to happen, especially if the Simeonites were not firmly settled. Of course such a movement would agree passably with the suggestion of Gen. 49 and the story in Gen. 34. Nor is there anything impossible about an origin such as Winckler proposes for the genealogical list. Still, the suggestion in question is perhaps hardly convincing enough (see below, § 9, i.) to form the basis of a definite theory of the history of Simeon.

5. 1 Ch. 4. To the same period was assigned by Dozy a movement, or movements, on the part of Simeon of which the Chronicler's account is still in the form of a narrative, although it contains a good many names. The passage (1 Ch. 4 38-43) contains several statements, the relation of which to one another is not clear, the text being more or less doubtful.[2]

(*a*) According to 4 38-40 certain Simeonites pushed down to the district of Gedor or Gerar in search of pasture for their sheep.

(*b*) According to *v.* 41 these men went in the time of Hezekiah and smote[3] . . . and the Meunim who were 'there' and banned them and dwelt in their place.

(*c*) According to *v.* 42 *f.* some of 'them' (500 with 4 leaders) went to Mt. Seir and smote those who were left of the fugitive Amalekites and settled there.

i. According to Benzinger these three statements are divergent accounts of the same thing (*KHC*, 17 *f.*), all of them being later insertions into the Chronicler's work. A question more important than the date of their insertion is whence they were drawn. We must allow for the possibility that they come from a good source. Of course that need not imply the correctness of the reference to Hezekiah.[4] There is nothing in itself improbable in the Hezekiah date. The Meunim seem to be mentioned under Uzziah, also Arabs in Gur (=Gerar? and בעל for גור?: Winckler, *KAT*(3) 143, n. 1: 2 Ch. 26 7; cp MEUNIM, *b*). A little later, under Manasseh, according to one interpretation of a passage in a cuneiform tablet, we find Simeon as a whole reckoned as belonging to Muṣri, not Judah (below, § 6, iii.).

ii. Dozy (*De Israëliten te Mekka* [1864], 56 [Germ. Trans. 50]), however, thinks that *v.* 31*b* shows that the events belong to the time of Saul, and in an extremely ingenious manner works out the following theory :—

When Saul's expedition was sent with orders to extirpate the Amalekites, the king was spared and brought back (1 S. 15 3 9). In Yethrib-Medina it was told that when the disobedient army returned to Palestine they were exiled for their disobedience and returned to the Amalekite land[5] (60 *f.* [53 *f.*]). The force sent would likely be Simeonite (the most southern tribe, 63 [56]). Afterwards, when David punished the Amalekites for their attack on Ziklag, 400 escaped (1 S. 30 17), to be destroyed later by 500 Simeonites who settled in Seir (1 Ch. 4 42 *f.* : p. 56 *f.* [50]). In Hezekiah's time an interest was felt in these Simeonite exiles (56 [49], 72 [64]) and Is. 21 11 *f.*[1] is an invitation to them to come back (67-73 [60-65]). In time they came to be called Ishmael (103-110 [93-99]); cp below, § 8 iii.

Dozy's reason for assigning the Simeonite movement to the time of Saul does not seem cogent : *v.* 31*b* ('these were their cities unto the reign of David') is not the Chronicler's; it is a marginal gloss which has intruded so as to sever 'and their villages' (*v.* 32) from the words to which the parallel Josh. 19 shows that they belong (so Be. *ad loc.*). Nor can Dozy's other combinations be accepted (for a sober criticism see Graf's review, *ZDMG* 19 330-351 [1865]).

iii. N. I. Weinstein (*Zur Genesis der Agada*, 291-156 [1901]), however, adopts most of Dozy's combinations, and adds others of his own.

He tries to show that the Minim of Talmudic literature are the Meunim of the OT, and they in their turn Dozy's wandering Simeonites, whose name he supposes later writers to have avoided on account of a reproach under which they lay, substituting Meunim or Minim. Much of this seems open to the same kind of criticism as Dozy's discussion.

iv. On the other hand, there seems no definite reason to urge in support of the view that the Chronicler's statements are a late invention (We. *Prol.*(5) 212; ET 213). Why should he invent such a story? Elsewhere the Chronicler seems to treat Simeon as belonging to northern Israel [but cp *Crit. Bib.* 16, on Is. 9 7-10 4] (2 Ch. 15 9 : Ephraim, Manasseh, Simeon; 34 6 : Manasseh, Ephraim, Simeon, Naphtali). It would be a strong point in favour of an early source for the statements in 1 Ch. 4 39-43 if it could be proved that Simeon was still a current name in S. Palestine in the seventh century B.C. (see § 6, iii.).

6. Extra-biblical references? At this point, accordingly, we may conveniently turn to extra-biblical sources in search of references.

i. We may begin with the attempt to find such in Thotmes III.'s list of 119 places of Upper Rṯnu.

No. 35 is Ša-m-'-n-' and no. 18 Ša-m-'-n-'-w (var. Ša-m-'-'-w), which looks like the plural of no. 35. We may grant the similarity of the names to Simeon (cp the spelling of Ša-ra-ḥa-na); but we cannot infer much. We cannot locate them. According to W. M. Müller, they, at least, were not in the S., as the list (he believes) does not include names in the S. of Judah. Cp also col. 3546, number 35, and notes 2 and 3. The conjecture, therefore, that Simeon (with Levi) was an early settler in Palestine (Hommel, *AHT* 268; Sayce, *Early Heb. Trad.* 392) remains a hypothesis.

ii. Nor are we much better off a century or more later in the Amarna correspondence.

There is a letter (*KB* 5, no. 220 3) from Šamu-Addu, prince of a place called Ša-am-ḫu-na, which is phonetically=Simeon, and is definitely indicated as the name of a town (*alu*); but we cannot tell where it lay. Steuernagel inclines to identify it with the Symoōn (Συμοων) of 𝔊B in Josh. 11 1 (𝔊AFL Σομερων, MT שִׁמְרוֹן, SHIMRON, § 1) mentioned with Achshaph, and Symoōn (so Buhl, *Pal.* 215) with Semūnīye[2] (see below, iii., *a* [1]). There is nothing to make the identity of Šamḫuna with one of the places mentioned in the Karnak list improbable (so also Meyer, *Glossen*, 73). If the identity be held probable, it would appear to stand in the way of connecting Simeon in any very definite manner with the Ḫabiri as Steuernagel proposes to connect the Leah tribes generally.

iii. Unfortunately, none of the later Egyptian lists contains a name resembling Simeon. It might be surmised that the old towns, or at least their names, had died out. Sayce conjectures that Simeon preceded Judah in the occupation of S. Palestine, and had disappeared by the time of David (*Early Heb. Trad.* 392). There is a passage, however, in one of the fragments relating to the successful Egyptian expedition of Esarhaddon, which must be taken account of.

[1] In this connection we may note the absence of all mention of Judah from the Shechem story in Gen. 34 30. See above, col. 4526, n. 4.

[2] For Cheyne's view of the text see MEUNIM, *a*.

[3] On the text compare Winckler, *MVG*, 1898, pp. 48 *ff.*

[4] Dozy argues that it is only the writing down that is ascribed to Hezekiah's time (*Israel. te Mekka*, 56 [49]). Bertheau thinks the reference is intended to include the expedition. It is difficult to see how the person who inserted the notice could apply it to any other than the time of Hezekiah.

[5] The Gedor of *v.* 39 is thus the *jidār* or sanctuary at Mekka (89 [80]), 'the valley' (of *v.* 39) is E. of Mekka (92-94 [83 *f.*]), which received its name from the great fight (מַכָּה רַבָּה = Macoraba: 81 [72 *f.*]).

[1] Dozy (70 [63]), Grätz (*Gesch.* ii. 1 485; a theory later abandoned) follow Aq. Sym. Theod. in inserting fugitives (נָדֵד = φεύγοντας) as subject to 'call.' On a supposed reference to Simeon in Mic. 1 15 (Movers, *Untersuch. üb. d. Chron.* 136; Hitzig, *ad loc.*) see Graf, *Stamm Simeon*, 32; on a supposed connection of Massa of Prov. 30 1 31 1 (Hitzig, *Sprüche Sal.* 310 *f.* and others) with Simeon, see *ib.* 34, and on other supposed references see Weinstein (as in § 5 iii.).

[2] Petrie, also, places Šamḫuna in Galilee (*Hist. Egypt*, 2 317).

'From (*country*) Mu-ṣur,' says Esarhaddon, 'I marshalled my camp (*karašu ad-ki-e*), to Me-luḫ-ḫa I directed my march, 30 *kasbu-ḳakkar* from (*city*) Ap-ḳu which is in (or 'by') (*pa-ṭi*) (*country*) Ša-me-n[a] to (*city*) Ra-pi-ḫi to (*a-na i-te*)[1] the Wādy of Muṣur.'

If this is really the text of the tablet—it is the reading of Budge, Peiser, Craig, and (doubtfully) Rogers[2]—it is important; the district (*mat*) in which Ap-ḳu lies is not, as has been supposed, Samaria, but Sa-me-n[a], a name which might be an Assyrian representation of Simeon.[3] According to this, there was probably in the first half of the seventh century B.C. a district known to the Assyrians as שמ[y]ן, apparently somewhere in Palestine. The next question is, Where?

a. The district contained, or had on its border (*paṭi*), a town called Apḳu, which lay 30 *kasbu-ḳakkar* from Rapiḫi—Raphia = er-Refaḥ. What the length of a *kasbu-ḳakkar* was is uncertain[4] (11½ kilom. [=7 Eng. m.]? or 5¾ kilom. [=3½ m.]). The average day's march in this inscription is 2 *kasbu-ḳakkar*.

(1) If the day's march was about 7 m., 30 *kasbu-ḳakkar* from Rapiḫi would give the site of Apḳu as somewhere about 100 m. from er-Refaḥ—that is to say, about as far as, *e.g.*, between Dothan and Jenīn. It might then be a question whether Sa-me-n[a] is not perhaps a clerical error for Sa-me-ri-na. 'Aphek in Sharon' (cp APHEK, end) seems too far S. Fīḳ, E. of the Sea of Galilee, with which Schrader identified Apḳu (*KAT*(2) 204) is some 135 m. from er-Refaḥ; ḳal'at eš-Šema' SE. of Tyre, with which Šanda (*MVG*, 1902, p. 58 [2 74]) connects the district of Samen[a], identifying Apḳu with 'Aphek in Asher' of Josh. 19 30, is over 140 m.; Semūnīye (above, ii.), somewhat over 110 m.

(2) If the day's march was about 14 m., 30 *kasbu-ḳakkar* from Rapiḫi would make Apḳu some 200 m. from er-Refaḥ—that is to say farther than Bērūt. Afḳā (in B_4 on map facing col. 3736; cp APHEK, 1) seems to be about 215 m. from er-Refaḥ.

b. The attempt to do justice to the Apḳu part of Esarhaddon's statement, however, raises a difficulty in what precedes.

(1) Esarhaddon seems to say that when he directed his march to Me-luḫ-ḫa he was in Muṣur and there marshalled his camp, starting from Apḳu. Now, Mu-ṣur is nowhere used of N. Palestine. It has been argued with great force, however, by Winckler (and by no Assyriologist disproved[5]) that Muṣri is sometimes to be understood as referring to the neighbourhood of the Negeb of Judah.

Winckler, accordingly, conjectures that the Same[na] in question was in Muṣri, used in the sense just indicated, Apḳu being the Apheka of Josh. 15 53, where it is assigned to Judah. The Joshua context suggests the neighbourhood of Hebron; at all events, somewhere in the hill country of Judah. This theory would give us the most interesting and remarkable datum that, about a generation and a half after the fall of Samaria, the name Sim[eo]n was at least known as a geographical term denoting a district not far from Hebron, and the further datum that the Assyrians counted it to Muṣri. This would have some bearing on the theory which finds Simeon referred to in Dt. 33 (see above, § 3) and explain the prayer for its return to Judah. Many interesting problems would thus assume a new aspect; but the point most important for our present object would be the establishment of such a contemporary geographical use of the name Simeon as would virtually prove a real knowledge of a Simeonite people in S. Palestine, which would give us a valuable starting-point for dealing with the Hebrew Simeon legends.

There is, however, a difficulty in the way of identifying Esarhaddon's Apḳu with the Judahite Aphek of Josh. 15 53.

Hebron is barely some 60 m. from Raphia, which could equal 30 *kasbu-ḳakkar* only if the *kasbu-ḳakkar* were some 2 m. If that is not tenable, the Hebron Apḳu theory could be maintained only by supposing that '30' (since there is no doubt about the reading) is a mistake of the Assyrian scribe or of the source from which he compiled.[1] Placing Apḳu in S. Palestine is, therefore, not beyond criticism.

(2) On the other hand, the difficulty of a N. Palestine site for Apḳu hardly seems to be quite as great as Winckler suggests.

It is no doubt natural to suppose that Esarhaddon was himself in Muṣur when he set out for Meluḫḫa; but ad-ki-e is not quite unambiguous.[2] Esarhaddon might then, from a N. Palestine Apḳu have ordered his army out of Muṣri and have marched himself to join it. Sa-me-na might in that case be connected, perhaps, with one of the places in Thotmes III.'s list mentioned above (§ 6, i.) (so Šanda, [2 58 74], n.; cp above, i. *f.*).

There remains, however, against the N. Palestine theory, the difficulty emphasised by Winckler:

How came Esarhaddon's army to be in Muṣri so as to be called forth by Esarhaddon, unless that were, as Winckler suggests, simply the stage on the expedition reached at the point in the narrative? And, if so, how was Esarhaddon not with the army?

We must thus, apparently, be content to leave the problem open for the present. Simeon may be mentioned in contemporary documents belonging to the sixteenth century, the fifteenth, or the seventh; but we cannot be sure. The hope of securing a fixed starting-point for the story of Simeon in strictly contemporary evidence is for the present not fulfilled. Any day, however, new material may enable us to decide the question. Meanwhile, we must be content with possibilities.

7. Conclusion.

When the character of the development which resulted eventually in the formation of the kingdom of Judah is fully considered, and the suggestions of affinity with

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[1] Hommel, literally, 'to the borders of' (*Aufsätze*, 295).

[2] In 3 R. 35 no. 4 obv., *l.* 11, the name is read [1870] Sa-me-ru. G. Smith (*TSBA* 3 457 [1874]) does not quote the name, but (*Assyr. Discov.* 312 [1875]) renders it Samaria; similarly in W. Boscawen's text (*TSBA* 4 93 [1875]), and Strassm. *Alph. Verzeich*, p. 533, no. 4238: Sa-me-[ri-na], the reading followed by Schrader, (*KAT*(2) [1882]) and Delitzsch (*Par.* 286). Meanwhile Budge, however, *Hist. of Esarhaddon* [1880], 118, reads Sa-me-na (without query). This is rejected (emended?) explicitly by Tiele (*BAG* 350, n. 1 [1888]), and silently by Winckler (*Unters. z. altor. Gesch.* 98: translit. text [1889]). Later, however, the original was examined by Peiser and J. A. Craig and declared to read Sa-me-na (*MVG* iii. 18 [1898]) which is likewise the reading (shown shaded) of Rogers ('Two Esarhaddon Texts,' in *Haverford College Studies*, no. 2, 1889). The present writer examined the tablet, and is convinced that the reading Samerina is quite impossible (so also Budge, and C. A. Thompson, in conversation). There are several possibilities; but Samena seems most likely. See also § 6 iii, *a* (1).

[3] On Ass. *ēn* = Heb. *ōn* (for *ān*) see Delitzsch on 'Samaria' (*Ass. Lesestücke*,(4) 193 *b*). For disappearance of '*ayin* at the beginning of a syllable, cp *ibēl* from *ibāl* = *ib'al* (יבעל).

[4] Cp Del. *Par.* 177-179, and C. H. W. Johns as in n. 1, col. 4530, and the literature cited there and in Muss-Arn. *Dict.* 414.

[5] Since the above was written, E. A. W. Budge has given his reasons for rejecting the view of Winckler (*Hist. of Egypt*, 6 pp. ix-xxx). It can hardly be claimed, however, that they settle the question. (1) The fragment (83, 1-18, 836) cited by Winckler as apparently mentioning Muṣri and Mi[ṣri] side by side must, indeed, be left out of the argument. It is broken off so close to the upright wedge of '*iṣ*' that it is illegitimate to argue as if the character were complete, and therefore *iṣ*. It might quite well be *luḫ* (*KAT*(3) 145, n. 3). Budge and King go further, and say that they can see clearly a trace of the head of a second upright wedge (the present writer, after examination of the tablet, is inclined to think that they may be right). The reading would then probably be Mi-lu[ḫ-ḫa] as Winckler suggests (*KAT*(3) 145, n. 3: *mi* for *me* would be unusual [Wi.]: the reff. in the index to Bezold's Catalogue yield no parallel; still, in Khors. 103, Oppert and Ménant [*Journ. as.* 6 ser. 1, begin., 1863] give *mi*, though Botta, *Mon.*, pl. 150. *l.* 9, gives the usual *m[e]*, and Winckler's edition follows). Winckler's theory, however, by no means falls with the surrender of this reading. He never treated the tablet as the main justification of his theory (see *Muṣri*, etc., 1). (2) Budge's other arguments, however, seem open to criticism as inconclusive. In particular, the translation of *ana ḳêpûti eli mat Muṣri* (*Kl. In.* 34) by 'to the wardenship of *the Marches of* Egypt,' although following time-honoured precedent, has never been justified. The phonetic value of NI.GAB when it means gate-guardian, as in 'Descent of Ištar' *passim*, is pitû or mušêliš (5 R. 18 6 13 7); when its phonetic value is ḳêpu (as a comparison of Rost, Plate 23 16 ki . . . ti with Plate 37 6, NI.GAB-u-ti, shows that it is in the Esarhaddon passage [cp what is said by C. H. W. Johns on the phonetic value of NI.GAB in his careful discussion of the *ḳêpu* office in *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2 84-88, which the present writer did not see till after this note was written]), it means governor. Schrader admitted twenty-four years ago that 'governor over Egypt' was impossible (*KGF* 265); only, he gave up 'governor' instead of giving up 'Egypt.' On *ḳêpu* see also Johns, *Doomsday Bk.* 9.

[1] Or by regarding *kasbu-ḳakkar* as not a technical measure but a general term: 'long journey' (cp C. H. W. Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, 2 208).

[2] The contexts in which it oftenest occurs give it the meaning of 'muster, marshall forces where one is' (*e.g.*, in Taylor Cylinder, 5 23: assemble your army [*pu-uḫ-ḫir um-man-ka*], muster your camp [*di-ka-a karaša-ka*]); but it need not imply presence; cp 4 R. 48 12, 13*a*: 'Bel will call forth (*i-da-kaš-šum-ma*) a foreign foe against him' (Del. *Ass. HWB*).

SIMEON

Ishmaelite, Edomite, Kenite, etc. are allowed for, it is natural to conjecture that Simeon stands for one of the unsettled elements of the southern population fused more or less permanently into a state by David, especially when it is noted (cp Sayce, *Early Hebrew History*, 392) how many (5 out of 11) of the towns (1 S. 30 27-31) to which he is said to have 'sent gifts' appear in the list of Simeonite towns, for there does not seem to be between the lists any literary connection (below, § 10). According to Land (*De Gids*, Oct. 1871, p. 21) Simeon was very possibly an Ishmaelite group that attached itself to Israel.[1] If we think that Beersheba was markedly Simeonite, interesting problems arise connected with such names as Abraham, Isaac, (cp Stade, *GVI* 1 155), Samuel's sons, David, Amos.

8. Name. i. In all the statements we have referred to, the name has borne practically the same form. It appears to consist of the radical šmʿ with the nominal termination ōn = ān.[2] What view of the name was taken in early times we cannot say. It is not necessary to suppose that the story of Leah's gratitude for the hearing of her supplications (Gen. 29 33) was a very early explanation. It is exactly parallel to the explanation of the cognate name Ishmael (Gen. 16 11: J).

The name Simeon has been connected by Hitzig (*GVI* 47), W. R. Smith (*JPhil.*, 1880, p. 80), Stade (*GVI* 1 152), Kerber (*Die rel.-gesch. Bedeut. d. Heb. Eigenn.* 71) with the Arabic *simʿ*, said to mean the offspring of the hyæna and the female wolf (Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 304), and Ball (*SBOT*, *ad loc.* and 114) proposes to read Gen. 49 5: Simeon and Levi are *ōḥīm* (for *aḥīm*: 'brothers'[3]), in the sense of 'howling creatures,' perhaps 'hyænas.' Unfortunately, *ōḥīm* occurs only in Is. 13 21 and its meaning is not known (Che. *SBOT*, 'jackals'; but Duhm, Marti, probably 'wild owls'; cp Staerk, *Studien*, 2 18 [1899]). Smith supports his explanation by citing the Arabic tribal names Simʿ, 'a subdivision of the defenders (the Medînites),'[4] and Samʿān, 'a subdivision of Tamîm,' and compares such names as Ẓabyān (*ẓaby*, gazelle), Waʿlān (*waʿl*, ibex), Labwān (*labwa*, lioness), with which he classes such Hebrew names as Zibeon (צבעון, hyæna), Ephron (עפרון, עפר, *ġifr*, calf of wild cow).

If Simeon is really mentioned by Esarhaddon's scribe as Sa-me-n[a] (§ 6 iii.), it would seem that the name was at that time, at least, sometimes pronounced Samʿān. On the other hand, there was, as we have seen, a place-name pronounced Šamḫuna in the fourteenth century B.C. (above, § 6 ii.), and there is a contract tablet dated in the thirty-sixth year of Artaxerxes I. which mentions a man named Ša-ma-aḫ-ú-na (Hilprecht, no. 45, *l.* 2), brother of Ia-ḫu-ú-na-ta-nu (= Jehonathan).[5] Later, as a personal name, Simeon became common (see SIMEON ii., 1-6, and SIMON, 1-13; SIMON PETER, § 1 *a*, *b*; cp, for Palmyrene inscriptions, Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, vol. i., index (under שמעון).

ii. The name appears in regular gentilic form as Šimʿōnī, SIMEONITE (שִׁמְעֹנִי: cp Reuben, Reubēnī).

𝔊, however, everywhere represents the gentilic by the noun form (συμεων: in Nu. 25 14 הַשִּׁמְעֹנִי becomes in 𝔊B των σ. [AFL om. των]). It is possible, therefore, that the συμεων of 𝔊BNAQΓ in Zech. 12 13 implies that Shimei, שִׁמְעִי was known as an alternative form of the gentilic[6] (cp WRS, *JPhil.* 9 96 [1880]), just as in Arabic there is the similar pair ending in -ī and -ānī respectively (WRS, 80).

[1] Cp Dozy's view, above, § 5 ii. (small type, end), and below § 8 iii.

[2] Cp Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 15 806 [1861].

[3] Gemini, according to Zimmern (*ZA* 7 162 *f.*) and Stucken (*MVG*, 1902, p. 189).

[4] He does *not* allude to Dozy's daring hypothesis referred to above (§ 5).

[5] The gentilic (*amelu*) Ša-ma-u-nu-ai occurs along with (*amelu*) Pu-ḳu-du-ai in a letter to 'the king' (K. 1248). What '(city) *Sa-am-'-u-na* (so, according to the text in Del. *Lesestücke*,(4) not [as in *KB* 2 106] *Sa-am-u-na*), son of Marduk-apil-iddina' in Sennacherib's Taylor Prism inscription (5 33 *f.*) can mean it would be hard to say. *Śa(?)-ma-'-gu-nu* was the name of one of the sons of Bel-iḳaša (ruler of the half-Aramæan tribe of the Gambulai) executed by Ašur-bāni-pal. Samuna in Sa-mu-na-aplu-iddina (Johns, *Doomsday Bk.* viii. 1 6 = K. 8179) and in Sa-mu-nu-ia-tu-ni (*Ass. Deeds and Doc.* 160 R. 11 = K. 279) is doubtless Eshmun (*Doomsday Bk.* 16).

[6] The Shemaiah also of 1 Ch. 4 37 appears in 𝔊B as συμεων.

iii. Names containing the three radicals שמע are so common, especially in the neighbourhood of S. Palestine, that they would be enough in themselves to suggest the theory of dispersion underlying Gen. 49. In that theory there may be more than popular fancy. We cannot here profitably discuss W. R. Smith's view that 'the dispersion of the tribe Simeon is most easily understood on the principles of exogamy and female kinship' (*JPhil.* 9 96 [1880]). A historical connection of some kind, however, between at least some of the various cognate names seems extremely probable.

We find Shimei as Simeonite (1 Ch. 4 27), Levite (Ex. 6 17), Reubenite (1 Ch. 5 4)—all Leah tribes—Benjamite[1] (2 S. 16 11 etc.; cp 1 K. 4 18), and in the family of David (2 S. 21 21 Kt.) as the name of the only brother mentioned in old sources (Bu. on 1 S. 16 9 in *KHC*); besides which we find cognate names like Eshtemoa, and Ishmael,[2] pronounced now in Egypt, Ismaʿīn[3] (cp Bethel, Bētīn; Reubel, Reuben).[4]

Not only are the names Simeon and Ishmael cognate. There seem to be also in the genealogy of Ishmael points of contact with that of Simeon (see MIBSAM, MISHMA), to which we now pass.

9. Genealogical lists. i. As in the case of Reuben, P's genealogy of Simeon occurs in Ex. 6 15 as well as in the usual passages. The list is as follows:—

Gen. 46 10 = Ex. 6 15	Nu. 26 12	1 Ch. 4 24
*ימואל	*נמואל	*נמואל
†ימין	†ימין	†ימין
‡אהד		
†יכין	†יכין	†יריב
‡צחר	‡זרח	‡זרח
*ושאול	*שאול	*שאול

The Gen. = Ex. list seems to contain three names each appearing twice: ימואל = שאול, יכין = ימין, and צחר = אהד. Nu., changing one sibilant, gives זרח for צחר, and drops its double (אהד). 1 Ch. 4 further shows יריב for יכין.

Winckler thinks that we have here a case the converse of what is suggested elsewhere with regard to ISSACHAR (§ 7): the Chronicler's list is, he thinks (*GI* 2 201, n. 1), the corruption of a sentence telling that the b'nē Shimʿōn went southwards when Saul contested with the Zarhites.[5] On this suggestion see above (§ 4, end).

If the list be taken for a real 'genealogy' it is difficult to choose between the variants (see the special articles).

Bertheau decides in favour of Jakin as against Jarib, but only for the (weak) reason that it occurs thrice. He thinks that the best known Simeonite clan was Shaul (Shaul's mother is known as a Canaanite and he alone has [three] sons, of whom Mišmaʿ in turn has three). It would seem that some popular story was current about this Shaul and his Canaanite mother. According to Jubilees 34 20 her name was Adibaa, and according to 44 13 she was a woman of Zephath, which, according to Judg. 1 17, was the city captured by Simeon and called Hormah. In *Gen. Rab.* 80 she is said to have been Dinah (cp Charles, *Jubilees*, 206).

ii. In the Chronicler's special genealogy (i. 4 25 *f.*), which appears in MT thus—

Shaul
- Shallum[6]
- Mibsam
- Mishma
  - Hammuel
  - Zaccur
  - Shimei

[1] Note also Jamin and Saul as Simeonite names (1 Ch. 4 24).

[2] Cp Graf, *Der Stamm Simeon*, 23, Ewald, *GGA*, 1864, p. 1274, and above, §§ 5 ii. 7.

[3] Indeed the note on the name in Gen. 16 11 (J) is שמע יהוה אל עניך, with עני as in the case of REUBEN (§ 7 i.).

[4] How cautious it is necessary to be in reasoning from similarity of names appears from the remarkable fact that Saul as well as Shimei is a Simeonite name, and that Samuel, who 'discovered' Saul, is brought into relation with Beersheba, the most famous of the towns claimed for Simeon. Shemuel b. Ammihud is the name of the Simeonite representative in the partition of W. Palestine (Nu. 34 20).

[5] ובני שמעון נוו אל ימין אחר יריב זרח שאול. This might be made more plausible perhaps by reading נסו, instead of the strange נוו, for נמו of נמואל; but the clause אחר יריב זרח שאול is not convincing.

[6] Cp P's Simeonite census prince Shelumiel b. Zurishaddai (Nu. 1 6 2 12 7 36 10 19), from whom Judith is said to be descended (Judith 8 1). Salu (סלוא, but 𝔊B σαλμων, 𝔊FL σαλωμ) was the father of the Simeonite Zimri who was slain with the Midianite woman, Nu. 25 14 (see § 10, *a*, end). The other names assigned to Simeon are Shaphat b. Ḥori, the 'spy' (Nu. 13 5), and Shephatiah b. Maacah, the ruler (1 Ch. 27 16).

the names, apart from the Ishmaelite Mibsam and Mishma' and the Judahite Ham(m)uel, need not be old (cp Gray, *HPN* 236): indeed 𝔊B omits Hammuel and Zaccur, and Shimei might be a duplicate of Mishma'. Moreover, they all appear in 𝔊BA as descendants in progressive generations of Shaul.

iii. Still more suspicious looking is the peculiar list in *vv.* 34-37. (On the number, thirteen,[1] of the names, some of which are supplied with genealogies, see below, § 10, i.).

It may be noted, however, in connection with Simeon's being a brother of Levi, that the names brought into prominence in the list—Shaul, Shimei, Ziza[2] (traced back five generations[3])—are known otherwise as Levitical names (cp GENEALOGIES i., § 7[v.]).

10. Geographical lists.

a. The theory of the statistical writers evidently was that Simeon was gradually merged in Judah: the Simeonites first settled amongst the Judahites (Josh. 19 1 9) and then, in the time of David (1 Ch. 4 31*b*—it is a marginal gloss to the whole list: see above, § 5 ii.), were lost in Judah. It would appear that there was a time when the Judah list in Josh. 15 21-32 lacked exactly those cities which in Josh. 19 are assigned to Simeon, for when they are omitted the total, twenty-nine (instead of thirty-six), is correct. The fact remains, however, that all the Simeonite cities are somewhere or other assigned to Judah. It has been noted that whereas we hear of the Negeb of Judah (1 S. 27 10), of Caleb (30 14), of the Kenite (27 10), of the Kᵉrēthi (30 14), of Jerahmeel (27 10), we nowhere hear of the Negeb of Simeon (Graf, *Stamm Sim.*, 14). Whilst naturally no attempt is made to sketch a boundary line, it is clear that Simeon was supposed by the writer of Josh. 19 1-9 to be found in the SW. of Judah.

The slighting of Simeon[4] in the partition of W. Palestine has been connected (Weinstein, *Gen. der Agada*, 2 99) with the story of Zimri in Nu. 25 14; so also (*Gen. rab.* 99; *Num. rab.* 26; Rashi, and others) the fact that Simeon is the only tribe that falls in the second census (Nu. 26 14) enormously (from 59,300 to 22,200) below its size in the first (Nu. 1 22 *f.*).[5] It is difficult, however, to extract any more history out of the first story than out of the second.

b. The list of Simeonite cities appears in four forms, which are here shown side by side.

(1) SIMEON.	(2)	(3) JUDAH.	(4)
Josh. 19 2-6 7	1 Ch. 4 28-31 32	Josh. 15 26-32 42	Neh. 11 26-29
i.	i.	i.	i.
Beersheba sheba	Beersheba —	Shema	Jeshua
Moladah	Moladah	Moladah	Moladah
		Hazar-gaddah	
		Heshmon	
		Bethpalet	Bethphelet
Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual	Hazar-shual
		—Beersheba	Beersheba
		[Bizjothjah =	'its villages']
Balah	Bilhah	Baalah	
		Iim	
Azem	Ezem	Azem	
Eltolad	Tolad	Eltolad	
Bethuel	Bethuel	Chesil	
Hormah	Hormah	Hormah	
Ziklag	Ziklag	Ziklag	Ziklag
Beth-marcaboth	Beth-marcaboth	Madmannah	Mekonah
Hazar-susah	Hazar-susim	Sansannah	
Beth-lebaoth	Beth-bīrei	Lebaoth	'its villages'
Sharuhen	Shaaraim	Shilhim	
	ii.		
ii.	Etam —		
Ain Rimmon	Ain Rimmon	Ain and Rimmon	En-rimmon
		ii.	
Ether		—Ether	
	Tochen		
Ashan	Ashan	Ashan	

The names have been given in the forms under which they are discussed in the separate articles, where account

[1] In the Chronicler's expanded version of the Hexateuch list (1 Ch. 4 24-26) it is necessary to include Simeon himself to make up the full thirteen.

[2] In the form Zizah; see ZINA.

[3] Ending in 𝔊B with Simeon himself (σνμεων for Shemaiah).

[4] On the varying ethical judgment on the conduct of Simeon in Gen. 34 see Gunkel *ad loc.* and Charles' BK. OF JUBILEES, on 30 2-6.

[5] In the case of the other four—Reuben (3000), Ephraim (8000), Naphtali (8000), Gad (1000)—the fall is slight.

is taken of the variants in 𝔊. It will suffice here to note that in list (1) 𝔊B inserts θαλχα after Rimmon; in list (3) 𝔊BA omits Heshmon and 𝔊A identifies ASHAN (*v.* 42) with ASHNAH (*v.* 43). In list (4) 𝔊L follows MT; but 𝔊BNA omits all except Jeshua and Beersheba.

i. The main list (i.) appears to consist of thirteen towns agreeing with the thirteen (1 Ch. 4 34-37) names (some with genealogies attached) of their inhabitants who afterwards migrated to Gerar (1 Ch. 4 39).

ii. The main list of towns is followed by a supplementary list (ii.) of four (Ain Rimmon being a single place, and Tochen preserved only in 1 Ch. 4 32), agreeing with the four 'captains' who migrated to Mt. Seir.

iii. Of the list of nine Judahite or Simeonite towns assigned to the priests (1 Ch. 6 57-59 [42-44] = Josh. 21 13-16) only ASHAN (*q.v.*; in Joshua miswritten AIN) is ever called Simeonite. H. W. H.

SIMEON (שִׁמְעוֹן; CYMЄωN [BAL]; see SIMEON i., § 8, i., end). 1. EV accurately SHIMEON, in the list of those with foreign wives (EZRA i., § 5, end), Ezra 10 31 (𝔊BNA Σεμεων).

2. Grandfather of MATTATHIAS (1 Macc. 2 1); see MACCABEES i., § 2.

3. A devout man of Jerusalem, mentioned in Lk.'s Gospel of the Infancy (Lk. 2 22-39). He was gifted with the 'holy spirit'—*i.e.*, the spirit of prophecy—and had learned by revelation that he should not die without having seen the Messiah. Having been supernaturally guided to the temple courts, he saw the child Jesus brought in by his parents, according to custom, on the completion of the period of the mother's purification. He then burst into an inspired song (*vv.* 29-32), known to us as the *Nunc Dimittis* (cp HYMNS, § 3). He could now depart, like a relieved sentinel, and could transmit to others the happy tidings of the dawn of the Messianic day (see GOSPELS, § 39). For Mary he added a special word of prophecy, pointing to the different results of the preaching of the Cross of Jesus, which would lead some to a new life, and others to anguish at his crucifixion (*vv.* 34 *f.*). See further, J. Lightfoot on Lk. 2 25.

It is possible to regard Simeon as a poetic personification of that inner circle of Jewish believers which formed the true SERVANT OF THE LORD (*q.v.*). Long had it waited for the fulfilment of the prophecies of salvation, and now (*i.e.*, when this 'Gospel of the Infancy' was written) its members were passing one by one into the company of believers in Jesus. Nor need we be startled to find an imperfect parallel to the story of Simeon in one of the legends which cluster round the birth of the Buddha (see Carpenter, *The Synoptic Gospels*(1), 155).

4. RV, SYMEON (Lk. 3 30). See GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, § 3.

5. RV, SYMEON, 'that was called *Niger*' (CYMЄωN ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ [Ti. WH]), is mentioned along with Barnabas, Lucius, Manaen, and Saul, among the prophets and teachers in the primitive church at Antioch (Acts 13 1†). See MINISTRY, § 37. Niger was probably his Gentile name, whether chosen with any reference to his complexion we cannot tell; the name was not uncommon (see *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Biogr. and Mythol.*).

The list of the first preachers of the Gospel given by Epiphanius (Epiph. *Opera*, 1 337, ed. Dindorf) closes with the names Βαρνάβαν, καὶ Ἀπελλῆν, Ῥοῦφον, Νίγερα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ἑβδομήκοντα δύο.

6. RV, SYMEON (Acts 15 14). See SIMON PETER, § 1.

SIMON (CIMωN; = 'snub-nosed'? a Greek name [see SIMON PETER, § 1 *a*] of frequent occurrence among post-exilic Jews [סִימוֹן]; cp JASON; see SIMON PETER, § 1 *b*.

The persons who bear the name in 𝔊 or NT are:—

1. Simon Chosameus (CIMωN ΧΟCΑΜΑΟC [B] . . . ΧΟCΟΜΑΙΟC [A]), 1 Esd. 9 32 = Ezra 10 31, SHIMEON [b. Harim].

2. Son of Mattathias surnamed THASSI (1 Macc. 2 3; θασσις [A], θασσ[ε]ι [ℵV]; *thasi* [V]; ܬܐܣܝ [Syr.]; Jos. *Ant.* xii. 6 1, θατις). See MACCABEES, §§ 1, 5.

3. Son of Onias, 'the great priest,' whose praise is set forth in Ecclus. 50. It is doubtful whether Simon I. ('the Just') or Simon II. is alluded to; cp ECCLESIASTICUS, § 7; CANON, § 36; ONIAS, §§ 4-7.

4. A Benjamite, who, wishing to avenge himself upon Onias, informed Apollonius of the existence of huge sums of money in the temple treasury (2 Macc. 3-4). The account of the attempt of HELIODORUS [*q.v.*] to seize the treasure is well known. See APOLLONIUS, MENELAUS, ONIAS, § 6. He is called the προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ (3 4) or temple overseer, and it was perhaps his duty to look after the daily supplies of the temple. Cp TEMPLE, § 36.

5. Named in Mt. 13 55 Mk. 6 3, together with James, Joses, or Joseph, and Judas, as one of the 'brethren' of Jesus. He is not mentioned elsewhere in the NT; but it is not impossible that he is identical with the Simeon, son of Clopas the brother of Joseph, mentioned by Hegesippus as 'cousin german' (ἀνεψιός) of Jesus, who succeeded James in the bishopric of Jerusalem and suffered martyrdom in the reign of Trajan. See CLOPAS.

6. Surnamed the CANANÆAN, AV CANAANITE (ὁ Καναναῖος: Mt. 10 4 Mk. 3 18), or the ZEALOT (ὁ Ζηλωτής, Lk. 6 15 Acts 1 13); named as an apostle in all the four canonical lists (APOSTLE, § 1). There is no doubt about the superiority of the reading καναναῖος to that of TR, κανανίτης, though the latter has the support of ℵ; but although the writer of the Third Gospel and Acts took it as representing, and has translated it, 'Zealot' (see ZEALOTS), many modern critics (cp JUDAS, 9, § 2) are inclined to take the word as a Greek modification of קְנָאָן or קַנָּאִי, meaning, 'a man of Canan, or Cana' (there were several Canas). Simon does not reappear in the NT history. In ecclesiastical tradition he is usually mentioned in conjunction with Judas of James; and indeed in some western authorities in Mt. 10 4 the epithet Zelotes is given to Judas not to Simon, Judas Zelotes taking the place of Thaddæus. 'The addition of Zelotes is probably due to a punctuation of Lk.'s text which might not seem unnatural if no connection of sense were recognised between καναναῖος and ζηλωτής' (WH). Simon the Zealot is frequently identified with the Simon (Simeon) of Clopas mentioned by Hegesippus (ap. Eus. *HE* 3 32) as a descendant of David who was alive in Jerusalem in the days of Trajan and suffered martyrdom under the consular Atticus; but this identification is not made by Hegesippus or Eusebius themselves, and appears to be first met with in the *Chronicon Paschale*, Pseudo-Hippolytus, and Pseudo-Dorotheus, all of which call him Simon Judas.

Later ecclesiastical tradition varies as to the field of Simon's apostolic labours. One set of legends places his activity in Babylon or on the shores of the Black Sea. But, as Lipsius points out (*Apokr.-Ap.-gesch.* 3 142 *ff.*), these representations have probably arisen from a confusion with Simon Peter who writes from 'Babylon' and addresses the Christians in 'Pontus.' Another set of legends, especially met with in late Greek writers, represents him as preaching in Egypt, Libya, Mauretania, and Britain; but the same districts are also assigned by some traditions to Simon Peter. In the Western church the festival of Saints Simon and Judas is observed on Oct. 28. The Breviary lesson for the day has it that 'Simon Chananæus qui et Zelotes, et Thaddæus qui et Judas Jacobi appellatur in Evangelio, unius ex catholicis Epistolis scriptor' evangelised Egypt (Simon) and Mesopotamia (Jude) respectively, and afterwards went together into Persia and ended a successful ministry there in a glorious martyrdom.

7. Of CYRENE [*q.v.*] (Σίμων κυρηναῖος [Ti. WH]), perhaps a Hellenistic Jew, who came from the country and was compelled to carry the cross for the crucifixion (Mt. 27 32 Mk. 15 21 Lk. 23 26). Afterwards he was reckoned among the seventy 'others' (apostles), Lk. 10 1, and he was said to have died on the cross ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ—*i.e.*, for the sake of Christ. The Basilidian and perhaps also other Gnostics believed that he died in place of Jesus; cp R. A. Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* 1 195 *f.* 204 3 427. According to Mk. he was the father of ALEXANDER and RUFUS [*qq.v.*]. W. H. Ryder (*JBL* 17 196 *f.*, 1898) thinks that Simon's eldest son was Alexander, his second Rufus, his third Tertius, and his fourth Quartus—all Christians living in or near Rome when Mark wrote. Living among Gentiles, Simon gave his sons Greek and Latin names. This Rufus has been conjectured by many to be the same as the Rufus of Rom. 16 13. E. P. Gould, *St. Mark*, 289 *f.* (1896), remarks 'It is the height of foolish conjecture to identify this Rufus, the son of Simon of Cyrene, with the one in Rom. 16 13: St. Mark will only indicate that the names Alexander and Rufus were known to the early church.' Deep indeed is our ignorance on such points.

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8. 'The leper' of Bethany, in whose house the woman anointed Jesus with the contents of the alabaster cruse (Mt. 26 6 Mk. 14 3; cp MARY, § 25). An incredible apocryphal story makes him the husband of Mary the sister of Martha; cp LAZARUS. [The designation 'leper' has greatly exercised the critics. It is worth recalling, however, that the mother of JEROBOAM [*q.v.* 1] is called in MT צרועה, 'a leper' (1 K. 11 26), and that Naaman in the extant recast of an older story (2 K. 5 1) is represented as מְצֹרָע, 'a leper.' In both cases the original tradition stated that a Miṣrite was referred to. It is possible that the Simon referred to was said to have come (like 'that Egyptian' in Acts 21 38) from Egypt to Jerusalem, and that the original narrative (in Hebrew) called him הַמִּצְרִי. Cp also 'Simon of Cyrene.' Chajes (*Markus-studien* [1899], p. 75) supposes an original Hebrew reading הַצָּנוּעַ, 'the humble'—*i.e.*, 'pious' (as often in Talmud). 'One who had been a leper' is at any rate a miserable explanation.—T. K. C.]

9. The Pharisee, in whose house the penitent woman anointed Jesus' hands and feet (Lk. 7 40). Cp GOSPELS, § 10, and MARY, § 25, col. 2970. Against the identification of this anointing with that of Mary of Bethany, just before the Passion, see Plummer (209). The theory is at any rate ancient, for, as Plummer remarks, Origen on Mt. 26 6 contends against it. It is also supported by Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*, 3 222), Holtzmann (*HC*(2), 273, (3) 346), and Scholten (*Het Paulinisch Evangelie*, 254). The last-named scholar is of opinion that 'the influence of Paulinism on the changed representation of Luke is unmistakeable,' and that 'leper' in Mt. and Mk. was a symbolic phrase for Pharisee. Without committing ourselves to this, we may reasonably hold that here, as often in collections of traditions, a germ-idea received conflicting developments.

10. A tanner of Joppa with whom Peter lodged (Acts 9 43). The reference to his trade is significant; the narrator suggests that Peter was losing his old prejudices. It is said that a wife could claim a divorce from a husband who became a tanner (Mishna, *Kĕthūbōth* 7 10). Cp HANDICRAFT, § 5; JOPPA (end).

11. The father of Judas Iscariot, Jn. 6 71 13 2 26.

12. For Simon Magus, see below (special article). On the 'Great Apophasis' see GOSPELS, § 91 (and references).

13. For Simon Peter, see below (special article).

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Simon Magus is mentioned in the NT only in Acts 8 9-24.

1. In Acts. (*a*) In Acts 8 5-8 we read that Philip the Evangelist preached the Christ in the city of Samaria, and wrought many miracles of healing. Next (*vv.* 9-13), we are told that Simon

had previously to this bewitched the people by his magical arts, giving out that he was some great one, and being declared by them to be that power of God which is called Great. After that men and women had received baptism at the hands of Philip, Simon also did so, and continued with Philip, full of amazement at his miracles. Meanwhile (*vv.* 14-17), at the instance of the apostles in Jerusalem, Peter and John had come to Samaria, and through laying on of hands had obtained the Holy Ghost for those who had been baptised. Upon this, Simon (*vv.* 18-24) offered them money and desired the same power, but after a severe rebuke from Peter, finally besought the two apostles to pray for him, that the punishment they had threatened might be averted.

(*b*) This narrative contains much that is strange. That, instead of the city of Samaria (as in *vv.* 5 8 *f.*) the country of Samaria should be named in *v.* 14, may be set down to a pardonable want of exactness. The designation of Simon as 'that power of God which is called Great' and his designation of himself as 'some great one'[1] are not intrinsically incompatible with his sorcery; but it is very surprising that the sorcery is referred to twice (*vv.* 9 11) and that its second mention is preceded by the same word (*προσεῖχον*, 'gave heed') as had already been employed in *v.* 10.

This appears to indicate that the two explanations of his popularity come from two different sources. By the reference to his sorcery, he would, in that case, be characterised as a mere *γόης* of the sort that was very abundant in those days; 'that power of God which is called Great' would signify something much more exalted. Now, it is not easy to imagine that an editor would have introduced *v.* 11 if he had already found *vv.* 9 *f.* lying before him in his text. It is more probable that *v.* 10 was interpolated, and that in the process 'took heed' (*προσεῖχον*) was borrowed from *v.* 11. The close of *v.* 9 (Simon's giving out that he was some great one) can in that case have belonged to the original text, for it is far from conveying necessarily anything nearly so high as 'the power of God which is called Great'; but it is hard to believe that 'bewitching, and bringing the nation of Samaria into a maze' (*μαγεύων καὶ ἐξιστάνων τὸ ἔθνος τῆς Σαμαρείας*) also should come from the author of *v.* 11. Perhaps the original text had *vv.* 9 10*a* (down to 'great,' *μεγάλου*); the redactor beginning with 'saying,' *λέγοντες* (*v.* 10*b*), added the designation of Simon as the power of God that is called Great, and then thought it necessary to return in *v.* 11 to the idea of sorcery (from which attention had meanwhile been called away), and in doing so borrowed 'took heed' (*προσεῖχον*) from *v.* 10*a* and *ἐξεστακέναι* from *v.* 9 (*ἐξιστάνων*). This renewed mention of Simon's sorcery, however, was not indispensable; *v.* 12 could quite as well have followed directly on *v.* 10. It would have been equally superfluous if it had been inserted by the redactor in *v.* 9 (*μαγεύων* to *Σαμαρείας*), had *v.* 11 belonged to the original text (in which case the whole of *v.* 10, on account of the *προσεῖχον*, would have to be attributed to the redactor). If there is reluctance to assign to any *redactor* the doubled mention of the sorcery, there remains only the alternative that a copyist who acted as independently and arbitrarily as the copyist of D (or a preliminary stage of D; see ACTS, § 17 *i*) substituted at his own instance the other reference to the magical practices for that which he found before him; that then, upon comparison of this transcription with an unaltered copy, the new form of the idea was written upon the margin, and then was taken by the next copyist for an integral portion of the text left out by his predecessor by an oversight, and was accordingly introduced into it at what seemed to be an appropriate place.

(*c*) The idea that only apostles (by laying on of hands) can procure the gift of the Holy Ghost is quite unhistorical (see MINISTRY, § 34 *c*). From this, it would not at once follow, however, that it is a later insertion; for the whole passage may be equally unhistorical.

At the same time it is, in fact, apparent, that *vv.* 14-18*a* introduce a representation which in the actual connection is surprising. According to *v.* 13, Simon has been only astonished at Philip's miracles: as for the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, he wishes to be able to do the same. In a sorcerer would it not have been more natural to desire to possess the miraculous power of Philip (cp SIMON PETER, § 33 *d*)? Among the scholars, therefore, who separate sources in Acts (see ACTS, § 11), we find Van Manen, Feine, Clemen, Jüngst supposing that in the source Simon did seek to purchase Philip's miraculous power with money. On this supposition it is simplest to regard the last word of *v.* 13 (*ἐξίστατο*, 'he was amazed') and *vv.* 14-18*a* (down to *πνεῦμα*) as interpolated. In this case, in the immediately following context, we must regard, at least, *v.* 19, the 'them' (*αὐτοῖς*) instead of 'him' (*αὐτῷ*) in *v.* 18, 'Peter' in *v.* 20 and the plurals *δεήθητε* and *εἰρήκατε* in *v.* 24 as adjustments caused by the interpolation.

(*d*) However plausible this separation may seem to be, it by no means completely solves the riddle of our passage. The problem still remains quite dark, how it was that the editor could ever have come to interpolate, at one and the same time, into a source which consistently represented Simon as a sorcerer (*v.* 9 or 11), and as wishing to possess still greater magical powers, two such foreign elements as the designation of Simon as the power of God that is called Great and the communication of the Holy Ghost through the apostles (*vv.* 10 14-17). The two have not the slightest connection with each other. It might perhaps be suggested that the designation had been borrowed by the editor from a second source, and that the reference to the Holy Ghost was his own contribution; but this would not furnish us with any intelligible motive for his proceeding. Yet it seems highly necessary that we should discover such a motive; for a second surprising point which is not cleared up by separation of sources, and hardly can be, is the question how it could come to pass that a man to whom the whole people of Samaria gave heed, and showed high honour, should have been so easily converted to Christianity, and that as a sorcerer, he should so little resemble the Bar-jesus of 13 6-12 who quite naturally opposed the Christian missionaries so strenuously. Moreover, it is surprising that the story has no close; we are not told what in the end became of Simon. Here, once more, can it be seen how useless it is to carry out separation of sources merely on the ground of indications of broken connections, while not concerning oneself at all about the deeper questions relating to the composition of a piece, and about 'tendency' criticism. The solution of the problem can be led up to only by widely extended investigations.

Simon, to begin with, plays a great part in the writings of the Fathers.

2. In the Church-Fathers.

(*a*) Justin (about 152 A.D.) cites him as an instance to prove that, even after the ascension of Jesus, the demons caused men to come forward who gave themselves out to be deities, and were actually worshipped as such. Such was a certain Samaritan named Simon, of the village of Gitta,[1] who performed feats of magic by demonic arts in Rome during the reign of Claudius, was held to be a god, and was honoured by Senate and people with a statue in the middle of the Tiber, between the two bridges, bearing the inscription in Latin: 'Simoni deo sancto,' and almost all the Samaritans, as well as a few people elsewhere, worshipped him as 'the first god' (*τὸν πρῶτον θεόν*), 'the god above all rule and authority and power' (*θεὸν ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐξουσίας καὶ δυνάμεως*), and declared a certain Helena, who had formerly lived in a house of evil fame, and afterwards travelled about with him, to be the first

1 Perhaps originally it ran merely as in 5 36 *εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν*—'that he was somebody'—and 'great' (*μέγαν*) may have been merely an explanatory gloss to 'somebody' (*τινα*); cp the neuter *εἶναί τι*, 'to be somewhat,' Gal. 2 6 6 3.

1 *Ἀπὸ κώμης λεγομένης Γίττων.* Thus Gitton would be a possible form of the name. *Γίττων*, however, is certainly gen. pl., since Gitta is met with elsewhere also as the name of a town: in Josephus (*Γίττα* or *Γέττα*, gen. *Γίττης* or *Γίττων*; see, *e.g.*, *Ant.* vi. 13 10, §§ 319-321) for the Philistian Gath, in Pliny (*HN* v. 19 [17] 75) for a place on Carmel (Getta), and in the *Philosophumena* (6 7) we have ὁ *Γιττηνός* (not *Γιττωνός*). For further details see Lipsius, *Petrussage*, 33, n. In all the editions of Justin known to the present writer, indeed, the word is accentuated *Γιττῶν*, and so also in Eus. *HE* ii. 13 3 and Epiphanius, *Hær.* 21 1. In that case the nominative would be *Γίτται*; this, however, in view of the gen. *Γίττης* is quite unlikely. If both genitive forms are to be explicable, the nominatives must coincide. Cp **Γομόρρας** (2 Pet. 2 6) alongside of **Γομόρρων** (Mt. 10 15), **Λύστραν** (Acts 14 6 21 16 1) alongside of **Λύστροις** (14 8 16 2 2 Tim. 3 11), **Θυάτειραν** (Rev. 1 11: so in Lachmann, and as an alternative reading in WH) alongside of **Θυατείροις** (2 18 24), and **Θυατείρων** (Acts 16 14), **Λύδδας** (Acts 9 38) alongside of the accus. **Λύδδα** (9 32 35). Similar variations are found in 1 Macc. in the cases of **Αδιδα, Βαιθσουρα, Γαζαρα**. The word form 'ex vico Gethonum' (*Clem. Recogn.* 2 7) rests upon a misunderstanding.

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thought that had proceeded from him (πρώτη ἔννοια: see *Apol.* 1 26 56 2 15, *Dial.* 120).

(*b*) The base of the pillar referred to was dug up on the island in the Tiber, at the place indicated by Justin, in 1574; the inscription runs: 'Semoni Sanco deo fidio sacrum. Sex. Pompeius . . . donum dedit.' Thus, the pillar was dedicated to the Sabine god Semo Sancus (cp Ovid *Fast.* 6 213-218), and not by Senate and people, but by the piety of a private individual.

As Justin has gone so far astray here, Lipsius (*BL* 5 318; *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 1 34 *f.*) ventures to trace back also the alleged worship of Simon and Helena by 'almost all the Samaritans' to misunderstanding of certain sacred pillars or maṣṣēbahs (see MASSEBAH), to wit those of Hercules-Melkart, the 'king of the city' of Tyre and the Tyrian moon-goddess Selene-Astarte, whose impure worship is alluded to in the reference to the house of evil fame (according to Iren. *Hær.* i. 16 [23] 2 and according to the quotation of Justin, *Apol.* i. 26 3 in Eus. *HE* ii. 13 4, it was in Tyre). In the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* Helena is actually called Luna, that is to say, Selene (Σελήνη), and according to the *Homilies* (2 23) she was among the companions of John the Baptist (of whom Simon was the first) the only woman—thus only 'half man' (ἥμισυ ἀνδρός), to indicate that these 30 companions really represent the number of days in a lunar month, which are not 30 complete days but only 29½.

(*c*) What we read about the 'first god' (πρῶτος θεός) and his 'first thought' (πρώτη ἔννοια) is taken from the Gnostic system which is attributed to Simon. We may suppose Justin to have given full information as to this in the work cited by himself in *Apol.* i. 26 8, but now lost, entitled σύνταγμα κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων, which was used by later heresiologists from Irenæus (*Hær.* 1 16 [23]) and the author of the *Philosophumena* (6 7-20) downwards. Harnack (*Lehrb. d. DG*(2) 1 206-208) finds in Simon a new 'universal religion of the supreme God,' Lipsius nothing more than the ordinary Gnosis which had become widely diffused in Syria from about the time of Trajan, and is known to us mainly through the Ophites, with this difference alone that here Simon takes the place of Jesus as the Redeemer. According to Kreyenbühl (*Evang. d. Wahrheit,* 1, 1900, pp. 174-264) Simon was not a founder of a religion, but the first genuine philosopher of religion, to whom belongs the undying merit of having been the first to formulate and scientifically to elaborate the fundamental principle of all Christian philosophy, namely, an 'anthropological pantheism' or an 'absolute and universal theanthropologism' (240).

In the 'Great Announcement' (ἀπόφασις μεγάλη), attributed to Simon, which is first mentioned in the *Philosophumena* and copiously extracted from, Kreyenbühl discerns, not, like all other critics, the work of a later Simonian, but a genuine production of Simon himself. For our present purpose it is not necessary to discuss this question or to set forth the Simonian system, for which the reader may consult Lipsius (*BL* 5 316 *f.*) and Hilgenfeld (*Ketzergesch.*, 1884, pp. 163-186).

(*d*) Suffice it to observe here that all the church fathers from Irenæus onwards make Simon the prime author of all heresies, and inform us that he was regarded not merely as a leader of a sect, but also as a manifestation of the supreme Deity, as Messiah, also by the name of 'the Standing One' (ὁ ἑστώς), or, more precisely, according to the 'Great Announcement' (*Philos.* 6 9 13) as ὁ ἑστώς, στάς, στησόμενος—*i.e.*, the permanently Abiding. Cp further, § 11 *e, f.*

(*a*) This interpretation of the expression 'the Standing One' is confirmed also by the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (2 22: ὡς δὴ στησόμενος ἀεί 'as intimating that he shall always stand') and *Recognitions* (2 7: 'negat posse se aliquando dissolvi, asserens carnem suam ita divinitatis suæ virtute compactam ut possit in æternum durare'). According to *Recogn.* 1 72, Simon further designated himself as 'virtutem summam excelsi Dei qui sit supra conditorem mundi.' Cp § 14 *d.*

3. Pseudo-Clem. Homm. and Recogg.: (*a*) on the Gnostic Simon.

(*b*) We thus find in Simon's case also application of the Gnostic distinction between the supreme Deity and his subordinate, the creator of the world or demiurge. The supreme Deity is incomprehensible and unknown to all (*Recogn.* 2 37 *f.*).

He sent forth the creative Deity to make the world; having done so, the latter declared himself to be God, and demanded observance of the Mosaic law. To Simon, also, is attributed the doctrine that the souls of men proceed from the supreme God (who at the same time is called The Good), but that they have been let down into captivity within the world. The body is their prison (2 57 *f.*). This enables us to understand what is meant when we are told that Simon denied the resurrection of the dead (*Hom.* 2 22). It can be explained from 2 Tim. 2 18, according to which the false teachers, who are simply Gnostics, declared that the resurrection was past already. By the resurrection they understood the soul's arrival at knowledge of its heavenly origin, and its superiority to the body which is its prison. Therefore, in their view, for all Gnostics the resurrection has already come about, and they consistently denied any future resurrection of the body.

(*c*) These data may be sufficient to show that it is a form of Gnosticism that the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are combating in the person of Simon. If they contained nothing more they would accordingly be seen to have arisen, at the earliest, sometime in the second century.

Other indications which do not need to be discussed here lead us to the beginning of the third century (so Lipsius, ii. 1 37, n. 2; Harnack, *Lehrb. d. DG*(2), 1 266: beginning or middle of third century, according to *TLZ,* 1902, p. 570, even as late as the 4th cent., before Eus. [*HE* iii. 38 5]—this after Chapman [below, § 15] had disputed their employment by Origen), and to infer a Catholic redaction of both writings (so Harnack, *l.c.*), or at least of the *Recognitions* (so Lipsius, *l.c.*). The story as to the members of Clement's family who became separated as non-Christians, and after their conversion find one another and recognise (whence the name 'Recognitiones,' ἀναγνωρισμοί) one another, both in a bodily and in a higher sense, has a purely edificatory purpose. Apart from the final redaction (see above) the proper standpoint of the authors—a Gnostical Jewish Christianity—does not point back to the oldest times, and can hardly have exercised much influence. Thus, from what has been said up to this point, it might well appear that these writings 'contribute nothing towards a knowledge of the origin of the Catholic church and doctrine.' This is, in fact, the opinion of Harnack (*Lehrb. d. Dogm.-Gesch.*(2), 1 268), and in his view, indeed, 'it may be regarded as certain.'

The pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions,* however, contain yet another element of the very greatest importance. In them Simon displays features which are unquestionably derived from Paul, and plainly show him to be a caricature of that apostle drawn by an unfriendly hand. (*a*) The principal passage is *Hom.* 17 19.

4. (*b*) On Simon = Paul.

Here Peter says to Simon: 'If, then, our Jesus, manifesting himself in a vision, made himself known to thee also, and conversed with thee, in doing so it was as one who is wroth with an adversary, and therefore speaks by visions and dreams [Nu. 12 6-8], or, it may be, even by revelations which [yet] were external. But can any one be qualified for the teaching office through a vision? And if thou wilt say, 'It is possible,' then (I ask) 'Why did our teacher for a whole year continually converse with those who were awake? And, further, how are we to believe thy word that he even appeared to thee? How can he have appeared to thee, when thy manner of thinking is wholly contrary to his doctrine? But if thou hast for even so much as a single hour been made blessed and instructed for the apostleship by a manifestation of him, then pray declare his doctrine, set forth his words, love his apostles, and strive not against me who companied with him. For indeed thou hast come forward as adversary against me who am a firm rock, the foundation of the church [Mt. 16 18]. If thou wert not an adversary (ἀντικείμενος) thou wouldest not slander me and revile my preaching, in order that I, when I utter that which I have heard from the Lord face to face, may find no credence, plainly as if I were a condemned and reprobate person [read καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀδοκίμου ὄντος; cp 1 Cor. 9 27]. But if thou sayest that I am condemned (εἰ κατεγνωσμένον με λέγεις), in doing so thou inveighest against God who revealed Christ to me, and inveighest against him who on account of this revelation did call me blessed [Mt. 16 17],' and so forth.

What Gnostic ever personally withstood Peter? According to the incontrovertible statement of Hegesippus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 32 7 *f.*), Gnosticism arose from the times of Trajan after that the sacred choir of the apostles had deceased. For what Gnostic had it ever been possible to be, like Peter, a personal disciple of Jesus during his lifetime upon earth? What Gnostic ever gave himself out to be an apostle? What Gnostic ever claimed to have been qualified for the apostolate by a definite vision which he described? And who ever except Paul (Gal. 2 11) spoke of Peter as 'condemned' (κατεγνωσμένος)? Thus, it was at Antioch

that 'Simon' assailed Peter and spoke evil of his preaching, and it was his vision on the way to Damascus (for Paul, according to 1 Cor. 9 1 Gal. 1 1 12, the basis of his claim to the apostolate) that is here intended to be reduced *ad absurdum* by a dialectic that really has much to say for itself. Already in chaps. 14 and 16 it is urged that such a vision could have been produced by an evil demon, just as well as by Jesus.

(*b*) Nor is this all. The words of Peter in his Epistle to James prefixed to the *Homilies* (chap. 2) relate also to the same incident in Antioch: 'Some of the Gentiles have rejected my doctrine which is in accordance with the law [of Moses], while imputing to me a certain lawless and nonsensical doctrine (ἄνομόν τινα καὶ φλυαρώδη διδασκαλίαν) of the hostile man. And indeed while I was in my journeyings some took in hand by manifold interpretations to wrest my words unto the dissolution of the law, as if I myself also were of such a mind but did not openly proclaim it' (cp the charge of hypocrisy, Gal. 2 12 *f.*). Nay, more, in *Hom.* 20 19 = *Recog.* 10 61, it is related that Faustus, father of Clement, to whom Simon has by witchcraft given his own outward semblance, is in Antioch constrained by order of Simon publicly to proclaim his repentance in the following words:—

'I, Simon, declare this to you, confessing that I have unjustly slandered Peter. For he is no false teacher, no murderer, no sorcerer, nor any other of those wicked things which I in my wrath formerly accused him of. I, myself, who have been the author of your hatred against him, beg of you to cease from your hatred of him; for he is a true apostle of the true prophet sent by God for the salvation of the world. . . . And now I will tell you why it is that I have made this confession. Last night angels of God severely scourged me, the godless one, as being an enemy (ἐχθρός) to the herald of the truth. I beseech you, therefore, if ever I again should come forward and venture to speak against Peter, do not listen to me. For I confess to you: I am a magician, I am a false teacher, I am a sorcerer. Perhaps it is possible by repentance to wipe out my past sins.' If the father of Clement did not occur in an older form of the book, we may conjecture that this confession was originally there put directly into the mouth of Simon. What is said about his chastisement is a malicious allusion to the declaration of Paul in 2 Cor. 12 7, as to the cause of his malady, that an angel of Satan (ἄγγελος Σατανᾶ) had been sent to buffet him. It is important to observe that in *Recog.* we have the sing.: 'an angel,' not the pl. 'angels' as in *Hom.*

(*c*) If we have here a well-ascertained case in which an utterance of Paul regarding himself is spitefully twisted to his discredit, soon also we find more of the same kind elsewhere.

In the course of his vindication of himself Paul had, with great reserve, declared that he had once been carried up into the third heaven (2 Cor. 12 1 *f.*). This is made ridiculous in *Rec.* 2 65: si putas facilem menti tuæ accessum esse super cœlos et considerare te posse quæ illic sunt atque immensæ illius lucis scientiam capere, puto ei qui illa potest comprehendere facilius esse ut sensum suum qui illuc novit ascendere in alicujus nostrum, qui adsistimus, cor et pectus injiciat et dicat quas in eo cogitationes gerat.[1] The doctrine of Paul that to eat meat offered to idols is not forbidden (see more fully under COUNCIL, § 11, col. 924 *f.*) is distorted into the story that Simon in the market-place entertained the people of Tyre with the flesh of a sacrificial ox and with much wine, thus bringing them under the power of the evil demons (*Hom.* 7 3; cp 4 4). This distortion is all the more worthy of attention, because the author, in connection with it, gives admonitions in the very words of Paul 'to abstain from (or not to be partakers of) the table of devils' (τραπέζης δαιμόνων ἀπέχεσθαι, or μὴ μεταλαμβάνειν, 7 48; cp 1 Cor. 10 20 *f.*). In view of the miracles which Paul himself claims in 2 Cor. 12 12 Rom. 15 19, it is easy to understand that he came to be spoken of as a magician. In the enumeration of the magical powers of which 'Simon' makes his boast in *Recog.* 2 9, the 'when bound I can loose myself . . . when confined in prison I can make the barriers open of their own accord' ('vinctus memetipsum solvam . . . in carcere colligatus claustra sponte patefieri faciam') specially recalls Paul's liberation from prison at Philippi (Acts 16 23-26). Even if this liberation is unhistorical (ACTS, § 2), it found belief after it had been related, and it can have been related a considerable time before the date at which Acts was written. Once more, let us take another word that is used, not indeed by Paul himself, but with reference to him by a follower. In Acts 9 15 he is called a chosen vessel of the Lord; in *Recog.* 3 49, Simon is called a *vas electionis* of the devil.[1]

(*d*) In this violent polemic it is not surprising to find thrown back at Simon—*i.e.*, Paul—the charges which Paul had himself levelled at his opponents.

In 2 Cor. 11 13 Paul calls the Judaising emissaries at Corinth 'false apostles' (ψευδαπόστολοι); in *Hom.* 16 21 Peter says that Jesus foretold false apostles (ψευδαπόστολοι), false prophets, the forming of sects and lists for supremacy, all which seem to him to have taken their beginning with Simon the blasphemer of God. In 2 Cor. 11 14 Paul proceeds: 'And no marvel; for even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light'; in *Recog.* 2 18, Simon is called the 'malignus transformans se in splendorem lucis.' According to *Hom.* 2 33 wickedness (κακία) sent forth its comrade in arms, Simon, like a serpent (ὡς ὄφιν; cp 2 Cor. 11 3), according to *Hom.* 11 35, as one who preaches under a pretence of truth in the name of the Lord and sows false doctrines (πλάνη), and it was with reference to him that Jesus (Mt. 7 15) foretold the coming of ravening wolves in sheep's clothing. Here, also, may be recalled a saying which does not come from Paul himself, but from the author of Acts. This writer puts into Paul's mouth (20 29) the prophecy that after his departure grievous wolves shall make their appearance in Ephesus, not sparing the flock. It is very probable that reference is intended here to the Jewish-Christian school of thought, which was prevalent in Ephesus under John in the last third of the first century. Paul himself had already in 1 Cor 16 9 spoken of the 'many adversaries' (ἀντικείμενοι πολλοί) in Ephesus. This expression, also, is taken up and turned against himself in the passage already cited under *a*, above.

(*e*) More especially we find recurring in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* three designations which are already referred to in the epistles of Paul as having been made use of against him.

When in 2 Cor. 6 8 Paul says of himself, 'as deceivers and [yet] true' (ὡς πλάνοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς), the censure implied in the word πλάνος is just as little purely imaginary as is that contained in 6 9: ὡς ἀγνοούμενοι, ὡς παιδευόμενοι ('unknown,' 'chastened'), etc., or that repudiated in 4 5 ('we preach not ourselves'), or that hinted at in 3 1 ('are we beginning again to commend ourselves?'), cp 5 12. All these charges had actually been made, otherwise Paul would not have needed to repel them (§ 9 *e*). The word most fitted to stick as a term of reproach was 'the deceiver' (ὁ πλάνος), and in point of fact it does reappear in *Hom.* 2 17, which represents Jesus as having foretold that 'first must come a false gospel by the instrumentality of a certain deceiver' [the gospel of freedom from the law] (πρῶτον ψευδὲς δεῖ ἐλθεῖν εὐαγγέλιον ὑπὸ πλάνου τινός). Cp the πλάνη in the quotation (11 35) cited under *d*, as also the miracles which Simon works (2 33), 'to astonish and deceive' (πρὸς κατάπληξιν καὶ ἀπάτην), or (7 4), the expression 'deceived before by Simon' (ὑπὸ τοῦ . . . Σίμωνος προαπατηθέντες), or the *deceptiones* of Simon (*Recog.* 3 65), his 'slanders' (διαβολαί: *Hom.* 3 59).

Notice further that, according to Gal. 1 10, it was made a reproach against Paul that he sought by his doctrine to please men; this comes up again in the words of Peter in *Hom.* 18 10: 'Since ye have thus spoken to please the multitudes who are present' (ἐπειδὴ ἀρεσκόντως τοῖς παροῦσιν ὄχλοις οὕτως ἔφης).

Above all, however, it is of the constant designation of Simon as 'enemy' (ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος, or simply as ὁ ἐχθρός, *inimicus*, see, *e.g.*, above, *b*) in both writings, that we are able to infer from Gal. 4 16 with a high degree of probability that it had already been applied by his Galatian adversaries to Paul. It is difficult to see how Paul could have felt any occasion to ask the Galatians whether he had been the enemy of the Galatians by his preaching of the true gospel, that is of the gospel freed from the law (this is what is intended by ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν: 4 16) if he had not been spoken of to the Galatians as being their 'enemy.' Here should be added Mt. 13 28 (see below, § 6 *c*).

(*f*) This 'homo quidam inimicus' according to *Recog.* 1 70 *f.* raises a tumult against James the *episco-*

[1] 'If you think that there is easy access for your mind above the heavens, and that you are able to conceive the things that are there, and to apprehend knowledge of that immense light, I think that for him who can comprehend these things it were easier to throw his sense which knows how to ascend thither into the heart and breast of some one of us who stand by, and to tell what thoughts he is cherishing in his breast.'

[1] This very drastic kind of polemic is exemplified in the NT also. The Gnostics who are controverted in the Epistle of JUDE (*q.v.*, § 2), in common with all Gnostics, divided mankind into the two categories of 'psychic' and 'pneumatic'; they held themselves to be pneumatic. This the author turns round the other way in *v.* 19: 'these are they who make a division [*i.e.*, between psychic and pneumatic; not, as in AV, 'who separate themselves,' or, as in RV, 'who make separations'], sensual, not having the spirit.' There is a still closer parallel to this substitution of the devil for God in Rev. 2 24. It is hardly to be supposed that the followers of Jezebel made it their boast that they 'know the deep things of Satan'; we may be perfectly certain that their boast was that they knew the deep things of God. All the more sharply sarcastic is the form of the phrase: 'Know . . . the deep things of Satan, *as they say*.' But it is Paul who is the author of the claim to possess the spirit that searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God (1 Cor. 2 10-12). Cp § 6 *b*.

porum princeps at Jerusalem, snatches a firebrand from the altar and with this begins a general Jewish massacre of Christians; he throws James down headlong from the top of the steps, so that he lies as one dead. After three days the Christians who have fled to Jericho learn that the hostile man has received from Caiaphas the high priest the commission to persecute all Christians, and armed with written missives ('epistolæ') from him is about to go to Damascus in order to begin the persecution there, believing that Peter has betaken himself thither[1] (cp Acts 8 3 9 1 *f.* 22 4 *f.* 26 9-12 Gal. 1 13 1 Cor. 15 9).

(*g*) Even the style of Paul is plainly imitated in a mocking way. In the recantation (*Hom.* 20 19) of Simon mentioned above (*b*) we have his *δέομαι ὑμῶν* ('I beseech you': Gal. 4 12), *αὐτὸς ἐγώ* ('I myself': 2 Cor. 10 1), *εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς θέλω* ('I would have you know': 1 Cor. 11 3), *παρακαλῶ οὖν* ('I beseech therefore': Rom. 12 1 1 Cor. 4 16; cp Eph. 4 1 1 Tim. 2 1); elsewhere *τί γάρ, τί οὖν*, etc.

So also with the apocryphal Acts of Peter and Acts of Peter and Paul (as to which see SIMON PETER, §§ 32-34).

5. Apocryphal Acts.

Whilst in the apocryphal correspondence of Paul with the Corinthians which belongs to the Acta Pauli (see SIMON PETER, § 39 *e*, n.) the doctrine attributed to Simon is Gnostic, in the Apocrypha just mentioned Simon appears less as a gnostic than as a wonder-worker; but that by him the apostle Paul was originally meant is manifest here also.

(*a*) The question of Paul to Simon: 'Why didst thou deliver up circumcised men and compel them to be condemned and put to death?' (*διὰ τί σὺ περιτετμημένους παρέδωκας καὶ ἠνάγκασας αὐτοὺς κατακριθέντας ἀποκτανθῆναι*; see SIMON PETER, § 34 *e*) is decisive. There is no Gnostic who could have had either such power or such inclination. The words can refer only to what Paul did according to Gal. 1 13 1 Cor. 15 9 Acts 8 3 9 1 *f.* 22 4 *f.* 26 9-12. In this way what follows gains in cogency, the original reference to Paul being not so absolutely palpable without this key.

(*b*) In the (pre-Catholic) Acta Petri Simon is spoken of as 'inimicus,' 'condemned' (§ 4 *a*, *e*, and SIMON PETER, § 33 *d*), and even the Greek word *πλάνος* (§ 4 *e*) has found its way into the Latin text; according to the *Actus Petri cum Simone* (4 12, in *Acta Apocr.* i. p. 49, l. 13 and p. 60, l. 4) not only is Paul called ('magus' or) 'planus,' but Simon also is described as 'planus (et deceptor).' In the (Catholic) *Acta Petri et Pauli* (43) Nero makes it clear that Simon persecutes Peter and Paul out of envy, and is a 'manifest enemy' (*πρόδηλος ἐχθρός*) of both and of their Master.

(*c*) In the disputation on circumcision touched on above (*a*; cp SIMON PETER, §§ 34 *e*, 39 *c*), Simon warns the Emperor against believing Peter and Paul, as they are circumcised and therefore worthless persons. Paul makes answer: before we knew the truth we had the circumcision of the flesh; since then, only the circumcision of the heart. Peter adds: if circumcision is something bad, why art thou circumcised, Simon? It will be manifest at once that only the words of Peter, not those of Paul, are any effective reply to the reproach of Simon. If with Lipsius (II. 1 360) we remove those of Paul as being a later addition (cp SIMON PETER, § 35 *e*), then the pure antithesis between Simon as the opponent and Peter as the defender of circumcision comes to light. This, however, is directly contrary to the whole representation of Peter elsewhere in these Acts; for here he figures as the one who is doing away with the law (SIMON PETER, §§ 34 *a*, 39 *c*). In so far, however, as Peter defends circumcision the effect is to take away his complete agreement with Paul (the accentuation of which is nevertheless one of the main objects of the book; see SIMON PETER, § 35 *d*), for here it is only the circumcision of the heart that Paul stands up for. Thus in our present passage it is not at all the Catholic Peter, but the original genuinely Jewish-Christian Peter with whom we have to do, and this is our evidence that his opponent was not originally a Gnostic, but simply an opponent of the Judaising of Christianity, in other words, no other than Paul.

(*d*) To Paul also applies the further accusation in the same passage, that 'Simon' found it necessary to give himself out falsely to be a Jew and to put on the semblance of strict observance of the law in order to deceive the people whom otherwise he would not have been able to win over to his erroneous doctrine (see SIMON PETER, § 34 *e*). This clearly points back to 1 Cor. 9 20: 'to them that are under the law (I became) as under the law, not being myself under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law.' We recognise also, however, the charge which, according to Gal. 5 11 1 10, was made against Paul by his Judaistic opponents, that outside of Galatia he still continued to preach circumcision, for everywhere he shapes his doctrine so as to please men (see GALATIANS, § 13, middle).

(*e*) With this accords (even if not conclusive as evidence) the favour which Simon finds with Nero. After Nero had proved himself the most dreadful enemy which Christianity had, it must have suggested itself very readily to the adversaries of Paul to lay it to Paul's discredit that he had so expressly enjoined obedience to Nero (Rom. 13 1-7) and that Paul's captivity had been so mild (Acts 28 30 *f.*). As a result of his submissiveness such a partiality of the emperor as we find him expressing for Simon in the Catholic and also in the pre-Catholic Acta (SIMON PETER, § 33 *h*) seemed natural. Cp below, § 12 *b*.

(*f*) Lipsius (ii. 1 363 *f.*) has even conjectured that the story of the seeming beheading of Simon (§ 34 *c*) has at its root malicious misrepresentation of the beheading of Paul.

In order that Paul might not have the glory of martyrdom his traducers had it that he had not been beheaded, but by a trick had brought it about that a ram was decapitated in his stead. To this was then added the further touch that he presented himself to the emperor as one who had risen from the dead, in order thereby to secure acknowledgment of his divinity, and of the truth of the promise he had previously made, of a return from death after three days. This promise is met with also in quite another form in the *Philosophumena*, 6 20, where Simon suffers himself to be buried by his disciples, and proposes to rise again after three days, but does not revive (see SIMON PETER, § 32 *a*, n. 1). Evidently the theme has gone through several variations. In accord with it is what we read in the Catholic Acta, that Nero causes the body of Simon, who has fallen down from the clouds, to be watched for three days so as to know whether he will rise or not (see SIMON PETER, § 34 *g*). With Simon's promise Lipsius confronts the statement of the Acts of Paul (= 'Martyrium Pauli,' 4, 6 = Pseudo-Linus, 'Passio Pauli,' 8, 18, in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1 112-116 32 42) that it was Paul who foretold to Nero his return after his beheading and who also fulfilled this prediction.

(*g*) Lastly, mention must be made of the attempt of Simon to fly to heaven (see SIMON PETER, § 33 [*f*], § 34 [*f*]). The supposition lies close at hand that here too we have a malicious perversion of the saying of Paul that he had been caught up to the third heaven (2 Cor. 12 2) and that precisely the story of his fall and of his death was connected with this because the appeal to this rapture into heaven was regarded as a flagitious piece of self-glorification, and, should the conjecture of Lipsius just mentioned prove correct, the beheading of Paul was not regarded as being the true end of his life.

At the same time it must be observed that Simon's flying is reported in two forms. Alongside of the statement, just recorded above, that his desire was to reach heaven by it, we find another much simpler one that his intention was simply, by a brief flight, to give proof of his magical powers, and thereby secure public attention (SIMON PETER, §§ 33 *a*, 34 *c*). For this we have an authenticated parallel. Suetonius (*Nero*, 12) relates that a flying professor who had undertaken to play the part of Icarus in a representation of mythological scenes organised by Nero, in the circus on the Campus Martius (that is to say, exactly on the scene of the alleged attempt of Simon), at his first attempt fell to the ground close beside Nero, who was bespattered with his

[1] He is not here expressly called Simon. Should this be intentional, this passage would then have to be relegated to § 6 as being direct polemic against Paul.

blood. If it was this or some similar occurrence that suggested the ascription to Simon of the attempt at flight, the statement that Simon's intention was to fly to heaven is a further development. The possibility remains that the story was manufactured with 2 Cor. 12 2 in view; yet we cannot be confident of this. In the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* we find merely that Simon flies occasionally (2 32), and in the *Recognitions* (2 9) this takes the special form that Simon promises: 'si me de monte excelso præcipitem, tanquam subvectus ad terras illæsus deferar.' What seems to lie at the basis of this is the promise of Satan to Jesus in the temptation on the pinnacle of the temple (Mt. 4 5 *f.* = Lk. 4 9-11). The evidential value of the arguments adduced at the beginning of this section, however, is not impaired by the ambiguous character of the indications last adduced.

How small is the right of any one to set aside any such polemic against Paul as being from the outset impossible is shown by the fact that in early Christian literature the same thing is found also without intervention of the mask of Simon, and even occasionally with express mention of the name of Paul.

6. Analogous polemic against Paul.

(*a*) Epiphanius (*Haer.* 30 16, end) tells us that in Ebionitic Acts of the Apostles was found, regarding the apostle Paul, the statement that he was the son of a Greek mother and a Greek father belonging to Tarsus, that he had spent some time in Jerusalem and there desired the daughter of the high priest in marriage, on which account he became a proselyte and accepted circumcision; but, having after all failed in his suit, in his wrath he wrote against circumcision, the Sabbath, and the law.

(*b*) In Rev. 2 14 20 it is said of the followers of Balaam and Jezebel that they eat things sacrificed to idols and commit fornication. The two classes of persons are thus identical in spite of their different names. Nor are the Nicolaitans [cp NICOLAITANS] distinct from them, for we read (2 15): 'so also hast thou them that hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans in like manner' (*οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ σὺ* (not: *σὺ καὶ*) *κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν ὁμοίως*).

That is to say, In that thou (the church of Pergamos) hast the Balaamites, thou hast also [in the same persons] those that hold the teaching of the Nicolaitans in like manner as the Church of Ephesus has (2 6). Now the Nicolaitans at Ephesus are in 2 2 said to be apostles who have been found to be false; and of the adherents of Jezebel we are told in 2 24 that they profess to have known the depths of Satan. All these accusations fit Paul; the last of them must be understood in the manner indicated above (§ 4 *c*, n.). To eat meat offered to idols and to commit fornication had been indeed sanctioned by Paul if we take 'fornication' in the sense that has been indicated under COUNCIL, § 11, col. 925. As he had already called his opponents false apostles (2 Cor. 11 13) it is not surprising if we find them hurling back this reproach at himself and his followers (cp § 4 *d*). The later the date to which the epistles in Rev. 2 *f.* are assigned (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 11) the more easily possible does it become that in them it is no longer Paul himself, but a later school that is being controverted, a school which made perhaps a more thoroughgoing use in practice of this doctrine of freedom from the law than he himself made, or which even abused that principle; but neither is it possible to show from the text itself that it cannot by any means have been directed even against Paul. On 13 11-17, see § 7 *b*.

(*c*) Even in the First gospel, in all probability, it is Paul who is alluded to alike as the 'enemy' (*ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος*), of Mt. 13 28, and as the 'least' (*ἐλάχιστος*) in the kingdom of heaven; see GOSPELS, §§ 112 *c*, 128 *c*. Cp above, § 4 *e*, end.

(*d*) As for the canonical book of Acts, the polemic against Paul which underlies 8 9-24 and 24 22-26, and which is artificially turned aside by the composer, will come under our consideration later (§§ 13 *f.*, 12 *b*; cp also BARJESUS). Kreyenbühl (214-216; § 15 below), it may be added, sees also in Acts 14 8-20 and 19 11-19 a similar proceeding on the composer's part.

In Lystra Paul was only stoned; the divine worship which he is represented as having received, rests only on the detraction of his Judaising adversaries, who thereby, as elsewhere in the person of Simon, wished to represent him as a man who owed his success with the Gentiles—these, according to Kreyenbühl, are figured in the lame man blind from his birth—to magical arts. The magical efficacy assigned to the handkerchiefs and aprons touched by him (19 12) is held in like manner to be an invention due to a similarly hostile intention. In the Nicolaus, also, of Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4 25, p. 522, ed. Potter), who, when he had been rebuked by the apostles for jealousy, offered his beautiful wife to any one who chose to marry her, Kreyenbühl also (190 *f.*) finds Paul who gave up the 'chaste virgin,' the primitive church, to the Gentiles, and thus to fornication. Such conjectures hardly rise to the level of probability, even although the difficulties suggested by stories of this kind when literally taken remain worthy of attention.

(*e*) Similarly it is necessary to receive with caution the view of Preuschen (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 169 [186]-201), that the form of Paul underlies the delineation of the Antichrist in the Christian Apocalypse of Elias,[1] although the coincidences, especially also with the Acta Pauli, are some of them really striking.

Preuschen himself says that a searching investigation as to the history of the origin of this Apocalypse is still needed. According to Schürer (*TLZ*, 1899, pp. 4-8), it is later than Clement of Alexandria. If this be so, the features of the picture of Paul cannot have been transferred to the Antichrist for the first time when Paul's high place had become undisputed; that must have occurred much earlier, when the hatred against Paul was still alive and did not shrink even from such a distortion of his picture as this. In the transference of these features to the Apocalypse of Elias now before us, misunderstandings, however, can easily have crept in. This admonishes to great caution. Moreover, Preuschen's work is not yet completed.

At the same time, however, Preuschen's view regarding the Apocalypse of Elias leads to the question whether perhaps the figure of Simon may not also underlie the picture of the Antichrist in apocalyptic writings.

7. Simon as Antichrist in Apocalypses.

(*a*) Preuschen (*l.c.* 173-176) answers this question in the affirmative so far as *Sibyll.* 3 63-74 2 165-170 are concerned. That in 3 63 the expression 'afterwards shall Beliar come forth from the Sebastenes' (*ἐκ δὲ Σεβαστηνῶν ἥξει Βελιαρ μετόπισθεν*), *Σεβαστηνοί* has never as yet been satisfactorily explained is true.

Σεβαστός is the Greek rendering of Augustus, a name of honour which Octavian first received in 27 B.C. Should *Σεβαστηνοί*, however, mean, not people of Augustus, but people of Samaria, neither is this designation possible at an earlier date than 27 B.C., for it was not till then that Samaria received the name Sebastē. In order to be able to maintain the very tempting interpretation which refers the widow ruling the world in 3 75-80 to Cleopatra, and the triumvirate clearly indicated in 3 51 *f.* to Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus, and thus fixes the date of the whole piece 3 36-92 as falling somewhere between 40 and 30 B.C., scholars have found it necessary to take the expression *Σεβαστηνοί* as proleptically possible even before the official bestowal of his name of honour upon Augustus, or to regard the verse in which it occurs as an interpolation. Preuschen understands the world-ruling woman (*v.* 75) of Rome (that in *v.* 77 she is called a widow, and that in *vv.* 47 52 Rome is designated by its own proper name he does not take into consideration) and then interprets the Beliar who is to arise from among the Samaritans as referring to Simon the Magician. It is correct to say that the rather vague delineation here and in 2 165-170 presents no obstacle to stand in the way of this identification; but the identification is not yet thereby established.

In fact, it appears even to be directly excluded if *v.* 69 is correctly interpreted: Beliar is to seduce many men, namely 'as well faithful and elect Hebrews as also lawless ones, and other men who never at all heard of God' (*πιστούς τ' ἐκλεκτούς θ' Ἑβραίους ἀνόμους τε καὶ ἄλλους ἀνέρας οἵτινες οὔπωθ' ὅλως θεοῦ εἰσήκουσαν*). Jülicher, who was the first to interpret Beliar as referring to Simon Magus (*TLZ*, 1896, 379), finds mankind here divided into three classes: (1) Christians (*πιστοὺς ἐκλεκτούς*), (2) Jews (*Ἑβραίους ἀνόμους*), and (3) Gentiles (*ἄλλους ἀνέρας*, etc.). In that case, however, the third *τε* ought to have come after *Ἑβραίους*, not after *ἀνόμους*. Grammatically possible would be another threefold division: (1) *πιστούς*, (2) *ἐκλεκτοὺς Ἑβραίους*, (3) *ἀνόμους καὶ ἄλλους ἀνέρας*, etc. Only, in that case the *πιστοί* would certainly not mean Christians; otherwise the *Ἑβραῖοι* would not be called *ἐκλεκτοί*. If the passage is due to a Christian, as Jülicher supposes, then the only right construction is that which takes *ἀνόμους* as a predicate of *Ἑβραίους*, as above. Moreover, in the third class just supposed the *καί* would have a disturbing effect. If the *τε* after *ἀνόμους* could mean 'and,' then it would be permissible to render *καί* by 'also': 'and also other godless men.' The *τε*, however, after *ἀνόμους* must mean 'as also' since that after *πιστούς* means 'as well'; consequently *καί* can only mean 'and.' The only unexceptionable translation is accordingly the following: 'As well faithful and elect Hebrews as also lawless ones, and other men,' etc. As these 'other men' are the Gentiles, only Jews can be meant by the 'lawless ones.' If on this rendering one were to seek for Christians also, they must be indicated by the 'faithful and elect Hebrews,' in other words must be exclusively Jewish

[1] German translation from the Coptic by Steindorff in *TU* 17 3, 1899; as Apocalypse of Sophonias already published by Stern in *Z. f. ägypt. Sprache*, 1886, pp. 115-135, and in French by Bouriant, *Mémoires de la mission archéologique au Caire*, i. 2 260-279 (1885): not to be confounded with the Jewish Apocalypse of Elias cited by the Church Fathers; see Schürer, *GJV* (3) 2 673-676, *ET* ii. 3 129-132.

Christians, which will hardly be supposed by any one. Rather does the author divide the Jews into the two classes of the 'faithful and elect' and the 'lawless,' placing the Gentiles alongside of them. In that case, however, the passage is not the work of a Christian, and therefore it does not relate to Simon Magus; for it was only among Christians and not at all among Jews that Simon Magus passed for a person so objectionable and at the same time so important that he could be identified with the devil.

Nor yet even among Christians was any such estimate put upon him at so early a date as in the apostolic age; he acquired it by the enhanced importance which came to be attached to him through the romance of which he was the hero. Thus if Simon should be meant we should have to reject as too early the dating of Preuschen, who understands by the three men who destroy Rome (*v.* 51 *f.*) Galba, Otho, and Vitellius (68 and 69 A.D.) and by the fire from heaven (*v.* 53 *f.*) the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 A.D. Moreover the second dating cancels the first; for that Galba, Otho, and Vitellius had destroyed Rome could no longer be believed after 69 A.D. Geffcken (*TU* 23 1 p. 15), who agrees with Jülicher as regards Simon Magus, judiciously leaves the date undetermined. Yet it is altogether wrong to take *vv.* 36-92 or even only *vv.* 46-92 as a unity. In the passage before us the destruction of the world by fire is predicted as something new no less than three times (53-61, 71-74, 84-87); and moreover the destruction of Rome by the three men just referred to follows upon the reign of the Messiah over all the earth (46-52), whilst of course it must have preceded it, and the reign of the widow over the world follows upon the destruction of the world together with Beliar and his followers by fire (71-77), and also upon the destruction of Rome by the three men already related in *v.* 51 *f.*, which would be equally inappropriate whether the widow be taken as meaning the widow Cleopatra or Rome. Thus only *vv.* 63-74 come into account as a unity for our present discussion.

(*b*) Simon the Magician has been detected in the 'other beast' of Rev. 13 11-17 (which in 16 13 19 20 20 10 is called the 'false prophet') in recent years by Spitta (*Offenb. d. Joh.*, 1889, pp. 380-385) and Erbes (*Offenb. Joh.*, 1891, pp. 25-27). This identification may in some measure suit the wonderful works which are attributed to this beast in 13 13-15*a*. But it no way suits the regard for the worship of the Emperor in *vv.* 12 15*b*, and the exclusion of those who have not the mark of the beast on hand or forehead from the buying and selling, unless we choose to suppose that the figure of Simon furnished merely the outlines for this second beast which were filled in by the author with essentially new features.

Still less have Volkmar (*Comm. z. Offenb. Joh.*, 1862, pp. 197-213), Blom (*Th.T*, 1884, pp. 175-181) and Kappeler (*Theol. Ztschr. aus der Schweiz*, 1893, pp. 40-62, 65-69) succeeded, without resort to the greatest lengths of allegorical interpretation, in finding the apostle Paul in the second beast; on any literal exegesis, not even the miracles which cause no difficulty when referred to Simon can, by any possibility, be assigned to Paul.

(*c*) In so far, however, as, after the example of Gunkel (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*, 1895) and Bousset (*Antichrist*, 1895), the line taken is that of seeking in the leading apocalyptic forms merely renewals of older figures, whether of mythological or of literary origin, which assumed once for all a normative character that underwent only slight modifications when applied to new circumstances and conditions, it may certainly be worth while to inquire whether Paul, or Simon, or the features in the figure of Simon which have been derived from Paul, have contributed elements to the shaping of these renewed apocalyptic figures. Preuschen's aim is nothing less than to show that it was by the introduction of the form of Paul that the figure of Antichrist, originally thought of as a ruler, assumed the character of a false teacher, so that both types of Antichrist thenceforward existed alongside of each other.

After the survey just made of the appearances of Simon in the literature of early Christianity, our next task must be to ascertain what results, if any, can be claimed.

8. Four forms of Simon distinguished.

(*a*) In the first place, it has become evident that we have to do with three distinct magnitudes which meet us, now here now there, under the form of Simon. To these must be added as a fourth a Jewish magician of Cyprus, Simon, a guard of the procurator Felix, who employed him to draw away Drusilla from her husband, Azizus king of Emesa, and procure her in marriage for himself (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 7 2, § 141 *f.*). To him we shall return afterwards (§ 12 *b c e*). Meanwhile, the three figures that have come before us in the literature we have hitherto been surveying are: (1) the Samaritan magician as Acts, on the first impression, seems to present him; (2) the Gnostic, founder of the Gnostic sect of the Simonians; (3) the distorted image of the apostle Paul.

(*b*) It is indispensably necessary that we should distinguish these three forms as sharply as possible, and especially necessary in cases where they may have come to be mixed up in one and the same writing. In this sense, we have already treated separately the Gnostic and the perverted image of Paul as they are found in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* (§ 3 *f.*). In these writings Simon appears as a magician also; but if thereby the magician who, according to Acts, made his appearance in the very first years of Christianity, is to be understood, then the Gnostic system ascribed to him does not at all fit, for it is of much later date.

Now, magicians have existed in all ages, and thus it were easily conceivable that the author of the Gnostic system in question, in the second century, was really also at the same time a magician. As against this suggestion, however, two considerations must be borne in mind; not only that Gnosis and magical arts are united in the fancy of the Church fathers (who attributed to their adversaries, without discrimination, all kinds of evil things) more easily than they are in reality, but also that, on this view, we lose all connection with the Samaritan Simon of the earliest Christian times, a connection which is nevertheless presupposed in so far as Simon is opposed by Peter. If, in view of this, we decline to give up the connection, we must nevertheless recognise that in the pseudo-Clementines all the three forms of Simon are mixed up with one another so as to form a completely impossible figure. The case is similar in the apocryphal Acts; only, there the Gnostic features in the person of Simon are not very prominent. On Acts 8 9-24 see § 14.

(*c*) If, then, we desire to get at the truth of the matter, it is an exceedingly perilous thing to be too readily prepared to find a harmonious picture, instead of various features derived from distinct sources. Thus, the argument is very widely current that, inasmuch as in the Simon of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* a Gnostic tendency is being controverted, he cannot, at the same time, have any Pauline features; in fact, the myth has even come into being that Lipsius too, in conceding the Anti-Gnostic character of these writings, has also given up their Anti-Pauline character. Similarly, it is often supposed that nothing more is required than the postulate of the actual existence of a Samaritan magician of the name of Simon, in order to make it possible to set aside all supposed reference to Paul in the narrative of Acts 8: or, where a little more caution is exercised, it is supposed that the same result can be reached by the observation that the figure of Simon there exhibits Gnostic characteristics.

If once we are prepared to keep these different characteristics strictly separate, and at the same time to recognise their presence together (should they happen to be present together) in one and the same writing, the next question for us comes to be whether the Anti-Pauline polemic is older than the Anti-Gnostic.

9. The Anti-Pauline polemic older than the Anti-Gnostic.

(*a*) One might suppose that the answer could not be doubtful, seeing that Paul himself was before Gnosticism. The consequences, however, which have been deduced by the Tübingen school from this view of the case cause many to shrink from accepting this result, however obvious.

These critics are utterly averse to making the admission that any such intense hatred could really ever have been directed against Paul, as would follow from the malignant and perverse representation of him implied in the *Homilies*, and *Recognitions*, and in the apocryphal Acts, should it be the fact that the passages in question date from the earliest Christian times. The ideal of Acts, that the multitude of them that believed (as also the apostles) were of one heart and soul (4 32) dominates the current conception of that period much too strongly to make it possible for many to recognise as historical any conflict of so profound and far-reaching a character as that revealed in these writings.

(*b*) Only, what is it that is done in order to avoid the

unwelcome admission of its historical character? Any attempt to explain away the hatred which these writings breathe against the Simon with whom they deal, promises little success. Thus, of necessity, one is driven to the assertion that the Anti-Gnostic interest is in these authors the original one and the Anti-Pauline features are merely later introductions, much in the same way as an artist, in order to give greater life to his picture, will introduce into it here and there a few additional touches, but without altering the nature of the work as a whole.

(*c*) This assumption, however, of the posteriority of the Anti-Pauline polemic in these writings is completely untenable. How should the writers have come to make precisely Paul their target? If there had been a conflict between him and another school of primitive Christianity from which these writers were not perhaps far removed, the conflict was nevertheless buried at the death of Paul.

It is coming to be more and more generally recognised that the real Paulinism hardly survived the lifetime of its author (so Harnack himself, *Lehrb. d. DG* 1(2) 46, n. 1, 52 *f.* 78 *f.*, 116, etc.). Whilst the most general of all its results—the admission of the Gentiles to Christianity without observance of the law—was accepted in its own interests by the Church now beginning to be Catholic, every other special interest which Paul had promoted, and even his services in connection with the carrying out of the universalism which now was taken as a thing of course, passed into oblivion. Already the book of Acts represents Peter as the real originator of this, and Paul as but his follower in it (ACTS, § 4). Simultaneously, however, this book and the whole of that literature and period gave to Paul more and more a place of honour beside Peter (see MINISTRY, § 36), and his writings during the second century gained more and more of a canonical position.

Thus, partly forgotten so far as his conflict with the attitude of the original apostles is concerned, and partly highly honoured as an apostle of bygone days: how should Paul ever come to be in the second, or, so far as the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* are concerned, even in the third or fourth century, the object of so fanatical a hatred? It is a psychological impossibility. Add to this that the writers, by the introduction of Pauline features, would have been making unrecognisable the picture of that which they wished to combat (§ 10 *a*).

(*d*) Harnack has felt this, and drawn the consequence which is the only possible one: 'perhaps the Pauline features of the [pseudo-Clementine] magician altogether are an appearance merely' (*Lehrb. d. Dogm.-gesch.* 1(2) 269). In the light of our preceding investigations, the boldness of this proposition will be apparent.

How could such a judgment be possible, or that of Headlam (*JThSt.*, 1901 *f.*, pp. 53 *f.*): 'With the possible exception of one passage, there is not the slightest sign of anti-Paulinism, and nowhere is there any opposition to St. Paul'? Is it, perchance, due to the fact that Headlam has his eye only on the real Paulinism and finds that the polemic of the pseudo-Clementines and apocryphal Acts does not touch that, and then omits to ask whether the authors perhaps precisely by their malicious distortion of the image of Paul deliberately *wished* to harm him more than would have been possible by means of any honourable polemic?

(*e*) The examples of polemic against Paul without the mask of Simon, already adduced in § 6, must have shown how deep the antipathy to Paul went, and how widespread it was even where we have not to do with writings which clothe themselves in the form of a romance. The epistles of Paul himself, however, contain still more traces of this.

In §§ 4 *e* 5 *d*, we have already touched on what admits of being inferred from Gal. 5 11 (still preaching circumcision), 1 10 (seek to please men), 4 16 (ἐχθρός), 2 Cor. 6 8 (πλάνος). Paul's self-commendation in 2 Cor. 3 1 5 11 *f.*, his preaching of himself (4 5), and his claim to have been taken up into the third heaven and into Paradise (12 2-4), needed only to be exaggerated a little and the charge of self-deification was ready. To these have to be added, further, the charges which Paul would not be found repudiating so emphatically if they had never been made against him: such as that he walks in carnal wisdom (2 Cor. 1 12), writes other things than appear (1 13), says Yea and Nay in the same breath (1 17), corrupts the word of God (2 17), seeks to be lord of the faith (1 24), uses his power for the destruction of the churches (10 8 13 10), when present is weak but comes forward in his letters with the greatest claims (10 9 *f.* 1). From his refusal of financial support for himself, the inference was drawn that plainly he was conscious of not being a real apostle, otherwise he would have made use of the privilege of those who were (1 Cor. 9 15 2 Cor. 11 10). To this it was added, further, that he applied to his own uses the collections which he caused to be made for the poor in Jerusalem (2 Cor. 12 16-18 7 2, end). Finally, 'chastened' (παιδευόμενοι) in 2 Cor. 6 9 can only be understood as meaning that his malady had been interpreted as a divine punishment for his opposition to the Christianity of the original apostles.

(*f*) All these charges and reproaches, however, proceed, in the last resort at least, from the Judaizers who came to Corinth or to Galatia and sought to turn against Paul the churches which he had founded—in other words, from the representatives of that school which speaks in the pseudo-Clementine writings and apocryphal Acts or at least in their sources. If one desires not to be unjust to them, one will even have to concede that Paul had provoked them to the utmost by his persistent advocacy of his own views, by his unsparing attack even upon Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2 11-21), by his blunt judgment upon things which they regarded as sacred, by the anathema he pronounced upon their gospel (Gal. 1 8 *f.*), by his biting sarcasm (Gal. 5 12), and by his sweeping condemnation of everything about them (2 Cor. 11 13-15). We are only too readily inclined to take sides with Paul and to find in his case certain things to be perfectly correct, which in his adversaries we would either condemn without qualification, or even declare to be historically impossible. Whether, for example, Paul says that his opponents are servants of Satan (11 15), or whether the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitions* say that Paul is a chosen instrument of Satan (3 49) comes to very much the same thing; and, viewed from their standpoint, Paul must really have seemed to them quite as much the enemy of the truth as they to him—for after all he was doing away with the law concerning which they could quite honestly feel convinced that it had been laid down by God as of perpetual obligation (see COUNCIL, § 3, begin.). Instead of denying the manifestly-patent fact that the opposing schools, within the borders of primitive Christianity, carried on their controversies with the utmost violence, we ought rather to be unfeignedly glad that the Christian religion possessed within itself sufficient vitality to enable it to survive so severe a crisis.

(*g*) There is accordingly but one presupposition only, by means of which it will be really possible to hold the anti-Pauline features in the pseudo-Clementines to be more recent than the anti-Gnostic, namely the assumption that the principal Pauline epistles are more recent than the Gnosticism, which the pseudo-Clementines combat. So Loman (*Th. T*, 1883, pp. 25-47), Meyboom (*ib.* 1891, 1-46), and Steck (*Galaterbrief*, 325-335 [1888]). It makes little difference here, whether on this view the two things are also regarded as contemporaneous. Marcion passes for the chief representative of the gnosis which is controverted. We note further that Meyboom finds the polemic in the *Homilies* the fresher, and derived more from direct observation of the two views he opposes, Marcionitism and the Antinomism set forth by the 'canonical Paul'; that of the *Recognitions* he finds more colourless and confused. Against the denial of the genuineness of the principal Pauline epistles altogether, see GALATIANS, §§ 1-9.

10. Anti-Pauline and Anti-Gnostic polemic how connected.

If then it is impossible to deny the existence of the Anti-Pauline polemic or to maintain that it is later than the Anti-Gnostic, the next question comes to be as to how it came to be connected, and even combined with the Anti-Gnostic in such a manner as we see, especially in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. (*a*) Harnack, in so far as he does not explain the Anti-Pauline element as only seeming (above, § 9 *d*), says upon this point (*loc. cit.*) that the pseudo-Clementines 'before aught else con-

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troverted Simon Magus and his followers . . ., but also the apostle Paul, and seem to have transferred Simonian features to Paul, and Pauline features to Simon.' The question still remains, however, Why they did so? If they depicted Simon or Paul otherwise than each of them in reality was, they only obscured the picture of each, whilst in the polemic that was being waged, it must nevertheless have always been a matter of primary importance to depict the adversary in such a way that every one could clearly recognise him. The literary skill of the authors must accordingly, on the assumption of Harnack here presupposed, that they wrote their works as we now have them without making use of any sources, be ranked very low; in reality, however, it is admittedly very considerable. By the judgment we have quoted, accordingly, Harnack has merely raised another problem, not solved the one in hand.

(*b*) Harnack proceeds (*loc. cit.*), 'Yet it remains also possible that the Pauline features, borne by the magician, came first into existence in the process of redaction, in so far as in the course of this the whole polemic against Paul was deleted, but certain portions of it were woven into the polemic against Simon.' The assumption underlying these words is of the utmost importance. We see Harnack here reckoning, as he had not yet done in the preceding sentence, with literary antecedents of the pseudo-Clementine writings.

This is in point of fact indispensable, if only for the reason that we find the *Homilies* for considerable stretches dealing with the same matters as the *Recognitions*, and then again diverging widely from them and also changing the order of the occurrences which both relate in common. Further, in *Recog.* 3 74 *f.* it is said that Clement, at the instance of Peter, wrote down and sent to James in ten books (the so-called κηρύγματα of Peter) the discourses held by Peter in his disputation with Simon in Cæsarea, and in the same place is given a list of the contents of this writing which shows that it dealt with things which occur also in the pseudo-Clementines of to-day. To this must be added the family romance, and other matter which again points to a separate origin (above, § 3 *c*).

And yet it is precisely this question as to possible sources of this literature that we may not propound if Harnack's dictum is to hold good that these writings cannot be called into requisition in any investigation regarding primitive Christianity, because they did not come into existence at all until the third or fourth century. Granted that their present form is not older than the third or fourth century, nevertheless their sources certainly are older, and it is the bounden duty of the historian to look into them. Harnack withdraws himself from the task, although he has himself recognised its existence in the sentence we have quoted. Finally, immediately afterwards he goes on to say as quoted above (§ 9 *d*), 'the Pauline features of the magician are perhaps only apparent.' The student who finds himself disinclined to follow this path out of the difficulty which Harnack himself treads so hesitatingly, has no longer to face the question whether one is to 'believe' in a primeval Simon-romance (so Harnack; see SIMON PETER, § 31 *n*), but whether one is prepared in discharge of the duty of a historian to probe the matter to the bottom.

(*c*) That Harnack's hint of the result to which this would lead (above, *b*, begin.) is a happy one cannot be said. How are we to conceive to ourselves even so much as the initial juxtaposition of an anti-Simonian and an anti-Pauline polemic, which Harnack even presupposes at a certain stage of his hypothesis where he does not yet take account of a fusion of different sources? But why afterwards was the anti-Pauline polemic deleted? How came it about that nevertheless certain portions of the polemic against Paul got themselves woven into that against Simon? From mere confusion? No doubt some transference of traits that suit Paul to Simon has occurred; but this can be explained with any psychological probability only by supposing that the hatred against Paul in those circles, within which these writings took their rise, still continued to be active, and that what this hatred had found to be worthy of detestation in Paul, was involuntarily imputed, without any basis of fact, to other persons also simply from the need it felt to give itself air. This is only a proof of the original strength and bitterness of the hostility in question against the apostle. In him his enemies saw the embodiment of all that was detestable, nay devilish. If now, in course of time, there arose other teachers whose position resembled his, yet was not identical with it, the inclination was only too natural, in those who disapproved, to fix their attention only on the points of agreement, and to carry over, without alteration, to the newcomers the sentence of condemnation that had long ago been pronounced upon Paul, and all the words of censure in which it had been conveyed—'enemy,' 'false teacher,' 'devil's tool,' 'magician,' 'deifier of self,' and the like. Without the existence of a deeply-rooted hatred against Paul that continued to be active down to a later time, all this would not have been possible; but as soon as its existence is recognised, the mingling of the attributes of distinct persons is no longer unintelligible. In like manner also in that case one is in a position to understand that people of this fanatical sort, when unquestionably new characteristics emerged, did not allow themselves to be led by this to recognise that a new thing had appeared, that was not to be identified with the old, but simply regarded the new characteristics in question as a fresh development of the long familiar and detestable characteristics of the original adversary.

(*d*) One new characteristic of the kind just referred to, undoubtedly, was the divine worship implied in the erection of a statue in Rome (above, § 2 *a*). Even the most fertile imagination could hardly have constructed this out of the image of Paul.

Lipsius, therefore (ii. 1 40 *f.*), is probably right when he supposes this assertion about Simon to owe its origin to the stupid misunderstanding of Justin, and to have found its way into the *Recognitions* only after Justin's statement had become current. Here it is even put in the mouth of Simon as a prophecy: 'adorabor ut deus, publice divinis donabor honoribus, ita ut simulacrum mihi statuentes tanquam deum colant et adorent' (2 9; cp 3 63 where Rome is expressly named as the place). It is, however, as great a misunderstanding of the meaning of Lipsius as that already (§ 8 *c*) noted when Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 13 *f.*) reports it in the following terms: 'that the Clementine story of Peter's conflicts with Simon in Rome can only have arisen on the foundation of the statement of Justin.' Lipsius does not say this of these conflicts in general, but expressly only of 'the Gnostic figure of Simon.' From the view which Erbes adopts, he draws the conclusion that 'we have no need at all to go into the question as to the sources and the strata of that [pseudo-Clementine] literature, and are now already in a position to affirm that the legend which brings Peter in conjunction with Simon Magus to Rome, cannot have arisen until after 147 A.D. [*i.e.*, after Justin].'

What Lipsius holds, and at the same time what we too, it would seem, ought to hold, is the exact opposite of this. If, through an error of Justin with reference to a certain Gnostic, a statement arose which subsequently came to be incorporated in the pseudo-Clementines, we have all the more pressing occasion for inquiring what was the form which these writings exhibited, and what the picture of Simon which they presented, before the introduction of such Gnostic features.

(*e*) Lipsius, it is true, since 1876 (*JPT* 636 *f.*, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* ii. 1 38 *f.* 363) has abandoned his earlier attempt to reconstruct, as a single writing, a purely Anti-Pauline, pre-Gnostic source which should embrace the whole of the existing Anti-Pauline material that we now find dispersed in the pseudo-Clementines and the apocryphal *Acta*—not, however, because it had been shown to be wrong, but simply because it could not be proved to be right. All the more decidedly, however, does he maintain that this whole Anti-Pauline polemic existed in an oral form before the introduction of the Gnostic features. This is in fact the least that we must suppose, unless all the facts which we have pointed out regarding the polemic

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against Paul are to be simply denied. Nor should a renewed attempt to find in the Clementines a written source of this kind be simply banned as impossible. Attention must, however, be called also to the fact that the position held by Lipsius has only in appearance been made worse by the new turn he has given to it, and in reality has been improved.

It can appear to be more questionable if it is unable to find support on any written source capable of being separated out from the writings before us, and if the possibility has to be reckoned with that the Anti-Pauline legend existed for long only in an oral form, and was reduced to writing only after the Gnostic features had been combined with it. Nor is this really difficult to suppose. The mixture of features, and the difficulty felt in keeping them clearly separate, become easily intelligible on the assumption that the writing was done at a late date; but the certainty of the existence of a mass of matter that was originally purely Anti-Pauline is not destroyed by the absence of any book in which this had been committed to writing. The hatred against Paul which still finds expression through the present forms of the writing which have been so much worked over, was strong enough to secure that every one, even without their being committed to writing, should know perfectly well what was the nature of the charges brought against Paul.

The positive advantage offered by the new form of the hypothesis of Lipsius is a chronological one. On the supposition of a written source, difficulties can be raised by the question as to whether it is really older than the period of Gnosticism (from about 100 A.D.), from which the non-Pauline features of the legend are derived. In presence of a legend that existed orally only, this difficulty disappears; for such a legend naturally must have existed since the days of Paul, in whose own letters we have already been able to point out so many of the features which it presents (§ 9 *e*).

If originally it was Paul who was attacked under the guise of Simon alike in the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* and in the Apocryphal Acts (above, § 4 *f.*), the question inevitably arises whether this happened in the two groups of writings independently, or whether both groups have a common origin.

11. Original oneness of anti-Pauline elements in Ps.-Clem. and Apocr. Acts.

(*a*) The first view is favoured by the circumstance that the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions* deal exclusively with encounters in Palestine and Syria, the Apocryphal Acts only with encounters in Rome. In many instances scholars have contented themselves with establishing this fact and then holding the question as at once settled.

(*b*) The idea, however, which underlies this whole polemic against 'Simon' is most distinctly against this, the idea, namely, that Peter has to follow Simon into every place where the latter has spread his erroneous teaching.

That this is Peter's task is everywhere taken for granted as a thing of course. Take, for example, *Hom.* 14 12, where we find Peter saying that Simon is in Antioch (with Annubion); 'when, then, we get there and come upon them, the disputation can take place'; out of a large number of other passages we may point also to 2 17 where Peter speaks of himself as having come in upon Simon 'as light upon darkness, as knowledge upon ignorance, as healing upon disease' (ἐπελθὼν ὡς σκότῳ φῶς, ὡς ἀγνοίᾳ γνῶσις, ὡς νόσῳ ἴασις). According to 4 6 none but Peter can cope with Simon, and his companions complain that he has sent them on this occasion before him. In *Recog.* 3 65 Peter says: 'Since Simon has gone forth to preoccupy the ears of the Gentiles who are called to salvation, it is necessary that I also follow upon his track so that whatever disputation he raises may be corrected by us' (Quia Simon egressus est aures gentilium qui ad salutem vocati sunt prævenire, necesse est et me vestigia ejus insequi, ut si quid forte ab illo disputatum fuerit, corrigatur a nobis), and in 3 68 we read that 'Simon has set out, wishing to anticipate our journey; him we should have followed step by step, that wheresoever he tries to subvert any there he might forthwith be confuted by us' (Simon præcedere volens iter nostrum profectus est, quem oportuerat e vestigio insequi, ut sicubi aliquos subvertere tentaret, continuo confutaretur a nobis).

In view of such passages as these it is not conceivable that the plan of the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* became limited to conflicts between 'Simon' and Peter in the East, as soon as it was known to the author that Simon had come also to Rome. But this was in point of fact actually known to the author, unless one is prepared to deny that the apostle Paul is meant by 'Simon.' Even if it is a Gnostic Simon that is controverted in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, it was Paul who supplied the basis for this Gnostic figure (above, § 9 *f.*); and it is only with the *original* oneness of the anti-Pauline elements in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* on the one hand and in the Apocryphal Acts on the other that we have here to do.

(*c*) Nor yet are direct indications wholly wanting in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* that the conflicts must be continued in Rome also.

Thus in *Rec.* 3 63 *f.* we read of Simon's going from Cæsarea to Rome saying that 'there he would please the people so much that he should be reckoned a god and receive divine honours' (dicens se Romam petere; ibi enim in tantum placiturum ut deus putetur et divinis donetur honoribus); see above, § 2 *a*. With this it agrees that Peter makes the request of Clement who is brought to him by Barnabas: 'travel with us, participating in the words of truth which I am going to speak from city to city, as far as Rome itself' (συνόδευσον ἡμῖν μεταλαμβάνων τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγων, ὧν κατὰ πόλιν ποιεῖσθαι μέλλω μέχρι Ῥώμης αὐτῆς: *Hom.* 1 16 = *Recog.* 1 13: iter age nobiscum et audi sermonem veritatis quem habituri sumus per loca singula, usquequo ad ipsam nobis perveniendum sit urbem Romam; cp 1 74: usquequo deo favente perveniatur ad ipsam quo iter nostrum dirigendum credimus urbem Romam). So also in the Epistle of Clement to James prefixed to the *Homilies* (ch. 1) Peter is spoken of as being he 'who as being fittest of all was commanded to enlighten the darker part of the world, namely the West, and was enabled to set it right' (ὁ τῆς δύσεως τὸ σκοτεινότερον τοῦ κόσμου μέρος ὡς πάντων ἱκανώτερος φωτίσαι κελευσθεὶς καὶ κατορθῶσαι δυνηθείς), and as having died in Rome.

The value of these passages as evidence becomes greater in proportion to the fulness of their agreement with the fundamental idea set forth above, under *b*. All the more significant, therefore, is the simple ignoring of them by Harnack and Clemen who do not accept this idea, and all the bolder the view of Chase (Hastings, *DB* 3 775*b*) that they 'are so incidental in character that they may well be the interpolation of a later editor, the writer, for example, who composed the *Epistle of Clement to James*, prefixed to the *Homilies*.'

(*d*) Of equal importance is the fact that the Apocryphal Acts which deal only with conflicts in Rome contain references back to earlier conflicts of Simon with Peter (and Paul) in the East.

For the pre-Catholic Acts, 17, 23, see SIMON PETER, § 33 *c*, *d*, and for the Catholic Acts see chap. 17, where Simon says of Peter and Paul: 'They have turned aside all Judæa from believing in me' (διέστρεψαν ὅλην τὴν Ἰουδαίαν τοῦ μὴ πιστεύειν μοι), to which Peter makes answer, 'Thou hast been able to impose upon all, but upon me never; and those also who have been deceived, God has through me recalled from their error' (πᾶσι δι' ἐπιθέσεως ἠδυνήθης, ἐμοὶ δ' οὐδέποτε· καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς ἐξαπατηθέντας δι' ἐμοῦ ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πλάνης ἀνεκαλέσατο). Simon again holds precisely similar language in chap. 28 where he mentions all Palestine and Cæsarea as well as Judæa (according to the *Recognitions* it was in Cæsarea that the last great disputation between Simon and Peter occurred). With this it agrees that in the pre-Catholic Acts (ch. 5), in exact parallelism with the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, Peter receives from Christ in a vision the following instruction: 'quem tu ejecisti de Judæa approbatum magum Simonem, iterum præoccupavit vos Romæ . . . crastina die proficiscere,' whereupon Peter says to his Christian brethren 'necesse est me ascendere Romæ [for Romam] ad expugnandum hostem et inimicum domini et fratrum nostrum' [for 'nostrorum'] (cp SIMON PETER, §§ 34 *c*, 33 *b*).

Thus the pseudo-Clementines and the Apocryphal Acts alike make it plain that both of them have the underlying idea of a controverting of Simon by Peter in the East as well as in Rome, even although only the one half is developed in the one group of writings and the other half in the other.

(*e*) The attempt has been made to meet this by pointing out that church fathers mention the presence of Simon in Rome while at the same time not speaking of controversies between him and Peter. This is indeed true of Justin, who knows nothing of any presence of Peter in Rome at all (above, § 2; SIMON PETER, § 30 *g*), as also of Irenæus (1 16 [23]; about 185 A.D.) and Tertullian (*Apol.* 13; cp *De anima*, 34, 57; about 200 A.D.) who elsewhere do speak of the appearance of Peter in Rome (see SIMON PETER, §§ 25 *b*, 26 *a*, and, conversely, the mention of Peter and Paul without Simon, § 41 *c*). Only, this argument from silence

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cannot prove that Simon really did make an appearance in Rome without any conflict with Peter.

In the writings of the church fathers the first mention of this conflict occurs in the *Philosophumena*, about 235 A.D. (see SIMON PETER, § 39 *d*). Amongst the sources of this work, however, must unquestionably be reckoned the σύνταγμα πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις of Hippolytus, written about 200 A.D., even if Hippolytus may not be held to have been the author of the *Philosophumena* itself; and Lipsius has made it probable (*JPT*, 1876, p. 607) that this σύνταγμα of Hippolytus, now no longer extant, already contained the conflict between Peter and Simon. If this be so, it can no longer be asserted that the tradition of the conflict is later than the opposite tradition of Tertullian and Irenæus. Moreover, it cannot be maintained that these two authors had any urgent occasion, in the particular connections in which they were writing, to mention this conflict if they had known it.

(*f*) In the case of Justin such an occasion undeniably did exist; and, moreover, Justin as being the earlier (about 152 A.D.) is also the most important witness. He, however, as already pointed out, knows nothing of Peter's presence in Rome. Thus what he says about Simon admits of explanation without any difficulty, even if a tradition was already in existence before his time to the effect that Simon had been controverted by Peter in Rome. One part of this tradition—that about Simon's presence in Rome—he found himself able to accept (in fact he held it to be confirmed by the statue, which he brought into connection with Simon; see above, § 2 *a*), the other—that about Peter's presence in Rome—he was unable to accept. Why he could not, is a matter of indifference; what is certain is that one who, as Justin does, regards all the twelve original apostles as having engaged in missions to the Gentiles, and is completely silent about Paul (MINISTRY, § 36 *a*) would have had no difficulty in accepting the presence of Peter in Rome, if he was in possession of credible information to this effect. One must reflect that the circles from which the traditions relating to the controverting of 'Simon' by Peter emanated enjoyed small repute in the church, and certainly no mistake will have been committed if we suppose that it was Justin's knowledge of the Roman tradition, which he acquired on the spot, that prevented him from believing in the presence of Peter there (cp SIMON PETER, § 40 *d*).

(*g*) As soon as the later hypothesis of Lipsius, which as we have seen (above, § 10 *e*) has most to recommend it, is adopted—viz., that the entire anti-Pauline polemic existed, in the first instance, in oral tradition—we are all the less in a position to doubt that from the beginning it formed a unity; and sayings of church-fathers about a presence of Simon in Rome without any conflict with Peter cannot, on the other hand, be regarded as proving anything, if only because they are all of them much later, since the oral tradition just referred to must have come into existence during and shortly after the lifetime of Paul.

(*h*) Nor can the fact that in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* only the eastern conflicts are dealt with, and in the Apocryphal Acts only the Roman be held as having force against this conclusion, even if we are not able to explain it.

At the same time, we may certainly conjecture that the residence and the geographical horizon of the various authors had a determining influence on the selection of the places which they made the scenes of their romance. Otherwise, the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* would certainly not have confined themselves to Palestine and Syria, but would have included Asia Minor and even Macedonia and Greece as well, where also Paul had exercised his missionary activities. Moreover, neither the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, nor yet the Apocryphal Acts (though this does not hold true of them in the same degree) exhibit unity of conception in their present form. We cannot tell whether older forms of them would not give us a clearer insight into the original oneness of this whole body of literature.

Having now examined the Simon-romance in all its ramifications, our next question must be: what element of historical truth (if any) is there attaching to Simon?

12. What Simon (or Simons) historical?

(*a*) Of the four Simon-figures distinguished above (§ 8), the caricature of Paul in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* and in the Apocryphal Acts was interpreted as having its basis in the historical Paul and no other historical person whatsoever by the Tübingen school, followed by Nöldeke (in Lipsius, *Ergänzungsheft*, 32 *f.*) and Lüdemann (below, § 15), as also at an earlier date by Lipsius.

On this interpretation the explanation of the name Simon is that Paul, whose real name of course could not be mentioned, was the opponent of Simon Peter and thus was the false Simon; he was called a Samaritan, it was held, because he was a Jew, and yet also no Jew since he rejected the law of Moses. On all other features see above, §§ 4-7, 9-11.

(*b*) Krenkel (below, § 15), to explain the caricature of Paul, calls in the Cyprian magician Simon, who stood high in favour with Felix because of his services in helping him to win Drusilla (above, § 8 *a*).

As Paul also was well treated by Felix when in prison at Cæsarea (Acts 24 22-26), it was a comparatively easy thing for Jewish-Christian slander to assert that he really was identical with the Cyprian Simon, and that, using this name, in order the more easily to gain followers he gave himself out to be the apostle Simon Peter. This last conjecture is altogether improbable; but the first also goes somewhat far, although it seems to have some support in Paul's preaching before Felix and Drusilla 'of righteousness and temperance and the judgment to come' (Acts 24 25; see BARJESUS, § 4 *d*). Cp above, § 5 *e*.

(*c*) Kreyenbühl (205-214; see below, § 15) goes still further.

The accusation against Paul of having brought Drusilla to Felix, he attributes not to the Jewish Christians, but to the Jews who accused him before Felix. According to Kreyenbühl, a Cyprian Simon never existed; what Josephus relates regarding him is simply this slander which was current against Paul, having been brought against him under the name of Simon which was given to him. But the question arises: How came non-Christian Jews to give to Paul the name of Simon? Kreyenbühl's explanation of how it was that at the same time they designated him as a Cyprian by birth, is that Barjesus or Elymas (Acts 13 6-12) was originally the apostle Paul (see BARJESUS, § 4 *b*). Both names are, according to Kreyenbühl, nicknames which were given him by Jews (not Christian Jews), because he was received in a friendly way in Cyprus by Sergius Paulus, and there fully declared his apostasy from Judaism by changing his name. Elymas means 'magician,' literally 'man of Elam' (BARJESUS, § 1 *c*), the classical land of magic; Barjesus means 'follower of Jesus.' Such hypotheses are exceedingly precarious. The historicity of the Cyprian Simon, attested as it is by Josephus, must not be questioned; but it is not to the Paul of the Simon-romance, as Krenkel thinks (above, *b*), but only to the Paul who is presented under the name of Barjesus that features have been transferred from him (BARJESUS, § 4, *b*, *c*). Should it so happen that his name was not Simon, but Atomus (Ἄτομος), as Niese reads with the Milan codex and the epitome of Josephus, then one would be tempted to bring this into combination with the Ετοιμας, which is D's reading for Elymas in Acts 13 8 (so Harris, *Exp.* 1902 *a*, pp. 189-195; cp BARJESUS, § 1, *b* *a*).

(*d*) Lipsius, in his latest treatment of the subject (*Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1 49-56), has recognised a Samaritan γόης named Simon as historical. By doing so, he holds, we make it easier to understand the bestowal of the name of Simon upon Paul, and Justin's statement that Gitta was the birthplace of Simon, as well as the fact that Simon passes not only for the father of all heresies, but also as the revelation of the supreme God, and thus as a kind of Messiah (above, § 2 *d*). If Paul was the only basis for the figure of Simon, then only the first of these two predicates, not the second also, would have been attached to it. Lipsius adds, as a possibility, that this Samaritan Simon may be identical with the Cyprian Simon of Josephus.

(*e*) Harnack, in his turn, also maintains the historicity of the Samaritan Simon; not, however, as explaining the caricature of Paul (above, § 4 *f.*), but because the Gnostic sect of the Simonians must have had a founder. Lipsius (51 *f.*) adduces this reason for believing in the historicity of Simon only with the reservation that it is not necessary to bring the Simonians into direct historical connection with Simon; they seem to have marked him out as the representative of their ideas only by an afterthought. Kreyenbühl (199-201), in like manner, postulates a founder for the Simonian sect, but places him at the beginning of the second century, since the Gnostic contents of his Ἀπόφασις Μεγάλη, which he accepts as genuine (above, § 2 *c*), do not fit in with the first century, and Justin himself says that Simon was a pupil of

Menander, and pupils of Menander 'are alive even now' (*νῦν*; *Apol.* i. 26 4), that is to say, about 152 A.D. Justin, it is true, says in the same chapter, and often, that Simon came to Rome under the emperor Claudius or, it may be (as Kreyenbühl thinks), under (Claudius) Nero (see SIMON PETER, § 37 *d*); but Kreyenbühl supposes him to draw this from another source without regard to chronology. In truth, the Simon of Acts shows very little if any of the attributes of a Gnostic leader of a sect, and we must be on our guard against holding him for such, on the ground, merely, that tradition names no other. If we assume a Gnostic Simon of Gitta at the beginning of the second century, then we do not need, as Kreyenbühl at the same time does, to deny the historicity of the Samaritan magician named Simon in the first century—a historicity which the reasons adduced by Lipsius make very probable. If, further, we hesitate about identifying the Samaritan with the Cyprian Simon—an identification which has nothing in its favour except that the name and the quality of magician is the same in both cases—we find ourselves in the end accepting three persons named Simon. The point, however, is difficult to decide.

(*f*) It is certain, however, from all our premises, that not only Peter, but also the Samaritan Simon of the apostolic age, never appeared in Rome. It is told of *Simon merely because by his figure Paul is intended.* The only writer who represents Simon as appearing in Rome without Peter—Justin—in view of his fiction about the statue of Simon is not entitled to credence, especially as his statement also, and not merely that of a simultaneous appearance of Simon always with Peter, is quite easily intelligible if it be taken as resting on the romance of Simon = Paul (§ 11 *e*, *f*). Whether a Gnostic of the second century named Simon appeared in Rome remains an open question; but it is not of decisive importance for our present investigation.

The acceptance of a Samaritan Simon in the first century does not, however, by any means, *ipso facto*, carry with it the acknowledgement of the credibility of Acts 8 9-24. The features enumerated in a preceding section (§ 1 *c*, *d*), which are by no means appropriate to a magician, find a satisfactory explanation only when it is recognised that the apostle Paul underlies this figure also.

13. Acts 8 9-24: Simon = Paul.

(*a*) Only Paul, not a magician, could have had the wish to be able to impart the gift of the Holy Spirit, and thereby attain equality of rank with the original apostles; and Simon's so rapid conversion to Christianity can apply only to Paul, the narrative already presupposing him to be a Christian and interesting itself solely in his desire to be able to impart the gift of the Spirit. In the same direction point also the words of Peter (8 21): 'thou hast neither part nor lot (*κλῆρος*) in the matter'; for *κλῆρος* (RV 'portion,' RVmg. 'lot') is in 1 17 (cp 1 25) used of the apostolate, the attainment of which by a magician is barred from the outset.

(*b*) Equality of rank with the original apostles was refused to Paul also by their party (1 Cor. 9 2: 'if to others I am not an apostle,' etc.), for which reason the apostle himself claims it with the emphasis which we see (9 1 1 1 2 Cor. 1 1 Gal. 1 1 Rom. 1 1-6). Now, it is not difficult to discern in Peter's other expressions also in Acts 8 21-23, traces of the polemic which was being carried on against Paul.

'Thy heart is not *right* before God' (*v.* 21) has a close similarity to the expression used in 13 10 in addressing Bar-jesus (*i.e.*, Paul): 'wilt thou not cease to pervert the *right* ways of the Lord?' At the same time, however, the phraseology recalls also Gal. 2 14: 'they walked not uprightly (*οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦσιν*) according to the truth of the gospel.' So Paul expresses himself in Antioch against Peter and his fellows. Thus we perceive that Acts 8 9-24 is the counterpart to the setting down of Peter by Paul at Antioch, and we are able to understand 8 23. For this verse does not mean, as in AV RV, 'thou art in the gall of bitterness and in the bond of iniquity.' 'In the bond' might be intelligible, but 'in the gall' not. Thus *εἰς χολὴν . . . ὁρῶ σε ὄντα* is the same familiar Hebraism as we find in Mt. 19 5: 'I see that thou art bitter gall and an iniquitous bond.' Paul must have seemed like 'bitter gall' on account of his opposition to Peter in Antioch, and an '*iniquitous restraint*' in so far as he endeavoured to prevent Peter from again withdrawing from table-fellowship with the Gentile Christians. Lastly, Simon's repentance (8 24) has its parallels (*i.e.*, according to § 9, its foundation) in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* (above, § 4 *b*).

(*c*) But, did Paul really offer the original apostles money in order to obtain from them a recognition of his equality with them? Certainly not. But it was merely the finishing touch to the discovery of the Simon romance when Volkmar (*Tüb. Theol. Jahrbb.* 1856, pp. 279-286) perceived that Paul, according to Jewish-Christian scandal, was held to have done so when he carried the great collection to Jerusalem on the occasion of his last journey thither (1 Cor. 16 1-4 2 Cor. 8 *f.* Rom. 15 25-28).

On this presupposition, let us now ask what judgment we ought to form as to the literary activity of the author of Acts.

14. Tendency of Acts 8 9-24.

(*a*) If the Samaritan Simon was not a historical person, the author of Acts invented him in order to say that not Paul but a Samaritan magician was the Simon with regard to whom Jewish-Christian stories told that he had wished to purchase equality with the apostles with money, and had been repulsed by Peter. If, on the other hand, a Samaritan Simon really did exist, then also the author of Acts can nevertheless have made use of him simply as a means for attaining the same purpose. In this event, the representation that the affair had happened before Paul's conversion, must be regarded as specially effective.

(*b*) In order not to be compelled to attribute this to the author of Acts, Lipsius in his latest treatment (*Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1 51 *f.*) assumed not only that the Samaritan Simon had actually existed, but also that he had an encounter with Peter.

At the same time, inasmuch as what is said in Acts 8 14-17 as to the prerogative of Peter and John in regard to the imparting of the Holy Spirit is quite unhistorical (MINISTRY, § 34 *c*), Lipsius can uphold his view only on the assumption that the *encounter between Peter and Simon had another occasion.* When this hypothesis is entertained, however, not only has a region of pure conjecture to be entered upon, but the tendency of the author of Acts remains just as it was before—a tendency to say something unhistorical about Simon in order to blunt the point of the Judaistic allegation that it applied to Paul.

(*c*) Lipsius further propounds it as a possibility that this substitution for Paul of the Samaritan Simon already lay before the author in one of the sources of Acts. This source, accordingly, it was which followed the tendency to divert from Paul the charge of bribery; the author of Acts, however, failed to perceive this tendency, but relates the story as referring to the Samaritan Simon in all good faith in its trustworthiness.

(*d*) *By way of support of some such expedient, it* had already been urged before Lipsius that the magician does not wear Pauline features; or at least not exclusively Pauline features, but also Gnostic ones.

In this connection, however, 8 9 cannot be urged: 'giving out that himself was some great one'; for by this expression he is more nearly brought on a level with Theudas (5 36). Even the fact of his being called 'the power of God that is called Great' (8 10) admits of being carried back to Paul. Paul, indeed, not only calls his gospel a power of God (Rom. 1 16 1 Cor. 1 18 24), but also claims himself to possess the power of God (2 Cor. 4 7 6 7 12 9 13 4 1 Cor. 5 4). Yet it remains possible that the expression in Acts 8 10 is a Gnostic one, especially in view of the word *καλουμένη*. We have no more reason for omitting this with HLP sah than we have for deleting *τοῦ θεοῦ*, after Blass (*St. Kr. 1896, p. 462*), *on the sole ground of the Latin* translation of Perpignan (ACTS, col. 50, n. 2). On the other hand, neither also is there any occasion for taking *μεγάλη* as the Aramaic participle Pael (מגלא or מגלי = 'the revealer'; so Klostermann, *Probleme im Aposteltext*, 1883, pp. 15-21). In the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* (2 22) we read in the description of the Gnostic predicates of Simon: 'he wishes to be accounted a certain supreme power, higher even than the god who created the world' (*θέλει νομίζεσθαι ἀνωτάτη τις εἶναι δύναμις καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον κτίσαντος θεοῦ* [*ἀνωτέρα* is perhaps to be supplied]; *Recog.* 2 7: excelsam virtutem quæ supra creatorem deum sit; cp § 3 *a*, and SIMON PETER, § 33 *a*).

(*e*) Yet, even if the author of Acts has already taken up a Gnostic feature into his presentation of Simon, the

fact remains that he was aware of, and wished to obviate, the reproach that Paul had wished to purchase for himself equality with the original apostles by means of his great collection. Otherwise, he would not have passed the collection over in such complete silence in chap. 21, where we should have expected its delivery to be recorded, whilst yet he has preserved in 20 4 from the 'we-source' (according to a highly probable conjecture) the list of those who brought it (GALATIA, § 22). Not till 24 17 has been reached does the author allude to it at all, but here in such a manner that it becomes something quite different—viz., 'alms for my nation,' not for the Christians in Palestine only. For the main purpose of the book—the representation of the harmony subsisting between Paul and the original apostles (ACTS, § 3, end)—the mention of the collection would have been serviceable in the highest degree. This may be the reason why a collection brought by Paul to the Christians in Jerusalem is actually mentioned, though at a time at which it is historically impossible (11 29 *f.* 12 25; cp COUNCIL, § 1 *a*). All these circumstances speak for tendency too clearly to allow us to shut our eyes to the presence of the same thing in 8 9-24.

(*f*) The decision which must be pronounced, that tendency is at work here, is not weakened, but strengthened, by separating out a source which was not (as with Lipsius; above, *c*) already a tendency-document, but rather as absolutely historical as possible (above, § 1, *b-d*); for the user of this source has all the more assuredly, in that case, purposely introduced by his interpolations the tendency which the present narrative as a whole exhibits.

(*g*) What we are able to absolve him from, then, is certainly in no case (whether he used sources or not) the deliberate intention of representing the great collection in another light than that which agreed with actual facts, in order to take away all foundation from evil rumours about Paul which were based on the facts; the most that one can do is to absolve him from the charge of having deliberately invented statements of fact, if we assume that he actually knew of the existence of the Samaritan Simon which we must recognise as a fact, and in good faith believed that it must have been this Simon who made the attempt to bribe, and that Peter must have withstood him. This view admits of being understood as a result of his general assumption that the party of the original apostles cannot possibly have stood in a relation of such hostility to Paul (cp the similar judgment expressed under BARJESUS, § 4 *c*). It still, however, remains impossible to deny that the author has been led by tendency to be silent as to the real history of the collection, just as he has been led to be silent about the dispute between Peter and Paul at Antioch, and about Titus (see COUNCIL, §§ 3 end, 7 end), or that he relates matters for which he had no historical warrant.

15. Literature.

Baur, *Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.*, 1831, *d*, 114-136; Simson, *Z. f. hist. Theol.* 1841, *c*, 15-79; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1868, 357-396; *Ketzergesch.*, 1884, 163-186, 453-461; Lipsius, *Quellen d. röm. Petrussage*, 1872, 13-46; 'Simon Magus' in *BL*, 5, 1875, 301-321; *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1, 1887, 28-69 *et passim* (see *Ergänzungsheft*, 238 *f.*); Lüdemann, *Prot. KZ*, 1887, 953-961 (on Lipsius); Harnack, 'Simon Magus' in *EB*(9); *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*(2), 204-209, 264-270; Dieterlen, *L'apôtre Paul et Simon le magicien*, Nancy, 1878; Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, 178-190; Kreyenbühl, *Evang. d. Wahrheit*, 1, 1900, 174-284.

On the pseudo-Clementine writings see Schliemann, *Die Clementinen*, 1844; Hilgenfeld, *Die clement. Recogn. u. Homilien*, 1848; Uhlhorn, *Die Homil. u. Recogn. des Clemens Rom.*, 1854; Langen, *Die Clemensromane*, 1890; Hort, *Notes Introductory to the Study of the Clem. Recog.*, 1902; Bigg, in *Stud. Bib.* 2, 1890, 157-193; Headlam, *JThSt*, 1901 *f.*, 41-58; Chapman, *ibid.* 436-441; and (in agreement with him) Harnack, *TLZ*, 1902, 570.

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SIMON PETER

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Bibliography (§ 49).

1. Name. Simon, or Symeon (ϹΥΜΕѠΝ; so 𝔊 for שִׁמְעוֹן; see SIMEON, § 8), was the original and proper name of the intimate disciple of Jesus who was destined to be for ever known throughout all Christendom by the surname of Peter.

(*a*) The name Simon is a classical one which occurs (for example) in Aristophanes, Lysias, and Demosthenes. Ever since the Jews began the practice of assuming Greek or Greek-sounding names, alongside of their proper Hebrew ones, to be employed in intercourse with the outside world (cp BARNABAS, § 1, end, and NAMES, § 86), Simon was regarded as an appropriate equivalent for Symeon, all the more because in the selection of such equivalents similarity of sound was considered an important element. (*b*) The form Simon (Σίμων) is that almost invariably met with in the OT Apocrypha (3 Ezra [1 Esd.] 9 32 Ecclus. 50 1; also in 1, 2 and 4 Macc.). Only once is the well-known Maccabæan leader called Συμεών (1 Macc. 2 65); so too only once his great grandfather (2 1), and the son of the patriarch Jacob thrice (4 Macc. 2 19 Judith 6 15 9 2). For the last-named Josephus invariably writes Symeon (or Semeon: Συμεών, var. Σεμεών), for all other persons he has Simon (Σίμων), except in two cases (*Ant.* xii. 6 1, § 265—for the ancestor of the Maccabees—and in *BJ* iv. 3 9, § 159, where in each case Συμεών is found). Soon after the apostolic age it even came about that the Greek form was taken to underlie the Hebrew and סִימוֹן was written instead of שִׁמְעוֹן (cp NAMES, § 86, end). (*c*) In the NT Simon (Σίμων) is the current form. Symeon (Συμεών), in fact (if we leave out of account the patriarch, mentioned in Rev. 7 7, the ancestor of Jesus in Lk. 3 30, the aged prophet of Lk. 2 25 34, and the prophet and teacher of Antioch in Syria who bore the surname of Niger, Acts 13 1) occurs but twice; and in both instances—in 2 Pet. 1 1 as well as in Acts 15 14—is used with the obvious intention of giving special solemnity to the designation of the apostle. In Acts 15 this is all the more unmistakable because Peter is the

name used throughout the rest of the book, except in presence of Cornelius or in the mouth of his messengers, when the style always is 'Simon whose surname is Peter' (10 5 18 32 11 13). It hardly needs to be said that we cannot assume the author of Acts to be here following a literally exact report; we see rather how as a literary artist he is taking account of the situation he is describing. Similarly it is plainly with conscious intention that in the third Gospel he uses the name Simon (4 38 5 3-10) down to the point at which in connection with the choice of the apostles (6 14) he mentions the giving of the name Peter. Only in 5 8 does he let fall the double designation 'Simon Peter'; we may perhaps hazard the conjecture that the addition of 'Peter' is due merely to the carelessness of a copyist (it is wanting in D, in 2 MSS [13 and 69] of the Ferrar group and in the old Lat. codd. a, b, e). Throughout the whole of the rest of the gospel 'Simon' recurs only in the mouth of Jesus (22 31) and of the disciples (24 34). In the only other passage where Jesus addresses the apostle (22 34) we find 'Peter' (Πέτρε). This, however, is probably introduced for the sake of the contrast; Jesus in effect says that Peter will be so far from showing himself a rock that he will actually deny his master. In the two passages in Acts where Peter is addressed (10 13 11 7: in the vision at Joppa) we also find 'Peter' (Πέτρε). It would be difficult to suggest any special reason for this here; the author will simply be following his prevailing custom.

(*d*) In Mk. also we find the same principles operative in determining the employment of the name Simon. Down to the choice of the apostles (3 16) we invariably find 'Simon' (1 16 29 *f.* 36), but after that only once, in the single instance in which the apostle is addressed by Jesus (14 37). Mt. departs from this only in so far as he adds the surname Peter to the name of Simon not only when he records the choosing of the apostles (10 2) but also at the point where he first has occasion to name its bearer at all (4 18), and thus as early as 8 14 he is able to use the simple designation 'Peter.' In the places where the apostle is addressed by Jesus Mt. also never uses 'Peter,' but always 'Simon' (17 25), or with special solemnity, 'Simon son of Jonas' (16 17).[1]

(*e*) Similarly, it is in accord with the solemnity of the moment at which Peter confesses Jesus as the Messiah that we find Mt. using here (16 16), though nowhere else, the combination 'Simon Peter.' In Mk. it does not occur at all, in Lk. only in 5 8 (see above, *c*); in 2 Pet. 1 1 it is found in B, the Ferrar MSS 13 and 69, and other cursives, but Symeon Peter (Συμεὼν Πέτρος) is certainly to be preferred, as the form Symeon is rare and thus cannot easily have been introduced into the text by copyist's error merely.

(*f*) On the other hand this combination 'Simon Peter,' which as we have seen is so rare elsewhere, is the usual designation in the Fourth Gospel. 'Peter' alone is comparatively infrequent and occurs only where 'Simon Peter' has immediately preceded (1 44 13 8 37 18 11 16-18 26 *f.* 20 3 *f.* 21 7 *a* 17 20 *f.*), in other words only in order to avoid a quite excessive stiffness; yet even in such cases there are several instances in which the more formal 'Simon Peter' immediately recurs (13 9 20 6 21 7 *b*). Jn. agrees with Mt. in using 'Simon [son] of John' (1 42 21 15-17) in the two instances where he represents the apostle as directly addressed by Jesus, with Mk. and Lk. in using 'Simon' without addition when the bearer of the name is first mentioned (1 41).

(*g*) The Aramaic name Kēphā (כֵּיפָא; in AT only in pl. כֵּפִים 𝔊 πέτραι, Jer. 4 29 Job 30 6) is used only by Paul, who employs its Græcised form Κηφᾶς (EV Cephas). Or rather, outside of the Pauline writings it occurs but once; namely in Jn. 1 42 where Jesus gives it as a surname to Simon, with the addition, however, 'which is by interpretation Peter.' Since the name Simon serves perfectly well as a Greek equivalent for Symeon we can all the more readily believe that Peter (and Cephas) was not a name assumed by the bearer himself, that it was bestowed upon him by Jesus. Moreover, Peter was not at all a current name at that time. In Josephus it occurs once (*Ant.* xviii. 6 3, § 156) according to the testimony of the Epitome which in many instances has alone preserved the true text; all the MSS, however, read Protus (Πρῶτος) which also was a proper name. According to Pape-Benseler (*Wörterb. d. griech. Eigennamen*), apart from Christian circles Peter would seem to have been first brought into currency through Roman influence.

(*h*) From what has been said it will be evident that with NT writers the honorific name of the apostle was the only one in general currency, and that they used his proper name Simon (or Symeon) only when there were literary reasons for doing so. This holds good also for the author (not hitherto referred to) of 1 Pet. who calls himself (1 1) Πέτρος. From the epistles of Paul we can gather that the Aramaic form of this honorific name was known even in Galatia (Gal. 1 18 2 9 11 14) and in Corinth (1 Cor. 1 12 3 22 9 5 15 5). And in fact this is not to be accounted for by some such reason as a mere personal habit of Paul's to call him so; rather must we infer from 1 Cor. 1 12 that Peter's own followers had brought his name in its Aramaic form to Corinth; for we may be sure that Paul when he attributes the words

[1] On the form of the name of Simon's father see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 1, middle.

'I [am] of Cephas' to the Petrine party at Corinth is rendering their language with literal fidelity. Yet from Paul's twice saying 'Peter' (Gal. 2 7 *f.*) we must not conclude that the verses in which the name occurs are from another hand; for along with the Aramaic name we may be sure that the Galatians, precisely because it was an honorific name, not a proper name in the stricter sense of the word, would be apprised, whether by Paul or by some other, of its meaning also.

A. PALESTINIAN PERIOD.

I. ACCORDING TO PAUL AND ACTS.

It the question is asked whither we ought to turn for our most secure data for the life of Peter, the answer must be: neither to the Gospels nor to Acts where there is so much that is open to critical deduction, but to the epistles of Paul.

2. Pauline notices.

As to the genuineness of these see GALATIANS, §§ 1-9; and on 1 Cor. 15 1-11, in particular, see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 10 *f.* As regards Gal. 2 11-13 it may be added that Völter, although holding Galatians to be entirely spurious, sees in these three verses a real historical record which was known to the author of Acts and by him so made use of for 10 1-11 18 as to make it appear that not Paul, but precisely Peter, was the first to make a stand for table-fellowship between Jewish and Gentile Christians (*Kompos. d. paulin. Hauptbriefe*, 1890, pp. 149-154).

The following are the facts we learn from these epistles.

(*a*) Peter was the first to witness an appearance of the risen Jesus (1 Cor. 15 5). As to the fundamental importance of this event, see RESURRECTION, § 37.

(*b*) Paul, three years after his conversion, found Peter in Jerusalem along with James the brother of Jesus in a prominent position (Gal. 1 18 *f.*); fourteen years later he again found him along with James the brother of Jesus and John the son of Zebedee occupying the position of leaders of the church who had received from their supporters the honorific title of 'the pillars' (οἱ στῦλοι; Gal. 2 1-10; see COUNCIL, § 6).

(*c*) On the occasion just mentioned, that of the 'council of Jerusalem,' Peter with James and John was, at the outset, by no means on Paul's side, and in the course of the discussions which took place suffered himself to be brought to concede Paul's contention that heathen ought to be admitted to Christian privileges without circumcision, not on grounds of principle but only in view of the established fact of Paul's missionary success, a fact in which he was constrained to recognise the hand of God (Gal. 2 7-9; COUNCIL, §§ 4, 8).

(*d*) The fellowship (κοινωνία) with Paul and Barnabas which, along with James and John, he then ratified by joining hands (Gal. 2 9) was a restricted one. It was based upon the arrangement that the mission to the Gentiles should be undertaken by Paul and Barnabas whilst the original apostles restricted themselves to the Jewish field—a restriction which they took in a strictly ethnographical sense, their purpose being to proclaim the gospel thenceforward to circumcised persons only, not also to Gentiles living in the midst of a Jewish population, and thus to be in a position in which they could go on observing the law of Moses which forbade defilement by intercourse with the uncircumcised (COUNCIL, § 9).

(*e*) Peter took up a somewhat less rigid attitude when after a certain interval he came to Antioch and participated in the common meals of the mixed community of Jewish and Gentile Christians there. All the more harmful was the effect when after the arrival of some followers (or, it may be, direct emissaries) of James he withdrew from this participation, and by his example, at least, if not by express utterances, led the other Jewish Christians, and even Barnabas, to take the same step (Gal. 2 11-21). The charge of hypocrisy which Paul brought against him on this account must in all probability be regarded as unjust and be modified to one of inconsistency. The freedom in relation to the Mosaic law which he asserted by his behaviour on his first

coming to Antioch will have been the result merely of a genial temper called forth by the pleasant conditions of that particular community, not the result of any firmly established conviction. Peter was not so strictly legal as James, but essentially he was still unemancipated from the fetters of the law (see COUNCIL, § 3).

(*f*) That Peter suffered himself to be convinced by Paul's argumentation (Gal. 2 14-21) must not be supposed; for the incident in Antioch was followed by the systematic invasion of the Pauline communities by Jewish emissaries, with which we are made acquainted in Galatians and Corinthians. Had Peter recognised that Paul had right on his side he needed only to assert his authority and to call to mind the arrangement indicated in Gal. 2 9 and all attempts to undermine the influence of Paul in the communities he had founded and to win them back to Judaism would have ceased. The leaders of the primitive church, and among these Peter so long as he was in Palestine, must be held responsible for a share in this action against Paul by the withholding of their veto at least, if not even by overt action—such as, for example, perhaps the issue of recommendatory letters (2 Cor. 3 1). See COUNCIL, § 3.

(*g*) It will be convenient to take up at this point also the last notices of Peter that are found in Paul, even though these should possibly lie outside the period of Peter's activity in Palestine. In Corinth there was, according to 1 Cor. 1 12 3 22, a Cephas-party. That Peter himself was ever in Corinth is utterly improbable.

No one earlier than Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.; *ap.* Eus. *HE* ii. 25 8; see below, § 25 *a*) knows anything of Peter's ever having been at Corinth. Cp, as against this assumption, only such a passage as 1 Cor. 4 15. But, further, if Peter had followed Paul in Corinth, Paul who names him with respect in 1 Cor. 9 5 15 5, and in 3 4 *f.* refrains from naming him also out of respect ('when one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos: are ye not men?') would not have expressed himself so sharply as he does in 3 10-15 with regard to all those who had come after him there.

Nevertheless the rise of a Cephas-party in Corinth is readily explicable. Real disciples of Peter came to Corinth and the followers whom they gained in the community there took up from them their watchword: 'I am of Cephas.' Now, there was also at Corinth, as we know, besides this party the Christ-party which was strictly Judaistic (see CORINTHIANS, § 16). Inasmuch as the Cephas-party remained apart from it, we see here also another evidence that within Jewish Christendom Peter represented the milder school. In 2 Cor. it is only of the Christ-party that we continue to hear (10 7), no longer of that of Cephas.

(*h*) Finally, we learn incidentally that in his missionary journeys, which in accordance with Gal. 2 9 we are to think of as being made in regions having a Jewish population, Peter was accompanied by his wife, and for her as well as for himself asked and received sustenance from the communities in which he laboured (1 Cor. 9 4 *f.*).

In the accounts in Acts relating to these same events there is practically no agreement with what we learn from Paul except on the quite general statement that Peter at the time of the council held along with James a prominent position in the church at Jerusalem. All else is absent, or otherwise reported.

3. Parallels in Acts.

(*a*) As regards the silence of Acts, no one will find it surprising that no express mention is made of the outstanding importance of Peter at Paul's first visit to Jerusalem; the thing is presupposed (but cp *c*). It is all the more remarkable, however, that the book has not a word to say about the dispute of the two apostles at Antioch, about the Cephas-party in Corinth, or about the Judaistic invasion of the Pauline communities and the part taken by the original apostles in this; and that in fact it substitutes for the first-mentioned dispute another which arose between Paul and one of those engaged in the conflict, only in this case not Peter but Barnabas, and on a question which, dogmatically considered, was wholly indifferent—viz., as to whether John Mark should or should not be taken as a companion on the second missionary journey (Acts 15 36-40). Such a notice is very well adapted, it is obvious, to counteract any representation of the real state of the case that might have been derived from (let us say) the Epistle to the Galatians or from oral tradition, by its substitution of another which deprives the affair of any considerable importance. Furthermore, of any missionary journey of Peter one learns nothing more than the little that is said in Acts 9 32 43; for, in spite of 8 25*b* ('they . . . preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans'), 8 14-25 is to be taken less as a missionary journey than as a tour of inspection (see below, § 4 *b*). In 12 17 we are told merely that after his deliverance from prison Peter went from Jerusalem to another place. Whither he went or what he did there we are not informed. In 15 7 we find him again in Jerusalem as if this were a matter of course. The author of the book has not deemed it necessary in speaking of a person of Peter's importance to give any connected account of his activity.

(*b*) The account of the council in Jerusalem in Acts is in glaring contradiction with what we read in Paul.

In place of the arrangement with Peter, James, and John for a division of the missionary field we have a decree of the primitive Church which is directly excluded by Gal. 2 6 as well as by 1 Cor. 8 10 14-11 1 (7 12-14) and finds its only historical foundation in a custom of the second century, not at all of the first (see COUNCIL, § 10 *f.*). In particular, Peter comes forward at the very beginning of the discussions with a discourse the dogmatic portion of which (15 9*b*-11) would be appropriate only in the mouth of Paul; had Peter actually spoken it he would have deserved in the fullest degree the reproach of hypocrisy for his reversion to the Mosaic law at Antioch. The event, however, on which Peter relies in the narrative part of his discourse (15 7-9*a*), had it been really historical, would have made the council an impossibility from the first; for if a Gentile in the full sense of the word, as Cornelius is represented to have been in 10 28 11 3, had been received by Peter into the Christian community, and if the primitive church, by reason of the divine command followed by Peter in doing so, had given its approval (11 5-18), the question would already have been settled and could not again be raised, or if it had been raised must have been answered by a simple reference to this fact without recourse being needed to any council (see CORNELIUS, § 2 *f.*, 5).

(*c*) Finally, even what has been spoken of under (*a*) as not open to antecedent objection—the absence of mention of Peter on the occasion of the first visit to Jerusalem—rests upon false information; for in Acts 9 26-30 Paul is represented not, as in Gal. 1 18 *f.* 22, as having visited Peter and James only, but as having conversed in full publicity with the entire Christian community of Jerusalem.

Thus, in so far as we are able to control Acts by the Epistles of Paul, Acts is seen to have little claim to our confidence in anything it has to say about Peter. We can hardly expect to be able to repose more confidence in it in those portions where it is our sole informant.

The opinion is widely held that the trustworthiness of Acts as regards Peter has been strengthened when it has been pointed out that the first half of Acts has an older source behind it. That we have to reckon with one or more sources becomes particularly plain in the discourses of Peter (see ACTS, § 14), in the pentecost narrative (SPIRITUAL GIFTS, § 10), and in that relating to primitive communism (COMMUNITY OF GOODS, §§ 1-4). It can only be regarded, however, as indicative of the extreme recklessness with which many theologians deal with such questions if we find them taking for granted that, once the existence of a source has been made out, the trustworthiness of its contents has also been forthwith established. If Acts was composed about 100-130 A.D. its sources may easily have been late enough to be legendary in character, and even should many parts—the discourses, let us say—be found worthy of credence, this would not necessarily by any means apply, therefore, to all the other contents as well. The temptation to idealise the primitive Church was only too easy, and, moreover the general drift or tendency of the final composer has also to be taken into account as a very important factor (see ACTS, §§ 3-6).

4. Other data in Acts.

(*a*) As for the conversion of Cornelius, it is only necessary to recall what has been said already (above, § 3 *b*) that, regarded as a Gentile conversion, it is an impossibility unless we are to take it as having happened at a date subsequent to the Council of Jerusalem—a supposition, however, which is also impossible (see CORNELIUS, § 2).

The only possible way of saving some historical kernel for the story would be by regarding Cornelius as a Jewish proselyte who had already been circumcised. No such thing, however, is anywhere said in Acts (not even in 10 2 22 25) and the idea is diametrically opposed to the representation as a whole (see CORNELIUS, § 3). The narrative is a conspicuous illustration of the extent to which the author could be led away from historical truth by his tendency or rooted inclination to regard Peter, not Paul, as the originator of every progressive movement in Christianity, and particularly of the mission to the Gentiles. Thus it is not at all necessary for us to dwell upon the special difficulties that attach to the closely corresponding visions of Cornelius and Peter (9 3-16) as integral parts of the far-reaching parallelism between Peter and Paul which is to be observed in Acts (see ACTS, § 4, end).

(*b*) That Peter and John should have visited Samaria after Philip's missionary labours there (8 14-25) is very conceivable. The main thing reported in this connection, however—namely, that it was by means of the laying-on of hands of the two original apostles that the Samaritans who had already been baptised received the Holy Ghost—cannot be regarded as historical (ACTS, § 10, end; MINISTRY, § 34 *c*). The statement rests upon a strongly hierarchical idea which, moreover, in virtue of the parallelism just alluded to, is extended to Paul also (19 6), and marks out this journey of Peter and John as one of episcopal inspection. On the unhistorical character of 8 18-24 see SIMON MAGUS, §§ 1, 13 *f.*

(*c*) The miracles of Peter—the healing of the man lame from his birth (3 1-11), of Æneas in Lydda who had been lame for eight years (9 32-35), the raising of Tabitha at Joppa (9 36-42), and the many works of healing performed by the apostles which led to the belief that they could be effected even by Peter's shadow (5 12 15 *f.*)—are all primarily to be viewed in the light of the parallelism with Paul. Since the author of Acts had at his command a larger supply of materials relating to Paul than of materials relating to Peter, with the result that he left out much in order to avoid making Paul appear greater than Peter (see ACTS, § 4, end), it is natural to conjecture that he would be eager to lay hold of any item regarding Peter which came to his hand without subjecting it to any too severe a scrutiny.

The case of Æneas moreover plainly shows how little the author of Acts felt it necessary to form to himself any concrete image of what he was relating. The course of events cannot in reality be conceived as occurring in the manner described: Peter came, looked upon the sick man, and without further preliminary said, 'Jesus Christ heals thee; arise' and so forth. In this form, devoid of any indication of a previous conversation with the sufferer or any enquiry as to his spiritual condition, the story cannot possibly have come from the mouth of an eye-witness; it comes to us in the form of the most meagre extract, where the interest is merely in the bare fact of the miracle without any regard to attendant circumstances or to any psychological features. If, however, the story as we now have it does not come from an eye-witness its historicity also becomes questionable even if it be difficult to suppose that the name Æneas is wholly imaginary. The healing of the lame man in the temple is accomplished with almost equal abruptness. In the case of the raising of Tabitha it is worth observing how widely it differs from its counterpart, the raising of Eutychus (20 7-12). Eutychus comes to life again not long after his accident and Paul expressly says: 'his life is in him.' But here Peter must first be summoned from Lydda to Joppa. As regards the wholesale miracles of healing in 5 12 15 *f.*, finally, apart from their astonishing range it has to be observed that the text in this place is wholly devoid of connection (see ACTS, § 11). Cp further, *f*, below.

(*d*) The sudden death of Ananias and Sapphira (5 1-11) comes under a different category in so far as it is capable of being explained, if one so choose, without postulating any miracle. The naturalistic explanation, however, will make it all the more probable that in the course of transmission or at the time when it was fixed in writing the occurrence acquired a more dramatic character than originally and actually it possessed. It can hardly be doubted that the composer of Acts regards it as a miracle; but the credibility of his narrative is just at this point rendered questionable by the circumstance that within the compass of a few verses he sets forth two wholly irreconcilable views on the subject of community of goods in the primitive church (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 3 *f.*).

(*e*) With respect to the three imprisonments of Peter (in 4 3 5 18 along with the other apostles, in 12 3-5 without them) and his two miraculous deliverances (5 19 12 6-17), the conjecture has long been current that all the accounts relate to but one occurrence which gradually came to be told in different ways.

By separation of sources also it has in some quarters been deemed possible to show that in the source of chaps. 4 and 5 there was no word of an imprisonment of the apostles (so, for example, Bern. Weiss). In 4 9 *f.* the lame man who has been healed stands by the side of the apostles before the synedrium. This is conceivable only if he had been cited as a witness before that court or had been arrested along with the apostles. Neither of these things however is said; in fact, both are excluded, for in *v.* 14 the members of the court take knowledge of his presence as something new. What is apparently suggested is much rather that the members of the court, immediately after the healing had been wrought, betook themselves to the apostles in the temple and that their dealings with them took place here. To escape this Spitta finds himself compelled to regard the mention of the man who has been healed, in 4 10 (end) and in 4 14, as an addition to his source made by the composer himself—certainly not an easy assumption. In 5 28 we should surely have expected to read that the high priest had taken the accused to account not only for their preaching of Jesus but also for their escape from prison, if the source from which 5 28 is taken had also contained 5 18 *f.*

In chap. 12 on the other hand the picture is very vivid and it would be difficult to believe that, for example, the name Rhoda is a mere invention. In this case in point of fact there is no need to deny the imprisonment and the liberation, or even that the liberation appeared very wonderful alike to Peter and to all the other persons mentioned; and yet it admits of a very intelligible explanation if with Hausrath we suppose that the angel who brought Peter forth from the prison will have been the death-angel of Herod Agrippa (*NTliche Zeitgesch.*[2], 2 351 *f.*). With the death of a ruler the prison doors often opened for those whom he perchance had locked up more out of caprice than in any supposed interests of justice.

(*f*) There is yet another consideration which tells against the historicity of the two imprisonments of the apostles and the miracles wrought by them in Jerusalem. If they had come forward at so early a date into publicity so marked as to call for the intervention of the synedrium, that body would hardly have rested satisfied with merely enjoining them not to preach Christ (4 18 21) or with scourging them (5 40).

The danger which Jesus by his recent ministry had brought upon the ancestral religion was still fresh in men's memories. On the re-emergence of the same danger the synedrium would assuredly have interposed with the utmost vigour and the persecution of the Christians first mentioned in Acts as occurring after the death of Stephen (8 1 3) would certainly have broken out much sooner and threatened the well-being and even the existence of the church just in proportion to its immaturity and want of consolidation. In all probability the Christians found themselves constrained to remain entirely in concealment for a considerable time. That the original apostles whose homes were in Galilee should have removed to Jerusalem at so early a date as is represented in Acts is, moreover, quite unlikely (see MINISTRY, § 21 *d*). It was only what was quite natural if the spontaneous impulse to present the primitive church in the most favourable light led to the view that the original apostles, and above all Peter, had faced the civil power undismayed and plainly declared that they were determined to disregard the prohibition to preach Jesus, and that they must obey God rather than man (4 19 *f.* 5 29). It was forgotten that such conduct would certainly have led to their destruction. As to the untrustworthiness of 5 36 *f.* see, further, THEUDAS, §§ 1-3.

(*g*) The portion of Acts relating to Peter which seems to possess the largest claim to be regarded as trustworthy is that which records his speeches (with exception of 15 7-11, on which see above, § 3 *b*). It must not, however, for a moment be imagined that they are verbally or even throughout in substance accurate. What we read in 1 16-22, and the coincidences of the other addresses of Peter with those of Paul, show in the clearest possible way that they all are compositions of the author of Acts

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(see ACTS, § 14). Observe, moreover, that a main point in their contents, the proof of the resurrection of Jesus drawn from Ps. 16 10 (Acts 2 27), is possible only when 𝔊 (not MT) is followed, and would thus have been impossible in the mouth of Peter (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 36 *c*). If these discourses assigned to Peter agree, in their Christology especially, with what seems to us to be in harmony with the oldest pre-Pauline view, this does not admit of explanation as due simply to the employment of a source of this character. The most important factor is rather that the author of Acts must himself personally have been attached to such a view. As he puts it into the mouth of Paul also, it becomes possible indeed, but by no means provable, that he drew it from an old and trustworthy source when he was making the speeches of Peter.

(*h*) Thus it appears that on the whole Acts adds extraordinarily little of a trustworthy character to what we already know about Peter from the Pauline Epistles. Relatively speaking the most assured of its additions would seem to be the fact of his imprisonment and liberation about the time of the death of Herod Agrippa (44 A.D.), but without the supernatural features in the narrative. The other remaining facts which are not open to question, as for example his stay for a time at Joppa in the house of Simon the tanner (9 43 10 6), are of but trifling importance. As regards Ananias and Sapphira, Æneas, Tabitha, Cornelius, it may perhaps be safe to suppose that Peter had relations with these persons of such sort as supplied some basis for what we read about them in Acts; but what these relations precisely were remains obscure. Nor are we any better off when we are told that he often came forward as speaker for all the original apostles, for we cannot regard as trustworthy records the reports of the speeches attributed to him in Acts.

II. ACCORDING TO THE SYNOPTISTS.

Turning now to the earlier period of the life of Peter there arises—

(*a*) First, the question of the credibility of what we read in the synoptists in regard to this. That the books

5. Synoptists as sources for life.

were not written without definite 'tendencies' may be taken as proved (see GOSPELS, §§ 108-114). Moreover, such tendencies could come into play with peculiar readiness where the judgment as to Peter was involved. To a Jewish Christian he must have seemed the leading figure of all Christendom, whereas to a Paulinist he must just as inevitably have seemed the opponent of the true apostle, an unreasonable obstructionist, a narrow-minded resister of the real will of God which required the mission to the Gentiles. Now where tendencies influence the production of gospels their natural effect is that judgments which the author personally holds about a given person or thing are put into the mouth of Jesus himself in the naive persuasion that he could not have held any other view than that which the writer held to be true at the time of writing. If the student is unwilling to go so far as to suppose that whole narratives have been freely invented with no other basis than a desire to exalt or to depreciate Peter, it still remains easy to believe that an author whose disposition towards Peter was friendly would be ready to omit or tone down incidents which told against that apostle, whilst another whose inclination was less favourable would suppress or weaken things which told the other way.

(*b*) In its search for such tendencies, however, criticism has often gone very far astray. To begin with, because the representatives of tendency-criticism have for the most part entirely dispensed with any inquiry as to sources of the synoptics, or any attempt to distinguish earlier from later portions in them. From the standpoint of pure tendency-criticism it is very tempting to suppose that the most honorific passage in Mt. about Peter (16 17-19) was omitted by Lk. and Mk. because they both were—Mk. in a less degree than Lk., it is true—Paulinists. In reality, however, such a supposition must be rejected—not only for Mk. inasmuch as Mk. was not acquainted with the gospel of Mt., but also for Lk. inasmuch as the section in Mt. is exceedingly probably a quite late interpolation (see GOSPELS, §§ 136, 151; MINISTRY, § 4 *f.*).

(*c*) Nor is this all; the gospels frequently present us with the opposite of what we should have expected from the point of view of the tendency-critics.

It is tempting to suppose that it was out of reverence for Peter that Mt. (17 4 *f.*) suppressed what Mk. (9 6) and Lk. (9 33) report, that Peter at the transfiguration knew not (Mk.) what to say or (Lk.) what he was saying; but where the same touch recurs in Mk. (14 40) we find that it is suppressed not only by Mt. but also by Lk. Tempting, again, is it to suppose that it is a result of tendency that Lk. (8 51-53) says, not of the multitude in the house of Jairus, as Mk. (5 38-40) and Mt. (9 23 *f.*) do, but of Peter with James and John and the damsel's parents that they laughed Jesus to scorn when he said the damsel was not dead but sleeping (cp below, § 12 *a*). Yet where, according to Mk. (8 33) and Mt. (16 23), Jesus calls Peter Satan it is Lk. (9 22) who omits the whole passage. Once more, it is tempting to suppose that a leading place among the disciples is being given to Peter when according to Mt. 17 24 the collectors of the temple tax approach him with their enquiry why his master does not pay it, or when according to Mt. (18 21) he addresses a question to Jesus whilst according to Lk. (17 4)—the incident does not appear at all in Mk.—Jesus gives the answer unasked. But, on the other side, we find Lk. (12 41) assigning to Peter an interpolated question which is wholly wanting in Mt. (24 44 *f.*); a saying which Mk. (5 31) assigns to the disciples in general—the passage does not occur at all in Mt.—is by Lk. (8 45) assigned to Peter alone ('Master, the multitudes press thee and crush thee'); and where Mt. (15 15) does the same, attributing to Peter and not, as Mk. (7 17), to the disciples the request for an explanation of a parable—Lk. omits the incident—the answer is recorded in terms not highly complimentary to the speaker: 'Are ye also even yet without understanding?' What, in fine, are we to say to such facts as these—that only Lk. (22 31 *f.*) has the saying, the latter half of which is exhibited along with Mt. 16 18 *f.* in letters of gold in the basilica of St. Peter in Rome, and that it is only Mt. (14 28-31) who reports Peter's little faith when he endeavoured to walk on the water? Baur's only resource here (*Krit. Untersuch. über die kanon. Evangg.*, 1847, p. 471) was to regard the event as involving a great personal distinction conferred upon Peter by Jesus, for which reason it was omitted by Lk. As against this we have only to call to mind how high is the position accorded to Peter by the last-named writer in Acts (see ACTS, § 4).

(*d*) From what has been said it will be seen that it will not be safe to look for tendency in any remaining differences that may be detected in the accounts of Peter given by the synoptists.

In Mt. (10 2) Peter is designated in the list of the names of the twelve as 'first' (πρῶτος), in Mk. (3 16) and in Lk. (6 14) this numeration is absent. In the story of the transfiguration it is only Lk. (9 32) who records that Peter and John and James were heavy with sleep. According to Mt. 26 17 *f.* Jesus sends forward 'the disciples' to make the passover preparations; in Mk. (14 13) he sends two only, in Lk. (22 8) these are said to have been Peter and John. In Gethsemane according to Mk. 14 33 and Mt. 26 37 Jesus takes Peter, James, and John to keep watch along with him, in Lk. (22 40) this feature is absent. The question as to the date of the destruction of Jerusalem is in Mk. (13 3) attributed to Peter, James, John, and Andrew, in Mt. (24 3) to the disciples generally, in Lk. (21 5-7) to 'some' (τινές). Cp, further, § 7 *c*.

(*e*) The trustworthiness of every statement in the synoptists about Peter, even when not open to any special objection, by no means necessarily follows. Whether, for example, it was Peter or another who propounded the question recorded in Mt. 18 21 or gave the answer now to be read in Lk. 8 45 is for the writers of the gospel narrative a matter of so little importance that variations of statement could very easily arise out of mere inattention. Before coming to a judgment, therefore, regarding the share of Peter in any given occurrence, it will be necessary previously to scrutinise the credibility of the occurrence itself, and over and above this to remember that even when this has been satisfactorily established, Peter's share in it does not at once follow, unless, indeed, his part in it be the very essence of the occurrence. In particular, we must be specially on our guard against the view—widely spread though it be—that the second gospel presents in written

form oral communications received by the evangelist from Peter (on this hypothesis see GOSPELS, § 148).

We begin with those accounts in the synoptists which may at the outset be set aside as unhistorical.

6. Walking on the water.

(*a*) With regard to the story, found only in Mt. (14 28-31), that Peter went to meet Jesus on the Sea of Galilee, but through failure of faith began to sink and had to be rescued by Jesus, we find even so conservative a writer as Bern. Weiss (*Leben Jesu*(2), 2 209) declaring that critical investigation imperatively demands that it be given up as a statement of prosaic matter of fact, whilst Beyschlag (*Leben Jesu*, 1 306) expresses the opinion that the desire of Peter that Jesus should bid him come to him on the water is, literally taken, simply childish, and that the miraculous power of Jesus was not bestowed upon him in order that he might be able to respond to every childish caprice. Both theologians are at one with the entire critical school in regarding the narrative as having originally been an allegorical-poetical setting forth of an idea, and that it came to be regarded as literal fact only by a misunderstanding on the part of the evangelist or of the writer whom he followed.

At the same time, it is by no means certain that it was Peter's denial of his master that was originally intended to be figured in the story. In that denial it was not his faith but his fidelity that failed the apostle. Had it been his faith, the underlying presupposition of the story would be that if only Peter had frankly confessed himself the disciple of Jesus he would have come off wholly unharmed. As matters actually stood, however, the worst consequences were really to be apprehended as results of such a confession, though nevertheless it was his duty to make it.

(*b*) We may be sure that the story of Jesus' walking upon the water was originally a parable intended to exhibit in a graphic way the thought that if his disciples have faith they will be able to walk with safety on the troubled sea (of life) (see GOSPELS, § 142 *a*). The addition relative to Peter then brings in an illustration based on the opposite thesis; he who has no faith necessarily goes down unless he calls upon the Lord and receives help from him. This view itself, however, in which Jesus appears as the Lord of succour, shows by its very nature that it cannot have come from Jesus himself. He would not have designated himself, but, as in his genuine parables, a person by whom God is meant, as Him from whom help comes. Thus the later origin of the narrative, already rendered probable by its absence from Mk., is confirmed from another point of view. If this be so, we may perhaps go on to suppose that the reason why Peter came to be selected as hero of the story was because he was regarded as head of the church, and what is related of him was intended to be taken as applying to the entire church (so Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 517, (2) 1 582).

7. Other unhistorical narratives.

There are other narratives also which require no detailed proof of their unhistorical character.

(*a*) The statement in Lk. 24 12 that Peter visited the sepulchre of Jesus and found it empty is doubtful even text-critically, and when its substance is considered cannot be accepted (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 2 *c* and 21; GOSPELS, § 138 *e*, *f*).

(*b*) Along with the historicity of the statements as to the women at the empty sepulchre must also be given up the historical character of the notice, found only in Mk. (16 7), that they received from the angel the injunction to tell the disciples and Peter that they should see the risen Jesus in Galilee. See GOSPELS, § 138 *a*, *e*, *f*, RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 21, and, as regards an allusion in Mk. 16 7 to a fact indirectly referred to in this, *ib.* § 9 *b*.

(*c*) As the withering of the fig-tree cannot be regarded as historical (see GOSPELS, §§ 137 *b* β, 141, 142 *a*), the statement in Mk. (11 21) that Peter called attention to the fact on the following day also disappears. In Mt. 21 20 all the disciples together are already aware of it, for the tree at the word of Jesus withers away 'immediately'; the incident is not found at all in Lk.

8. Transfiguration.

It is difficult to form a definite judgment as to the story of the transfiguration of Jesus in Mk. 9 2-10 = Mt. 17 1-9 = Lk. 9 28-36.

(*a*) The form in which Jesus is here seen is, on the one hand, that of Moses when he came down from the mountain of the law, according to Ex. 34 29-35, on the other hand, that in which the exalted Christ was conceived of, according to 2 Cor. 3 7-4 6, where Paul cites precisely the passage just mentioned regarding Moses, and that of the angel at the empty tomb, according to Mt. 28 3 (cp Lk. 24 4 Mk. 16 5). Looked at on this side, the scene is accordingly designed to represent by anticipation the coming heavenly glory of Jesus, and at the same time, by the presence of Moses and Elijah, to exhibit it as a fulfilment of the OT. Viewed in this aspect, it can make no claim to historicity.

This would be difficult even were one inclined to concede that the 'metamorphosis' of Jesus did not happen as a physical reality but was seen only by the three disciples in a vision; difficult still even were there a disposition to reduce the number to one, say Peter, on the assumption that James and John were named in error partly because in other places also they are mentioned along with Peter on special occasions as being the disciples who were on terms of special intimacy with the master (see below, §§ 11 *c*, 12), partly because, according to Ex. 24 9, three intimate associates, Aaron, Nadab, and Abihu (along with seventy of the elders of Israel) are also represented as having gone up with Moses to the mountain of the law. Even so, the question would still remain as to how it was that in the midst of the earthly life of Jesus Peter was visited by the thought which at once assumed for him the form of a vision. (On the psychological antecedents of a vision cp RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 34 *a*.)

(*b*) The transfiguration scene, however, has yet another main purpose. It contains the divine declaration that Jesus is the Messiah, in the words 'This is my beloved son.' This voice coincides almost exactly with that heard at the baptism of Jesus (Mk. 1 11 = Mt. 3 17 = Lk. 3 22). If, however, Jesus had already, even at that early date, been divinely proclaimed to be the Messiah, this second fact would necessarily rob the other of its value.

To avoid this the following supposition has been made: just as the divine voice at the baptism, according to the most modest, and therefore most trustworthy of the accounts (that of Mk.), was heard only by Jesus, the whole occurrence admitting of being resolved into an inner revelation communicated to him without external physical accompaniments, so also in the vision in which Jesus was transfigured only Peter (or Peter along with James and John) heard that heavenly voice. So, for example, Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 2 204-206 [1897]), who therefore inclines to place the occurrence at a date shortly before the confession of the Messiahship of Jesus (Mk. 8 27-29 and ||s). Bacon (*Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, 1902, pp. 236-265) goes a step further. He also supposes that it is a vision of Peter that is described, not, however, a vision which he had actually had, but one which is attributed to him through a transformation of the account relating to his confession that Jesus was the Messiah (Mk. 8 27-31). The transfiguration scene breaks the connection between Mk. 9 1 and 9 11, and comes from a source in which were contained this and other modifications of gospel narratives that were taken by the evangelist to be accounts of new facts.

(*c*) At the same time, there is no indication in the text that the divine voice was directed to Peter alone (or Peter and James and John); it is indicated with at least equal clearness that it is heard by Jesus. If, then, we have reason for believing that in the first period of his public life Jesus did not yet account himself to be the Messiah, but only a prophet and a reformer, this will incline us to recognise in the divine voice at the Transfiguration a reminiscence of the fact that he only received his divine authorisation to come forward as the Messiah at a particular point in the course of his ministry. The similar saying at his baptism will rest in that case upon an anticipation on the part of the narrators, to whom it was inconceivable that the designation by God of Jesus as the Messiah should have been postponed to any later date. On this assumption also, it becomes reasonable to assign the incident that lies at the basis of the transfiguration-story

to a time shortly anterior to the confession of Peter; for so long as Jesus was not himself certain by divine revelation of the fact of his Messiahship he could not accept the proclamation of it by Peter.

(*d*) The occurrence itself admits very easily of being regarded as having taken place in the inner consciousness of Jesus. The participation of Peter, James, and John becomes in that case much less active. That they were present need not be denied; but their activity would then be limited to this—that, after awaking from sleep perhaps, they received a powerful impression of the wondrous majesty with which Jesus came to meet them after he had heard the heavenly voice. The terms in which this had been expressed they would not in that case hear directly for themselves, but would afterwards learn from the mouth of Jesus. The assertion in 2 Pet. 1 16-18 that Peter himself heard the voice upon the 'holy' mountain does not fall to be taken account of in the present connection, in view of the pseudonymous character of this epistle (see PETER, EPISTLES OF, §§ 9-12).

9. Stater in fish's mouth.

In the story of the stater in the fish's mouth (only Mt. 17 24-27), it has above all to be observed that the miracle is only announced, not described as having happened. All the safer, therefore, is the supposition that here we are in presence of a symbolical saying of Jesus.

The section contains two separate thoughts, of which the one would be quite sufficient without the other. (1) Properly speaking, Jesus and his disciples do not require to pay the tax, but in order to avoid offence they do so. The incident contains the presupposition that Jesus is the Messiah alike whether the words attributed to Jesus were actually spoken by him, or whether they are erroneously put into his mouth; along with this it contains (2) also the exhortation to submit to existing institutions, and thus applies equally well alike to the temple tax which was exacted in the time of Jesus, and to the Roman state tax which from 70 A.D. onwards was substituted for the temple tax in the case of Jews (Jos. *BJ* vii. 6 6, § 218) and, particularly under Domitian, was rigorously exacted from Christians also (see CHRISTIAN, § 6, vii., end).

It is in connection with the second of these main ideas that Peter comes more directly into the story; he is to fish for the means of paying the tax. As he is a fisherman by occupation, the meaning of this symbolical saying at once suggests itself; by the exercise of his craft he will easily be able to earn enough to meet this call upon him. This feature in the story may point to the authenticity of the saying as attributed to Jesus; but it may also quite well have been invented, as every one in later times knew that Peter had been a fisherman. After the death of Jesus it would have been less easy to have invented that other feature—that the produce of Peter's industry was to serve to pay the tax both for himself *and for Jesus;* for it is not easy to make out any allegorical application to later conditions of this earning of a double tax. Still, it must be admitted that this pericope is one of the most obscure in the whole gospel history.

10. Other doubtful elements.

Passing from these unquestionably unhistorical elements, we come next to a series of others which cannot be rejected at once, but, at the same time, can just as little be regarded as certainly authentic. To this category belong: (*a*) all those cases in which Peter is represented as having said something which in some other gospel is attributed to the disciples at large (Mt. 15 15 Lk. 8 45 Mk. 13 3; see above, § 5 *c, d*) or is omitted altogether although the narrative to which it belongs is retained in that gospel (Mt. 18 21 as against Lk. 17 4, and Lk. 12 41 as against Mt. 24 44 *f.*; see § 5 *c*).

(*b*) To this class falls to be added one instance of a subordinate action (the preparation for the passover) which only Lk. (22 8) assigns to Peter (and John); see § 5 *d;* and also—

(*c*) The word which according to all three evangelists (Mk. 10 28 Mt. 19 27 Lk. 18 28) Peter is reported to have uttered: 'we have left all and followed thee.' If the evangelists are in other places so little at one as to the authorship of a given saying, agreement in this particular instance cannot here be taken as proving the accuracy of the report, for their agreement comes only from mutual borrowing. In any case, whether the word in question was spoken by Peter or by another the circumstance is too unimportant to allow us precisely here to place unqualified confidence in the eldest of the three who is followed by the other two. If Jesus blamed a questioner this very fact still added to the importance of the latter (cp below, § 17); but such is not the case here. Moreover, the question must not be treated apart from the answer of Jesus ('shall receive a hundredfold,' etc.). If Jesus ever gave any such promise to his disciples, we may be certain at least that it was not in connection with a question so self-seeking as this. If, however, the narrative is open to suspicion on this most important point, it is impossible to feel confidence on such a relatively subordinate matter as the person of the questioner.

11. Minor notices with historical kernel.

Other notices there are to which a historical kernel, or even complete historicity cannot be denied; on the one hand they were important enough to impress themselves on human memories and on the other hand they were not so important as to tempt to a departure from historical accuracy (cp the principle laid down in GOSPELS, § 131, col. 1873, begin.). (*a*) Thus there is no difficulty in believing that Jesus on a Sabbath day healed Peter's mother-in-law and other sick persons, but on the following day withdrew himself into solitude and was sought out by Peter and his comrades with the view of bringing him back (Mk. 1 29-38 = Lk. 4 38-43; Mt. 8 14-17 has the healings only).

(*b*) That the name Cephas (Peter) was bestowed upon Simon by Jesus may in view of what has been said in § 1 *g* be regarded as wholly credible even if the date at which it was bestowed remains uncertain. According to Mk. (3 16) it was at the time when the apostles were first chosen. A more appropriate occasion but not on that account historically established would be that of the confession at Cæsarea Philippi with which Mt. (16 18) connects it (see MINISTRY, § 4, end). If Mt. already when Peter's call is recorded (4 18) and again at the choosing of the apostles (10 2) says: 'Simon, who is called Peter,' he is, of course, not to be taken as intending to indicate the time at which the name was given, but simply as wishing to apprise his readers that this Simon was the man whom they already knew as Peter. Lk. (6 14) likewise has on the occasion of the choosing of the apostles the words 'Simon, whom he also named Peter.' By this, however, he perhaps does not mean to convey that the name was bestowed by Jesus then, but only that it had been bestowed by him at one time or another.

(*c*) Equally natural is it to recognise faithful reminiscence in the statement that in Gethsemane Jesus took Peter, James, and John to watch with him, and that nevertheless they fell asleep (Mk. 14 32-42 = Mt. 26 36-46), even although we cannot be certain that this last happened three several times. This last doubt, however, is no reason for giving the preference to Lk. (22 40-46) who mentions the incident as having occurred but once, and that in the case of all the disciples, for as he unquestionably was acquainted with Mk. the simplification here must be explained as due merely to absence of interest in the details of the story.

12. Jairus' daughter.

In the case of the raising of Jairus' daughter also—

(*a*) No difficulty will be felt in recognising true reminiscence in the statement that Jesus suffered no one but Peter, James, and John to go with him to the house or (besides the parents of the girl) to enter the room where she lay (Mk. 5 37-40).

If Mt. (9 23-25) has nothing about this, his silence is to be connected with the fact that here in other particulars also he is notably much briefer than either Mk. or Lk., just as he is in three other miracle narratives: that of the Gadarene and the herd of swine which immediately precedes (Mk. 5 1-20 = Mt. 8 28-

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34 = Lk. 8 26-39), that of the healing of the man sick of the palsy (Mk. 2 1-12 = Mt. 9 1-8 = Lk. 5 17-26), and that of the lunatic boy (Mk. 9 14-29 = Mt. 17 14-20), where Lk. also (9 37-43) is so short; there is also the story of the imprisonment and death of John the Baptist (Mk. 6 17-29 = Mt. 14 3-12) which Lk. has not at all. Lk.'s divergence (8 51-53) is presumably not so seriously intended as it has been represented above (§ 5*c*) in verbal strictness to be—namely, that it was the parents and the three disciples who laughed Jesus to scorn. Perhaps when he wrote the words (*v.* 52), 'and all were weeping and bewailing her,' Lk. was thinking not of the five persons named immediately before, but, like Mk., of the multitude assembled within the house, and has only failed to bring this to clear expression. In any case he has retained the separation of the three disciples from the rest.

(*b*) As the occurrence is the only accredited one in the Gospel history which must have presented itself to those who witnessed it as a case of raising of the dead it is very conceivable that the presence of only three disciples should have impressed itself upon the memory. Whilst the raising of the widow's son at Nain (Lk. 7 11-17) and of Lazarus (Jn. 11 1-44; cp JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, §§ 20*a*, 35*b*, 37*a*) cannot be regarded as historical, no more exception need be taken to the raising of the daughter of Jairus than to the resuscitation of Eutychus (Acts 20 7-12), if only one take as literally the words of Jesus, 'the child is not dead but sleepeth,' as one does those of Paul, 'his life is in him.'

According to Mk. Jesus spoke these words before he had seen the girl, and it is very easily conceivable that information received from the father may have enabled him to form this judgment; but it is also possible that this element in the story arises from unconscious modification of the real fact and that it is Lk. who is in the right here when he represents Jesus as uttering the words in presence of the girl, even if this representation does not rest upon the direct testimony of an eye-witness but upon alteration of the text of Mk.

13. Call. The account of Peter's call in Mk. 1 16-20 = Mt. 4 18-22 is an excellent example of shortening and condensation of a fuller narrative by tradition. It is unthinkable that in this scene no words but these of Jesus should have been spoken: 'Come ye after me and I will make you to become fishers of men.' Peter and his comrades Andrew, James, and John must assuredly have had previous opportunity of making the acquaintance of Jesus and must on their side have had some conversation with him. No eye-witness could possibly give so colourless an account as that in Mk. and Mt. The later narrators, however, had no longer any interest in dramatic details or in the psychological processes which resulted in the decision of the four fishermen. The central action, the call given by Jesus, alone engaged their attention, and for the purpose of edification which they had in view when they circulated it, and as an example for the converts whom they wished to incite by it, the narrative may have seemed beautiful and precious just in proportion to the suddenness with which the call of Jesus came to Peter and his comrades, and the absolute promptitude of their obedience. Apart from this, however, Mk. and Mt. unquestionably present the most trustworthy account of the undoubtedly historical call of Peter.

14. Draught of fishes. The story of Peter's draught (Lk. 5 1-11) falls to be adduced here as a parallel although in so far as we are advancing from the less credible to the more credible order of narratives its proper place in the discussion would have been much earlier. It constitutes one of the few examples we have in the Synoptists of a consciously-framed allegory being put forward in the form of a seemingly historical narrative in order to set forth a particular idea; this idea is in point of fact quite clear. (*a*) First of all it is certain that the scene is intended as a substitute for what we read in Mk. and Mt. about the call of Peter and his comrades; for Lk. nowhere narrates this last, and on the other hand introduces its main point at the end of the passage before us (*v.* 10): 'from henceforth thou shalt catch men.' (*b*) At its beginning Lk. places the scene in which Jesus teaches the multitude standing on the shore from a boat (5 3). Now, in Mk. (4 1 *f.*) and Mt. (13 1-3) this is the scene in which certain parables are delivered; but Lk. avoids giving it in the parallel passage dealing with these parables (8 4). Thus we have in Lk. 5 an artificial composition from various elements and it becomes necessary to inquire into its purpose. (*c*) Now the function of a fisher of men is exercised by means of teaching; if then we find Jesus engaged in teaching at the beginning of our pericope this indicates to us how the draught of fishes that immediately follows ought to be taken; namely, not as relating to takes of literal fish but in the deeper sense as relating to the capture of human souls. Thus the idea is precisely the same as that in the parable of the net in Mt. 13 47, only without its reference to the subsequent separation of the good fish from the bad. (*d*) The narrative before us, however, admits of still more definite interpretation in detail. Simon with his comrades has toiled in vain the whole night through; now, on receiving a special command from Jesus, he makes an unexpected haul. This has already been rightly interpreted by the Tübingen school as referring to the difference between the practically fruitless mission to the Jews and the highly successful mission to the Gentiles. In the latter, Peter received a special Divine command and this was necessary in order to overcome his original aversion to such an undertaking (Acts 10 9-22). (*e*) The launching forth into the deep also will admit of being interpreted as referring to missions to heathen lands as compared with the less venturesome putting out a little from the shore, although it is not said that the fruitlessness of the night's toil is caused by the proximity to the shore. (*f*) The sin of which Peter becomes suddenly conscious (*v.* 8) is thus by no means sinfulness in general—reference to this were but little called for by the circumstances—but definitely the sin of failure hitherto to recognise and practice the duty of evangelising the Gentiles as befitting and in accordance with the will of God. (*g*) We are now able to perceive the significance also of the place where Lk. has brought in the calling of Peter.

He introduces it at a later point than Mk. and Mt. In particular it is preceded in Lk. by the rejection of Jesus at Nazareth (4 16-30), which on a small scale foreshadows the rejection of Jesus by the entire Jewish people (see GOSPELS, § 109*b*). It is appropriate that it should be followed by the command of Jesus enjoining the mission to the Gentiles, and is in harmony with the principle carried through by the same author in Acts (see ACTS, § 4, middle), according to which Paul preaches the gospel to the Gentiles in each city only after it has been rejected by the Jews. In the gospel, by placing the calling of Peter at a somewhat later period, the author has brought about the awkwardness that Peter has to be brought into close relations with Jesus even before his call, at the healing of his mother-in-law (4 38 *f.*)—even although his name is suppressed in 4 42, the parallel to Mk. 1 36—whilst the occasion of the draught of fishes, in itself considered, appears to be the first meeting of Peter with Jesus.

In this we may perhaps find a hint that Lk. saw the significance of this pericope as referring to the mission to the Gentiles (or perhaps even invented it? see below, *i*) and in accordance with this gave it the place it now occupies. (*h*) The naming of James and John as those who, according to *v.* 10 *f.*, follow Jesus along with Peter is still more noteworthy. Why is it that precisely Andrew, the brother of Peter, is absent—Andrew whom nevertheless Mk. (1 16) and Mt. (4 18) mention in immediate juxtaposition with him? It can hardly be by accident merely that by this omission the names left are the names of the three who according to Gal. 2 9 were the 'pillars' of the primitive church and who at the Council of Jerusalem, though at first averse, in the end gave their sanction to the mission to the Gentiles; it can hardly be mere accident, even although there the James intended is no longer the son of Zebedee but James the brother of Jesus. (*i*) Further, be it noticed at how late a point they are introduced.

The narrative so runs that almost down to its close Peter alone figures in it along with Jesus. Helpers such as are necessary where many nets are in use he certainly has, according to *vv.* 4-6 and *v.* 9 (on *v.* 7 see below, *k*); but it is not thought worth while to give their names, and they must therefore be regarded as subordinate persons like the hired servants in Mk. 1 20. After

all have been grouped together in *v.* 9 by the phrase 'all who were with him' (πάντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ) the addition 'as also James and John' (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην) comes in strangely; but moreover, after they have been named, Jesus goes on to address the words 'fear not, for henceforth thou shalt catch men,' to Peter alone, whilst yet according to *v.* 11 James and John appropriate it also.

All this would seem to indicate that the narrative originally named Peter alone, and that the reference to James and John was only introduced into it afterwards. The object of its introduction in that case would have been to restore agreement with Mk. and Mt. by the naming of several apostles who had been simultaneously called and yet at the same time to restrict their number to that of the three 'pillars.' It will hardly, however, be safe to attribute any such intention to an interpolator; rather must it be put to the account of the redactor who had the plan of the whole book in his mind. If this be so, we shall have to suppose that Lk. did not himself invent the story of Peter's draught of fishes, but that he had met with it in writing or in oral tradition and that its meaning as denoting that the mission to the Gentiles was the institution of Jesus himself was fully manifest to him.

(*k*) Now at last we are in a position to form a judgment regarding the second boat mentioned in *v.* 7 and its occupants.

As they are spoken of as 'fellows' (μέτοχοι) of Peter and his subordinates it might appear at first sight as if they ought to be identified with James and John who are called 'partners' (κοινωνοί) of Simon in *v.* 10. The inappropriateness, however, which has already been pointed out in the naming of James and John in *v.* 10 as additions to the 'all' (πάντας) of *v.* 9 would by no means be got over by this identification; for the 'fellows' (μέτοχοι) also of *v.* 7 are included in the 'all' of *v.* 9. But as the 'fellows' (μέτοχοι) of *v.* 7 exercise an independent activity and have a boat of their own, their names, had they really been James and John, would certainly have been mentioned already in *v.* 7 and not held over till *v.* 10 where no independent activity is attributed to them.

Thus we must seek to ascertain their names from their work. They are called in to help because Peter and his comrades—in whose number James and John are thus included—are unequal to their task unaided. This applies to no one but to Paul and those with him. In actuality he was the originator of the mission to the Gentiles, and not one who had merely been called in to assist; but we must reflect that here the dominating presupposition is that it was by the original apostles that this mission was begun, at the direct command of Jesus, or of God. So Acts 10_{9-22} 15_7, so Lk. 24_{47}, so Mt. 28_{19}; so, still, Justin (*Apol.* i. 39_3 45_5 50_{12}, *Dial.* 42, begin.). On such a view of the matter, Paul and his comrades can only figure as helpers subsequently called in. The two boats by which the fish that had been caught were brought to land thus signify, not the mission to Jews and to Gentiles respectively, but the mission of the original apostles and that of Paul. That of the former was to the Jews at first but afterwards was extended to the Gentiles also, that of Paul was to the Gentiles only. Jesus from the beginning makes use of Simon's boat; but this eventually proves insufficient. (*l*) Whether the touch in *v.* 6 that the nets threatened to break be simply a graphic decoration of the situation, or whether it too have an allegorical meaning—namely, that through the mission to the Gentiles the unity of the church both before and at the Council of Jerusalem, and in the dispute between Paul and Peter at Antioch (Gal. 2_{11-21}) was threatened with disruption, as, for example, is suggested by Carpenter (*The First Three Gospels*[2], 1890, vi. 5 I, pp. 206-208)—must remain undecided, as no such meaning is unmistakably suggested by the words. So much as this, however, is rightly emphasised by Carpenter—that the author of Jn. 21 found this reference in our passage; for his remark in *v.* 11 that for all the multitude of fishes the net remained nevertheless unbroken is clearly intended to be set against that of Lk., and indicates that the unity of the church had not come to harm. Already in Mt. 13_{47} we find the net employed as a figure for the kingdom of heaven.

15. Denial of Jesus.

Peter's denial of Jesus is a fact as certain as his call. Even a thorough-going Paulinist would not have invented it against him—quite apart from the question whether in the absence of any tradition he would have found any credence had he done so. (*a*) On the other hand, it is possible to question whether it happened exactly thrice, or whether the number three belongs to a later development. That the scene gained in dramatic character as it was handed on by one narrator to another is shown by Lk. 22_{60}, according to which the eye of Jesus fell on Peter after the third denial—a circumstance of which Mk. and Mt. know nothing (as to the cause which rendered this change possible see below, § 19 *d*). Doubtless, merely in order to be able to explain how the whole night was passed, the interval between the second denial and the third is given in Lk. (22_{59}) not as 'a little while' (so Mk. 14_{70} and Mt. 26_{73}), but as 'about one hour.'

(*b*) Still more insistent is the question as to whether, and if so in what form, Jesus foretold the denial of Peter. From the outset we must regard as later additions the words of Jesus, found only in Lk. (22_{31} *f.*), which foretell not only the temptation that is about to come upon Peter, but also the ultimate stability of his faith, with the added exhortation: 'Do thou, when once thou hast turned again, stablish thy brethren.'

Their principal theme already is that Peter is to be the first to believe in the resurrection of Jesus (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 37), and in presence of such a prediction relating to a more distant future the passing denial of Peter seems like an insignificant intermezzo. It is difficult to regard as probable such gentleness of judgment on the part of Jesus in this so grave a moment, even should one have no difficulty in attributing to him such a foreknowledge of the future as is presupposed by Lk. Besides, in Lk. the prophecy of the denial is placed in the supper chamber, not as in Mk. and Mt. on the way to Gethsemane.

(*c*) On the other hand, it is by no means improbable that, on the last evening of his life, in conversing about what lay before him, Jesus should have expressed a doubt as to the constancy of his disciples, that Peter should have declared his own with emphasis, and that the doubt should thereupon have been expressed anew and perhaps in very drastic form. If Jesus actually on this occasion uttered the prediction that Peter would in an exceedingly short time deny him, we still are not compelled to suppose that the prediction was meant otherwise than conditionally, to some such effect as the following: 'should it so happen that thou fall into grievous temptation to deny me thou wilt not have constancy enough to resist it.' As for the threefold repetition there is much reason to apprehend that the prediction of Jesus as to this was afterwards made much more explicit than it had been, in view of what was known or believed to have actually happened.

(*d*) The same holds good of the specification of time: before the cock crows (Mt. 26_{34} = Lk. 22_{34}); and in an intensified degree of that given in Mk. (14_{30}): before the cock crows twice. Indeed, the additional statement—found only in Mk. ($14_{68\ 72}$)—of the fact that the cock actually was heard to crow twice, is a clear sign of the secondary character of our canonical Mk. as compared with Mt. and Lk. (see GOSPELS, § 119 *c*).

Even the textual criticism of the passage seems to show that this datum is one which crept only gradually into the text of Mk. In *v.* 68 the addition καὶ ἀλέκτωρ ἐφώνησεν is so weakly attested that it is omitted by WH and does not appear even on the margin; still, there is certainly a hiatus if in *v.* 72 we read 'and straightway the second time the cock crew' without any previous mention made of the first time.

(*e*) Lastly, the fact of the cock's having crowed at all has been sometimes called in question by reason of the fact that, according to the Mishna (*Bābā Ḳammā* 7_7), it was forbidden to keep fowls in Jerusalem.

It was expressly permitted, however, we read, to purchase them to be killed, or to receive them as presents for the same purpose (*ib.* 10_9), and it is testified that on one occasion a cock was stoned in Jerusalem because it had killed a human being (a child)

('*Eduyyōth*, 6 1; see all the passages given in Brandt, *Evang. Gesch.*, 1893, 32 *f.*). Thus, the fact of the cock crowing cannot be shown to be unhistorical; yet neither can it be shown with certainty to be historical. Cockcrowing (ἀλεκτοροφωνία) is, according to Mk. 13 35, the third of the four night-watches into which the night was divided by the Romans (see DAY, § 4). This division into four is current in the NT (Mk. 6 48 = Mt. 14 25 Acts 12 4), although the Israelites originally divided the night into only three watches (Judg. 7 19, cp Lam. 2 19 Ex. 14 24 1 S. 11 11, and, in all probability, also Lk. 12 38). As the second Roman night-watch which ended at midnight is called 'midnight' (μεσονύκτιον), we must suppose that the cockcrowing from which the third took its name originally denoted the time at which it came to an end, that is, about 3 A.M. The saying of Jesus could thus very easily have run in this form: 'before cockcrowing' [*i.e.*, before three o'clock to-morrow morning] thou shalt have denied me,' without any intention to predict that directly after the denial a cock should literally crow; and with equal ease might the view have arisen through a misunderstanding, that Jesus had actually foretold this detail, and that the prediction had been fulfilled.

Amongst the most certainly assured facts of the life of Peter must be ranked that of the confession he made at Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 8 27-30 = Mt. 16 13-20 = Lk. 9 18-21). (*a*) Even Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien*, 1901, pp. 115-124, 237-239) does not venture positively to pronounce it unhistorical although he also says that one need not shrink from such a view if it seem to be required.

16. Confession at Cæsarea Philippi.

According to Wrede, Mk. believed that Jesus had kept his Messiahship a secret from the people throughout the whole of his life, but had communicated it to his disciples, though without producing understanding on their part. Not till after the resurrection of Jesus, according to Mk., did any real recognition of what Jesus was begin. Wrede believes that this view of Mk. is historically false, but nevertheless considers that it dominates the whole of his gospel, and further, that Mk. is not conscious of the frequency with which it is traversed by his repeated statements, according to which the Messiahship of Jesus all the same did not remain a secret. It must be urged, however, that the confession of Peter is little in harmony with either the secrecy observed about the Messiahship of Jesus or the failure of the disciples to understand it.

(*b*) Wrede endeavours, therefore, at least to lessen the importance of the confession as much as possible in Mk.'s connection, pointing out that it is only in Mt., which was written later than Mk., that Jesus put a high value upon the confession. It is the fact that in Mt. 16 18 *f.* only the designation of Peter as a rock can be regarded as historical, and this, too, without our being able to be certain that it was given to him just then (see § 11 *b*; MINISTRY, §§ 4, 5 *a*, *b*). It has further to be observed that by the form in which the question of Jesus is put in Mt. the scene is made unintelligible.

Whilst, according to Mk. (and Lk.), Jesus asks 'Who do the people say that I (μέ) am?' he is represented in Mt. as having asked 'Who do the people say that the son of man is?' Mt. himself allows us to see that this is not the right form; for in the form of the second question of Jesus he coincides with Mk. and Lk.: 'but ye, who do ye say that I (μέ) am?' In so far as 'son of man' is a designation of the Messiah, according to the form of the first question in Mt., the answer—viz., 'Thou art the Christ,' would already have been given by Jesus in the question.

Yet this form of the question presumably is due not to unhistoricity on Mt.'s part, but to intention. Already in Mt. 10 23 12 40 13 41, and especially in 14 33 ('of a truth thou art the Son of God'), all which passages are wanting in Mk. and Lk., the Messiahship of Jesus has been proclaimed. At this stage, therefore, the appropriate question in 16 13 is no longer, Whom do the people say that I am? but only, Whom, more exactly, do the people say that he who is already known as the Son of Man is? Accordingly, in Mt., the answer of Peter does not run simply as in Mk. ('Thou art the Christ,' σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστός; similarly in Lk. 'the Christ of God,' τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ), but there is added, as the most important of all, the addition: 'the son of the living God' (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος). This last title plainly must be regarded as expressing more than 'the Christ' (ὁ Χριστός) or than 'Son of Man,' and therefore denotes Jesus not as, let us say, in an ethical sense a Son of God after the manner of the OT, that is, as one who subordinates his will to the will of God as a son does in presence of his father, but in a metaphysical sense as a being proceeding in a supernatural way from God, a meaning which is not necessarily connected with either 'Messiah' or 'Son of Man.' Thus we have here a dogmatic development.

(*c*) Granted, however, that Mt. in the points just mentioned goes beyond the original record, it does not necessarily follow that he has also altered the situation in an unhistorical sense by the words assigned to Jesus in 16 17 which are not met with in Mk. or Lk.: 'flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee but my Father,' etc.

Even should Wrede be correct in saying that Mk. attaches to the confession of Peter just as little importance as to the words of the demoniacs who, on his representation, more than once (1 24 5 7) applied to Jesus the same predicate as Peter applies here, and that on this account Jesus does not praise Peter, but, just as in the case of the demoniacs, merely bids him be silent, this way of looking at the matter would simply be in each instance only a consequence of the view attributed by Wrede to Mk. that the Messiahship of Jesus had to be kept secret.

As a historical fact, however, apart from the representation of Mk., the occurrence could in no case have elicited such a judgment on the part of Jesus. For even in the representation of Mk. Jesus assuredly does not act upon the plan of concealing his Messiahship; he studiously seeks to elicit an expression of it from the disciples. It is presupposed in this that they have not as yet recognised him as Messiah. It is thus a moment of the greatest possible importance when the words 'Thou art the Messiah' are for the first time spoken by them.

(*d*) The injunction to tell no man is also, even without the theory of Mk. spoken of above, very readily intelligible in the mouth of the historical Jesus, inasmuch as he cannot have been without apprehensions lest the people should misunderstand his Messiahship, and perhaps set their hopes on him as one who was to free them from the yoke of Rome. Nevertheless, the scene retains its importance as marking a turning-point in the consciousness of the disciples, and can therefore quite appropriately be spoken of as a divine revelation accorded to Peter. In view of the importance it thus possessed, it is also easy to believe that it should have engraved itself upon the memory of the disciples and taken a secure place in tradition—unless one were to regard it as pure fiction. Against this, however, as Wrede also has perceived, there are various considerations, amongst them this, that it is assigned to a definite locality in the journey to Cæsarea Philippi, which seems to point to definite recollection. On the point that Mt. 11 27 gives no ground for doubting the actuality of Peter's confession, see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 25 *b*.

Immediately on Peter's confession follows in all the synoptists the first prediction by Jesus of his passion, death, and resurrection (Mk. 8 31 *f.* = Mt. 16 21 = Lk. 9 22); and in Mk. (8 32 *f.*) and Mt. (16 22 *f.*) it is added that Peter had reproved his master, but was in turn rebuked and addressed as Satan. Here it must be again remarked that not only the predictions of Jesus regarding his resurrection, but also the detailed predictions of his passion and death are open to grave doubt, and least probable of all is it that precisely at the moment when Peter had uttered his confession for the first time—a moment which must have been one of the most joyful in all his life—Jesus should have expressed himself as he did (see GOSPELS, § 145 *e*, *f*). This is not equivalent to saying that Jesus on no occasion in the later period of his public life ever had or expressed the thought that suffering and death might be in store for him. On some such occasion may very well have happened the scene between Peter and his master which now stands immediately after the great confession. The expression 'Satan' by its very strength is its own guarantee that none of the later narrators could have invented it; in fact, the entire scene is wanting in the evangelist to whom tendency-criticism would have found least difficulty in assigning it (see above, § 5 *b*, *c*).

17. Designation as Satan.

III. According to the Fourth Gospel.

18. Less strongly divergent points.

If we turn now to the utterances of the Fourth Gospel regarding Peter, we shall find that some of them rest upon those of the synoptists and have merely received a Johannine colouring; but that others, where they contain new matter, cannot lay claim to historicity.

(*a*) The nearest approach to the synoptic account (Mk. 14 26-31 and ||) is made by the Johannine in describing the prediction of Peter's denial (Jn. 13 33-38); yet even here we already see clearly the Johannine colouring.

It is not as in Mk. and Mt. the adjoining reference to the dreaded scattering of the disciples that gives Peter the occasion for making his promise never to leave Jesus; it is a specifically Johannine thought which in a quite similar manner has already been brought forward in 7 33 *f.* 8 21, and which, moreover, as we so often find in the Fourth Gospel, lends itself to misunderstanding as possessing at once an obvious external meaning and a hidden spiritual sense: 'Whither I go, ye cannot come.' Peter, like all the interlocutors of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, takes it in the surface-meaning: 'Lord, whither goest thou? . . . Lord, why cannot I follow thee even now?' As regards the time at which this was said, Jn. agrees with Lk. against Mk. and Mt. (see above, § 15 *b*).

(*b*) In the account of the arrest of Jesus a legendary development is apparent in the Fourth Gospel in so far as here (18 10) the name of Malchus the servant of the high priest is given; it is not mentioned in the synoptists. Equally legendary perhaps, but perhaps also deliberately followed, is the other development according to which Peter is named in the Fourth Gospel as the follower who wielded the sword whilst the synoptists merely say: 'A certain one of them that stood by' (Mk. 14 47), or words to the same effect.

To this, moreover, it has to be added that it is only in the synoptists that any motive can be found for the stroke; it is at the moment when Jesus is being seized (so Mk. and Mt.) or about to be seized (so Lk.) in consequence of the treachery of Judas. In Jn., on the other hand, the entire cohort of 500 (or 1000) men has fallen to the ground; Jesus voluntarily surrenders himself and all that he asks of his captors is that his disciples may be allowed to escape unharmed (18 4-9). Lastly, the word with which Jesus rebukes the sword-stroke receives a Johannine form. In Mk. it is not reported at all; Lk. (22 51) has it quite briefly: 'Suffer ye thus far.' Thus what lies at the basis of Jn. is Mt. 26 52-54; but in Jn. 18 11 this is compressed into the question: 'The cup which the Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' By this question is set aside from the outset by the Johannine Christ a thought which the Jesus of the synoptists earnestly cherishes for a time—that involved in the prayer that 'this cup' might pass from him—exactly as in 12 27, where the words are to be taken as a question: 'What shall I say? (Shall I say:) Father save me from this hour?' (cp John, Son of Zebedee, § 26 *a*).

Jn. has left on one side the statement of Lk. (22 51) that Jesus healed the ear of the servant of the high priest. Perhaps the miracle seemed to him purposeless in such a situation, or hardly worthy of the dignity of the Logos.

(*c*) That the parallel to the confession of Peter (Mk. 8 27-30 and ||s) is to be found in Jn. 6 66-71 is almost universally conceded. It is indeed the only scene in which, as in the synoptists, in answer to a question expressly addressed to all the twelve disciples, Peter as their spokesman makes a confession to Jesus; moreover, it follows soon after the miracle of the feeding of the multitude (in Mk. and Mt. after the second miracle). This makes the variations all the more remarkable.

The place is not in the neighbourhood of Cæsarea Philippi but (according to 6 59) at Capernaum. Peter does not designate Jesus as the Messiah, nor can he; for this has already been done by Andrew (1 41), and indeed still higher predicates have been already employed by the Baptist (1 15 29-34), by Nathanael (1 49), and by Jesus himself (3 13 16 4 26, etc.). The contents of Peter's confession have thus lost, still more completely than in Mt. (see § 16 *b*), that character of novelty which gives it its historical importance. The expression 'the holy one of God' (ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ Θεοῦ) also, employed by Peter, is new only in the Fourth Gospel, but carries neither in the literal meaning of the words nor by virtue of the application made of it in Mk. 1 24 = Lk. 4 34, by the demoniac in the synagogue of Capernaum (cp 'the holy one,' ὁ ἅγιος, Rev. 3 7 1 Jn. 2 20; 'Aaron,' the holy one of the Lord,' Ἀαρὼν τὸν ἅγιον κυρίου, Ps. 106 16; 'the holy and just,' ὁ ἅγιος καὶ δίκαιος, Acts 3 14), a predicate transcending those previously made use of in the Fourth Gospel. Furthermore, the words of Peter are entirely in the Johannine didactic style: 'words of eternal life' (cp 3 34-36 6 63 12 49 *f.*); 'we have believed and know' (cp 11 27 17 3 1 Jn. 4 16). Finally, we note the absence of any word of recognition on the part of Jesus such as we find in at least Mt. 16 17.

(*d*) According to Jn. 1 44, Bethsaida is the city of Peter (and Andrew); according to Mk. 1 21 29 = Lk. 4 31 38, as also according to Mt. 8 5 14, it is Capernaum.

In explanation of the discrepancy it is suggested that Peter (and Andrew) originally belonged to Bethsaida; or recourse is even had to the wholly inadmissible exegesis that according to the change of prepositions in Jn. 1 44 Philip was in virtue of his then domicile 'of' Bethsaida (ἀπὸ Βηθσαϊδά) but by birth he was 'out of' Capernaum the city of Andrew and Peter (ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀνδρέου καὶ Πέτρου). In reality it is even uncertain whether the naming of Bethsaida has claim or only makes claim to historical accuracy. Cp Philip, col. 3700, n. 2.

19. Denial.

In the account of the denial of Peter (Jn. 18 15-27)—

(*a*) The most important differences as compared with the synoptists (Mk. 14 54 66-72 and ||s) are that Peter gains access to the palace of the high priest through the intervention of an 'other disciple,' and that his repentance is not recorded. Upon both these points see § 22, begin. Legendary development is seen in the touch that he who gives occasion for Peter's third denial is said to have been one of the servants of the high priest, being a kinsman of him whose ear Peter cut off. Furthermore, the series of the three denials of Peter is broken, not, however, as in Lk. (22 59) between the second and the third, and not by the simple statement that an interval of about an hour had elapsed, but between the first and the second, and this by the account of the whole proceedings in the palace of Annas and of Jesus's being led away to the palace of Caiaphas.

(*b*) Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristenthums,* 1 158-168, 1893) conjectures the original order of the verses to have been: 12 *f.* 19-24 14-18 25 *b*-27.

That is to say: Jesus was brought from Gethsemane to the palace of Annas; here Caiaphas (not Annas) investigated the case, then Annas sent him to Caiaphas; thereupon arrived first the 'other disciple' and thereafter Peter in the courtyard of Caiaphas (not Annas) and Peter denied his master three times in unbroken succession. When, shortly after the publication of the work of Spitta, the Syr. sin. became known, it was found that in the main it followed the same order, viz. *vv.* 12 *f.* 24 14 *f.* 19-23 16-18 25 *b*-27. Thus here also the case is heard before Caiaphas, but in his own palace, not in that of Annas; here also Peter comes into the court of Caiaphas not of Annas; here also there is a threefold denial without intervening incident and *v.* 25 *a* ('now Simon Peter was standing and warming himself') which coincides with the close of *v.* 18 falls away, but the entrance of the 'other disciple' into the court of Caiaphas does not immediately precede, but happens some considerable time before.

(*c*) Notwithstanding this very large measure of agreement neither of these two rearrangements of the verses can be regarded as the original. If it was, as Spitta thinks, Caiaphas who dealt with the case of Jesus in the house of Annas, the expression in *v.* 24 that it was Annas who sent Jesus to Caiaphas is as awkward as it could possibly be. Syr. sin. has in point of fact avoided this awkwardness by reporting no hearing at the house of Annas at all. In this way, however, the addition in Syr. sin. of 'the chief priest' (τὸν ἀρχιερέα) to Caiaphas (Καϊάφαν) in *v.* 24 becomes all the more impossible if this verse follows immediately upon *v.* 13 in which Caiaphas is named as high priest of that year. Before all others, however, this question will obtrude itself: In what way, if it be not the original, could the present order of the verses have arisen?

Spitta's answer is that the copyist's eye wandered from *v.* 13 to *v.* 24 and wrote therefore its continuation (the present *vv.* 14-18) by mistake immediately after *v.* 13. When he had reached *v.* 18, that is to say the middle of Peter's threefold denial, he became aware that he had passed over the entire hearing of Jesus, along with his removal to the palace of Caiaphas (19-24), and forthwith introduced these verses into his text immediately after *v.* 18. Only after he had done this did he proceed to finish the account of Peter's denial (25 *b*-27); but with a view to this, in order to resume the thread that had been dropped, he had first, in the exercise of his own discretion, to repeat the close of *v.* 18, and that in the somewhat modified form which we now have in 25 *a*. It is indeed hard to say in what possible sense we can call a man who goes to work thus a copyist. As if we did not know from a hundred examples how it was that copyists proceeded when they happened to have omitted anything: they placed it on the margin and inserted merely a *caret* in the text. The

same observation holds good, of course, if it was the order of Syr. sin. and not that of Spitta which the 'copyist' altered into that which we now have. All the more does it require to be borne in mind that often the case is plainly the other way; the author of Syr. sin. has allowed himself the most arbitrary changes of the text.[1]

I has to be added, however, that in his case it is possible to perceive a reason for the changes found in his text; he wished to make Peter's denial a unity and to get rid of the repetition which he deemed irksome—of *v.* 18 end in *v.* 25*a*. For the converse procedure, on the other hand, the production of our present text out of that of Syr. sin. or that conjectured by Spitta, no reason can be imagined; and thus Spitta had no choice but to have recourse to his untenable hypothesis of a copyist who yet was no copyist nor yet a redactor either.

(*d*) Although Syr. sin. and Spitta have thought the present order of the text capable of improvement it nevertheless remains intelligible enough even without transposition. The new element in Jn. which neither Syr. sin. nor Spitta could or would remove is the fact that Jesus before being delivered over to Pilate was taken to two separate places, to the house of Annas and to that of Caiaphas.

According to Mk. and Mt. he is brought only to the 'high priest' (Mk. 14 53; Mt. 26 57 adds the name of Caiaphas) and from there taken to Pilate (Mk. 15 1 = Mt. 27 1 *f.*). Mk. and Mt., however, record two sittings of the synedrium on the case; the first during the night, the second in the morning. Lk. knows only the second of these (22 66-23 1); in his narrative it is not till morning that the synedrium meets; in the night Jesus looks upon Peter after his third denial and thus he is still in the courtyard, not in the court-room, and in accordance with this representation is in the course of the night only mocked and buffeted (Lk. 22 61-65), which likewise is to be pictured as taking place in the courtyard. On this view it remains a possibility that Lk., like Mk. and Mt., thinks of the morning meeting of the synedrium as being held in the same high-priestly palace into which Jesus was brought from the first. The words (Lk. 22 66), 'they led him away into their council' (ἀπήγαγον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον αὐτῶν), in that case mean only that they led him away (out of the courtyard) into the chamber of the same palace in which the synedrium meanwhile had assembled. This interpretation is favoured by 'their' (αὐτῶν). Yet it is also possible that Lk. thinks of the synedrium as assembling in another house—most easily in the place of their solemn meetings. The 'led away' (ἀπήγαγον) in 22 66 will then mean that they led Jesus into another house; and the word actually is so used in Mt. 27 2, and still earlier in 26 57 = Mk. 14 53, as also are 'led' (ἤγαγον) in Lk. 23 1 and 'led away' (ἀπήνεγκαν) Mk. 15 1.

(*e*) In any case Jn. was fully entitled so to understand it and accordingly to take from Lk. the transference of Jesus from one house to another.

Only what he thinks of as being the second house to which Jesus was brought is not the meeting-place of the synedrium; and on his premises he is right; for at the time when, according to Lk. (if this be his meaning), the place was being used, viz. in the morning, it was accessible, but it was not accessible in the night-time, when, according to Jn. Jesus was being transferred (before cockcrowing; see Jn. 18 24 27), as it was situated on the temple hill (Schürer, *GJV*(2) 2 162-164; ET ii. 1 190-195) the gates of which were shut at night. Thus there remains for Jn., as the second house to which Jesus could appropriately be brought, only the palace of the high priest. The house, however, to which Jesus is in the first instance brought is also called (Mk. 14 53 and ||s) that of the high priest. At this point, therefore, came to the assistance of Jn. the statement in Lk. 3 2 Acts 4 6, according to which Annas also was high priest; and that the evangelist was following this is apparent (although he nowhere designates Annas as high priest) in the fact that he calls Caiaphas 'high priest of that year' (11 49 51 18 13). In fact it has even been held that Lk. regards Annas, whom, alike in 3 2 and in Acts 4 6, he places before Caiaphas, as the real high priest in Jesus' time, and thus that he thinks with Jn., that Jesus was brought from Gethsemane direct to the house of Annas.

Be this as it may, in any case Jn. seeks to remove the discrepancies of the synoptists. He follows Lk., as he understands him, in so far as he represents Jesus as having been brought from one house to another; but Mk. and Mt. in so far as he represents some hearing of the case to have taken place during the night, only without the nocturnal meeting of the synedrium affirmed in Mk. 14 53 = Mt. 26 57, and then before the high priest alone—by whom Jn. understands Annas. In all probability therefore Jn. thinks of the meeting of the synedrium as having been in the house of Caiaphas, but without describing it.

(*f*) These points once cleared up, we are in a position to understand the story of Peter's denial in Jn. In making the denial begin directly after Jesus has been brought in after his arrest, Jn. is simply following Lk., who in fact knows of no hearing of the case at all by night; in representing the denial as having been interrupted he also is following Lk. in so far as in this gospel (Lk. 22 59) the series of the denials is broken by an interval of something like an hour; in Jn., however, the interruption is caused by the account of the first hearing which Jn., departing from Lk., takes from Mk. and Mt. Thus it becomes perfectly intelligible, and not to be regarded as a copyist's error, that the statement about Peter's standing at the fire and warming himself is repeated from 18 18 in 18 25*a* when the story of the denial is resumed. In precisely the same way Mk. 14 67 repeats from *v.* 54 that Peter was warming himself, and Mt. 26 69 from *v.* 58 that he was sitting in the courtyard. That Peter's arrival in the courtyard and his denial should at all costs be narrated without interruption cannot in reason be demanded; it is not so related even in Mk. and Mt., and if Jn. allows the interruption to come in at a later point than they do, this is mainly due, as has been shown, to the fact that he is here at first following Lk.

20. Call. The call of Peter is described in the Fourth Gospel (1 35-42) in a manner entirely different from that which we find in the synoptists (see above, § 13).

(*a*) It occurs, not by the lake of Galilee, but in the neighbourhood of the Baptist, who has not yet been cast into prison (as he has in Mk. 1 14 Mt. 4 12 Lk. 3 19 *f.*), but himself points his disciples to Jesus; those whom Jesus wins to his side do not appear as fishermen, but—at least the first two (1 35-40) and probably Peter also—as disciples of the Baptist. Peter is not called first, but only after his brother Andrew and an unnamed person by whom is almost universally understood the beloved disciple; of those who are represented in the synoptists as then having been called, John (even if it be he that is intended by the companion of Andrew) remains unnamed, and his brother James is left entirely unnoticed.

[1] Even in the pericope before us, for example, an instance occurs in *v.* 16 *f.* The portress is here called first 'the portress' (ἡ θυρωρός) simply, then afterwards 'the maid, the portress' (ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ θυρωρός). This is a noticeable circumstance and finds its explanation only in this, that when she is mentioned for the second time, it is said that she charged Peter with being one of the followers of Jesus. According to the synoptists this was done by a maid (παιδίσκη, Mk. 14 66 and ||s), and in reminiscence of this Jn. subsequently added this expression to his 'portress' (ἡ θυρωρός). Syr. sin., however, has 'porter' for 'portress' in *v.* 16 and makes 'the maid, the portress' (ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ θυρωρός) in *v.* 17 into the porter's maid. As other examples of arbitrary alterations which (unless where otherwise stated) are quite peculiar to Syr. sin. we may mention: (Mt. 16 13) 'What do men say concerning me? *who then is this* son of man?' (on this, cp above § 16 *b*); or (Lk. 16 6 *b*), 'and he [*i.e.*, the steward] *sat down quickly and wrote* them fifty' and (16 7 *b*), '*he sat down immediately* [*and*] *wrote* them fourscore'; or (Jn. 8 57—with ℵ*sah), 'thou art not fifty years old and *hath Abraham seen* thee?' or Lk. 2 4, where as in D the last clause, 'because he was of the house and family of David,' is introduced after *v.* 5, and, moreover, altered into 'because *they were both* of the house of David.' Syr. sin. also knows how to make important changes in the text by simple addition. Examples are: Jn. 6 63 (it is the spirit that quickeneth *the body: but ye say* the body profiteth nothing), or 12 3 (now Mary took an alabaster box of a pound of ointment of pure good spikenard, of great price, and *poured it on the head of Jesus while he sat at meat, and she* anointed his feet), or Lk. 23 37 (addition: *and they placed also on his head a crown of thorns*). Of additions arbitrarily made for decoration or smoothing we may give such instances as (Lk. 11 29), 'no sign *from heaven* shall be given unto them,' or (Jn. 3 6, at close), '*because God is a living spirit*' [Tert. and codd. of Itala, etc., have simply: *quia deus spiritus est*], or (11 39), 'Martha said unto him, Lord, *why are they lifting away the stone?* Behold, he stinketh'; or (11 41), 'then *those men who were standing, came near and* raised,' or (20 16), 'and she *understood him and answered* saying unto him: Rabbuli. *And she ran towards him that she might touch him*' [last clause also in ℵ[c.a], the Ferrar codd. 13, 346, 543, 826, 828, syr. pal., syr. hkl., Vg. MSS mm, gat, armach, Cyril.

(*b*) It would be perfectly useless to try to identify the two accounts. Harmonistic efforts confine themselves to the assertion that Jn. is describing an earlier occurrence than that recorded in the synoptists. That in Jn. is spoken of as the 'call to friendship,' that in the synoptists as the 'call to discipleship.' Any such distinction, however, is quite arbitrary. The 'follow me' (ἀκολούθει μοι) which Jesus addresses in Jn. 1 43 to Philip, holds good substantially, it does not need to be said, also for those called before Philip, for it is hard to see why we are to regard them as entering into less intimate relations with Jesus than he. The same verb, however (ἀκολουθεῖν), stands in Mk. 1 18 Mt. 4 20 22 Lk. 5 11, where it is the 'call to discipleship' that is described. And even apart from this it would be quite contrary to history that Jn. should allow it to appear as if those disciples who had been called only to friendship remained henceforward continually in the company of Jesus (as in point of fact he does in 2 2 12 17 22 3 22 4 2 8 27 31-38, etc.), if the actual truth had been that they had again parted from Jesus and thereafter received from him the new call of which the synoptists speak. Similarly it would be quite contrary to history on the part of the synoptists to represent the calling of the four disciples as made at first sight without previous acquaintance on their part with the master, if the truth really were that three of them had already been called to friendship by Jesus.

This unhistorical distinction between the 'call to friendship' and the 'call to discipleship' is carried to the farthest extreme when the 'call to apostleship' is added as a third stage which is seen for the first time in Mk. 3 14-19 and ||s in the choosing of the twelve. If we find Jesus already saying to Peter and Andrew in Mk. 1 18 'I will make you to become fishers of men' (similarly Mt. 4 19 Lk. 5 10), how are we to describe this if not as a call to apostleship? The choosing of the twelve is not to be understood as if the four disciples who had already been chosen were now chosen a second time, and that to a higher dignity, but only in the sense that the other eight were newly chosen, the four who had been chosen already being now enumerated along with the others merely in order to make up a complete list of twelve.

(*c*) If then the accounts of Jn. on the one hand and the synoptists on the other are mutually exclusive, it is necessary to make our choice between them. The precise specification of day and hour in Jn. (1 29 35 39 43 2 1) might seem here to be conclusive evidence that the Johannine account proceeds from an eyewitness; but this becomes plainly impossible when it is considered how here the Baptist and the first disciples are represented as possessing a knowledge regarding the Messiahship, and indeed also regarding what goes far beyond this, the divine nature of Jesus, such as in actual fact they cannot have possessed at least at so early a period, unless indeed we are prepared to reject as completely unhistorical the whole picture of the synoptists and especially the novelty of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi. The supernatural knowledge also regarding Peter and Nathanael (Jn. 1 42 47 *f.*) which is attributed to Jesus is quite inconsistent with the synoptic representation.

(*d*) The unhistorical character of the Johannine account has therefore to be conceded even although we find ourselves unable to explain in detail in every case how it was that Jn. came to his far-reaching divergences from the synoptists. So much is clear—that he takes no trouble whatever to bring himself into line with them, but seeks to give a representation that is based purely on ideal considerations. Just as Jesus is already in the prologue introduced as the Logos of God, and just as the Baptist straightway proclaims his Godhead, so also must the disciples be brought to him from the beginning through their recognition of this truth, and arrive at this recognition through the agency of the Baptist, whereby the latter brings to its most effective fulfilment his function as forerunner of Jesus. 'He must increase, but I must decrease' (3 30); this is the motto of the whole history of the call; in this also lies the reason why the first disciples of Jesus must previously have been disciples of John.

(*e*) A further object Jn. has in view is the relegation of Peter to a subordinate place. Elsewhere (see § 22) this happens only so far as the beloved disciple is concerned; but here we see it also in operation with reference to Andrew who elsewhere comes forward but little in the Fourth Gospel.

The cause of this feature lies perhaps in sympathy with the story of the walk to Emmaus, with regard to which story Thoma (*Genesis d. Joh.-Evang.*, 406-408 [1882]) supposes that it served Jn. as model. Two disciples come to know Jesus as Messiah; the one is afterwards mentioned by name, the other not; on their return to Jerusalem it is found that Jesus has appeared also to Peter. Thus the last-named takes the third place.

(*f*) The tenth hour also (Jn. 1 39) Thoma thinks to be derived from Lk. (24 29); 'it is towards evening.'

Such combinations, however, are from the nature of the case uncertain. What is certain is that Jn. reckons the hours of the day in Jewish fashion (19 14) and thus means here 4 P.M. Others consider, in view of 1 Jn. 2 18 ('it is the last hour'), that the author intends to divide the whole development of the world into twelve periods, which he allegorically calls hours, and that what he means to say is that the entire development was already nearing its end when Jesus appeared, whence the pressing necessity for accepting Christianity. Or it is pointed out that according to Philo (1 347 532-536 2 183-185, ed. Mangey) ten is the number of perfection, with which accordingly Christianity as the age of perfection begins.

Such a way of interpreting the 'hour,' however, does not harmonise very well with the specification of individual days in 1 29 35 43 2 1. In this specification one may have much greater confidence in discerning the progress of the narrative from one step in the revelation of Jesus to another. In any case neither it nor the specification of the tenth hour, even if no quite satisfactory explanation of the latter has yet been found, can be urged as evidence that the author was an eyewitness of what he describes.

As with the call of the disciples, so also in the case of the footwashing, the Fourth Evangelist has not supplemented a synoptic narrative but has supplanted it.

21. Footwashing.

(*a*) Jn.'s silence as to the institution of the sacrament of the supper would otherwise be inexplicable. Equally inexplicable, however, would be the silence of the synoptists about the footwashing had this event actually happened. Even Lk., to whom appeal is made, in 22 24-27 records only the thought which underlies the footwashing, not the fact. One may as well deny the historicity of the synoptists altogether if one is determined to maintain that they had heard nothing of so important an action of Jesus which must have impressed itself so indelibly upon the recollection of those who witnessed it. On the other hand the rise of the narrative of the footwashing out of the passage just cited from Lk. (22 24-27) is very readily intelligible, and that too even without our supposing any deliberate fiction on the part of the evangelist (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 35 [*f*]). The transaction taken as a whole is the highest activity of ministering love (13 1 15 34 *f.*); in so far as it occurs at a meal, it stands on a level with a love-feast (ἀγάπη: Jude 12) and thus is a substitute for the sacramental supper which Jn., by reason of the data on which he was working, could not report as having been held on the last evening of the lifetime of Jesus (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 23).

(*b*) The person of Peter comes into consideration in connection with a subordinate point only. He hesitates, out of reverence, about suffering his feet to be washed by Jesus, but is met with the answer: 'if I wash thee not thou hast no part with me' (13 8). Whereupon Peter would have hands and head washed also, but is told: 'he that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet but is clean every whit; and ye are clean,' etc. (13 10). From *v.* 8 it follows that the footwashing is intended to be not a manifestation of love merely, but also at the same time in some sort a means of grace; from *v.* 10 it follows that this means of grace has been preceded by another of a completer character—by which, especially in view of the expression 'he that is bathed' (ὁ λελουμένος), one can only understand baptism. The

meaning would then be: He that is baptised needs only a partial renewal of the effect of baptism.

If the effect of baptism is held to be the forgiveness of sins, the footwashing would represent a means of grace which likewise brings a forgiveness though not so comprehensive as that of baptism but only of particular sins committed after baptism. It is quite impossible that by this means of grace should be meant the sacrificial blood of Jesus. For neither does its action set in only after baptism nor does it admit of being conceived of as partial only; and moreover, in the circle of ideas of the Fourth Gospel it plays no further part (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 62 c, begin.). But also the thought of a second repentance following upon that sealed in baptism, as suggested in Hermas (*Vis.* ii. 2 4, *Mand.* 4 3), is quite remote. The forgiveness of sins that constantly needs renewal after baptism is better seen in the sacrament of the supper, in accordance with Mt. 26 28: 'unto remission of sins.' With this it agrees that the eucharist is repeated, baptism not, and that the footwashing as representing the *agape* is intended to be a substitute for the eucharist.

(*c*) There is nevertheless the objection that forgiveness of sins does not figure in the Johannine conception of the eucharist (6 26-63) and just as little in the express interpretation of the footwashing, which according to 13 8 is regarded rather as a means of communion with Jesus. This is the effect of the eucharist in like manner according to Jn., and thus we are led by this consideration also to the conclusion that by the footwashing the eucharist is intended. It cannot be denied, however, that here the figure of cleansing which is involved in the idea of washing has disappeared, and the picture thus loses its vividness.

(*d*) It becomes all the more necessary therefore to note that in Jn. 15 3 we have in all probability an authentic interpretation of the footwashing. As in 13 10 so also here we read: 'ye are clean,' only not 'by baptism,' or 'by the supper,' but, 'because of the word which I have spoken unto you.'

This declaration is very like that made in 6 63. After very great weight has been laid in 6 53-58 upon physical participation in the sacramental meal, we find it nevertheless soon depreciated again in favour of a purely spiritual view which thinks of fellowship with Christ as realised solely by means of his word: 'the flesh profiteth nothing; the words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and are life.' Just so in 15 3 also the mere reception of the words of Jesus is given as the means of purification in place of any sacramental act whatsoever. And this reception of the word, according to the connection of Jn. 13, consists specially in fulfilment of the command of love. On this view, 13 10 would mean: he who has been baptised is in need of no further sacramental acts; all that is needed is that he should follow the commandment of love. At the same time this does not perfectly suit either the words or the thought. If it is to fit the words these ought to run somewhat thus: 'he that is bathed needed not save to wash the feet *of others*'; and as for the thought—that which depreciates the value of sacramental acts—one misses the extension of it which one would expect to baptism also.

(*e*) The view indicated by 15 3 is thus better suited by the reading of ℵ c, several Vg. MSS Orig. and Tert. according to which 'except the feet' (*εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας*) is wanting. In this case 'he that is bathed' (ὁ λελουμένος) will no longer refer to baptism but to footwashing; he who has received the footwashing, that is to say who has taken to himself the command of love, needs no sacramental act or any other external institution but is quite clean.

Yet this view of the passage also is not wholly just to the tenor of the words. For this one would expect some such text as 'he whose feet are washed needs not to wash hands or head.' And further, even if one finds it possible to understand how the longer reading could have arisen out of the shorter as soon as 'he that is bathed' (ὁ λελουμένος) had come to be taken as referring to baptism and the footwashing to the supper, at the same time the converse also is conceivable—that on account of the words '(he) is clean every whit' it seemed inappropriate that the washing of the feet should still be required, and it was thought necessary to restore the meaning that washing of a wholly clean person is no longer at all needful, by deletion of the words 'except the feet' (εἰ μὴ τοὺς πόδας).

At all events, whatever may be the proper interpretation of the footwashing, it is plain that in it Peter plays no better part than other persons in the Fourth Gospel, as for example Thomas (14 5), or Philip (14 8), or Judas the Cananæan (14 22), or Nicodemus (3 4), into whose mouth an unintelligent saying is put which is afterwards set right by Jesus (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 25 *c*).

The same thing has already been remarked in connection with the prediction of Peter's denial (13 36-38), where Peter is corrected for a misunderstanding by Jesus; we have found him also shown in an unfavourable light in so far as the sword-stroke is attributed to him (18 10), and neither his repentance after his denial, nor any acknowledgement of Jesus after his confession, is recorded (18 27 6 70).

22. Peter and the beloved disciple.

(*a*) It is to the beloved disciple, however, in particular, that Peter is subordinated; to him he owes his introduction into the high priest's palace (18 16), and only after him (and Andrew) does he receive his call to the discipleship (1 41 *f.*), and, further, Peter must avail himself of his aid (13 24) in order to learn who the betrayer is. If, following the figure of speech which we see in Rev. 12 1-6 13-17, it is the Christian church that is to be understood by the mother of Jesus as she stands at the foot of the cross (Jn. 19 25)—a view which is rendered more difficult, it is true, than it would otherwise be by the presence of other women at the crucifixion—we should here find evidence of a very great depreciation of Peter, in the fact that she is committed to the charge, not of Peter, but of the beloved disciple. So also the conferring upon all the apostles of the power to remit sins or to retain them (20 23), if we are to suppose it to have been already known to the Fourth Evangelist that this power according to Mt. 16 19 had been conferred upon Peter alone (on the age of this passage see GOSPELS, §§ 136, 151).

(*b*) It is to the account of their visit to the sepulchre, however (20 2-10), that we must specially turn, for elucidation of the mutual relations of Peter and the beloved disciple. On the unhistorical character of this incident see GOSPELS, § 138, *a*, *e*, *f*. Being, as it is, unhistorical, we may all the more safely assume that here it is intended to give expression to an idea. This idea would be perfectly transparent if the precedence of the one apostle over the other had been recognised without qualification. In point of fact a certain measure of precedence is assigned to each in turn. Or rather to Peter in one respect, namely that he is the first to enter the sepulchre, but to the beloved disciple in the twofold respect that he is the first to arrive at the sepulchre, and the first to believe in the resurrection.

Let us begin with what is clearest. When it is said of the beloved disciple that he believed in the resurrection of Jesus (20 8), it is included in this that Peter has not as yet come to do so. Now, in view of 1 Cor. 15 5 (and Lk. 24 34) it is quite impossible to assert that any one arrived earlier than Peter at the conviction that Jesus was arisen—unless it had been at the empty sepulchre; but the account of this is, as has been shown, unhistorical. If, nevertheless, a deeper truth is to be sought in it, the solution must be found in the conception of faith. Not in the holding the resurrection of Jesus to be a fact, but only in a right apprehension of the nature of the resurrection and of the risen one, can any one have taken precedence of Peter, a precedence represented as a precedence in time, because the truth has been clothed in the form of a narrative of a visit to the grave.

And if it is to the beloved disciple—that is to say, the ostensible author or guarantor of the Fourth Gospel (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 41 *d*)—that this precedence is assigned, we also know wherein it consists; namely, in the spiritual view of the resurrection, according to which the risen one is identical with the holy spirit (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 16 *c*, 29 *b*). Only by way of antithesis to this is it possible to gain a good sense for the statement that Peter was the first to enter the grave, and the first to observe all the clothes and their orderly arrangement. In other words, it is not to be denied to him (see 1 Cor. 15 5 Lk. 24 34) that he was the first to ascertain the outward tokens of the resurrection; herein he takes a relative precedence.

What has just been said still leaves unexplained the statement that the beloved disciple was the first to reach the sepulchre. And it would be difficult to say what precedence over Peter is intended to be expressed by this; for when it is stated that he was the first who in the deeper sense 'believed,'

all has been said which could secure him a precedence over Peter in the matter itself. It appears, therefore, that in the question as to who arrived first at the sepulchre, it is only a precedence in point of time that is thought of—not, however, as if the beloved disciple actually had taken precedence of Peter in any matter of importance, but only in so far as he was at first held in higher estimation in the church than Peter. The most significant thing in the narrative is certainly this, that the beloved disciple in the beginning has precedence over Peter, but that afterwards Peter takes this precedence from him, and only in the end does the beloved disciple receive a higher valuation.

Now, it assuredly was not throughout the whole church that Peter in the first period was held in less esteem than the beloved disciple, that is to say, than the John of Asia Minor. We must reflect, however, that in the Fourth Gospel it is not the entire church, but only the following of the John of Asia Minor that is speaking. For the latter it really is true that the beloved disciple was looked on as the first witness of Christ, the risen one; but if it is added that Peter took his precedence from him, this can only mean that the estimate, according to which Peter was held to be the most eminent of all the apostles, had gradually found acceptance even in those circles which in the first period had given the first place to John. The purpose of the passage before us, then, is to restrict this high estimate of Peter, and to restore to John the place of pre-eminence.

(*c*) The last mention in the series of passages which seek to settle the relation between Peter and the beloved disciple, is found in chap. 21. Here, however, the tendency is in the other direction.

Along with other circumstances this also supplies a reason why we should attribute this chapter to a different authorship from that of Jn. 1-20 (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 40; RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, §§ 5*d*, 9*c*, 29*c*). The history of the external evidence shows that for several decades after its appearance the Fourth Gospel found no recognition (JOHN, §§ 42-49). In chap. 21, *vv.* 24 *f.* clearly reveal the purpose to remove the mistrust with which it was regarded. This being so, the remainder of the chapter deserves to be scrutinised, with the view of finding whether it also subserves the same tendency. In point of fact this is actually seen to be the case, as soon as we suppose its depreciation of Peter to have been one of the causes that militated against the general recognition of the Gospel.

Therefore we find Peter now rehabilitated to a considerable extent. It is still the beloved disciple, it is true, who first recognises the risen one in the figure standing in the morning on the shore (21 7); but once he has learned who it is, Peter is the first to hasten towards him. Further, it is Peter who first goes a-fishing and who draws the net with its great take unbroken to the shore (21 3 11). Since this net signifies missions in general, and particularly the mission to the Gentiles, and its remaining unbroken symbolises the continued unity of the church (see above, § 14*c*, *d*, *e*, *l*), it is hereby recognised that Peter was the originator and the most important actor in the missionary activity of the church, including the mission to the Gentiles, and the guardian of the unity of the church. The leading position in the church is still more clearly assigned to him in the words 'feed my lambs' . . . 'tend my sheep' (21 15-17), which are a further development of Lk. 22 32, 'stablish thy brethren.' Finally, martyrdom is predicted for him, and this as an honour (21 18 *f.*). For the beloved disciple there is left a much more modest part than he has in chaps. 1-20; he too, not only Peter, may follow Jesus, if in another manner than by death; a longer life is allotted to him than to Peter, and he has the advantage of bearing written testimony to the life of Jesus (21 20-24).

Let us now seek to gather together the results of the foregoing discussions of details, and attempt to form some estimate of the character of Peter.

23. Character of Peter.

(*a*) It is evident, in the first place, that we must refuse to avail ourselves of very much of the material that is usually employed for this purpose.

What value are we to attach to such inferences as that which deduces from his proposal at the transfiguration to build tabernacles for Jesus, Moses, and Elijah, or from the precipitancy with which in Jn. 21 7 he throws himself into the water the 'impulsiveness' of Peter; or from his noticing the withering of the fig tree (Mk. 11 21) his powers of observation; or from his confession in Lk. 5 8, 'I am a sinful man' his humility; or from his hesitation about eating unclean animals (Acts 10 14) his little preparedness to follow a divine leading; or from his action connected with the draught of fishes in Lk. 5 5 the opposite; or from his sinking in the attempt to walk on the water his little faith; or from the opposite wishes he expressed at the footwashing (Jn. 13 6-9) his rapid changes of mood; or from his conduct at the sepulchre his 'practical and impetuous' character, or more particularly from his being second in the race, yet first to enter the sepulchre, his greater age as compared with the beloved disciple, and his greater boldness—if the incidents never really happened? What validity is there in the inference of the liveliness of his interest from the frequency of his questions, of his self-seeking nature from his question as to the future reward for having followed Jesus, of his recklessness from his use of the sword in Gethsemene, if there can be no certainty whether it was Peter at all who said or did the things in question? Or what ground is there for discerning the rapidity of his decisions and the sanguineness of his temperament from his following Jesus without previous acquaintance, if this inference rests not upon actual fact, but merely upon the excessively abbreviated manner in which the matter has been handed down to us? It is not at all impossible that many of these characteristics really did belong to Peter; but it is not permissible to deduce them from the NT data just referred to.

(*b*) Even when we restrict ourselves to those accounts which may with confidence be accepted, caution is still necessary lest we should take more out of them than we are entitled to do.

The emphatic remonstrance made by Peter against the idea of Jesus' passion is simply an evidence of a praiseworthy love and solicitude, such as assuredly every devoted disciple has in his heart; the reproachful 'Satan, thou mindest not the things of God, but the things of men' (Mk. 8 33) is spoken from quite another point of view, to appreciation of which Peter could not be expected to have at that time attained. As regards the contrast between his promise not to be offended by what was to befall Jesus and his denial so soon afterwards, it will be best for us to say, Let him who is confident that in a like position he would show himself stronger than Peter cast the first stone. Let us refrain, too, from drawing any inference as to character from his sleep in Gethsemane. Nor can we venture to deduce from his confession at Cæsarea Philippi an inclination to sudden inspirations, rapid apprehension, and bold expression of new thoughts; for we do not know how far the confession was prepared for by previous hints of Jesus (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 25 *b*), or whether it could not have been uttered by the other disciples also.

(*c*) We can best arrive at the kernel of Peter's personality by contemplating the greatest fact of his whole life,—his faith in Jesus which, in the extraordinary circumstances in which he found himself, led by psychological laws to his vision of the risen Jesus. As to this see, more especially, RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 37. In this one fact is concentrated the whole result of his conviction of the imperishable value of that which Jesus had been to him, of the gratitude and reverence which he owed him, and of the unconditional trust which he had learned to repose in him and in his heavenly father. It is true that the triumphant struggle of his faith against the overpowering impression left by the death of Jesus was helped by something that cannot be reckoned to the character of Peter—by the vision he had, by his illusion; and his denial had a share in the production of this vision. The value of his faith, however, is not lessened by this; for had it not possessed this super-eminent strength, the vision could not by the laws of psychology have arisen.

(*d*) The stage preliminary to Peter's resurrection-faith was the confession at Cæsarea Philippi. If his obedience to Jesus' call at first bears witness merely to the depth of the impression which the words and person of Jesus had made upon him, and thus shows his soul to have had the religious hunger and the religious receptivity which found their satisfaction in Jesus, the confession carries us still further. It shows that under the influence of Jesus Peter was capable of purifying, elevating, and spiritualising those national and political ideas which as a Jew he, as matter of course, had entertained regarding the Messiah, to such an extent that he was able to discern in Jesus the true Messiah. That he also, in other ways, showed himself

steadfast and trustworthy, is shown by the surname Cephas which Jesus gave him; and the leading place among the apostles which he received even during the lifetime of Jesus, and maintained in a still greater degree after his death, is evidence enough that in more than one direction he must have been a very remarkable personality. This does not preclude us from observing that his pre-eminence was also associated with much weakness. It is, nevertheless, certain that he did and suffered far more than we now know.

(*e*) Both sides, the favourable and the unfavourable, are seen also in his relation to Paul and the mission to the Gentiles. His original line of conduct during his visit to Antioch proves that he was no such bigoted upholder of the Mosaic law as were James the brother of Jesus and the Judaists who made their way into the churches founded by Paul in Galatia (see GALATIANS, § 13). It must therefore be noted to his credit that he had grasped the true inwardness of the religion of Jesus better than they.

Even if, as regards outward conduct, Jesus must, generally speaking and apart from questions of Pharisaic strictness, be regarded as an observer of the law of the fathers—for otherwise the Judaising zealots for the law could not have claimed to be called his disciples at all—in his fundamental principles he was far beyond the position which would have made salvation in any way dependent on conformity with that law. The poverty of spirit, the purity of heart, the love to God and one's neighbour which he required are all of them things for which no observance of any particular precepts is necessary, and moreover he asserted with an emphasis that increased the non-obligatory character of many ceremonial commands (see GOSPELS, § 145*g*). When accordingly Paul preached the admission of Gentiles within the pale of Christianity and the ending of the Mosaic law, he showed a better understanding of the inner meaning of Jesus than the apostles who actually ate and drank with him.

(*f*) In some measure this understanding had reached Peter also. But, unfortunately, not in sufficient measure. Thus it came to pass that he was outstripped by Paul, and the later development of the church depended only upon Paul not upon Peter. Indeed, instead of following Paul, if perhaps with slower steps, on the new path of freedom from the law, Peter allowed himself to be held back by the power of ancient custom of which James was the embodiment, and to be forced into the ranks of those who were opposed to Paul. In this connection are seen the most serious limitations of his spiritual activities, the absence of consistency in dealing with the new situation, and want of energy in opening up the new path. If it had depended on Peter, he would have preserved Christianity as a Jewish sect and condemned it to a maimed life. The elasticity of soul which was required for drawing and pursuing the consequences resulting from the entrance of Christianity into the Gentile world was certainly not easy of attainment to one in Peter's situation; but for a true leader it was nevertheless indispensable. The conflict with Paul into which Peter was brought by his conservative attitude also unfortunately brought with it the result that, quite apart from the judgment we are called upon to pronounce as to his intellectual endowments, a deep shadow falls upon the character of Peter—deeper than upon that of Paul. Of Paul we know only that in his manner of expressing himself as against his Judaistic opponents he exercised little restraint upon himself (2 Cor. 11 13-15 Gal. 5 12, etc); Peter, on the other hand, can hardly be cleared of the charge of—even by actions, or at the very least by failures to act—having worked against the activity of Paul (see above, § 2 [*f*]).

B. LIFE OUTSIDE PALESTINE; AND DEATH

In the preceding sections the NT data regarding Peter have been practically exhausted, yet a very important part of his life still remains to be discussed—that relating to his activities outside the limits of Palestine, and to his death. Our information under these heads must thus be drawn almost entirely from the Church fathers and from legendary works of very doubtful trustworthiness. The examination becomes much more complicated and the results much more hypothetical than those we have hitherto had in hand.

24. Missionary fields.

Let us first take a survey of the countries in which outside of Palestine he is represented as having laboured.[1]

(*a*) Origen is the first who tells us that 'Peter seems (ἔοικεν) to have preached to the Jews of the dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia [*i.e.* the western coast of Asia Minor]' (*Comm. in Gen.* tom. 3, ed. de la Rue, 2 24 A; *ap.* Euseb. *HE* iii. 1 2). The very form in which this sentence is cast shows us that the statement is not based on trustworthy independent information, but is merely deduced from 1 Pet. 1 1.

Nor is this all; the deduction is a very mistaken one, for in 1 14 18 21 2 9 *f.*, 4 2 *f.* it is clearly said that the readers of the epistle are Gentile Christians and in 1 12 with equal clearness that it was not the writer of the epistle who had brought the gospel to them. Not till we come to 2 Pet. 1 16 is it asserted that they had been preached to by Peter. On this showing we should have to suppose that he had come to them at some time after the composition of the first epistle; for according to 2 Pet. 3 1 the second epistle is addressed to the same readers as the first. This, however, is inconsistent with the address, according to which 2 Pet. is directed to the whole of Christendom; and Christendom is not here to be restricted, on account of (as it might at first sight appear) 3 1, to the five provinces named in 1 Pet. 1 1, which would be inconsistent with the manifest sense of the words, but contrariwise we must believe the author of 2 Pet. to have presupposed 1 Pet. to have been already addressed to the whole of Christendom. This presupposition comes before us in the Muratorian fragment where (*ll.* 54-59) it is asserted that from the number of the churches to which Paul addressed his nine letters—viz., seven—and from the number of the epistles in the Apocalypse—also seven—we are to perceive that both writers are addressing themselves in their letters to the entire church. There are other reasons also for assigning 2 Pet. to the same date as this fragment, say about 170 or 180 A.D.

(*b*) The other spheres of activity, in which Peter is represented as having laboured along with other apostles are equally questionable. Alongside of such traditions there is often a simpler form in which Peter is not mentioned. Thus there readily arises the suspicion that Peter has been given as a companion to other apostles by legend merely.

Peter is said to have laboured with Philip in Assakia (Phrygia), with his brother Andrew and Matthias or Matthew in the country of the Barbarians, that is to say, primarily, by the Black Sea, so that this legend coincides with a part of that already noticed under *a*. As, however, there is also a country of the barbarians by the Red Sea, we find Peter as the companion of Bartholomew in Egypt as well; and finally what is said of this last apostle is transferred to Judas Thaddæus, so that Peter is made to be the companion of this Judas in Syria.

(*c*) We are told further that from Egypt Peter also made journeys to North Africa and to Britain, but in these cases he was alone.

(*d*) In Syria Peter appears not only with Judas Thaddæus, but also without any companion, particularly in Antioch. Indeed, according to Eusebius in his *Chronicle*, or in his source (§ 26 *e*; Lipsius, ii. 1 25-27), that church was founded by Peter in the second year of Claudius, that is, in 42 A.D. This is in absolute contradiction with Acts 11 19-26. Nor is there any plausible reason for accepting the activity of Peter in Antioch to be found in the consideration that he could easily touch at Antioch in the course of his journeys from Jerusalem to Asia Minor; and just as little can we attach weight to the circumstance that it was precisely in Antioch that SIMON MAGUS (*q.v.* § 11 *b*), whom it was one of Peter's tasks continually to confute, made his appearance. Thus it is tempting to conjecture that the statement as to the appearance of Peter in Antioch rests upon Gal. 2 11-21. If this conjecture is correct we shall have here an admirable example of the manner in which in the making of ecclesiastical legend the hostile relations of two apostles are ignored or even changed into a relation of friendly co-operation (cp § 40 *b*).

We learn even that Peter and Paul together in Antioch consecrated Marcianus as bishop of Syracuse, and Pancratius as bishop of Tauromenium in Sicily (Lipsius, ii. 1 5 8 *f.*). But it

[1] For details here and in what follows we refer once for all to Lipsius, *Apokr. Apost.-Gesch.* (1883-1890), and especially in the first instance to vol. 2 1, and the *Ergänzungsheft*, 226 *f.*

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is only late authors who assign to Peter the bishopric of Antioch (Cod. Coislinianus, No. 120 [ed. Grosch, Jena, 1886] for two years, the Liber Pontificalis [6th and 7th cent.] for seven or ten years). Origen does not, even when he designates Ignatius (*Hom.* 6 in Luc., III. 938 b A, ed. de la Rue) 'episcopum Antiochiæ post Petrum secundum,' for these words are to be understood, in accordance with the expressions of ancient authors cited below (§ 26 *g*), in such a sense that Peter is not to be reckoned as included: so also Eus. *HE* iii. 36 2. Euodius, who is represented as having been appointed by Peter himself (*Const. Apost.* vii. 46), passes for the first bishop of Antioch.

(*e*) It accords with the dating of 1 Pet. (5 13) from Babylon that Peter should be represented as having laboured in Babylonia and Persia. Whilst many accounts have it that he subsequently journeyed to Rome, the Syrian historians assign to him the lands of the Euphrates exclusively as his missionary field (Lipsius ii. 1 6 611-613, ii. 2 145 *f.* 175). Cp § 43.

(*f*) The statement which has met with widest acceptance is that Peter laboured in Rome and suffered martyrdom there. As to this, see §§ 25-31, 37-41, 45.

(*g*) The missionary journeys of Peter through Macedonia, Greece, Sicily, and Italy are open to the suspicion that they have been assumed merely in order to make more clear his migration from Asia Minor to Rome and that for their details the journeys of Paul served as a pattern (Lipsius ii. 1 11).

(*h*) The representation that Peter laboured also in Gaul and in Spain appears to have arisen out of the desire of the Roman church to secure for itself the supremacy over these countries. Pope Innocent I. (402-417) expressly denies that in Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa and Sicily, or any of the intermediate islands, churches were anywhere founded by any one except priests who had been instituted by Peter or by his successors (*Epist.* 25 2, *ap.* Lipsius, ii. 2 217 307).

(*i*) We thus obtain as a preliminary result that apart from Rome only the claims of Antioch and Babylon or at most also of the shores of the Black Sea (Pontus) have some measure of plausible support in tradition; but of these that of Antioch is definitely ruled out by the data of the NT; for not only is the founding of the church there by Peter impossible, but also any lengthened stay there on his part, inasmuch as its Gentile Christian character was most marked and moreover it had been witness of his humiliation at the hands of Paul (Gal. 2 11-21). As for the claims of Babylon, see below, § 30*k*, 43.

25. Sojourn in Rome: earliest witnesses.

Let us first inquire what are our earliest authorities for a sojourn of Peter in Rome and his ultimate martyrdom there. (*a*) The first whom we can date with certainty is Dionysius, bishop of Corinth (about 170 A.D.). From a letter of his addressed to the Church of Rome in the time of the bishopric of Soter there (about 166-174), in which[1] he thanks the Romans for pecuniary help given to members of the Corinthian church, Eusebius (*HE* ii. 25 8) has preserved the following passage: *ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς διὰ τῆς τοσαύτης νουθεσίας τὴν ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου φυτείαν γενηθεῖσαν Ῥωμαίων τε καὶ Κορινθίων συνεκεράσατε. καὶ γὰρ ἄμφω καὶ εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν Κόρινθον φυτεύσαντες ἡμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐδίδαξαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὁμόσε διδάξαντες ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν.* 'So also by this so weighty admonition[2] ye have brought together that planting made by Peter and Paul of the Romans and of the Corinthians. For, indeed, these two both planted us in our Corinth, and likewise taught us; in like manner also after having taught together in Italy they suffered martyrdom about the same time.'

The meaning of these words is not perfectly clear [cp col. 4145]; but so much can be made out—that Dionysius means to designate the Roman and Corinthian churches alike as foundations of Peter and Paul. This is involved in 'planting' (*φυτεία*) even if we should prefer for *φυτεύσαντες* the reading of Syncellus: *φοιτήσαντες*. At the same time, the expression *εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν* stands, in accordance with a linguistic usage which at that date was widely spread (see Winer,(7) § 50 4*b*), for *ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ*, for the participle 'having taught' (*διδάξαντες*) belongs to it; and thus *φοιτήσαντες*, even if it ought to be regarded as the right reading, would not furnish the requisite completion to the second member of the sentence. This being so, the suggestion becomes natural that *εἰς . . . Κόρινθον* stands for *ἐν . . . Κορίνθῳ*, and thus that *φυτεύσαντες* ought to be retained—all the more because it is in keeping with *φυτεία*. Ὁμόσε means properly 'towards one and the same place'; but as we may not bring in *φοιτήσαντες*, this will not at all suit the context. Here also then we must discern another instance of the same confusion as that between *εἰς* and *ἐν*, in other words ὁμοῦ must be meant. Thus Dionysius, even if he does not expressly say that Peter and Paul *came* simultaneously to Corinth and simultaneously to Rome, nevertheless, as regards Rome at least, states that they *taught* there simultaneously; in fact 'in like manner also' (*ὁμοίως δὲ καί*) indicates very distinctly that he assumes them to have taught together in Corinth also.

This last assumption is quite irreconcilable with Acts 18 1-18 20 2 *f.*; and even were we to suppose that Dionysius thinks of Peter's visit to Corinth as having been at a different date from that of Paul, we should still be at hopeless variance with 1 Cor. 3 10-15 4 15 (see § 2 *g*). The statement of Dionysius accordingly can only rest on unwarranted inference from what Paul says regarding the Cephas party in Corinth (1 Cor. 1 12 3 21 *f.*).

Thus it is of no avail when Harnack (*ACL* ii. [=*Chronol.*] I 242 *f.*) seeks to defend Dionysius by arguing that even according to Acts (8 14-17) the founding of a church becomes 'perfect' only after apostolic labours, so that Dionysius does not by the language he uses exclude an activity of other missionaries in Rome before the arrival of Peter and Paul. In the first place, Harnack's exegesis of the passage in Acts is not exact. What can be effected by the apostles alone is the bestowal of the Holy Spirit; that without this the founding of a church is not 'perfect' is not said, and does not at all suit the other case in which the same theory is found (19 1-7). This last passage has nothing at all to do with the founding of a church, but only with the spiritual gifts of speaking with 'tongues' and of prophecy. But, further, Harnack's defence of Dionysius, even were it valid, would apply only to what he says about Rome, not to what he says about Corinth; for, if Dionysius has followed the theory of Acts as this is expounded by Harnack, in the present case at all events Paul has complied with it, inasmuch as he brought about the gift of the Holy Spirit at once in his first ministry there, and thus Peter would have found no field there for his function as a founder of churches unless his arrival had been synchronous with that of Paul.

Thus it is impossible to absolve Dionysius from the charge of having, in the interests of a theory as to the co-operation of Peter and Paul, grievously distorted the history of his own church in a point as to which he of all men must be presumed to have been accurately informed. How then are we to repose confidence in such a 'witness' when he tells us about Rome? Perhaps his whole knowledge regarding Rome rests upon misunderstanding of 1 Clem. (below, § 28), of which he says (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 23 11) that it is regularly read at Corinth in public worship.

(*b*) In Irenæus (about 185 A.D.) the most important passages relating to our present inquiry are the following. According to *Hær.* iii. 1 2 [1] Matthew wrote his gospel 'whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel at Rome and founding the church' (*τοῦ Πέτρου καὶ τοῦ Παύλου ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελιζομένων καὶ θεμελιούντων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*). In iii. 3 1 [2] he speaks of the 'very great, very ancient, and universally known church founded and constituted at Rome by the two very glorious apostles Peter and Paul' (maxima et antiquissima et omnibus cognita a gloriosissimis duobus apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundata et constituta ecclesia). Here Irenæus's interest is to prove the apostolical succession of bishops. As it would be too laborious a task to do this for all churches he contents himself with the case of Rome.

(*c*) The list of bishops of Rome which Irenæus proceeds immediately afterwards to give (iii. 3 2 *f.*) comes down to his own day (*νῦν*) and ends with Eleutherus (about 174-189). It may be presumed that it was not drawn up for the first time at the date of his writing.

[1] As Eusebius in his enumeration (*HE* iv. 23 9) of the epistles of Dionysius known to him mentions only one to the Romans, we must suppose this to be the same as that which he had already made use of (ii. 25 8).

[2] By this is doubtless intended the Epistle of the Roman church mentioned in iv. 23 11, which Dionysius is answering.

It cannot indeed be maintained that Hegesippus—as his words in Eus. *HE* iv. 22 3 seem to say—drew up, after his arrival in Rome, a list of the bishops there down to Anicetus (about 154-166) as Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers*, i. [=Clement of Rome] 1 63 *f.* 153 *f.* 202 *f.* 327-333) would have it (see MINISTRY, § 58 *c*, n. and Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 180-184); but on the other hand according to Harnack (*op. cit.* 184-193) and Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22 2-5 [1901]) it is probable that Epiphanius (*Hær.* 27 6) for his list of the bishops of Rome made use of the same Roman original source as Irenæus, and that this, as in Epiphanius, ended with Anicetus, and thus perhaps was drawn up during his episcopate, or at any rate during that of his successor, Soter. Whatever its date, the form in which the list is now found gives no certainty as to what is the most important point in this connection—the question, namely, as to when it was that the reference to Peter and Paul was first introduced. Irenæus begins his rendering of it thus: 'The blessed apostles [Peter and Paul], then, after founding and building up the church, committed the office of the episcopate into the hands of Linus. To him succeeds Anencletus, and after him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement is allotted the episcopate' (θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν Λίνῳ τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχείρισαν. διαδέχεται δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀνέγκλητος· μετὰ τοῦτον δὲ τρίτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κληροῦται Κλήμης). Thus we find no mention either of Peter or of Paul as bishop of Rome. If Clement is designated as third 'from the apostles' (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων) probably all that is intended is to accentuate the unbrokenness of the succession, not to imply that if one chose to include the two apostles in the reckoning he would be not the third but the fourth or fifth in the series. Epiphanius, however, says: 'In Rome the first were Peter and Paul, apostles and bishops, thereafter Linus, thereafter Cletus, thereafter Clement,' etc. (ἐν Ῥώμῃ γεγόνασι πρῶτοι Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐπίσκοποι. εἶτα Λίνος, εἶτα Κλῆτος, εἶτα Κλήμης, κ.τ.λ.). After a short interruption, he resumes: 'The series of bishops in Rome shows the following succession,—Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement,' etc. (ἡ τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπων διαδοχὴ ταύτην ἔχει τὴν ἀκολουθίαν· Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος, Λίνος καὶ Κλῆτος, Κλήμης, κ.τ.λ.). If, however, Epiphanius makes Peter and Paul bishops of Rome,[1] then Irenæus also, or another shortly before him, can have prefixed their names to the whole list which at an earlier date had begun simply with Linus. The list of bishops can have been subjected to the same supplementing process after Irenæus's time also, before it came into the hands of Epiphanius (died 403), or after that of Julius Africanus (about 220) or of Hippolytus (about 234), the two last mentioned of whom also made use of it, according to Harnack (188). A list of this kind, from the nature of the case, was not allowed to remain long unaltered, but could easily be 'completed' in the course of transcription whenever a copyist believed he had found a gap in it. Moreover, neither Irenæus nor Epiphanius, whose editions of the list lie before us as they wrote them, makes any statement that he is using an external document, and feels himself under obligation to reproduce it scrupulously. Thus for us no exact determination of its date is necessary; so far as Peter and Paul are concerned it does not with certainty take us back to a date before Irenæus.

(*d*) In Clement of Alexandria Peter's sojourn in Rome is, as with Irenæus, mentioned in connection with the writing of a gospel—in this case, however, Mk. not Mt

From the *Hypotyposes* Eusebius (*HE* vi. 14 6 *f.*) has preserved a piece of information which Clement claims to have received from the presbyters of the olden time (τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβυτέρων). 'After that Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome, and, filled with the spirit, had set forth the gospel (τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειπόντος), Mark at the request of many hearers set down these discourses in writing.' Similarly in the *Adumbrationes* on 1 Pet. (ed. Potter, 1007): 'Marcus Petri sectator palam prædicante Petro evangelium Romæ,' etc. In the other passage where Eusebius transcribes the same matter from the *Hypotyposes* of Clement, though somewhat differently (*HE* ii. 15 1 *f.*; with regard to which cp GOSPELS, § 147, end), Rome is presupposed, through the connection with ii. 14 5 *f.*, to be the place. As the Gospel of Mark is alleged to have owed its origin to the evangelist's reports of the discourses of Peter, it is intelligible why Clement should not have mentioned Paul at the same time, even although he was convinced of the apostles having been together in Rome.

(*e*) Pseudo-Cyprian, *De Rebaptismate*, 17 (Cypr. ed. Hartel, 390), read in *Pauli Prædicatio* as follows: 'et post tanta tempora Petrum et Paulum post conlationem evangelii in Hierusalem et mutuam cogitationem et altercationem et rerum agendarum dispositionem [the reference is to Gal. 2 Acts 15] postremo in urbe quasi tunc primum invicem sibi esse cognitos, et quædam alia hujuscemodi absurde ac turpiter conficta' ('and that after such long time, Peter and Paul, after the collation of the gospel in Jerusalem and the mutual consideration and discussion and arrangement of things to be done, had at last in the city, in a certain way, then for the first time become known to one another; and certain other things of this sort, absurdly and basely feigned').

In spite of the title *Pauli Prædicatio* this quotation is often regarded as coming from the book known by the title of Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, in the belief that the title sometimes ran also: Preaching of Peter and Paul. Were this correct, we should have here the oldest testimony to the Roman sojourn of Peter, it being presupposed that the book was used not only by Clement of Alexandria but also as early as in the *Apology of Aristides* (see Harris, *Apology of Aristides*, in *TSt.* i. 1 86-99; Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 472 *f.*; cp OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, §§ 11, 36). But the question of the derivation of the quotation from it is so uncertain (it is answered negatively by von Dobschütz, for example, in *TU* xi. 1 13-15 127-131) that we need not pursue the matter further.

(*f*) The apocryphal *Acta Petri*, which relates the activity and death of Peter at Rome with detail, may be mentioned at this point as being possibly a witness of equal age, but must not be taken account of until after it has been carefully discussed (see §§ 32-39). So also with the Πράξεις Παύλου from which Origen (*tom.* in Jn. 20 12, ed. de la Rue, 4 322, C) quotes: 'as was said by the Saviour, "I am going to be crucified anew"' (ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰρημένον· ἄνωθεν μέλλω σταυροῦσθαι) (see §§ 33 *g*, 34 *g*, 39 *a*, *c*).

We proceed now to the testimonies which come from a somewhat later date.

26. Roman sojourn: later witnesses.

(*a*) Tertullian supplies new data, if not indeed in *adv. Marc.* (4 5 begin.) where he says: 'Romani . . . quibus evangelium et Petrus et Paulus sanguine quoque suo signatum reliquerunt,' or in *Baptism*, 4, where he ascribes the possession of the same salvation to those 'quos Joannes in Jordane et quos Petrus in Tiberi tinxit,' etc., yet certainly in *Præscr. haeret.* 36: 'habes Romam . . . ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur [by crucifixion], ubi Paulus Joannis [the Baptist's] exitu coronatur' [by beheading], and in *Scorpiace*, 15: 'orientem fidem Romæ primus Nero cruentavit. Tunc Petrus ab altero cingitur [Jn. 21 18 *f.*] cum cruci adstringitur; tunc Paulus civitatis Romanæ consequitur nativitatem cum illic martyrii renascitur generositate,' 'Paul acquires the Roman citizenship by right of birth when he is born again in the nobility of martyrdom.'

(*b*) Gaius of Rome (under Zephyrinus, about 198-217) says in his writing against the Montanist Proculus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* ii. 25 6 *f.*): 'But I am able to show the "trophies" of the apostles. For if you will come to the Vatican or to the Ostean Way, you will find the "trophies" of those who founded this church' (ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχω δεῖξαι. ἐὰν γὰρ θελήσῃς ἀπελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν Βατικανὸν ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ὠστίαν, εὑρήσεις τὰ τρόπαια τῶν ταύτην ἱδρυσαμένων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν). By τρόπαια we are to understand here not 'places of burial,' as Eusebius does, but 'places of death.'

Even the literal meaning of the word ('sign of victory') admits this meaning only; for a martyr gained his victory only at the place of his death, not at the place of his burial. To understand the meaning '*sign* of victory' we have only to make the further supposition that those who honoured the martyrs were able to show, at the place of death, some object or other that marked it out for those who visited the spot, and with which was associated some reminiscence, whether real or supposed, of what happened at the martyr's death. Thus in the Vatican was shown a terebinth, on the road to Ostia a pine tree, beside which Peter and Paul respectively breathed their last (Lipsius ii. 1 391).

Even apart, however, from its lexical meaning we may learn that τρόπαια cannot here mean graves. For the bones of the two apostles were not deposited in the places he mentions till long after the time of Gaius; those of Peter after 354, in the Church of St. Peter, which was built at that date; those of Paul, according to the list of the *depositio martyrum*, in the famous chronicle of the year 354, as early as 258 A.D., by the road to Ostia (and before 354 in the basilica newly built there). In the same year, however (258; June 29), the relics of Peter,

[1] For this very reason if for no other we see that Epiphanius cannot have preserved the original form of the list. It also indicates but little accuracy when he says at one time 'Linus, then Cletus' (Λίνος εἶτα Κλῆτος), at another 'Linus and Cletus' (Λίνος καὶ Κλῆτος), for the latter form of expression denotes, as we see in 'Peter and Paul' (Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος), contemporaneous tenure of office.

according to the same list, were transferred *in catacumbas*, that is to say, into the catacombs of the piece of ground beside the Appian Way, half-an-hour outside of the Porta Appia, in other words, hard by the present church of San Sebastiano, which piece of ground was originally the only one that bore the name 'ad Catacumbas,' a name which has never as yet been quite satisfactorily explained. Here an inscription of bishop Damasus (366-384) ran :—

hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes
nomina quisque[1] Petri pariter Paulique requiris.

So far as Peter is concerned, this agrees with the fact that his relics had been removed to the church of St. Peter before this inscription was composed; as regards Paul the statement of Damasus is not easily reconciled with that of the list referred to above. Still, even if the list be correct it is certain that the relics of Paul had not yet, in the time of Gaius, their resting-place by the road to Ostia, and that those of Peter should have been removed to the catacombs would be very unlikely, if already in Gaius's time they had their resting-place at the place of his death, namely the Vatican. On the whole question see Lipsius ii. 1 391-404; Erbes, *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 7 (1885) 1-49, and, as regards the special point, otherwise in 'Todestage der Apostel Paulus u. Petrus' in *TU* xix. (= Neue Folge, iv.), 1 (1899) 67-133. Ficker (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 333-342) utterly denies that the inscription relates to the burial of Peter and Paul. His opinion is that in the view of Damasus they had during their lifetime resided at the spot where the inscription was found (cp 'habitasse,' and 'nomina' not 'corpora'). The inscription, he holds, was directed against the refusal of the Eastern Church, from 325 A.D. onwards, to accept any decisions from Rome, and against the argument urged in support of this refusal that Peter and Paul came from the East (the inscription in fact says, towards the end: Roma suos potius meruit defendere cives). Only, as the locality where the inscription was found was a place of burial, it is very improbable that Damasus can have believed that Peter and Paul when alive lived here at half-an-hour's distance from the city.

(*c*) In immediate continuation of the passage relating to Peter cited above (§ 24 *a*), Origen proceeds: 'Who also in the end, being in Rome, was crucified head downwards, having himself desired to suffer in this way' (ὃς καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει ἐν Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀνεσκολοπίσθη κατὰ κεφαλῆς, οὕτως αὐτὸς ἀξιώσας παθεῖν). The *Acta Petri* (see § 33 *g*) deals fully with the reasons why Peter chose this particular manner of death. As regards Paul, Origen goes on to say that he suffered martyrdom in Rome under Nero.

(*d*) The *Philosophumena* (dating from about 235 and ascribed to Hippolytus), as well as other later writings, mentions the polemic with Simon, carried on at Rome by Peter (and Paul), with which we are acquainted through the apocryphal *Acta Petri* (and *Acta Petri et Pauli*). For details see § 39 *d*.

(*e*) Of later writers we at once mention Eusebius. He brings together all that has been hitherto mentioned, and will have it that Peter was bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, namely from 42-67 A.D. He thus places the Neronian persecution, in which according to him also Peter and Paul suffered martyrdom (*HE* ii. 25 5), three years too late. It is of a piece with this that he supports the theory, which he himself (*HE* v. 18 14) takes from the Anti-Montanist Apollonius (about 200 A.D.)—a theory which already finds expression in the *Prædicatio Petri* (above, § 25 *e*; *ap.* Clem. Al. *Strom.* vi. 5 43, p. 762, ed. Potter; for other supporters of it see Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 243)—that the apostles had been commanded by Jesus not to go abroad from Jerusalem till twelve years after his death. These twelve years Eusebius reckons as from 30 to 42 A.D. The variations met with in the different translations of his Chronicle, no longer extant in Greek, need not trouble us here. The only point of importance for our inquiry is that the reckoning of twenty-five Roman years was found, not invented, by Eusebius. According to Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 116-129) he used the *Chronography* of Julius Africanus, which closed with the reign of Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.).

(*f*) Thus, according to Harnack (201, 703 *f.*), the 'tendency legend,' that Peter sojourned in Rome for twenty-five years, arose and 'became official' between the time of Irenæus, who as yet knew nothing whatever of Peter's twenty-five Roman years, and that of Julius Africanus, that is to say in the episcopate of Victor (about 189-198), or in that of Zephyrinus (about 198-217).

[1] Quisque here = quicunque = whosoever.

(*g*) The consequence of this is that Peter becomes no longer the founder merely, or joint founder, but the bishop also of the church of Rome, and that Paul, whom we still find even in Irenæus, etc. (§ 26 *a-d*), at his side and on a level with him, is eliminated. This consequence, however, was developed only gradually.

The Roman bishop Calixtus (about 217-222) claimed, as appears from Tertullian's refutation (*Pudic.* 21), the power to remit or retain sins, on the ground that he was the successor of Peter who, according to Mt. 16 18 *f.*, had been invested with this power. So also his successors affirmed in Cyprian's time: 'Se successionem Petri tenere' or 'per successionem cathedram Petri habere'; and this is presupposed by Cyprian himself (*Epist.* 75 17 55 8 59 14 71 3). According to the Epistle of Clement to James (2) that now stands prefixed to the Pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, Peter, in appointing Clement bishop of Rome, hands over to him his καθέδρα τῶν λόγων, and confers on him the power of binding and loosing. The author (Hippolytus?) of the 'Little Labyrinth' against the sect of Artemon (*ap.* Eus. *HE* 5 28) in § 3 styles Victor as τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος—thus no longer, as Irenæus phrases it, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων—(*i.e.*, from Peter and Paul; see above, § 25 *c*). Yet he continues to call Victor the thirteenth as Irenæus had called Eleutherus, Victor's predecessor, the twelfth; thus he does not yet reckon Peter as the first member of the series. Similarly, Eusebius still counts Linus as the first bishop of Rome, and in accordance with this, gives the succeeding bishops the same numeration as Irenæus does. While doing so he nevertheless adds (*HE* iii. 4 8), μετὰ Πέτρον, yet along with this not only μετὰ τὴν Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου μαρτυρίαν (iii. 2), but also μετὰ Παῦλόν τε καὶ Πέτρον (iii. 21), ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου (iv. 1) and, precisely as Irenæus has it, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων (iv. 5 5 and v. prooem. 1). For more precise details from Eusebius see Kneller, *Z. f. kathol. Theol.* 1902, p. 229 *f.*

(*h*) It is in the *Catalogus Liberianus* (*i.e.*, the list of Roman bishops brought down to Liberius, A.D. 352 *ff.*), forming part of the famous *Chronicle* of 354, that Peter is first spoken of unreservedly as first bishop of Rome: 'post ascensum ejus [Jesu] beatissimus Petrus episcopatum suscepit' (but here from 30-55 A.D.).

The *Ascensio Jesaiæ* would seem to be a still older witness than any of those we have hitherto discussed, to the fact of Peter's martyrdom at Rome.

27. Ascensio Jesaiæ.

(*a*) Clemen (*ZWT*, 1896, 388-415; 1897, 455-465) held it possible to distinguish and isolate in 3 31-(or 3 21)-4 22 an apocalypse put into writing before the death of Nero (4 2 *f.* 13-18), which related to Nero's persecution of the Christians; and in 4 3 *b*, which at that date he knew only through Dillmann's Latin translation from the Ethiopic ('e duodecim in manus eius tradetur'), he found an allusion to the death of Peter in that reign.

Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 714-716) disputed this hypothesis, including that relating to Peter; Zeller (*ZWT*, 1896, p. 558-568) accepted the latter, but like Harnack put the date of composition much later than Clemen had done, and therefore denied its trustworthiness as regarded Peter. Clemen at a later date was able to report (*Theol. Rundschau*, 1901, p. 75) that Vernon Bartlet (*Apostolic Age*, 1900, p. 524) also had assigned *Asc. Jes.* 3 13-4 21 to the last years of Nero, but at the same time took the opportunity to add, without further discussion, that he himself no longer regarded that dating as probable in view of the Greek text recently published by Grenfell and Hunt (*Amherst Papyri*, 1, 1900, 1-22). Charles, who makes use of this Greek text in his edition of *Asc. Jes.* (1900), holds that a hiatus in 4 3 *b* ought to be filled by the insertion of εἷς and the clause interpreted as referring to Peter: 'of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands' ([τ]ῶν δώδεκα [εἷς] ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ [π]αραδοθήσεται). Harnack also gives his adhesion to this (*SBAW*, 1900, p. 985 *f.*), but adds that the value of the statement regarding Peter will depend upon its date, and this he prefers to assign rather to the first half of the third century, than to any time within the second (*ACL* ii. 1 574-577).

(*b*) Charles, however, holds that *Asc. Jes.* 3 13 *b*-4 18, 'the testament of Hezekiah,' ought to be dated between 88 and 100 A.D., not, as in APOCALYPTIC (above, col. 230), between 50 and 80 A.D. According to him the question turns upon 4 13 (p. 30 *f.*).

Charles renders the Ethiopic version, here the only text available for us, as follows: 'And many believers and saints, having seen Him for whom they were hoping, who was crucified, Jesus the Lord Christ [after that I, Isaiah, had seen Him who was crucified and ascended], and those also who were believers in Him—of these few in those days will be left as His servants, while they flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the Beloved.' Charles adds: 'we see that two classes of the faithful

are discriminated . . . believers who had seen Christ personally, and believers who had not. . . . Of the two classes our text declares that few will be left.' As, however, the first class cannot well have survived into the second century, this passage must have been written before 100 A.D. On the other hand, it has to be remembered that this distinction of two classes could, if really intended, hardly be called a good one. The second class is spoken of as consisting simply of 'those who were believers in Him'; but the first class also consists of 'believers (and saints).' Thus it would hardly seem to have been the writer's intention to distinguish two classes.

(*c*) In a private communication Charles now prefers to read: 'and many believers and saints *who had* seen Him . . . and *who also* kept believing in Him,' etc. By this conjectural substitution of οἵ for the ὅτε which the Ethiopic translation presupposes 'all reference to a second class disappears.' Charles continues to maintain, however, that the reference is to Jewish Christians who have personally known Jesus. But in this case we are compelled to ask: Is the persecution of the last days really to be confined to these alone, and are they alone to look for the Messiah, and other Christians not? Besides, the text even as restored by Charles still contains a very disturbing tautology, 'many believers and saints . . . who also kept believing in Him.'

Bousset (*Antichrist*, 1895, p. 87 *f.*) regards our passage as more largely interpolated than Charles does. But neither is his conjecture at all satisfying. As long as we hold by Charles' text, Zeller's interpretation remains the most probable one, that 'seeing' means a knowledge of Christ possessed by all Christians and not merely by those who were eye-witnesses of his earthly life (cp Jn. 14 7 1 Jn. 3 6 3 Jn. 11). On this interpretation however all necessity disappears for dating the passage before 100 A.D. There are signs of a later origin, such as, for example, the distinction of bishops from presbyters (MINISTRY, §§ 46, 47, 54 *b*, *c*), which as matter of fact is clear in the πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ποιμένες of 3 24 (and also 3 29 according to the Ethiopic version), or the representation of the circumstances of the resurrection of Jesus (3 15-17), which, at least in so far as it names Michael (and Gabriel), goes beyond that of the gospel of Peter even (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 7 *e*).

(*d*) Finally, it does not seem to have occurred to any one to ask whether or no the most important clause of all in the passage before us really belongs to the original text (4 3*b*: 'of the Twelve one will be delivered into his hands.' Charles (pp. lxix-lxxiii) has rightly perceived that it is not the living Nero who is regarded as Antichrist, but the dead one: in the form of Nero, we read in 4 2 4, Beliar (=Satan; 2 Cor. 6 15, and cp BELIAL) will appear and will rule for 3½ years, immediately after which will be the end of the world (4 5-18). Of this Nero it cannot be intended to say that Peter is to fall into his hands in the year 64 A.D. Except in this one clause—if indeed it is to be referred to Peter—the whole of the rest of the description is purely apocalyptic; Christians will become godless (3 21-31), Beliar will come in the form of Nero (4 2) and will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved have planted (Gk. 'will plant': φυτεύσουσιν, 4 3*a*; as to this clause, cp below, *e*); he will work miracles, will cause himself to be worshipped as God, and will be cast into hell by the Lord (Christ?), who will come down from the seventh heaven (4 4-14). If in the middle of all this it is said of one of the twelve that he will fall into the hands of this Beliar (4 3*b*), the one intended must, if the clause is to fit the context, be one who has survived the death of Nero.

The only notorious instance which the readers could have found referred to in these purely allusive words would be that of John with his cup of poison and his bath of boiling oil (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 8*b*). Yet it is not easy to see why this atrocity should be referred precisely to Beliar coming in the form of Nero. This Beliar is a purely apocalyptic form, whose deeds are with good reason described in quite general and indefinite terms. As real prophecy a prediction of any such detail would be not only bold but also out of keeping with the apocalyptic character of the representation of the time of the end; as *vaticinium ex eventu* it is equally out of keeping; and, besides, the martyrdom of John is not a historical fact but first came to be believed at so late a date after the time of the emperor under whom it is alleged to have occurred (Domitian is usually named) as to make it absolutely impossible that at the time of the writer this emperor should be spoken of as the last to reign before the end of the world or that a reign of no more than 3½ years should be assigned to him.

Thus it becomes in fact probable that it is Peter rather than John who is intended. In that case, however, the clause must be regarded as a gloss. It is so regarded, it will be seen, not with the object of getting rid of a text that is inconvenient for the view of Peter's life taken in the present article, but purely for reasons affecting a right understanding of *Asc. Jes.* The deletion of the clause would be necessary even if it related not to Peter but to some other of the apostles who had suffered martyrdom under Nero.

(*e*) There are two ways by which the extent of the gloss can be determined.

If in the entire text the Antichrist is the subject, then it consists only of the above cited words in 4 3*b*. If, on the other hand, we should find ourselves constrained to understand the living Nero as being the subject of *v.* 3 (the subject according to *v.* 2, end, is 'Who himself (even) this king,' ὅστις αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος), then the immediately following expression, *v.* 3*a* ('will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved have planted') must also be reckoned as belonging to the interpolation; for it is quite improbable that between two utterances regarding Antichrist there should stand one relating to the living Nero who must nevertheless be dead before Antichrist comes forward in Nero's form.

Why the clause should have been added by some ancient reader will become very intelligible if only we suppose such reader to have understood by Beliar the actual Nero—as was done at first by Clemen in 1896 *f.* It thus appears that *Asc. Jes.* cannot be adduced as an earlier witness for the belief of the martyrdom of Peter under Nero than the documents dealt with in preceding sections.

Contrariwise all the writings of an older date are profoundly silent on the subject of Peter's Roman sojourn. A detailed examination of 1 Clem. is at this point called for, partly on account of its fundamental importance, and partly because it is often taken in the other sense.

28. 1 Clem.

(*a*) After having pointed to the instances in the OT in which jealousy and envy are seen to have led to the most direful results, Clement proceeds: V. 1. Ἀλλ' ἵνα τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑποδειγμάτων παυσώμεθα, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς· λάβωμεν τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα. 2. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ φθόνον οἱ μέγιστοι καὶ δικαιότατοι στῦλοι ἐδιώχθησαν καὶ ἕως θανάτου ἤθλησαν. 3. Λάβωμεν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἡμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἀποστόλους· 4. Πέτρον, ὃς διὰ ζῆλον ἄδικον οὐχ ἕνα οὐδὲ δύο ἀλλὰ πλείονας ὑπήνεγκε πόνους, καὶ οὕτω μαρτυρήσας ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης. 5. Διὰ ζῆλον καὶ ἔριν Παῦλος ὑπομονῆς βραβεῖον ἔδειξεν· 6. ἑπτάκις δεσμὰ φορέσας, φυγαδευθείς, λιθασθείς, κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει, τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν· 7. δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν καὶ μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων, οὕτως ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον ἐπορεύθη, ὑπομονῆς γενόμενος μέγιστος ὑπογραμμός. VI. 1. Τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὁσίως πολιτευσαμένοις συνηθροίσθη πολὺ πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν, οἵτινες πολλαῖς αἰκίαις καὶ βασάνοις διὰ ζῆλος παθόντες ὑπόδειγμα κάλλιστον ἐγένοντο ἐν ἡμῖν. 2. Διὰ ζῆλος διωχθεῖσαι γυναῖκες Δαναΐδες καὶ Δίρκαι, αἰκίσματα δεινὰ καὶ ἀνόσια παθοῦσαι, ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς πίστεως βέβαιον δρόμον κατήντησαν καὶ ἔλαβον γέρας γενναῖον αἱ ἀσθενεῖς τῷ σώματι.

(5 1) 'But, not to dwell on the ancient examples, let us come to those champions who lived nearest ourselves. Let us take the noble examples of our own generation. (2) By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars were persecuted, and contended even unto death. (3) Let us set before our eyes the good apostles; (4) Peter, who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his due place of glory. (5) By reason of jealousy and strife Paul showed the reward of patient endurance. (6) After that he had been seven times in bonds, had been driven into exile, had been stoned, had preached in the East and in the West, he won the noble renown of his faith; (7) having taught righteousness to the whole world and having come to the limit of the West and having borne his testimony before the rulers, he thus departed from the world and went unto the holy place, having become a very great example of patient endurance. (6 1) Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of elect ones who, suffering by reason of jealousy many indignities and

tortures, became a most admirable example among us. (2) By reason of jealousy women being persecuted as Danaids and Dircæ, after that they had suffered cruel and unholy insults, safely reached the goal in the race of faith and received a noble reward, feeble though they were in body.'

(*b*) The word μαρτυρήσας applied to Paul (5 7) will be most fittingly interpreted as meaning, not 'having suffered martyrdom' (his death is indicated rather by the words ἀπηλλάγη τοῦ κόσμου) but rather 'having borne (oral) testimony' or, at most, 'having suffered tortures.' In the case of Peter, however (5 4), the first of these two renderings does not fit well: for οὕτω μαρτυρήσας seems intended to convey 'after that he had borne testimony' by the 'labours' (πόνοι) just mentioned. These, however, extend over his whole life as an apostle. That precisely his death was occasioned by some such 'labour' and thus was a martyrdom is not expressly said and therefore might be disputed. Still, since Peter is here cited as an instance of how the greatest 'pillars' 'contended even unto death' we refrain from doing so.

(*c*) In like manner it will be well to concede that 'among us' (ἐν ἡμῖν) in 6 1 does not mean 'among us Christians'—which would be tolerably vague—but 'among us Romans.' The reference is to the victims of the Neronian persecution (6 2) who were made use of for the presentation of mythological pieces. Still when it is said of the Neronian martyrs in Rome that they were gathered together with Peter and Paul, we are by no means to draw it as a necessary inference that Peter and Paul also died in Rome. To 'was gathered' (συνηθροίσθη) in 6 1 what we ought rather to supply will be 'to the due place of glory' (εἰς τὸν ὀφειλόμενον τόπον τῆς δόξης) or 'to the holy place' (εἰς τὸν ἅγιον τόπον) of 5 4 7. Thus the common meeting-place referred to is not Rome but heaven, and accordingly the present passage says nothing as to the place of death.

(*d*) Neither in 5 1 does the author give any reason to suppose that he is thinking of all as having one and the same place of death. The oneness that unites those about to be mentioned and separates them from those who have been mentioned already is characterised as a oneness of time only: 'who lived nearest . . . our own generation' (τοὺς ἔγγιστα γενομένους . . . τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν).

(*e*) As the writer is at Rome, by the 'limit of the west' (τέρμα τῆς δύσεως, 5 7) to which Paul came it would seem as if Spain must be meant. The fact, *however, of a journey of Paul to Spain is, if the present* passage be left out of account, nowhere asserted before the fourth century except in the Muratorian fragment (*ll.* 38, 39) and in the pre-Catholic *Acta Petri* (see below, § 33*a*), and in view of the silence of the other witnesses is very much exposed to the suspicion of being merely an inference from Rom. 15 24 28, where Paul expresses the intention of extending his journey from Rome to Spain. Eusebius (*HE* ii. 22 2) speaks of a missionary activity of Paul after the captivity spoken of in Acts 28 30 *f.*, but does not say where, and adds that thereafter Paul came once more to Rome and suffered martyrdom there. In the immediately following context (22 3-8) he refers the 'first hearing' (πρώτη ἀπολογία) of 2 Tim. 4 16 to the first Roman captivity. Here too, in view of the silence of other witnesses, there arises inevitably a strong suspicion that the discrimination of two captivities may have been suggested by this passage merely, whilst nevertheless πρώτη ἀπολογία in the nature of things ought to mean merely a first 'appearance' or 'hearing' as distinct from a second in the course of the same captivity, since the whole passage 4 9-18 is speaking of the details of a single captivity. For this inference not Eusebius but some one who preceded him must be held responsible; he himself introduces the whole story with a λόγος ἔχει ('the story goes'). If, however, Eusebius, who elsewhere puts forth so much that is false with the greatest assurance, here uses so cautious an expression as this, the matter, we may rest assured, is questionable in the highest degree.

Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 239 *f.*) characterises the liberation of Paul from his first Roman captivity (and the journey to Spain) as an 'assured fact' (*gesicherte Thatsache*). His reasons are—apart from τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως *here—certain genuine fragments of* Paul preserved in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Tim. 1 15-18 4 9-21 Tit. 3 12 *f.*), for which one can find no room in the earlier life of Paul (a very precarious hypothesis, to say the least) and also chronological considerations according to which the first captivity came to an end in 59 A.D. whilst the martyrdom of Paul in the Neronian persecution (July, 64 A.D.) is an 'ascertained fact.' This last fact has no other 'secure' basis on which to rest than Harnack's interpretation of our present passage in 1 Clem. and the 'definite pieces of information' (*ACL* ii. 1 710) referred to above (§ 25 *f.*) of which Harnack himself wrote not so very long ago (on 1 Clem. 5 4: 1876): 'posteriore tempore auctores martyrii Petri vel itineris Romani, quorum testimonium nullius fere pretii est, sunt Dionysius Corinthius, Gajus Romanus, . . . Irenæus,' etc. If these testimonies are of hardly any value with reference to Peter it is difficult to see that they are entitled to much confidence in what they say about Paul,—so far at least as the persons of the witnesses are concerned. The reckoning, however, which is suggested alternatively for adoption under CHRONOLOGY, §§ *64-80, according* to which the first Roman captivity ends in 59 A.D., Harnack is able to maintain (238) only at the cost of assuming that Tacitus is wrong by a year as to the age of the imperial prince Britannicus. Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. d. Urchristenth.* i. [1893] 1-108 iii. 1 [1900]) postulates the liberation of Paul from his two-years' Roman captivity in the interests of a very bold division of the Epistle to the Romans into two separate epistles, the first of which was written by Paul before, and the second (12 1-15 7 16 1-20) after, his first sojourn in Rome. Conservative theology with almost complete unanimity postulates this liberation in the interests of the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles. In that case, however, the journey into Spain is only an embarrassment, as the Epistles in question presuppose rather fresh journeys of the apostle in the East (1 Tim. 1 3 3 14 *f.* 4 13 Tit. 1 5 3 12): but these in turn are excluded by Acts 20 25 ('I know that ye all . . . shall see my face no more'), a saying which the author, even if it had reached him by tradition as a genuine utterance of Paul, would certainly have altered or omitted if it had not come true.

(*f*) The expression 'the limit of the west' (τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως) itself would necessarily denote Spain only on the assumption that it cannot be taken otherwise than in a purely geographical sense. Since Paul, however, is the subject of the sentence, the writer can very possibly have meant a point that was for ***him*** the westward limit of his activities, in which case there is no longer any necessity to hold that Spain—otherwise so poorly attested as a field of Paul's activities—is meant. The writer, indeed, had he been very anxious to make it quite clear that Rome and Rome alone was intended, could have added 'his' (αὐτοῦ) to 'limit' (τέρμα); but it so happens that it is good Greek precisely to refrain from doing so. The passage is as every one sees highly rhetorical in character.

This being so it could surprise no one if the author, although himself a Roman, with Paul's starting-point in mind, calls Rome 'the limit of the west,' just as in Acts 13 47 it is called 'the uttermost part of the earth' (ἔσχατον τῆς γῆς), and just as in Ps. Sal. (17 14 [12]) Pompeius sends his captive Jews 'as far as the west' (ἕως ἐπὶ δυσμῶν) or as Ignatius (*ad Rom.* 2 2) is transported 'to west from east' (εἰς δύσιν ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς). In 1 Clem. itself 'east and west' (ἀνατολὴ καὶ δύσις) are used shortly before (5 6) as geographical indications of the range of Paul's activities, but from this it by no means follows that 'the limit of the west' must here be taken in an absolute sense and without any reference to the apostle's point of departure. In 1 Clem. 5 7 'having taught righteousness unto the whole world' (δικαιοσύνην διδάξας ὅλον τὸν κόσμον) only repeats what was expressed in the preceding clause by 'having preached in the east and in the west' (κῆρυξ γενόμενος ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει) and similarly the phrase immediately following this last 'won the noble renown which was the reward of his faith' (τὸ γενναῖον τῆς πίστεως αὐτοῦ κλέος ἔλαβεν) gives already a hint of his martyrdom which is more fully described in the succeeding section. Thus it is entirely in accordance with the structure of the whole writing if by 'having come to the limit of the west' nothing new is intended but only a renewed reference to the apostle's sojourn in Rome. Another important point is that none of the church fathers has found Spain in our present passage; otherwise Eusebius at least would not have left unnamed the place where Paul was believed to have laboured between his first and his second captivity, and the others would not have kept complete silence as to his liberation from the first.

(*g*) If on the other hand Spain were meant it would in that case become almost necessary to understand by the rulers (ἡγούμενοι) before whom Paul bore his testimony the Spanish civil authorities. There is not a single tradition, however, in favour of Spain as the place of Paul's martyrdom. That Rome was the place is nowhere doubted. The rulers (ἡγούμενοι) can,

according to the usage of 1 Clem. (see MINISTRY, § 47*b*, middle), mean any high political authority; but if Rome is referred to, the emperor and his advisers will be meant.

(*h*) We now come to the most important point—which is, that the entire passage before us is designed to set forth a parallel between Peter and Paul. Thus it becomes necessary to pay special attention to the points in which the parallel is not carried out. Now, at the very outset, we notice that the sufferings of Paul in the service of the gospel are much more fully particularised than those of Peter. We may be certain that the author would have been equally detailed in the case of Peter had this been in his power. Is it possible that in Rome so little that is definite should have been known if he had actually died there? In the case of Peter, further, no parallel at all to Paul's 'coming to the limit of the west' and his 'bearing testimony before the rulers' is offered. Had it been Spain that was in question, we should not have wondered to find that the same things could not be said of Peter as of Paul; but from what has been said in the foregoing paragraphs of this section, it will be seen that it is with Rome that we are dealing, and in this case it naturally becomes a point of great importance to notice that what is said is said of Paul alone. Yet, even if 'the limit of the west' were to be taken as meaning Spain, we should still have to reckon with the fact that the author of the epistle was not in a position to say of Peter that he had borne testimony 'before the rulers.' Even should 'the rulers' denote, not the emperor and his advisers but some other high authority, it is clear that the author knew nothing of any 'witnessing' (μαρτυρεῖν) of Peter before such an authority. How willingly would he not have adduced it had any such tradition been within his reach! For he names Peter even before Paul. The phrase 'rulers,' however, makes it still more clear than does 'limit of the west,' that as regards Paul both must be sought in Rome. This being so, the fact that only of Paul is it said that he was 'a preacher in the east and in the west' (κῆρυξ ἔν τε τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ δύσει) acquires a new significance. In short, this writer was ignorant, not only of any 'witnessing' (μαρτυρεῖν) before the authorities (in Rome) on Peter's part, but also of any missionary activity of his at all in the west; yet he wrote in Rome about 93-97 A.D. (at latest, but not probably, about 120 A.D. See GALATIANS, § 9 [but cp also OLD-CHRISTIAN LITERATURE, § 26]).

(*i*) This conclusion, however clear in itself, is often resisted on the ground that no other place than Rome is ever mentioned in tradition as the scene of Peter's martyrdom, and that it would be too extraordinary if Clement, while knowing the fact of Peter's martyrdom, should be ignorant of the place of it. But neither objection is conclusive.

If, let us suppose, Peter had perished while travelling in a distant land, at some obscure place, not as the result of ordinary process of law, but perhaps in some popular tumult, and if also such companions as he may have had perished along with him, then information of his death could reach his fellow-Christians only by report; and if, even at a later date, no Christian church arose at the place where it occurred, no local tradition as to his end had any chance of surviving. Let us only suppose, for example, that Paul had died of the stoning at Lystra (Acts 14 19) or of that with which he was threatened at Iconium (14 5), and either was unaccompanied or was accompanied even in death—what should we, what could Clement—have known as to the place of his death? Yet, indeed, there is no need for supposing such an extreme case as this. It is very conceivable that Clement actually did know the place of Peter's death, and yet did not name it because this was not required for his purpose. In the case of Paul he does not judge it in the least important to name the place; all he thinks worth commemorating is that his appearance was made before the 'rulers' (ἡγούμενοι), and in this way only indirectly do we learn the locality. That of Peter's death he could pass over all the more easily because he could take it for granted that his readers at Corinth knew it just as well as himself. It must not be forgotten that his object is not to tell them anything new, but to draw profitable exhortation for them from known facts.

(*k*) It is therefore quite useless to conjecture that Peter and Paul alone are selected out of the number of the apostles (notwithstanding that James the son of Zebedee might also have been mentioned: Acts 12 2), only because they were specially well known in Rome. Even if this were the reason, it still would be no proof of Peter's having ever been in Rome: even without this he was famous enough. What is more to the point is that both apostles were known in Corinth—in a general way as well known as at Rome—and over and above this in a special manner, because the church there had been founded by the one, whilst the other had been chosen by a party there as its head (1 Cor. 1 12 3 22).

(*l*) If Peter's death was not at Rome, then neither was it during the Neronian persecution, which so far as we know did not extend beyond that city. Even if it had so extended, however, Peter could not be regarded as one of its victims, according to the passage now under discussion, for in the provinces the persecution would naturally break out later than in Rome, whilst Peter and Paul, according to the order followed, and the 'gathering' (συνηθροίσθη) of 6 1, preceded the great multitude of Nero's martyrs. If they died in Rome we should have to think of this as happening immediately on the outbreak of the persecution. This, however, as we have seen, does not apply to Peter; and even in the case of Paul we have no right to assume it, although he did die in Rome.

The prevailing opinion, that if it was in 64 A.D., it was in consequence of the Neronian persecution that Paul was condemned to death, is very rash. The judicial procedure of Rome was not so utterly arbitrary as would be implied were it true that a prisoner who was kept day and night chained to a soldier should be found guilty of fire-raising, or of incitation thereto. The process against Paul followed its own course. That in the general hostility to Christians it was hurried on is likely enough, but hardly so rapidly that Paul should have preceded the great bulk of the Neronian martyrs.

29. Other mentions of martyrdom with place unspecified.

At a date subsequent also to that of 1 Clem. we find allusions to the martyrdom of Peter, but without mention of the place. (*a*) It is not certain, it is true, whether Jn. 13 36 belongs to this category. When Jesus says: 'Whither I go thou canst not follow me now' he means his going to heaven, as is clear from 7 34 8 21 (to both of which passages express reference is made in 13 33); and that it is into heaven that Peter is to follow him has its parallel in 17 24. Nevertheless, it is open to us to understand also that the manner of the entering into heaven, that is, the manner of death, is to be the same for Peter as for Jesus. 13 37 may contain an allusion to this when Peter says 'I will lay down my life for thee.' It would be quite in keeping were we to understand the words of Jesus as meaning: 'Thou canst not follow me in this manner now, but later thou shalt be able.' The question, therefore, comes to be whether the writer already knew of the martyrdom of Peter. On the assumption that the martyrdom is historical, it is very probable that he did. But even if it was legendary, the author, who wrote about 132-140 A.D., could very easily have heard about it. The question, however, whether he thought of the death of Peter as having happened in Rome, will depend for its answer on our determination of the date at which this opinion arose. He himself gives no indication.

(*b*) Jn. 21, the addition of a later hand (§ 22*c*), certainly speaks of the martyrdom; whether at Rome or no is a question to be decided in the same manner as in *a*.

(*c*) 2 Pet. 1 14 refers back to Jn. 21 18 *f.* Nowhere else, so far as we know, did Jesus say to Peter that 'the putting off of his tabernacle cometh swiftly,' and in view of the late date of 2 Pet. (see § 24 *a*) its author's acquaintance with Jn. 21 is very possible, as also his acquaintance with the tradition that Peter had suffered martyrdom in Rome.

(*d*) In the Muratorian fragment the *passio Petri*

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is referred to in *l.* 37, and that, according to the almost universally accepted restoration of the text ('semota passione Petri evidenter declarat'), as one of the events by his silence as to which the writer of Acts makes it clear that he has incorporated in his book only such occurrences as had happened in his presence. Thus here also the martyrdom of Peter is regarded as a known event, and can very easily have been conceived of by the author (who wrote between 170 and 200 A.D.) as having happened in Rome. Only, as he says nothing as to this, the passage before us is not any more decisive on the question in hand, than the other three which have been already considered.

(*e*) In Rev. 18 20 ('rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets') the apostles seem to be thought of as in heaven, and must therefore, according to 6 9-11, have been thought of as martyrs. We may be certain, however, that not all the twelve apostles became martyrs, not to speak of the saints and Christian prophets of whom this would equally hold good. The passage is thus too exaggerated to justify us in inferring the martyrdom of Peter with certainty.

(*f*) In Macarius Magnes (*Apocrit.* 3 22; about 400 A.D.) the heathen with whom he is in controversy says that Peter made a disgraceful escape from prison in Jerusalem (Acts 12 5-19), and was afterwards crucified after having been able to carry out the command of Jesus, 'feed my lambs' (Jn. 21 15), for only a few months. Harnack (*TLZ*, 1902, 604) will have it that this heathen was Porphyry, the learned opponent of the Christians in Rome (*ob.* A.D. 304) and that what he says regarding the few months and the death by crucifixion has reference to Rome (in 4 4 the same opponent of Macarius mentions the beheading of Paul in Rome, and thereafter, without specifying the place, the crucifixion of Peter) and is drawn from satisfactory Roman tradition. Carl Schmidt (below § 49), 167-171, observes, however, and with justice, that in Porphyry's time Peter's twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome had long been a recognised belief (so also Harnack himself; above, § 26 [*f*]), and on this ground supposes that Porphyry is drawing from the Acta Petri, according to which Peter arrives in Rome and dies in the interval between Paul's departure from Rome and his return; and in fact the divine prediction of the death of Paul in Rome (below, § 33 *a*) is the answer to the request of his followers that he (Paul) should not absent himself from Rome for more than a year.

All the more important in our present investigation are those writings which are silent upon the sojourn in Rome, and, so far as they were written after 64 A.D., also upon the martyrdom of Peter, although some such reference might have been expected in them. At the same time, this does not hold good of all of them in an equal degree.

30. Silence on Roman sojourn (and martyrdom).

(*a*) The Epistle to the Romans excludes with the utmost decisiveness the idea that at the time of its composition Peter was in Rome, or even without staying in Rome was exercising any sort of supervision over the church there. Had it been otherwise, Paul would most certainly have referred to the fact. He is at very great pains to indicate his right to labour in Rome. We may not here refer to his arrangement with the three 'pillar' apostles at the council of Jerusalem (Gal. 2 9: 'you to the Jews, we to the Gentiles'); for this arrangement not only was capable of various interpretations, but had also shown itself to be unworkable (COUNCIL, § 9). The practice of the Judaists, however, who forced their way into the churches founded by Paul and sought to turn them against him, had led him to formulate another principle by which division of labour in the mission field might be regulated—this, namely, that no missionary ought to invade the field once taken possession of by another ('not to glory in other men's labours'; 2 Cor. 10 15 *f.*). When, however, he excuses and justifies his intention of visiting Rome, notwithstanding this principle, he always does so, 1 5-15 15 20-29, as towards the church, whilst if Peter had been its head he ought to have done so in the first instance as towards him.

On the assumption that 15 20-24, along with the whole, or parts, of chap. 15 (and 16) comes from a later time, it has sometimes been thought possible that here already the opinion of Peter's bishopric of Rome is presupposed. The expressions, however, are worded so generally that any such conjecture does not admit of verification, even when the late date of the section is assumed.

(*b*) The Epistle to the Philippians, which according to 1 13 4 22 was very probably written in Rome, makes no mention of Peter. True, Paul had not exactly any urgent occasion to mention him in this particular epistle. Nevertheless, one may hazard a conjecture that 1 15-18 would have been somewhat less sharply worded had Peter been then at the head of the church in Rome (the still sharper passage 3 2-6 does not come into account here, as in all probability it is directed, not against Jewish Christians as 1 15-18 is, but against non-Christian Jews, and, in fact, against Jews of this class in Philippi).

(*c*) If the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians were written during the captivity in Cæsarea, they do not need to be referred to here. On the assumption of their genuineness, however, it is equally possible that they may have been written from Rome. In that case, however, the apostle had no more pressing occasion, so far as his correspondents were concerned, for mentioning Peter (on the supposition that he also was at Rome) than he had in writing to the Philippians (the Epistle to the Ephesians, if we are to maintain its genuineness, we must necessarily regard as a circular writing). If, on the other hand, these epistles are not genuine but really date from the period of Gnosticism between 100 and 130 (see MINISTRY, § 25 *a*, n.), it has to be noticed that in Col. 4 10 there is a greeting from Mark who is held to have been the interpreter of Peter, yet none from Peter himself. We cannot, nevertheless, securely infer from this that the Roman sojourn of Peter was unknown to this writer.

Not only does he not say that the epistle which he is writing under Paul's name is meant to be taken as having been written from Rome (the place of composition remains obscure); the absence of mention of Peter can also have its explanation in the fact that the writer cared only for Paul, not for Peter, and that he therefore introduced into his letter greetings only from such persons as, like Mark, had been fellow-labourers with Paul (unless, indeed, the list of greetings in 4 10-15 be a genuine fragment of Paul, for the details of which we must not hold the post-apostolic author of the whole epistle responsible).

The case of the Epistle to the Ephesians is similar. It too says nothing regarding its place of composition. In presence of the great interest it expresses in the unity of the church, and especially in the complete fusion of Jewish and Gentile Christians (1 22 *f.* 4 3-6 2 11-22, etc.), there was, in point of fact, an opportunity for allusion to the common activities of Paul and Peter. But as it avoids personal matters almost entirely, and designates the apostles and NT prophets in general as the foundation of the church and as holy (2 20 3 5), we cannot venture on any far-reaching inferences from the absence of any mention of Peter, and in particular must not infer with confidence that the author knew nothing of Peter's Roman sojourn.

(*d*) The second Epistle to Timothy is expressly dated from the captivity in Rome (1 8 16 *f.* 2 9), and names Mark along with other missionary companions of Paul (4 11), although perhaps (just as with Colossians) in a genuine fragment of Paul. Some mention of Peter (if his Roman sojourn was already known) would have been appropriate alike in the case of the genuineness of the epistle and in that of its spuriousness, but cannot be expected with certainty even on the latter alternative—which is certainly the one to be chosen (see MINISTRY, § 54 [cp also TIMOTHY, ii. § 16])—since 2 Tim. unreservedly declares itself to be a 'Pauline' writing and an instruction

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addressed to a disciple of the apostle, and sees the unity of the church in its doctrine and organisation, not in what can be said about the persons of its founders.

(*e*) In Acts one of the main objects is to draw a parallel between Peter and Paul (see ACTS, § 4). A joint activity of the two in Rome would have been the best crown which the author could possibly have given to this work. Indeed, even without the contemporaneous presence of Paul, the arrival in the metropolis of the world of Peter, who with Paul passes as the real originator of missions to the Gentiles (10 1-11 18 15 7-11), must have seemed equally important with that of Paul, which is even made the subject of repeated predictions (19 21 23 11). If Peter is to be held to have come to Rome nevertheless, this is conceivable only as having happened after Paul's death, which the author did not wish to refer to for political reasons (see ACTS, § 5 i.), or on the supposition that the meeting of the two was a hostile one, and therefore will have been passed over by the author in the same silence with which he passed over the encounter at Antioch (Gal. 2 11-21). As for this latter supposition, however, it is surely an odd procedure to excogitate a possibility, in order, thereby, to support a tradition which declares precisely the opposite of the possibility supposed—namely, a harmonious co-operation between the two apostles. If we disregard this attempt, we must infer that in the author's time, that is to say, somewhere between 105 (110) and 130 (see ACTS, § 16), nothing was known of a contemporary activity of the two apostles in Rome. On the other hand, there remains the possibility that Peter arrrived in Rome after the death of Paul; only, neither is this vouched for by any tradition.

(*f*) The *Shepherd of Hermas*, which was written in Rome about 140 A.D., makes no mention of Peter. Nor yet, it must be added, of Paul. A book of so apocalyptic a character is, in fact, not to be supposed to concern itself with personal details from a past time. It is worthy of note that the rock (and the doors) of the tower which represents the church, are interpreted as meaning the Son of God (*Sim.* ix. 12 1, in agreement with 1 Cor. 10 4 and Jn. 10 7 9). This, however, proves only that the author was still unacquainted with Mt. 16 18—or that he has not allowed himself to be influenced by it.

(*g*) All the more eloquent is the silence of Justin Martyr, who wrote in Rome about 152, as to the Roman sojourn of Peter. He has much to say regarding the sojourn there of Simon Magus, but nothing of Peter's polemic against him, of which we are to hear so much by and by (§§ 33, 34, 40 *a*).

(*h*) Papias (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 39 15) reports, as one of the communications of 'the presbyter,' that Mark accompanied Peter as interpreter; but it is very rash to assume that in making this statement Papias had Rome in his mind (see MARK, col. 2939, n. 1). If Papias wrote late enough he could have heard of the presence of Peter there; but of this he in point of fact says nothing. In particular, the agreement of Papias with the statement about Mark which Eusebius (*HE* ii. 15 2; cp GOSPELS, § 80 *b*) records has to be taken merely in accordance with the words cited in the other passage and by no means to be extended to everything which Eusebius introduces here with a 'they say' (φασίν), and which, by the connection with ii. 14 5 *f.*, must in fact be interpreted as referring to Rome (§ 25 *d*). Still more certainly wrong would it be to extend the agreement of Papias also to what follows in ii. 15 2 after the mention of his name, where we read 'it is said' (φασίν) that Peter in his First Epistle means Rome by 'Babylon.'

(*i*) Ignatius writes to the Romans (4 3): 'I do not enjoin you, as Peter and Paul did' (οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν). If this was in 170-180 A.D. (see MINISTRY, § 53, *b-i*), we might suppose the phrase quoted to rest on the assumption that Peter and Paul had personally laid their oral injunctions upon the Roman church, since, so far as written precepts are concerned, this could be said only of Paul, not of Peter. When Ignatius is addressing other churches he expresses the same thought without mention of Peter and Paul (*ad Eph.* 3 1, *ad Trall.* 3 3). Nevertheless we cannot positively affirm that the expression in the Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans inherently, and thus even if written at an earlier date, contains the presupposition that Peter had once personally visited Rome. As what he means to say is simply, 'I do not address myself to you as one having authority,' it was very natural to mention by way of example two famous names that did carry authority, even if they had not personally quite equal importance for the readers.

(*k*) 1 Pet. may here be noticed by way of appendix. Whether it is relevant to the discussion will depend on our interpretation of it, and this we are not yet able to settle (cp § 42). Babylon is in the Apocalypse 'the great city' (Rev. 18 10 21), 'the mother of the harlots and of the abominations of the earth, drunken with the blood of the saints, ruling over the kings of the earth, sitting upon seven hills' (17 5 *f.* 18 9)—in other words, Rome. It is certain, however, that no such mysterious name could have been bestowed upon the world-metropolis before the beginning of the Neronian persecution, and we may conjecture that it first owed its currency among Christians to the Apocalypse itself. Should 1 Pet., therefore, have been written before, or at the beginning of, the Neronian persecution, we may conclude either that the writer could not possibly have intended Rome by Babylon or at least that in referring to it by this name he could not count upon being understood. This he could do, if he wrote at a later date. But this possibility by no means excludes the other, that he may have meant the literal Babylon on the Euphrates.

That this city was at that date wholly uninhabited rests upon a too literal understanding of Pausanias (viii. 33 3 [cp i. 16 3]): οὐδέν τι ἦν εἰ μὴ τεῖχος, 'nothing is left but the walls') and Pliny (*HN* vi. 26 [30] 122): 'ad solitudinem rediit.' Cp Lucian, *Charon*, 23: 'Yonder is Babylon, the city with the noble towers, the city of vast compass; but soon it too, like Nineveh, will be sought for in vain.' According to Strabo (xvi. 1 5, p. 738 or 1073) the city was only 'desert for the most part' (ἔρημος ἡ πολλή); according to Diodorus (ii. 9 9) a small portion was inhabited. To understand rightly what is meant one must bear in mind the enormous compass (360-385 stadia, some 40 m.) of the city according to Diodorus (ii. 7 3) and Strabo (*l.c.*). Under Claudius the hatred of the Babylonians compelled the Jews in Babylon to take refuge in Seleucia; but there also their arrival stirred up fresh hatred and they were put to death to the number of more than 50,000 (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 9 8 *f.*, §§ 371-376).

Before entering upon the difficult field of the apocryphal literature it will be convenient to sum up the results of the preceding discussions of passages in the NT and the fathers.

31. Provisional conclusions.

(*a*) A twenty-five years' sojourn of Peter in Rome is out of the question. Romans and Acts are decisive against it (§ 30 *a*, *e*). Further, the manner in which Peter's presence in Jerusalem as a resident is taken for granted in Acts 15 and Gal. 2 1-10 in connection with the Council of Jerusalem, as also in Gal. 2 11-21 in connection with his subsequent visit to Antioch, cannot be satisfactorily explained by the favourite theory of prolonged interruptions of his Roman sojourn.

(*b*) As Rom., Acts (and Phil.) show (§ 30 *a*, *b*, *e*), Peter had never been at Rome at all at any date before or during Paul's sojourn there.

(*c*) Peter's bishopric in Rome (§ 26 *g*, *h*) is excluded by the fact that throughout the first century and indeed even down to the time of Hermas (about 140 A.D.), and particularly in Rome, no such thing as monarchical episcopacy existed at all (see MINISTRY, §§ 46 *b*, 47), as also by this, that according to Gal. 2 9 Peter's wish was to associate only with Jews and Jewish Christians, and according to *vv.* 11-21 he was not in a position to take any tenable place in a mixed community. As bishop of the mixed community in Rome he would have been exposed to the same difficulties as in Antioch, and would

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soon have made himself as impossible in the one place as in the other.

(*d*) The theory also, that along with the other original apostles Peter remained for twelve years in Jerusalem and thereafter set out on missionary journeys is false, not only because it leads chronologically to a displacement of the Neronian persecution (bringing it down to 67 A.D.; see § 26 *e*)—an error which would admit of rectification by a curtailment of the twenty-five Roman years—but also because it presupposes that the original apostles, contrary to Gal. 2 9, had carried on missions to the Gentiles. The twelve years, however, are themselves open to suspicion, not merely because twelve is a sacred number, but also because it could be easily arrived at by computation from Acts 12 3 17-24. Herod Agrippa I. died in 44 A.D.; shortly before, after his liberation from prison, Peter left Jerusalem. Thus it was possible to arrive at a sojourn of twelve years in Jerusalem for Peter in the first instance, and then, schematically, to extend the same determination of time to all the rest of the original apostles.

(*e*) Of all the spheres of activity assigned by tradition to Peter outside of Palestine, the only one that deserves serious consideration along with Rome is Babylonia (§ 24). In virtue of its large Jewish population Babylonia was very well suited to be a mission field for the apostle, and in a certain view of the passage is also presupposed to have been so in 1 Pet. 5 13 (§§ 30 *k*, 42, 43).

(*f*) Clement of Rome, incomparably the most important witness (§ 28), is decisively against a Roman sojourn of Peter. All that can be deduced from him is—not indeed as anything certainly attested but yet as something which need not be gainsaid—only Peter's martyrdom, but outside of Rome and away from the western world altogether. Nor are we carried any further by the notices of his martyrdom enumerated in § 29 where no place is specified.

(*g*) If Peter suffered martyrdom it by no means follows from this mere fact, as Harnack represents the matter (*ACL* ii. 1 710), that the martyrdom was in Rome.

We cannot even assent to Harnack's first sentence as certain, 'if the fact of the martyrdom was at that time notorious, the place of it was also known' (see § 28 *i*); and his second sentence, 'but never has any other church than the Roman laid claim to the martyrdom of Peter,' loses its demonstrative force as soon as the event is for a moment supposed to have happened at a place where, during, say, the next hundred years, no Christian church existed. The assumption is often made that for the martyrdom of any apostle a Christian persecution, or at least some formal process against the individual martyr, was requisite. Surely it would be well to remember 2 Cor. 11 25 *f.*, 'once I was stoned . . . in perils from my countrymen, in perils from the Gentiles.' At a place where an apostle had died in this manner memory of the occurrence would naturally be less vivid and tenacious than it would be in a place where there was a Christian church, and could easily drop into the background and finally fall into complete oblivion when the opinion became widely diffused that Peter had died in Rome. See, further, under (*p*), and § 40 *b*.

(*h*) Justin (about 152 A.D.) knows nothing of the Roman sojourn of Peter (§ 30 *g*). This circumstance ought also to induce caution in finding a testimony for such a sojourn in Clement of Rome.

(*i*) Of the authors dealt with up to this point Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.) is the first to assert a Roman sojourn. Only, he does it in connection with so much matter that is fabulous that his 'distinct statement' (so Harnack, 710) must thereby be held to lose all credibility (§ 25 *a*). The other statement, in all respects parallel to the assertion of Dionysius, that Peter founded the church of Antioch (§ 24 *d*), is characterised by Harnack himself (705 *f.*) as 'a gross falsification of history.'

(*k*) The list of Roman bishops seems to have the advantage over Dionysius that it rests on local tradition. Yet we have no certainty that it bore the names of Peter and Paul at its head before the time of Irenæus (§ 25 *c*).

(*l*) No value can be attached to the statements of Gaius as to the places of death of Peter and Paul (§ 26 *b*) because in his time, or even ten years before his time, the second stage of the Roman Peter-tradition, the 'tendency legend' of the twenty-five years' duration of his sojourn, had already, according to Harnack, 'become official' (§ 26 *e*, *f*).

(*m*) It is not of Peter alone, but almost without exception, of Peter and Paul together, that the exponents of the above tradition affirm a sojourn (eventually even, in fact, an arrival together) and a martyrdom in Rome (§ 25 *f.*). If Clement of Alexandria mentions only Peter, there is a special reason for this (§ 25 *d*), and also in Origen (§ 26 *c*) we have no reason to doubt that he thought of Peter as having died at Rome under Nero just as he expressly asserts that Paul did. If one decide in favour of Rome as the place of Peter's death (but see above, *f*-*h*), there is no longer any direct possibility of disproving that this event was practically contemporaneous with the death of Paul. This circumstance, however, is of no significance; for the presence together of Peter and Paul in Rome during the period described in Acts (and Philippians; see § 30 *e*, *b*) is practically excluded, and thus can continue to be affirmed only when the hypothesis of a second captivity of Paul is called in—a hypothesis which is quite unhistorical (§ 28 *e*, *f*). See further, under *p*, and § 41 *b*.

(*n*) Our decision must therefore decidedly be that Peter never was in Rome at all.

We read in Harnack (709 *f.*), 'it is here presupposed [that is to say, throughout the whole of *ACL*], and never once has it been sought to prove that Peter really did come to Rome and suffered martyrdom there. This fact, so far as I am aware, is not disputed save by those who give credence to a certain ancient Simon-romance, and in accordance with this affirm that Peter was brought to Rome by 'tendency-legend' in order to controvert, in the world-metropolis also, Simon-Paul who had taken his journey thither' (see below, § 40 *a*, *b*). This assertion must now so far, at any rate, be qualified by the fact that at least one profane historian of repute, namely, Soltau (below, *o*), has come forward in support of the condemned thesis. Also, the preceding discussion shows thus much at least, that our conclusion has been arrived at without any resort at all to the Simon-romance.

It rests essentially upon a particular view of 1 Clem. and Ignatius (§§ 28, 30 *i*) whom Harnack himself calls 'two very strong, though not absolutely secure, supports of the martyrdom, or of the sojourn of Peter in Rome,' upon a distrust of the 'testimony' of Dionysius of Corinth and his companions which was formerly shared (see above, § 28 *e*) by Harnack himself, and upon a due regard to Justin's evidence, upon which Harnack is quite silent. Just as, according to Harnack, the 'tendency-legend' of Peter's twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome became official between 189 and 217 A.D., so also in our view the fable of the simultaneous presence of Peter and Paul in Rome and the martyrdom of Peter there became official between 152 and 170 A.D.

(*o*) A point upon which the foregoing discussions have shed but little light is the question as to how this result came about, and as to whether this fable also deserves the name of tendency-legend. Soltau, who uses the above sources only, points out (pp. 26 *f.* 41 = 494 *f.* 509; below, § 49) how strong was the effort on the part of individual churches to be in a position to claim an apostle as their founder (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 6).

Now, the Jewish Christians in Rome, in their lively struggle against the Paulinists there, had chosen Peter after his death as their spiritual head, and thus the belief was nourished that he had really once been in Rome at least as a martyr. According to the theory of Acts (8 14-17), upheld also by Harnack, he thereby came at the same time to appear to be the founder of that church. Towards this belief another element, Soltau thinks, may have co-operated, namely, that Mark the interpreter of Peter lived subsequently in Rome, and thus through him the Romans possessed the pure doctrine of Peter. Mark, however, figures in Rome in tradition only in his quality of interpreter of Peter. The historian who, like Soltau, denies a sojourn in Rome to Peter cannot maintain it for Mark. That the use of Acts 8 14-17 in this connection is illegitimate has been already argued above (§ 25 *a*).

Soltau's other conjectures of a special kind have also but little probability, and in the interests of his point of view it would perhaps be better to rest satisfied with the general contention that churches were

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eager to have apostles as their founders, and in the case of Rome, the world-metropolis, there was a special reason for wishing to be able to claim the two most prominent names of all, especially as these represented the two main currents of doctrine and practice within the church (see MINISTRY, § 36). To this Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22 [1901] 215-224) adds, besides fuller elaborations of this fundamental thought, the easy misunderstanding of 1 Clem. 5 and of 'Babylon' in 1 Pet. 5 13 (see §§ 28, 30 *k*; but also §§ 39 *e*, 44 *a*). In fact even in the absence of still more special reasons for the rise of the fable of the Roman sojourn and martyrdom of Peter it would be necessary to maintain its fabulous character; for, rightly understood, all the witnesses testify with overpowering weight against it. The apocryphal literature, however, regarding Peter, with which we have not yet dealt, will yield perhaps more light.

(*p*) The points on which further light would be specially welcome are these: Did the belief in Peter's Roman sojourn and martyrdom exist earlier than 170? Did it exist, outside of Rome, even before Justin? In fine, did it exist so early that it can already lie at the foundation of 1 Pet. 5 13? Is it possible to account for its origin in spite of its erroneousness more completely than has up to this point been done; and, particularly, to explain also why hitherto we have met with Peter in Rome almost always only in association with Paul, and why his martyrdom is reported from no other locality than Rome (see above, *m*, *g*)?

32. The Apocryphal Acts on Peter: literary.

Of the apocryphal writings relating to Peter the first to be considered are those which admit of being grouped under the general designation of Acta Petri, in other words, as accounts of the missionary activities of Peter and of the close of his life. Of these, three groups are to be distinguished.

(*a*) The first group is pronounced Gnostic by Lipsius (ii. 1 84-284, and particularly 258-270), and Zahn (*Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 2 832-855 [1892]), but Catholic by Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 549-560), Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.*, 1901, 22 163-171), and Carl Schmidt (below, § 49), 111-151. That they are wholly Catholic, however, the three last-named scholars are unable to affirm. As the settlement of the question is not indispensable for our present purpose, let us call them—to choose a neutral designation—the pre-Catholic Acta Petri. The employment of this designation must not be taken as meaning that the Acts in question are actually of earlier date than the Catholic ones—a question which in point of fact is doubtful (see §§ 35-37, 39 *b*)—but only that their standpoint is less in correspondence with the Catholic than that of the Catholic Acta Petri et Pauli. Another widely spread, though not completely prevalent, name for them is Περίοδοι Πέτρου. A characteristic story from them—that of a talking dog (§ 33 *b*)—is known to Commodian (about 250 A.D.; *Carm. Apol.* 617-620 [623-626]). The date is assigned concurrently by Lipsius (275) and Zahn (841) to 160-170 A.D., whilst Erbes gives it as 190, Carl Schmidt (pp. 99-109) as 200-210, *i.e.*, shortly before the *Philosophumena* (above, § 26 *d*), and Harnack places it as late as the middle of the third century.[1] At the same time, it has to be noted that, in assigning the date he does, Lipsius means only that of the origin of the writing that lies at the foundation of our Acta Petri, the date of their present form being in his opinion later: for example the Acts of the so-called Pseudo-Linus (see below, no. 7) he places (172 *f.*) between 400 and 450 A.D. Zahn (833) as against this disputes the contention that the Acta at an earlier date had a different form from their present, and Harnack holds that there is no reason at all for assuming a Gnostic basis for them; it is merely an abstract possibility (559). Now, Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3 2) includes the Acts of Peter (Πράξεις Πέτρου) among those writings which were never handed down in Catholic circles, and with this agrees his general survey of the NT literature in iii. 25 4 6, according to which the Acts of Paul (Πράξεις Παύλου) belong to the Antilegomena, in other words to his middle class (so also iii. 3 5), whilst on the other hand the 'Acts of Andrew and John and the other apostles' (Πράξεις Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων)—those of Peter thus included—belong to his last class, that of books written by heretics in the name of apostles, and never cited by any Catholic writer, but 'altogether strange and impious' (ἄτοπα πάντῃ καὶ δυσσεβῆ). In accordance with this is the very close relationship, if not identity of authorship which Lipsius (265 *f.*, 272 *f.*) and Zahn (860 *f.*), again in agreement, find between our Acta and the Gnostic Acts (Πράξεις), or Circuits (Περίοδοι) of John and other apostles, attributed to Leucius (Charinus). James (*Apocr. Anecd.* 2 pp. xxiv-xxviii; in *Texts and Studies*, 5 1, 1897) positively affirms the identity of the author of the Leucian Acta Johannis with the author of the Acta Petri, whilst Carl Schmidt, 90-99, explains the agreement from use of the Acta Johannis by the author of the Acta Petri. Franko (*ZNTW*, 1902, 315-335) seeks to support the Gnostic character of the original form of the Acta Petri by means of a pronouncedly Gnostic fragment which he translates from the Ecclesiastical Slavonic. Thus for every one who does not hold the present form of the Acta Petri to be Gnostic, there is very urgent occasion for finding, if possible, a Gnostic primary form of it. So far as our present purpose is concerned, however, we may dispense with further detailed inquiry as to this point.

The principal writings in which those pre-Catholic Acta Petri have been preserved for us are as follows: (1) Actus Petri cum Simone, from Paul's departure from Rome for Spain, and the arrival of Peter in Rome, until the death of Peter; in Latin, in a MS at Vercelli, therefore known also as Actus Petri Vercellenses. (2) The conclusion of these Acta, namely the end of Peter's contention with Simon, and the entire martyrdom of Peter, exists in Greek in a Codex at Mount Athos. (3) The martyrdom alone, also in Greek, is found in a Codex at Patmos. To the same family belong further (4) an Ecclesiastical Slavonic, (5) a Coptic, and (6) an Ethiopic translation. All six have been edited (or collated) in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1,(2) ed. Lipsius (and Bonnet), 1891, 45-103; no. 3 for the first time in *JPT*, 1886, pp. 86-106 175 *f.* Of the other family, which, apart from its divergences, is distinguished by its more copious style of narration, we possess (7) the martyrdom of Peter which is ascribed to Linus the first bishop of Rome (see above, § 25 *c*) (in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1-22). Lastly there is—closely related as regards details of the text—(8) the Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli which is incorporated with the Latin recension of Josephus' *Jewish War*, dating from 367-375 (or about 395?) A.D., and which also includes certain events before the martyrdom of Peter.[1] As for the contents, everything of a non-Catholic nature has been so carefully removed that the text belongs rather to the next following class. The mutual dependence of the texts just mentioned has been determined by Zahn (834-839, 845, n. 2), followed by Harnack, otherwise than it is by Lipsius (109-173, 194-200); this, however, may be left out of account in our present investigation.

(*b*) The Catholic Acta (see Lipsius, 284-366) are, as already seen in Pseudo-Hegesippus (see above, *a* [8]), not Acts of Peter only, but Acts of Peter and Paul. Both contend conjointly with Simon Magus in Rome and there suffer martyrdom.

(1) The Latin form, in which this writing is wrongly attributed to a certain Marcellus who is named in it, dates from the sixth century (Lips. i. 169). It begins: 'Cum venisset Paulus Romam.' The parallel is (2) the Greek text in a codex of the

1 Apart from other indications, Harnack relies upon the argument that the end of Simon Magus is told in a different way in the *Philosophumena* (6 20; about 235 A.D.) from that in which it is told in the Acta Petri (he caused himself to be buried by his disciples, promising that he would rise again on the third day; but he did not rise after all; cp below, § 34 *g*, SIMON MAGUS, § 5 [*f*]). All that this proves, however, is that the author is following another tradition, not that the Acta Petri were not yet in existence. The author of the *Philosophumena* as a zealous confuter of heretics had even strong reason for mistrusting the information of the Acta.

1 This Latin recension is entitled 'Hegesippus [a distortion of Josephus] de excidio Hierosolym.' edd. Weber et Cæsar, 1864. The section forms bk. iii., chap. 2, and is to be found also in a Marburg Universitätsprogramm (20th Aug. 1860; cp Lipsius, 194-200; Schürer, *GJV* 1(2) 73 *f.*).

library of St. Mark in Venice, beginning: ἐλθόντος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοῦ ἁγίου Παύλου. Both are met with in juxtaposition in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1 118-177. *Ibid.* 178-222 is found (3) a longer Greek text in which, in particular, at the beginning occurs a description of Paul's journey through Italy, beginning: ἐγένετο μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν ἅγιον Παῦλον ἀπὸ Γαυδομελέτης (this name is obtained by combination of Καῦδα or Κλαῦδα and Μελίτη, Acts 27 16 28 1). No. 2 exhibits, according to Lipsius (284-296), the relatively original form, which, however, is not older than about 450 A.D. (310-313). On the other hand he supposes that there had been a Catholic original form of this account of Peter and Paul, which arose soon after the middle of the second century, and thus approximately at the same time with the pre-Catholic Acta Petri, and may have been known, of the Fathers cited in § 26, to at least Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius (pp. 331-358). Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 174-182) tries even to make it out to be older than the pre-Catholic Acta Petri which he assigns to about 190 A.D, and would fain find traces of its employment as early as in the Prædicatio Pauli in Pseudo-Cyprian (above, § 25 *e*), whilst according to Lipsius (325-327, 337-339) it has only in isolated points preserved traditions of older date than the pre-Catholic Acta Petri.

(*c*) The third main group is made up of the following three compilations.

(1) A Latin Passio Petri et Pauli in a MS of the Laurentian Library at Florence, relating to the conflicts with Simon, and the martyrdom of the two apostles, beginning with the words 'in diebus illis, cum introissent Romam beatus Petrus et Paulus': in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1 223-234; (2) a 'Passion of the holy and chief apostles Peter and Paul,' which forms a special section of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic translation mentioned above (under *a* 4); (3) the 'Virtutes Petri' and the 'Virtutes Pauli' in the collection of apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, wrongly attributed to the alleged disciple of the apostles Abdias and entitled 'Historia certaminis apostolici,' or 'Historia apostolica,' bks. 1 and 2, printed, *e.g.*, in Fabricius, *Codex apocryphus NT*, 2, begin. All these pieces are, according to Lipsius (366-390), too recent to be of importance for our present investigation.

Of the abundant contents of this literature only the most important points can here be noted.

33. Contents of pre-Catholic Acta Petri.

(*a*) According to the pre-Catholic Acta Petri, Paul journeys at the divine command from Rome into Spain, after it has been proclaimed by a voice from heaven that he will afterwards be put to death in Rome by Nero (ch. 1). After some days it becomes known in Rome that a wonder-worker named Simon, who calls himself the great power of God (*magnam virtutem dei*) is at Aricia. On the following evening he appears before the gate of Rome, over which he has promised to fly, disappears and then appears once more on the other side of the gate. Shortly after, he gains so great repute that even almost all the Christians go over to him (4).

(*b*) Simultaneously God lays his command on Peter, on the expiry of the twelve years during which he had been ordered to stay in Jerusalem after the death of Jesus (above, §§ 26 *e*, 31 *d*), to journey to Rome by way of Cæsarea in order to contend with Simon (5). Here Peter, who has been eagerly awaited by those who have remained faithful, and is joyfully welcomed, goes to the house of Marcellus a former disciple of Paul and present follower of Simon, and by means of a dog that speaks with human voice, causes Simon to be summoned forth (§ 32 *a*). Marcellus comes out and acknowledges his sin, that he has been devoted to Simon and has even set up to him a statue with the inscription, 'Simoni juveni deo' (9 *f.*). The dog, which Simon within the house has asked to deny his presence, foretells to Simon the *inimicus et corruptor viæ veritatis* the impending curse, but outside the house promises Peter a hard struggle with Simon, and dies (12). Challenged to a further miracle, Peter takes from a window a 'sarda' (pickled sardine), throws it into a pool and makes it swim (12 *f.*; something very similar is related of Jesus when he was three years of age in the Latin Gospel of Thomas [14; see *Evangg. apocr.* ed. Tischendorf,(2) 164 *f.*]).

(*c*) Peter tells that while he was still in Jerusalem, Simon had stayed with a rich woman in Judæa, named Eubola, and by means of two of his companions whom he had made invisible, had robbed her of all her gold, and soon afterwards had offered a portion of it, a golden Satyriscus, to a goldsmith named Agrippinus, for sale. Peter, warned beforehand in a vision, had them arrested; Simon thereupon disappeared altogether from Judæa (17).

(*d*) A disputation between Simon and Peter in the presence of senators, officers of state, and the whole people, is arranged for in the forum. Peter begins to the effect that Simon is condemned (*reprehensum*: cp SIMON MAGUS, § 4 *a*). He reproaches him with concealing the fact that for his theft from Eubola (above, *c*) he has been driven from Judæa. 'Didst thou not' he continues, 'in Jerusalem (*sic*) fall at my feet and at those of Paul (*sic*) when thou beheldest the healings wrought by us, and say: I beseech you accept from me a price, as much as you will, that I may be able to lay on my hands and do like deeds of power' (*virtutes*: cp SIMON MAGUS, § 1 *c*). Simon makes answer by disputing the divinity of Jesus inasmuch as one who is born and crucified, and has a Lord, cannot be God (23).

(*e*) Peter now again challenges Simon to work a miracle, saying that he himself will then counterwork it (24). The prefect Agrippa causes one of his people to come forward and bids Simon put him to death, but Peter to bring him to life again. Simon whispers into the ear of the youth, who thereupon dies. Peter bids Agrippa take the hand of the dead man who again returns to life (25 *f.*). Peter also raises from the dead the son of a widow (25, 27), but when requested by the mother of the dead Senator Nicostratus to do the like for her son, suggests that this should be undertaken by Simon. Simon accordingly bends over the dead man's head and shows the people how he raises himself up, lifts his head and moves, and opens his eyes. Peter further demands, however, that Simon shall cause him to speak and walk. After Simon has been driven away from the corpse by the prefect, it lies lifeless as before. Peter brings Nicostratus back to life after having begged the people not to burn Simon as they were proposing to do (28).

(*f*) After some days Simon promises to fly to God in presence of all the people. Next day he actually does fly aloft above all the temples and hills of the city. Peter prays to Christ to make him fall, but allow only one leg to be broken. And this is what actually happens. Simon dies of his injury at Terracina (32).

(*g*) Induced by Peter's preaching, the four concubines of the prefect Agrippa—namely Agrippina, Nicaria (Linus: Eucharia), Euphemia, Doris (Linus: Dionis)—break off their relations with him (33 = Linus 2, where, however, Peter has previously been thrown into prison by Nero, because the time of his heavenly reward drew nigh). In like manner Xantippe the wife of Albinus, a friend of the emperor, withdraws from the society of her husband. The two men accordingly resolve upon the ruin of Peter (34 = Linus 3). Xantippe causes him to be informed of this, and Peter agrees to flee. Outside the city gate Jesus meets him. Peter asks: *Domine, quo vadis?* Jesus answers: *Romam venio iterum crucifigi.* Peter changes his mind and joyfully turns back (35 = Linus 3-6). Agrippa sentences him to be crucified (36 = Linus 8). Arrived at the cross, Peter begs to be fastened to it with his head downwards, and, his request having been carried out, expounds at some length the mystery of the cross, especially that of crucifixion with head downward (37 *f.* = Linus 12), and dies. Marcellus carries off the body and buries it in his own (Marcellus's) tomb (40 = Linus 16).

(*h*) Nero is wroth with Agrippa for acting on his own responsibility, he himself having meditated still worse things for Peter (according to Linus, on account of the loss of his friend Simon), and for a time refuses to speak to him (according to Linus, Agrippa loses his office and dies under the torments of the divine judgment). Nero's rage flames forth against the Christians who remain; whereupon there appears to him in the night an angel who severely chastises him (according to Linus, at the instance of Peter who likewise appears to him), so that he ceases from his persecution of the Christians (41 = Linus 17).

In the case of the Catholic Acta Petri et Pauli we shall pass over, along with many other things, the additions of the longer Greek text.[1] Of the common points the most important are the following.

34. Contents of Catholic Acta Petri et Pauli.

(*a*) When Paul comes to Rome (from Spain, according to the shorter Greek text; from Gaudomelete, according to the longer; see § 32 *b*) the Jews beg him to vindicate his ancestral faith and to controvert Peter, who is doing away with the whole Mosaic law (ch. 1). Paul declares himself a true Jew who holds by the Sabbath and the true circumcision (below, § 39 *c*), and promises to bring Peter's doctrine to the test (2). The two have a joyful meeting (3 *f.*). Next day Paul reconciles the Jewish and Gentile Christians, who have been disputing about the pre-eminence in the Kingdom of God, by pointing to the promise to Abraham which applies to both (5-7). To the same effect Peter preaches (8 *f.*), and with great results, so that the Jewish rulers of the synagogue and the pagan priesthood stir up the people against them and seek to bring Simon the magician into honour.

(*b*) In consequence of the preaching of Peter, Livia (Octavia perhaps is meant) the wife of Nero, and Agrippina the wife of the prefect Agrippa (in § 33 [*g*] she is his concubine) withdraw themselves from the society of their husbands (10).

(*c*) Simon performs feats of witchcraft, also before Nero (he flies, for example, through the air); Peter works miracles of healing, casting out of devils and raising of the dead (11-15). Nero causes both, along with Paul, to be brought before him, and hears them. As Peter appeals (16-18) to the written report of Pilate to the emperor Claudius (*sic*), Nero causes it to be read aloud (19-21). Peter asks that Simon shall read his thoughts, but this Simon is unable to do (22-27), complaining also that Peter had already treated him thus in Judæa and all Palestine and Cæsarea (28). Simon reminds the emperor that he (Simon) had caused himself to be beheaded and had risen from the dead, thus proving himself to be Son of God. The fact, however, was that in the dark place where the beheading happened he brought it about that a ram was beheaded in his stead (31 *f.*).

(*d*) At two separate points in these proceedings Nero asks Paul why he is saying nothing. On the first of these occasions Paul simply warns the Emperor against Simon (29); on the

1 The account, with which it begins, of Paul's journey through Italy (§ 32 *b* 3), extends over twenty-one chapters. Therefore the numbering of the chapters of this text will always be higher by twenty-one than that given in our citations here.

second, in answer to Nero's express question, he gives information as to his doctrine which consists in inculcation of all the virtues and of monotheism (33-38). Peter confirms all this (39) and Paul again in turn confirms the words of Peter (41).

(*e*) Simon continually brings forward new charges, amongst others the charge that Peter and Paul are circumcised (40-42). Peter propounds the counter-question, why then is Simon also circumcised, and himself answers it to the effect that he had to deceive the people in order to succeed with them and that he had to give himself out to be a Jew (42 *f.*). Simon declares that he was circumcised because such was at that time God's command (44). Paul asks why, if, according to this, circumcision is a good thing, Simon has given over circumcised persons to judgment and to death (45). When Peter describes the Christian doctrine as being faith in God the Father in Christ along with the Holy Ghost, and the creator of all things, Simon declares that he himself is this God (48).

(*f*) Simon pledges himself on the following day to fly into heaven (49 *f.* and also 30). At Simon's wish Nero for this purpose causes a wooden tower to be erected on the Campus Martius and on the following day the whole people and all the official persons, with Peter and Paul, come together (51). Paul says to Peter that his own task is to pray but that Peter is to carry out all that is needful since he has been first chosen by the Lord to be an apostle (52). Simon promises, when he shall have flown into heaven, to cause Nero also to be carried thither by his angels, and begins to fly (53 *f.*). Paul says to Peter: Why delayest thou? Do that which thou hast in mind (55). Peter adjures the angels of Satan who are bearing up Simon, to let him fall. Simon falls upon the Via Sacra and breaks into four pieces (56; the Latin and the longer Greek text add that thereby [by his blood, is doubtless meant] he joined together four flint stones which can still be seen to the present day in proof of the triumph of the apostles).

(*g*) Nero causes Peter and Paul to be put in irons, and Simon's body in the expectation of his rising again to be carefully attended to for three days (57). He orders Peter and Paul to be chastised with iron rods and then to be put to death in the 'naumachia' (or circus, in which also naval displays were given), but finds the advice of the prefect Agrippa very reasonable, that Peter as the author of the death of Simon ought to be crucified, but Paul as comparatively innocent to be beheaded. In Paul's case this sentence is carried out on the road to Ostia (58 *f.*); Peter at his own request is crucified head downwards (60). From his cross he reproves the people, who are wishing to kill Nero and relates how a few days before, in his flight from the devices of Agrippa, he himself had been met by Jesus, who had said he wished to be crucified in place of Peter (61). Peter then dies (62).

(*h*) Forthwith come on the scene prominent men who had journeyed from Jerusalem on the apostles' account; these along with Marcellus, the former follower of Simon, bury the body of Peter under the terebinth hard by the Naumachia on the Vatican (63). These Jerusalemites foretold the soon approaching death of Nero. In point of fact, in consequence of a popular tumult, Nero had to fly into the wilderness, where he died of hunger and cold; his body was devoured by wild beasts (64 *f.*).

(*i*) Certain pious men from the East sought to carry off the relics of the martyrs; with the result that an earthquake immediately ensued in Rome, and the inhabitants attacked the Orientals, who at once took flight. The Romans deposited the relics 3 R. m. outside the city (the Latin and longer Greek texts add: at a place named Catacumbas on the Appian Way) and watched over them for one year and seven months; at the expiry of which time they brought them to the final resting-place which had meanwhile been in preparation (66). The death-day of both apostles was June 29 (67).

Many points in these interesting compositions invite inquiry; but we must here confine ourselves to the one fundamental question, that, namely, as to the relative priority of the pre-Catholic and the Catholic Acts. If we are to settle the point as to whether Peter ever was in Rome, it is of the utmost importance to know which of the two assertions, that he was there along with Paul, and that he was not, was the original one.

35. Conclusion from the Catholic Acts.

(*a*) Now here it would be quite useless to put the question as if it were whether the priority belongs altogether to the pre-Catholic Acts or altogether to the Catholic. In a literature which exhibits so little inward unity almost every indication of posteriority admits of being regarded as a later interpolation, and so can be deprived of its evidential value.

In the pre-Catholic Acts Agrippa and Marcellus are two leading figures, in the Catholic their appearance is quite incidental; at the same time, however, in the Catholic Acts the machinations of Agrippa against Peter, and the fact of the earlier attachment of Marcellus to Simon are mentioned, although it is only in the pre-Catholic Acts that they are really described (§§ 34 *b*, *g*, *h*, 33 *b*). Peter's flight and his meeting with Jesus are in the Catholic Acts introduced in an awkward way as told by Peter himself while on the cross; in the pre-Catholic Acts they are related by the author himself in their proper place. But all these and similar unevennesses in the Catholic Acts can be traced back to later interpolation.

(*b*) One such interpolation is plainly seen in the episode of the men who come from Jerusalem 'on the apostles' account' and bury Peter (§ 34 *h*, *i*).

According to the representation as it stands at present, the pious men from the East who wish to carry off the relics appear to be distinct from these. Piety, it must be said, shows itself much less in robbing than in burying; but on the other hand the coming from the East suggests much less the motive of burial than that of plunder. If this be so, not two classes of persons from the East were intended, but only one, and the story is an indication that the body of Peter had not originally its resting-place in Rome but in the East. It is only from the Roman point of view that the proposed removal is thought of as a robbery; in reality it is a veiled reminiscence of the fact that the apostle died in the East. But as the whole story is an appendix merely, and moreover has been distorted by redactions, it is impossible to build anything on it. It would seem to be meant to explain either why for a while it was impossible to show any burial-place of Peter in Rome or why it was shown not at the spot where he died but outside the city in the piece of ground *ad Catacumbas* (see further, Erbes, *Z. f. K.-G.* 22 [1901], 196-200).

(*c*) The difference between Peter and Paul in the manner of their death and in the place of it (also according to Gaius, see § 26 *b*) is noticeable, especially as for the beheading of Paul his Roman citizenship which could have been adduced, is not. After Nero has ordered (κελεύω) the same manner of death for the two apostles, the opposite advice of Agrippa and its success cannot but seem strange. It seems intended to explain the fact that two separate places of death of the apostles were known. This fact raises doubts as to the simultaneity of their deaths and thus tells against the priority of the contents of the Catholic as compared with the pre-Catholic Acts. Against the priority of the whole book it cannot, however, have this effect, as this feature can easily have been introduced later.

(*d*) Let us therefore fix our attention in the first instance upon one point that is really central, namely the tendency of the Catholic Acts. It is quite manifestly Petro-Pauline. The appearance as if Paul will have to come forward against the preaching of Peter we may be sure has been deliberately produced at the outset, in order that the complete agreement between the two may afterwards become all the more conspicuous. Peter confirms all that is said by Paul, and conversely. The controversies between Jewish and Gentile Christians are set to rest by both. Both carry on a joint polemic against Simon, and both are on this account together condemned to death.

(*e*) Although, however, Paul in the doctrinal discussions is represented as completely on a level with Peter, it cannot at all be denied that in the conflicts with Simon the part he plays is quite subordinate. In these everything of importance is said and done by Peter. In order to have any part at all, Paul has to be twice asked by Nero why he says nothing, and even then he does not intervene in the action with Simon, but merely expatiates upon his own doctrine. The few words which are put into his mouth in the further dealings with Simon cannot alter our judgment that his figure came only at a later stage into the picture which originally brought Peter alone face to face with Simon. This conclusion is confirmed in the best possible way by what Agrippa says in arguing for a different sentence, that Paul is relatively innocent and therefore deserves a milder punishment, as it is also by the facts that only eleven words, neither more nor fewer, are devoted to the account of his beheading, and that it is nowhere said that he was buried. Here accordingly we have one point at any rate in which the posteriority of the main contents of the Catholic Acts as compared with the pre-Catholic is clearly discernible. Cp further SIMON MAGUS, § 5 *c*.

Or are we to suppose, nevertheless, that the pre-Catholic Acts, on this principal point at least—that of Peter's presence in Rome without that of Paul—are the more recent? The circumstance that, in their begin-

ning as it has come down to us, Paul travels from Rome to Spain shortly before Simon, and after him Peter, come to Rome, and that Peter dies before the return of Paul to Rome, which has already been predicted (§ 33*a*), can be taken as showing that the author deliberately wished to set aside the contemporaneous presence of the two in Rome as that was reported in the Catholic Acts. At the same time, should one choose to take it so, it would be necessary to be able to show some reason which could have led him to wish this.

36. Conclusions from the pre-Catholic Acts.

(*a*) No such reason is to be found in the dogmatic sphere, as if Peter and Paul were not at one in their doctrine and the author therefore did not wish to make them come upon the scene together. Of any incompatibility in their doctrine this author knows as little as does the writer of the Catholic Acts; on the contrary, Peter is anxiously expected in Rome by Paul's disciples (§ 33*b*).

(*b*) On the other hand there is much that is attractive, at first sight, in the view of Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22 [1901], 176-179) that Paul was in the pre-Catholic Acts taken away from Rome from the same motive as we have already (above, § 26 *g*) seen to be operative in the time after Irenæus. Peter had to be the sole head of the church of Rome, in order to be able to figure as the first bishop there. If, however, the author really had this interest at heart, we shall have to pronounce his mode of giving effect to it to be very unskilful; for in the account he gives Paul is in Rome both before and after Peter, and after an explicit prediction suffers the death of a martyr there (§ 33*a*).

(*c*) On the assumption of so specifically Roman an interest as this we should further expect to find that the pre-Catholic Acts would in other respects also betray the same interest. But of anything of the sort there is surprisingly little. The burial-place of Peter is here the private tomb of Marcellus (§ 33*g*), not, as in the Catholic Acts (see § 34 *h*), a famous site like the terebinth on the Vatican, where he is said to have died. Further, we find nothing about any functions of Peter which could be regarded as episcopal.

(*d*) It is clear, on the contrary, that the author's interest is in his stories as such, without reference to the scene where they were enacted. He takes manifest delight in the grotesque miracles of his hero, of which only a limited selection has been given above (§ 33, *b*, *e*, *f*); but these could just as well have been transferred to any other place without diminution of the author's interest in them. Moreover the detailed parts of his narrative are but little united by any common idea.

The death of Peter is, strictly speaking, traced to his conversion of Agrippa's concubines and Albinus's wife to sexual abstinence; his action against Simon is added as a motive for it only in Pseudo-Linus (§ 33 *h*); indeed, the imprisonment of Peter, related only by Pseudo-Linus, before the conversion of those ladies is simply traced back to the consideration that the time has now drawn near in which his faith and his labours claim their reward (§ 33*g*).

(*e*) The author's interest really attaches itself to Rome in two points only. The final issue of the whole is that Nero desists from persecution of the Christians (§ 33*h*), and the controversy with Simon brings Peter to Rome for the reason that Simon is presupposed as active there before him. Yet even here it is hard to discover anything which might answer to the episcopal position of Peter in Rome. The cessation of the persecution is not brought about by the living Peter, but only after his death (and only according to Pseudo-Linus through the appearance of Peter in Nero's vision by night); the bringing of Peter to Rome is connected with the person of Simon, and Simon is controverted by Peter everywhere, not in Rome merely; he is expressly stated (§ 33*c*, *d*) to have been already controverted by him in Judæa.

(*f*) Further it has to be remembered, that the contents, in respect alike of doctrine and of presuppositions, though by some designated as Catholic, are nevertheless by others regarded as Gnostic (§ 32*a*) and thus cannot easily be brought into connection with the main Catholic 'tendency' already alluded to, to establish for Rome some sort of episcopal dignity of Peter. Elements to be taken into account in this connection are such as these: the mystery of the cross, the docetic Christology, the background of miracle, the use of apocryphal citations, and the like, of but little of which were we able to take account in § 33. See in Lipsius, ii. 1 258-270.

(*a*) There is a further point, in connection with which one might be inclined to suppose that a simultaneous presence of Paul along with Peter in Rome had been deliberately suppressed by the author of the pre-Catholic Acts in the interests of his theory about Peter as the head of the church of Rome; the point, namely, that Peter is represented as having come to Rome as early as in the second year of Claudius, in other words, in 42 A.D.

37. Arrival in Rome according to Apocryphal Acts.

So Lüdemann, *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1887, p. 959 *f.*; similarly also Harnack, *ACL* ii. 1 705, with the difference that he mentions no definite name (least of all the author of the pre-Catholic Acts, which he assigns to about 250 A.D.), but only a drift of things that began to set in about 200 A.D., and that he seems to assume with less definiteness than Lüdemann a conscious purpose in the alteration of the history. This view is worthy of attention, if only because by means of this dating the twenty-five years of Peter's Roman sojourn are made possible (§ 26 *e*), yet also because such an artificial separation of two persons would find an analogy in the procedure, which in all probability the writer of the canonical book of Acts has followed in antedating the appearance of Simon (8 9-24), and the collection brought by Paul to Jerusalem (11 27-30 12 25). See SIMON MAGUS, § 14 *a*, *e*.

Only, here also we must call attention, as before (§ 36 *b*), to the unskilfulness with which in that case the author of the pre-Catholic Acts has carried out this purpose, supposing he had it. Not only, according to him, is Paul by express prophecy to come to Rome after Peter's death and suffer martyrdom there, but he is represented as having also been in Rome before Peter, in other words, before 42 A.D. (§ 33 *a*). What, therefore, can be clearly made out here is not any tendency but only gross ignorance or indifference regarding chronology; for before 42 A.D. Paul had at best only entered upon his first missionary journey, and not even the Council of Jerusalem had yet taken place.

(*b*) Therefore, also, no value can be attached to the conjecture of Erbes (above, § 36 *b*), that the author betrays his knowledge of the conjoint activity of Peter and Paul against Simon at Rome and his purpose to deny it, by the statement that it was in Jerusalem that the two together encountered Simon (§ 33 *d*).

If Jerusalem can be a slip of memory for Samaria, equally well can Paul be a slip of memory for John. If any such tendency as is supposed by Lüdemann and Erbes was operative, it must have led not merely to the obliteration of traces of Paul's presence in the conflict with Simon in Rome, but to the obliteration of his presence in Rome altogether, or—if this was no longer possible, in view of the too firmly established tradition of his death there—at least of his presence in Rome before Peter.

(*c*) As for the real origin of the fundamentally erroneous dating of Peter's arrival in Rome in 42 A.D., it has, in the first instance, to be noted that we first hear of such a date in the Chronicle of Eusebius, but must carry this back to its source (§ 26*e*). From an earlier period we have the datum established, that for twelve years after the death of Jesus, in other words, from 30 to 42 A.D., Peter remained along with the other apostles in Jerusalem (§§ 26 *e*, 31 *d*). About the same time, or perhaps still earlier, Justin informs us, but without specification of any definite year, that Simon the Magician came to Rome in the reign of Claudius; this is repeated by Irenæus (i. 16[23]1), and, indirectly, by Eusebius when (*HE* ii. 14 6) he says of

Peter, without fixing the year, that 'he came to Rome in that same reign of Claudius' in which Simon came. According to ii. 17 1, Peter in the reign of Claudius must there have met Philo, who, according to ii. 18 8, had already come to Rome in the reign of Gaius Caligula.

(*d*) On this point the most important views are as follows:—

Investigation would be superfluous, if Kreyenbühl (*Evang. d. Wahrheit*, 1 [1900] 200) were right in his conjecture that by Claudius it was Claudius Nero who was originally meant (Nero was adopted by his predecessor Claudius). This, however, is surely too bold. Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 242) thinks the definite date of 42 A.D. for the arrival of Peter in Rome cannot come from the date given for Simon Magus, since for the latter no definite year was assigned; but that it can only be derived from the tradition of the twelve years' sojourn in Jerusalem (30-42 A.D.). On p. 705 he says that the twenty-five years' sojourn in Rome 'is derived from the admittedly questionable Simon-Magus-Peter-Clement tradition which brings Simon to Rome in the reign of Claudius. . . . Legend brought Peter as his opponent to Rome in like manner under Claudius, and then left him there.' If this latter view is not in contradiction with that quoted immediately before, the reference back to the tradition concerning Simon Magus cannot apply to the exact period of 42-67 A.D., and therefore neither also to the precise year of 42 as the date of Peter's arrival, but only to the vaguer statement that his arrival fell in the reign of Claudius; the precise year, as we have seen, must, according to Harnack, be computed merely from the twelve years in Jerusalem. Lipsius (ii. 1 68) had merely stated this last view, adding that with this datum for Peter the approximately similar date of Simon Magus was also given. Lüdemann (above, *a*), starting from the view shared by him with Lipsius, that Simon's appearance in Rome was unhistorical, and that all that is said regarding this had been derived from statements regarding Paul (see SIMON MAGUS, §§ 4 *f.*, 12, end), insists that the Simon legend must have assigned the appearance of Simon Magus in Rome, like that of Paul, to some date under Nero, and finds just for this reason a 'tendency'-change in the dating under the reign of Claudius. Only, when it is the meeting of Peter with Simon that is in question, there come into competition, on Lüdemann's presuppositions also, two conflicting dates, as soon as that of Paul, which determines that of Simon, and that of Peter do not from the first coincide. In shaping the tradition, therefore, a choice had to be made, and this in the present instance can easily have fallen in favour of that of Peter, should the author have judged this view the more trustworthy.

(*e*) For our present main purpose, that of determining the question of priority as between the pre-Catholic and the Catholic Acts, it results anew from what has been said that we are under no necessity to ascribe with Lüdemann a 'tendency'-change of dates to the pre-Catholic Acts, or with Harnack even to regard the statement of Dionysius of Corinth (above, § 25 *a*) as to the (approximately) contemporaneous arrival and martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome as fitting in with history and as supported by earlier testimony. Even from the side of the Catholic Acts no objection can be raised against the date 42 A.D., as having been assigned without 'tendency,' for Peter's arrival in Rome. According to the Catholic Acts Peter is in Rome before Paul; for how long before is not stated. This can be taken as an after-effect of the statement that he was there from 42 A.D., and the subsequent arrival of Paul can be explained by means of the 'tendency,' which we shall discuss in a later section (see § 40 *b*), to make him appear in Rome along with Peter, just as the statement of Dionysius of Corinth is capable of being understood as a further development of the same tendency, to the extent of making the arrival of the two (nearly) simultaneous. Justin alone constitutes a serious objection against Lipsius's derivation of the date 42 A.D.; for all that he does is to place Simon in Rome in the time of Claudius without saying a word about his conflict with Peter. Upon this point, however, we shall best be able to form a judgment in another connection (see (§§ 39 [*f*], 40 *d*).

38. Day of death according to the Apocryphal Acts.

The statements as to the day of death of Peter and Paul also promise light on the question as to the relative priority of the pre-Catholic and Catholic Acts. (*a*) 29th June, which is given at the close of the Catholic Acts for both apostles, not only fits in exceedingly ill with the Neronian persecution to which the martyrdoms are so readily referred—it arose out of the burning of Rome in July 64—but also rests upon a confusion. For 29th June is the day of the removal of the relics of the two apostles which took place in 258 A.D. (above, § 26 *b*). The confusion is found first in the *Martyrology* of Jerome. Another commemoration is on 22nd February. So far as Peter is concerned, the day on which he assumed the episcopal office, in Rome or in Antioch, is said to be intended (cp Lipsius, ii. 1 404-408). According to Erbes (*TU* 19 1), it is the true anniversary of Paul's death (a rather bold assumption), whilst for Peter its historical character cannot be at all established.

(*b*) It would be natural to suppose, if the same day of the same month is given for the death of the two apostles, that the year must, of course, be also the same. A whole series of ecclesiastical writers from Prudentius onwards (last half of 4th cent.), however, place the death of Paul exactly a year later than that of Peter, others only a day later, namely on 30th June (see Lipsius, ii. 1 236-244).

Harnack (*ACL* ii. 1 708 *f.*) leaves the last-mentioned date (a day later) unnoticed, and argues from the identity of the month-date that the difference of the year-date is incredible. He therefore supposes that the death year of the one apostle was from the fourth century onwards for some unknown reason separated from that of the other. He himself sees that this is a very difficult hypothesis, and would be inclined rather to hold the identification of the two years to be the secondary stage, 'were it not that the legend has as a *constant* element the identity of the days.' In making this remark, then, he has simply left out of account not only the dating, which separates the two events by only a single day, but also the pre-Catholic Acts altogether, for these not only presuppose quite different years for the deaths of Peter and of Paul, but also quite different days, since they do not name any day at all. In order to suggest something or other which could possibly have led to a later separation of the years originally regarded as identical, Harnack refers to 'various sorts of legends about the death of the apostles which are unknown to us,' and adds: 'Lipsius thinks of old Gnostic περίοδοι Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, but none such ever existed.' Whether they existed we do not need to inquire here, for it is by no means the case that Lipsius relies upon writings that can only be hypothetically inferred; he builds upon our pre-Catholic Acts, which even for Harnack himself exist, if not from a date earlier than about 250 A.D., yet at all events from more than 100 years before Prudentius.

(*c*) As soon as due heed is paid to this, it becomes clear that the separation of the deaths of the two apostles by a year or a day is nothing but a compromise between the church's assertion of the simultaneousness of the two events, and the opposite tradition set down in the pre-Catholic Acts. On Harnack's own principle, accordingly, we must regard the coalescence of the days as the secondary stage, and on this point also the pre-Catholic Acts have preserved the older stage as compared with the Catholic Acts.

Whoever regards the simultaneousness of the two apostles' appearances in Rome and their conjoint conflict with Simon as the secondary form of the tradition (§ 37 *e*) is all the less in a position to doubt that this form of the tradition must necessarily have carried with it that of the coincidence of their deaths. That the difference of the days goes back to non-Catholic sources (to which our pre-Catholic Acts are to be reckoned according to § 36 [*f*]) is expressly stated in the decree of Pope Gelasius (2 2, *ap.* Credner, *Zur Gesch. d. Kanons*, 1847, pp. 190 *f.* = 198 *f.*) dating from the year 494, yet perhaps even from the time of Damasus, 382 A.D.: [Paulus] qui non diverso, ut hæretici garriunt, sed uno tempore, uno eodemque die gloriosa morte cum Petro in urbe Roma sub Cæsare Nerone agonizans coronatus est.

39. Conclusion from Apocryphal Acts.

Having reached this point, let us now endeavour to sum up the provisional conclusions that seem to be deducible from our study of the Apocryphal Acts, in the same manner as has already been done in § 31 from the data of the NT and Church fathers. (*a*) In the most important points we have seen that the contents of the pre-Catholic Acts are the more original as compared with those of the Catholic; namely, that Peter without Paul

engaged in controversy with Simon in Rome and suffered martyrdom. This, however, is confirmed by the Catholic Acts also, inasmuch as we can see that in them Paul has been introduced into the picture as the fellow combatant of Peter against Simon only by an after-thought (§ 35*e*). In view of this fact, one would have to postulate the existence of some such representation as that of the pre-Catholic Acts as a foundation for that of the Catholic, even if it were not actually extant. All the less is there any reason for trying to discover in the pre-Catholic Acts 'tendencies' by which they would be shown to be secondary as compared with the Catholic Acts.

Let it be added that the Acta Pauli do not alter our judgment upon the two Acta now under discussion. They tell us (in *Acta apost. apocr.* 1 104-117) that Paul, awaited by Luke and Titus, came (returned?) to Rome, revived from the dead Patroclus the cup-bearer of Nero, preached Christ to Nero himself, and was for this sentenced by him to death; all this without any mention at all of Peter and Simon.

(*b*) Even if we refrain from trying to frame a hypothesis as to the relative priority of the several Acts (or their sources) regarded as literary monuments (§ 35*a*), the priority of the most important points in the contents of the pre-Catholic Acts is, nevertheless, a result of very great importance. In spite of this priority it remains open to us to hold that the oldest forms of pre-Catholic and Catholic Acts alike arose approximately at the same date, but in different Christian circles (§ 32*b*), and both of them in the time before the rise of the idea of the Roman bishopric of Peter, and thus before about 189-217 A.D. (§ 26 [*f*]). This last idea is discountenanced, not only by the pre-Catholic Acts (§ 36*b-f*), but also quite as much by the Catholic with their co-ordination of Peter and Paul (§ 35*d*).

(*c*) The theological views and presuppositions also alike of the pre-Catholic Acts (§ 36 [*f*]) and of the Catholic, fit into the same period (from about 160 A.D. onwards). The essence of Christianity is in the Catholic Acts summed up in belief in one God and his son Jesus Christ, and in an earnest morality, and salvation is sought, quite as in *Didachè*, 9 3 10 2 *f.*, in recognition of the truth and in the life eternal; Peter, precisely as in the canonical book of Acts (see ACTS, §§ 4, 7), does away with the Mosaic law, and Paul appears as a true Jew, with the sole difference that he substitutes for the fleshly circumcision the circumcision of the heart (Rom. 2 28 *f.* 4 11 *f.* against Gal. 5 2 *f.*), etc. (§ 34 *a, d, e*, and more fully in Lipsius, ii. 1 350-358). The interest also in composing the differences of view between Jewish and Gentile Christians (*ibid.* 340-349) was no longer a lively one in the later time. The *Acta Pauli* (above, *a*) likewise belongs to this same period.

(*d*) Thus it is in itself a possible thing that many, even of the older of the Church fathers mentioned in §§ 25 *f.*, 29, may have drawn upon our apocryphal Acts: *e.g.*, Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, Tertullian, Gaius from the Catholic; the Muratorian fragmentist and Clement of Alexandria, who do not name Paul along with Peter, from the pre-Catholic Acts (as for Clem. Alex., however, cp §§ 25 *d*, 41 *b*), the *Philosophumena* from both, since in a very significant way we find it following both traditions within the compass of a single line (6 20): Simon 'journeying as far also as Rome, fell in with the apostles, whom Peter opposed in many ways' (ἕως καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπιδημήσας ἀντέπεσε τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πρὸς ὃν πολλὰ Πέτρος ἀντικατέστη).[1] At the same time in no single case can one be sure that the fathers named had really come by their information by reading and not by oral communication, and thus it becomes impossible to fix the date of composition of the Acts by that of any of these Fathers.

1 *The Didascalia apostolorum* (6 9), the *Apostolic Constitutions* (6 9), Eusebius (*HE* ii. 14 6-15 1), and others (see Lipsius, ii. 1 321, n. 5) also mention Peter alone as the controverter of Simon.

SIMON PETER

(*e*) It has already been stated in § 31 *n* as one of our results that, so far as the evidence of the NT and the Church Fathers goes, Peter never was in Rome at all. The question now emerges anew, whether our examination of the apocryphal Acts supplies any fresh material which might help us to understand how it, nevertheless, came about that tradition carried him there. The new element we find in these Acts is the importance which is attached in them to the conflict with Simon. On this account, Erbes (*Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, pp. 12-16, 177-179) makes the following combination:—Since Simon was, according to Acts 8 9-24, confuted by Peter in Samaria and, according to Justin (see SIMON MAGUS, § 2 *a*), attained to divine honours in Rome, in the conviction that these could not have continued for any time, it was assumed for Rome also that Simon was confuted by Peter there. As further, according to the Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, which together with the (apocryphal) third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians belonging to it, has been shown to be a constituent part of the *Acta Pauli*,[1] Simon made his appearance in Corinth also, and led astray members of the church there, on which account Stephanus (so here for Stephanas: cp 1 Cor. 1 16 16 15 17) and his fellow-writers beg the speedy return of Paul, it was found fitting to represent Paul as the opponent, not here only, but also in Rome. Such motives can, indeed, have been operative, and must be added to those mentioned in § 31 *o*.

(*f*) Nevertheless, these motives do not solve every question. According to Erbes, they can have become operative only when, through Justin, there had become widely spread the mistaken notion that a statue had been erected to Simon in Rome. The question whether the formation of a legend of this kind was possible at a still earlier date is thus wholly foreclosed. Rightly, it would seem, since Justin mentions only Simon in Rome, but neither Peter nor Paul as his opponents (§ 37 *e*, end). It will be shown, however, later (§ 40 *a, b*) that there are conditions which point to a much earlier date for the origin of the legend. Their investigation is only hindered by the position of Erbes.

(*g*) All that has hitherto been said still leaves unexplained one matter which, nevertheless, is plainly one of primary importance in the Catholic Acts: the Petro-Pauline interest. Why was it so urgently necessary to accentuate the harmonious agreement of Peter and Paul? Who was there to dispute this after the middle of the second century had been passed? With this, in turn, is connected the further question: Why was it so urgently necessary to controvert Simon? Why is it that we learn from the NT so little concerning him if he had been in the East, and in Rome, even from pre Pauline times, so formidable an enemy of Christianity? Are the two questions perhaps so intimately connected that one and the same cause rendered necessary the confuting of Simon, and the bringing into prominence of the harmony between Peter aud Paul? For further light upon this, we must try to find new material. Thus, our examination of the apocryphal Acts ends not so much in solution of our main problem, as in the raising of new questions regarding Peter's Roman sojourn.

40. Inference from ps.-Clem. Hom. and Recog.

The body of literature still remaining for our consideration with reference to the question whether Peter was ever in Rome, consists of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*. (*a*) We begin with the following results derived from a careful examination elsewhere (see SIMON MAGUS, §§

1 Carl Schmidt has obtained this result from a Coptic translation not yet published. See his communication in the *Neuen Heidelberger Jahrbb.*, 1897, pp. 117-124, and Harnack's review of it in *TLZ*, 1897, pp. 625-629. For the Corinthian correspondence, see, for example, Carrière et Berger, *La correspondence apocryphe de St. Paul et des Corinthiens*, Paris, 1891 (reprint from *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie*, 1891, pp. 333-351). Cp Zahn, *Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*. 2 592-611 1016-1019 [1892].

3 *f.*, 9-11). The Simon who is opposed in these writings by Peter was originally the apostle Paul, yet in a form which has been distorted by the hostility of the authors. Only later were Gnostic features added to him, and thus in his figure the Gnosticism of the second century was controverted. This does not concern us here. The fundamental idea was that Peter must everywhere follow 'Simon' (who seeks in his travels to win adherents for himself everywhere) in order to refute his pernicious doctrines by disputations, and to outdo his magical arts by still greater wonders. If not in writing, yet at all events orally, there was current a coherent, comprehensive form of this romance in which Peter followed 'Simon' to Rome also.

(*b*) The thesis which has been based on this foundation since the days of Baur is the following. Peter was never in Rome. It was merely the idea of the romance—that he had to follow 'Simon' everywhere—that led to the assertion of his having come to Rome also. This was, in the end, accepted for a fact in churchly circles also, and this all the more readily because it subserved churchly interests. For, since Paul had notoriously been in Rome, it now became possible to appeal to the activity of both these leading apostles in the metropolis. Their mutual relation was, of course, represented as one of the most absolute agreement. Thus, to the assertion that Peter had withstood Simon, it ceased to be possible to attach the original meaning, according to which Simon stood for Paul; Simon must figure as a third person, and Paul could range himself on the side of Peter. So the Catholic Acts and the Church fathers from Dionysius of Corinth (about 170 A.D.) onwards. Some of them name only Peter as the opponent of Simon in Rome (§ 39 *d*), just as the pre-Catholic Acts do. This stage in the development of the legend is now definitely perceived to be the earlier.

(*c*) The whole development, however, is seen to present a perversion of historical truth such as it would be almost impossible to surpass, and which throws a lurid light upon the hostility to history, as well as upon the power, of the idea of a Catholic church. For something analogous see § 24 *d*. Even although we are not at this distance of time able to say with certainty how far the churchmen who had a hand in this transformation were conscious of the falsification of history which was being brought about by their action, the effect of it, at all events, was that the Catholic church, while gratefully accepting from sources so questionable as in its view the Clementines were, the statement of the presence of Peter contemporaneously with Paul in Rome, at the same time changed the mutually hostile attitude of the two apostles into a friendly one, and gained from a very hostile and embittered exaggeration of the real antagonism between Peter and Paul the best foundation it could show for its claim to world-wide dominion.

(*d*) To many students this combination appears from the very outset inadmissible, because they are unable to believe in the possibility of a falsification so gross and audacious as that of representing Peter as having been in Rome if this was really not the fact. As against this, however, it must be borne in mind that the statement in question was not at first put forward as the assertion of a fact, but merely as an incident in a romance the authors of which had not the remotest notion that strict adherence to historical fact could be reasonably demanded of them and whose only thought was as to how they could give fullest utterance to their hatred of Paul.

It is Justin, in particular, who shows how this romance came to be regarded as actual history only by slow degrees. Justin took from it the datum that Simon had actually appeared in Rome, and in fact he was able to credit it because it seemed to him to be attested by the statue which he found in Rome. The other datum, that Peter also had been in Rome and come into conflict with Simon, he did not accept—in all probability because it did not seem to him to be supported by the traditions with which he had become acquainted in Rome itself (cp §§ 30 *g*, 31 *h*, 37 *e*, 39 [*f*], SIMON MAGUS, § 11 *e*, *f*).

How this feature in the romances should on the other hand afterwards have come to be accepted as history is not difficult to understand, when we reflect how admirably it subserved the idea of the Catholic church and remember, further, that the Pauline features of the figure of Simon had already been greatly disguised by the Gnostic touches that had been added to them.

(*e*) Soltau, who does not accept this whole combination nevertheless concedes (p. 35) that the Simon-legend if it did not give rise to that of Peter's Roman sojourn, at all events favoured its spread; and Harnack (above, § 37*d*), who accepts Peter's Roman sojourn as historically true, declares nevertheless that the Simon legend had the effect of causing Peter's arrival in Rome to be assigned along with that of Simon himself to about 42 A.D. That mere ideas, though historically unfounded, were enough to produce a false representation that Peter had come to Rome is assumed by Soltau and Erbes (above, §§ 31 *o*, 39 *e*) in a process of reasoning which is not nearly so simple or cogent as that by inference from the ***Homilies*** and ***Recognitions*** which is now under discussion. Thus we need not shrink from it. Soltau (p. 10) says further that the Roman sojourn of Peter is incredible also because according to the apocryphal Acts it is full of the wildest fables about the conflict with Simon. The combination we are now contending for goes only a single step farther and finds in these fables the foundation and not merely the adornments of the unhistorical statement that Peter had been in Rome.

The only assertion calling for serious attention here is that which claims for the tradition as to Peter's Roman sojourn that it arose independently of the Simon legend.

41. No counter testimony.

(*a*) First of all, it is pointed out that no Church father affirms that Peter and Paul came to Rome simultaneously. We shall not insist, in reply, that Dionysius of Corinth (above, § 25 *a*) is not very far from making this affirmation. What is more to the point is that neither also does the Simon-legend say, or need to say, that Peter's arrival at all places was simultaneous with that of Simon. In fact it rather gives to Simon in each case some space of time within which he may win the people over to his side, and only after this has happened does it bring Peter upon the scene (cp, for the pre-Catholic Acts, above, § 33 *a*, *b*). Moreover, as soon as it is Peter and Paul who have to be dealt with, there come into consideration a variety of historical data which cannot be brought together at one point of time so easily as would be the case with incidents in a mere romance (above, § 37 *d*). Besides, for the Catholic use that is made of this romance, it is no longer a simultaneous arrival but merely some sort of contemporaneous activity of the two apostles that is of interest. Thus even considerable intervals between the arrivals of the two apostles would not of themselves be any evidence that the allegation of their having been in Rome together does not rest upon the Simon romance.

(*b*) What would be more important would be the existence of a tradition which spoke only of the presence of Peter in Rome, without mentioning that of Paul. Such a tradition seems to be found in Clement of Alexandria; but, as has already been shown (above, § 25 *d*), since Clement in the connection in which he was writing had no occasion to mention Paul, it does not follow that he was not aware of his activity contemporaneously with Peter. In the pre-Catholic Acts (above, § 33 *a*) Paul sets out from Rome before Peter's arrival there, and is represented as returning only after the death of the latter. Here accordingly is a case where we actually find Peter without Paul in Rome. Not, however, without Simon; and this is the important thing. In one form or another Paul in Rome is always by his side, as a foe or as a friend. There exists no tradition regarding Peter in Rome, which rested content with bringing him personally to Rome; every such tradition connects with his presence there some declaration as to his relations with Paul. It is

this circumstance that gives so great inherent probability to the supposition that the allegation of his peaceful co-operation with Paul in Rome (which, even irrespective of the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, we have already found to be inadmissible: see § 31 *n*) arises from a transformation of the tradition as to his conflict with Paul in the same place.

The transformation cannot possibly have taken place in the opposite direction. In such a case the conflict with Simon would have first begun to be alleged at a date so late as would render it impossible that Simon could be Paul, Paul having by this time come to be held in general reverence. If, therefore, the transformation in this direction were to be insisted on, it would be necessary first of all to set aside everything that has been brought forward in SIMON MAGUS (§ 4 *f.*) with a view to showing that Simon is a caricature of Paul.

(*c*) Thus we are precluded also from attaching value, as evidences for a tradition independent of the Simon legend, to those passages of the Church fathers which mention the contemporaneous activity of Peter and Paul in Rome without at the same time mentioning Simon Magus.

In those passages it is already the transformed Simon legend which we have. It can take the form of representing Peter and Paul as making common cause against Simon (so the Catholic Acts, the *Philosophumena*, etc.; above, §§ 34, 26 *d*, *e*); but it does not need to do so. Inasmuch as on this presupposition Simon at once appears as a Gnostic merely, he loses for the Church fathers all that independent interest which he possesses in the Simon romance. Moreover, in many cases the connection does not admit of his being mentioned. Such passages accordingly prove still less than do the converse cases in which Simon is spoken of as being in Rome without Peter (see SIMON MAGUS, § 11, *e*, *f*).

(*d*) The only kind of evidence that would be conclusive in the matter, would be the production of a statement relating to the presence of Peter in Rome, which could be shown to belong to a time when the Simon-legend could not yet have exercised an influence on the shaping of the history. Such a statement, however, is to be found neither in Clement of Rome (above, § 28), nor in any of the other writers named in § 29 *f.* At the same time, if one reflects that the Simon legend could have begun to exert its influence even in its oral form (see SIMON MAGUS, § 10 *e*), and thus during and shortly after the lifetime of Paul, it will be seen that the attempt to find a testimony to the presence of Peter in Rome which shall be wholly independent of it must be regarded as hopeless from the outset.

Only 1 Pet. offers any inducements to any such attempt (cp above, § 30 *k*).

42. Babylon of 1 Pet. 5 13 = Rome?

(*a*) In fact, however, this epistle cannot supply us with a decisive answer that Rome is meant by Babylon. Neither, indeed, it is true, with a secure negative answer. Stress has often been laid upon the consideration that the order of the provinces to which it is addressed—Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia (*i.e.* the W. coast of Asia Minor) and Bithynia—is not a suitable one if the epistle was written from Rome. But neither is it suitable if Babylon was the place of origin; it is not arranged in such a way that the five provinces can be brought into line on any hypothesis as to the writer's view-point. Yet neither does the mention of Babylon (5 13) contain the slightest hint that the name is to be taken in any secondary sense.

The case is quite different when in 4 Ezra 1 1—that is to say, in an apocalypse—Babylon on the Euphrates, where Salathiel, the father of Zerubbabel, is living in the thirtieth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, *i.e.*, in 557 B.C., is named with some sort of suggestion that the statement is to be taken as a veiled one, and that in reality, the book having been written towards the end of the first Christian century, Rome ought to be understood. In like manner the case is different from that of 1 Pet., if, according to a Sibylline prophecy (5 137-142 158 *f.* [138-143 159 *f.*]) Nero, 'the great king of great Rome . . . shall flee from Babylon' (*τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης βασιλεὺς μέγας . . . φεύξεται ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος*), and a great star shall fall into the sea, 'and shall burn up the deep sea and Babylon itself and the land of Italy' (*καὶ φλέξει πόντον βαθὺν αὐτήν τε Βαβυλῶνα Ἰταλίης γαῖάν τε*). Here care is taken by the naming of Rome and Italy to warn the reader that he is not to suppose Babylon on the Euphrates to be meant, just as in Rev. 17 15 by the note that the many waters on which the great whore—*i.e.*, according to 17 5, Babylon—sits (17 1) are nations, and not literal waters.

(*b*) In the case of 1 Pet. the position of matters is that a decision as to the presence of Peter in Rome cannot be gained by interpreting Babylon one way or other, but contrariwise our interpretation of what is intended by Babylon will be determined by our independent conclusion on the other point. If now we bear in mind that in Rome itself, as late as 152 A.D., Justin knew nothing of Peter's having been there (above, § 30 *g*), and thus that the Simon-romance which brought Peter to Rome was not yet at that date in church circles taken for history, it becomes extremely improbable that this romance should have been accepted in 112 A.D. by the author of 1 Pet. (on the date see CHRISTIAN, § 8) and made the basis of his designation of the place of writing, although it had been in circulation in strict Jewish Christian circles from a time when Paul was still alive, or at any rate shortly after his death. If this be so, then the dating from Babylon tells us at once where it was that about 112 A.D. Peter's chief activity was supposed to have been exercised between his departure from Jerusalem and his death; and it tells us so even if it should so happen that the Epistle was really after all composed in Rome.

Thus we are thrown back upon the scattered notices referred to above (§ 24) regarding the various fields of activity, apart from Rome, which tradition has assigned to Peter.

43. Babylonia and adjoining countries as Peter's mission-field.

(*a*) Among all these, only Babylonia and perhaps also the Black Sea coast can be considered seriously. According to Lipsius (1 611 613) the tradition that Peter laboured along with his brother Andrew on the shores of the Black Sea goes as far back as to the second century. 1 Pet., however, in its allusion to Babylon as a mission-field of Peter takes us still farther back than any of the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles made use of by Lipsius.

(*b*) It is specially interesting to observe that according to late redactions (for example, in Epiphanius Monachus in the 9th cent.) Peter takes leave of Andrew in order to travel westward, and that thereafter the other apostle called Simon, surnamed Zelotes or the Canaanite, suddenly appears as Andrew's companion. The journey into the West plainly originates in the wish to bring the tradition of Peter's activity in Asia into connection with that regarding his labours in Rome. The appearance of the second Simon on the other hand, points to a substitution for Simon Peter. Whilst at first there was no idea that any other than Simon Peter was intended, it was inevitable, as soon as the later idea of his departure for the West had come to be accepted, that the Simon who was named in the subsequent course of these tales of the apostles should be taken to be Simon the Canaanite.

(*c*) The same vacillation between the names of Peter and the Canaanite recurs also in what is said about Babylonia. According to the Acts of Judas Thaddæus, Peter laboured with Judas in (Syria and) Mesopotamia; according to other accounts (chiefly western), Simon the Canaanite laboured along with Judas in Babylonia as well as in Persia, and they suffer martyrdom together in Suanir in Colchis. By this last statement the tradition as to Babylonia and Persia is thus brought into combination with that as to the coast lands of the Black Sea (above, *a*). Lipsius conjectures that here also Simon the Canaanite was erroneously taken for Simon Peter after the triumph of the tradition that Peter had laboured in Rome (i. 27 30 611-613, ii. 2 145 *f.* 175-177).

(*d*) Seufert (*ZWT*, 1885, 150 *f.*) urges against this, that the combination would be convincing only if evidence for the Babylonian sojourn of Peter earlier than the date of 1 Pet. could be adduced; otherwise, it remains possible that in 1 Pet. Rome is meant by Babylon, and thus that Peter's sojourn in Rome was at that time presupposed, but that afterwards in consequence of a literal interpretation of 1 Pet. 5 13 his place of sojourn was removed to Babylon, while at a still later date, with

a view to harmony with the tradition of his Roman sojourn, Simon the Canaanite was put in his place as sojourning in Babylon. We shall not here urge how difficult must at any time have been a literal interpretation of 'Babylon' in 1 Pet. 5 13, if Rome had already come to be so generally accepted as the scene of Peter's labours, that the author could have counted on being understood, although he chose to designate it by the word Babylon. The essential point is this: on the view which is being here upheld, Babylon must have been meant literally by the author of 1 Pet., because at that early date he had not as yet any idea of Peter as having ever been in Rome; in harmony with this view are those apocryphal Acts which represent him as labouring in Babylonia, so that the substitution of Simon the Canaanite in his place is found to be due to a subsequent alteration.

Even if Babylonia was Peter's most important field of labour, it does not by any means immediately follow that he died there. If it is certain that he did not die in Rome, there is all the more reason for asking whether any other place can be named with any probability.

44. Where did Peter die?

(*a*) Erbes (*Ztschr. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, 180-219) names Jerusalem.

In the pre-Catholic Acts it is not Nero who sentences Peter to death but the city-prefect Agrippa. By Agrippa, it is argued, cannot be intended the M. Vipsanius Agrippa who died in 12 B.C. Along with Agrippa is mentioned, as a persecutor of Peter, the emperor's friend Albinus, whose wife withdrew herself from his society from motives of chastity (above, § 33*g*). In this Albinus Erbes discerns the procurator Albinus who succeeded Festus in Judæa in 62 A.D., and who had a faithful high-toned wife; while Agrippa on the other hand he identifies with King Agrippa II. who was master of north-eastern Palestine from 53 to 100 A.D. (see HEROD, § 13). King Agrippa is not known to have been married, and Erbes presumes his domestic circumstances to have been similar to those of the Agrippa of the pre-Catholic Acts. It is in Palestine only, not in Rome, that the two men can be shown to have been contemporaries; the city-prefect of Rome in a Latin recension of the Passio Petri et Pauli (chap. 13, in *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1 233; also, we add, in cod. M of the principal form of this Passio Petri et Pauli [chap. 58] discussed above, § 32*b* 1) is named not Agrippa but Clement. But further, King Agrippa II. has been confused with Herod Agrippa I. who, according to Acts 12 3, cast Peter into prison in Jerusalem. It is his liberation from this captivity, Erbes thinks, which constitutes the basis of what is related in the Catholic and pre-Catholic Acts as to Peter's flight from Rome (above, §§ 34*g*, 33*g*). As to his death, on the other hand, Erbes conjectures that in reality Peter suffered crucifixion under Albinus towards the end of 64 A.D., and that Mt. 23 34 contains an allusion to this fact. Among the messengers of Jesus of whom he says to the Jews, 'some of them shall ye kill,' allusion is made to James the elder (Acts 12 2): it is Paul who is alluded to in the words 'some of them shall ye scourge in your synagogues and persecute from city to city,' and he whom the Jews 'shall crucify' is not the second bishop of Jerusalem, Simeon the son of Clopas, whose crucifixion (under Trajan, according to Hegesippus in Euseb., *HE* iii. 32 2) falls too late to allow the possibility of its being referred to in Mt., but Simon Peter. Erbes, that is to say, accepts as historical the statement which Eusebius (*HE* 3 11) introduces with a λόγος κατέχει—on the force of which formula see above, § 28*e*)—that after the death of James the Just in 62 A.D., all the surviving apostles met in Jerusalem in order to choose a successor to James—namely the Simeon referred to above. Peter after this continued in Jerusalem until the outbreak of Nero's persecution of the Christians in Rome, and in Jerusalem as a result of the activity aroused in zealous procurators by this persecution, he was crucified by Albinus. It was in this manner, it is urged, that it became possible for Peter to be regarded as one of Nero's victims, and his death to be at the same time transferred erroneously to Rome. The twofold destruction of Jerusalem, first by Titus and afterwards by Hadrian, explains how it was possible that the fact of its having been the scene of Peter's death should pass out of memory. The whole combination, however, notwithstanding other arguments, brought by Erbes to its support, which cannot be recapitulated here, is much too bold for acceptance.

(*b*) On the other hand, there is no difficulty in the supposition already set forth (§§ 28 *i*, 31*g*), that Peter met his death in an unknown and obscure place, perhaps without legal process, perhaps on a journey, perhaps without any companion, so that no tradition regarding it survived which could have asserted itself against the steadily advancing belief that he had died in Rome. Here accordingly we must rest, as we have no more detailed accounts, in particular none from Clement of Rome, from whom we should most naturally have expected them. When Soltau lays it down (pp. 23 25) that no one disputes the martyrdom of Peter in the time of the Neronian persecution, though it was not in Rome, the date is by no means to be accepted.

But neither have we any other means of learning the date of Peter's death. In particular, we may not say with Krenkel (*Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, p. 183, n. 3) that he must have died before Paul's last journey to Jerusalem because Paul, according to Acts 21 18, at that date found no one but James at the head of the Church there.

That Peter never was in Rome has already been inferred from the NT and the Church fathers (§ 31). Discussion of the apocryphal Acts showed, further, that Peter's presence in Rome was presupposed in Church circles not merely after 170 A.D. but perhaps even from as early a date as 160 A.D., that the purpose of his presence there is to be sought entirely in the conflict with Simon Magus (and in the martyrdom), and also, so far as the Catholic Acts are concerned, in the desire to bring into prominence his harmonious accord with Paul (§ 39). Not till we came to the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, however, were we able to perceive that under the name of Simon it was originally Paul that was controverted, and that nothing but the fundamental idea of the Simon-romance that Peter must necessarily follow 'Simon' everywhere gave rise to the allegation that he had come to Rome also. It is these writings, moreover, that first point the way clearly to a recognition of the fact that in the apocryphal Acts also the figure of Simon has an anti-Pauline basis (SIMON MAGUS, § 5). At the same time it was also through the *Homilies* and *Recognitions* that we first became aware that the harmonious co-operation of Paul with Peter in Rome was a fundamentally altered form of their hostile meeting in Rome reported in the romance—an alteration made in the interests of the Catholic church. Lastly, they showed us that this romance had already arisen and begun to take shape in the lifetime of Paul and the period immediately following. In church circles, however, it did not find acceptance until Gnostic features also had been given to Simon and thereby the Pauline features had been so greatly obscured that it became possible to assume a harmonious instead of a hostile conjunction of Paul with Peter in Rome. Thus we see that the key to the whole riddle is found only in the *Homilies* and *Recognitions*, and how great is the injustice done to themselves in the complete neglect of these by those scholars, like Erbes and Soltau, who seek to reach the right conclusion that Peter never was in Rome by other and much less conclusive arguments, or who like Harnack accept the tradition of the presence of Peter in Rome as true history.

45. Conclusion as to Peter's activity and death outside of Palestine.

But also the anti-Pauline basis of the Acta Petri is completely misknown when Carl Schmidt (below, § 49), 88-90, arguing correctly from the view of Harnack, declares it to be an 'assured result' that the whole legend contained in it about the meeting between Simon Magus and Peter has been derived by the author from combination of what Justin says about Simon with the fact of the Roman martyrdom of Peter, adding that Simon is exclusively the magician, and that the author remains without any idea that Paul is concealed under this mask, because the Pseudo-Clementines were not yet in existence.

In truth the interest of the Catholic church succeeded very well, thanks to great skill, persistence, and unscrupulosity, in obscuring the actual facts of the case (cp the suppression of the tradition according to which Barnabas was the first preacher of the gospel in Rome; BARNABAS, § 4); yet it is not wholly impossible for us to bring them again to light.

46. Importance for the Roman Church.

Still, the whole question, after all, is a purely historical one. A claim on the part of the bishop of Rome to supreme authority over the world would not be established even if it were a fact that Peter had been in Rome or that Mt. 16 18 *f.* as well as Lk. 22 32 or Jn. 21 15-17 were genuine. In § 26*g*, *h* it has been shown how late was the date at which Peter came to be

regarded as bishop of Rome in spite of this presupposition. In Peter's lifetime there were no monarchical bishops at all (MINISTRY, §§ 46*b*, 47), and even if there had been, his office was that of an apostle, never that of bishop. And even if he had been bishop, his special dignity would not have passed over to his successor; for apart from the fact that the apostolical succession was not believed in till a date long after the lifetime of Peter (MINISTRY, § 37), it is in itself an empty doctrine. Tertullian has well expressed this as against Calixtus of Rome (*Pudic.* 21, middle): 'qualis es, evertens atque commutans manifestam domini intentionem personaliter hoc [Mt. 16 18 *f.*] Petro conferentem?'

47. Later traditions. Only a brief account of later traditions can be given. The wife of Peter (1 Cor. 9 4 *f.*) is said to have been a daughter of Aristobulus, brother of Barnabas. Peter by prayer inflicts gout on his own daughter Petronilla in order to preserve her from danger with which she is threatened on account of her beauty. To show that he has the power to do so he heals her, but forthwith permits the malady to return. This is related in a Coptic fragment with the subscription πράξεις Πέτρου (discussed by Carl Schmidt [below, § 49], 1-25 and already in *SBAW*, 1896, p. 841 *f.*) Thus the conjecture of Lipsius (ii. 1 203-206) is confirmed that the Acts of Nereus and Achilles and the Acts of Philip from which he adduces the same story derived it from the old πράξεις Πέτρου. Yet the Coptic fragment gives the beginning to the effect that a heathen, Ptolemæus, had carried off the daughter of Peter (here she does not yet bear the name 'Petronilla'), but brought her back when she had lost her health. Clement of Alexandria clearly knew the story, as he says (*Strom.* 3 6, § 52, p. 535, ed. Potter; also *ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 30 1), 'for Peter indeed and Philip both became fathers,' and only with regard to Philip adds, 'Philip also gave his daughters to husbands' (see PHILIP, § 4 *c*, col. 3699). According to *Strom.* 7 11, § 63, p. 869 (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iii. 30 2) Peter's wife suffered martyrdom before his eyes. He himself is said to have been bald (cp the 'tonsura Petri'). For a detailed description of his appearance, from John Malalas after older authorities, see Lipsius, ii. 1 213, n. 1. Of the miracles of Peter reference may be made here to that mentioned in the 'Acta Petri et Andreæ' according to which, in order to convince a certain rich man named Onesiphorus of the truth of Christianity, he causes a camel to go twice through the eye of a needle, and afterwards, again twice, another camel with a woman of loose character on its back.

48. Writings attributed to Peter. We possess no genuine writings of Peter; nor can the speeches attributed to him in Acts lay any claim to authenticity notwithstanding their archaic colouring (§ 4 *g*, ACTS, § 14). On the Canonical Epistles see PETER (EPISTLES), and CHRISTIAN, § 8; also, on 2 Pet., above, § 24 *a*. As apocryphal writings of Peter, a book of Acts (not, however, claiming to be by him), a Gospel, a 'Preaching' (Κήρυγμα) and an Apocalypse are enumerated by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3 2). Cp APOCRYPHA, §§ 26 4 30 1 31 2; Zahn, *Gesch. d. NTlichen Kanons*, 2 742-751, 810-832; Harnack, *ACL*, ii. 1 470-475, 622-625. On the 'Preaching' of Peter see also above, § 25 *e*. Of the gospel of Peter the second half is fully considered under RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 5 *et passim*. Lastly, mention must be made of the Epistle of Peter to James prefixed to the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*, on which see SIMON MAGUS, § 15.

49. Literature. On the life of Peter generally see the Bible Dictionaries; also Harnack in *EB*(9) and the literature relating to the life of Jesus and the apostolic age. Of Catholic accounts may be named (the very title is characteristic) that of Janvier, *Histoire de St. Pierre, prince des apôtres et premier pape* (Tours, 1902). Against the Roman sojourn of Peter: Baur, *Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.*, 1831 *d*, pp. 136-206, and *Paulus*, 1845, pp. 212-243 = (2) 1, 1866, pp. 243-272; Lipsius, *Chronol. der röm. Bischöfe*, 1869, especially pp. 162-167, *Quellen der röm. Petrussage*, 1872, *JPT*, 1876, pp. 561-645, and *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* ii. 1, 1887; Hausrath, *NTliche Zt.-gesch.* 3, 1874, pp. 326-346 = (2), 1877, pp. 131-153; Zeller, *ZWT*, 1876, pp. 31-56; Erbes, *TU* 19 1, 'Todestage d. Paulus u. Petrus,' 1899, and *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 22, 1901, pp. 1-47, 161-224; Soltau, *Petrus in Rom*, in 'Sammlung gemeinverständl. wissensch. Vorträge' edd. Virchow and Holtzendorff, Hft. 349 = Neue Folge, Serie 15, 1900, pp. 469-509. In support of the Roman sojourn of Peter see Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1872, pp. 349-372; 1876, pp. 57-80; 1877, pp. 486-508; Joh. Delitzsch, *St. Kr.* 1874, pp. 213-260; Schmid (Roman Cath.), *Petrus in Rom*, Lucerne, 1879; Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers* i. (S. Clement of Rome), 2 481-502 ('S. Peter in Rome') and also 1 201-345 ('Early Roman Succession'); Harnack, *ACL* ii. (= *Chronol.*) 1 240-243, 703-710 *et passim*; Clemen, *Preuss. Jahrbb.* 106 (Oct.-Dec. 1901) 405-417; Kneller, *Z. f. kathol. Theol.* 1902, pp. 33-69, 225-246, and (against Erbes) 351-361; Carl Schmidt, 'Die alten Petrusakten,' in *TU* 24 (= Neue Folge ix) 1, 1003 (a work which did not appear until the present article was already in print). Cp also SIMON MAGUS, § 15.

P. W. S.

SIMRI (שִׁמְרִי), 1 Ch. 26 10 AV, RV SHIMRI (*q.v.*).

SIN (סִין; for 𝔊's readings see below) an Egyptian city, Ez. 30 15: 'and I will pour my fury upon Sin (AV^mg., Pelusium), the strength of Egypt.' It stands parallel to Noph-Memphis (*v.* 13), Pathros, Zoan-Tanis and No-Thebes (*v.* 14), in direct parallelism to No (Cornill: Noph-Memphis after 𝔊). Verse 16 groups together Sin (but 𝔊—except Q which has Σαϊς as in *v.* 15—Syene, and thus with great probability Cornill, סְוֵן; see SYENE), No, and Noph; in *vv.* 17 *f.* less important cities are enumerated. As in *v.* 16 𝔊 seems to be right, only *v.* 15 remains for Sin. Nothing can be concluded from the parallelisms, especially because the text (No occurs 3 times in the present Hebrew text) has been corrupted in several places, except that Sin must have been a very important city; in view of the parallelism with Memphis (𝔊, see above), it would seem to belong to northern Egypt. More important is the designation 'strength (RV stronghold, מָעוֹז) of Egypt,' which seems to point to the eastern frontier of the Delta. 𝔊^B renders Σαιν (accusative of Sais or transliteration?), 𝔊^A Ταvιν (of course incorrectly, as Tanis is ZOAN, *q.v.*), Vg. *Pelusium*. Modern scholars have always adhered to the Vulgate's identification with Pelusium, because Pelusium would meet the requirements best and because of the Aramaic word *sᵉyān*, Syriac *sᵉyānā* 'mud,' which seemed to furnish the Semitic equivalent for the Greek Πηλούσιον—*i.e.*, mud-city (cp Lutetia). This identification has been often repeated by Egyptologists (still by Steindorff, *Beiträge zur Assyr.* 1 599 as late as 1890), but on the basis of erroneous conclusions Brugsch (*Dict. Geogr.* 1091; cp Dümichen, *Gesch. Aeg.* 263) had assumed that Coptic *ome*, 'dirt, mud,' furnished the etymology for the great fortified frontier-city *Ame(t)*, and that the latter, consequently, was Pelusium. The city in question—*Ame(t)*[1]—had its official etymology rather from a word meaning 'prince of Lower Egypt'; but this might have been artificial. The city itself was, however, discovered by the excavations and investigations of Petrie and Griffith, at the modern Nebīsheh, 8 miles SE of Tanis; cp Petrie, *Tanis* II. (On the proposed identification with Tahpanhes, see TAHPANHES.) For the identification Pelusium-Sin there remains only the fact that Pelusium (or a fort near it?) is called by some Arabic sources (*et*)-*Ṭīneh* (*i.e.*, piece of clay, lump of mud); but this seems to be only a translation of the Greek name or a popular etymology of Pelusium which also Strabo (803) derives from the muddy surroundings.[2] At any rate, a comparison of the words *Sin* or the Aramaic *sᵉyān* with Arabic *ṭīn* is inadmissible for the Semitist. Pelusium, besides, does not seem to have had any importance before Greek times; Herodotus (2 141, etc.) knows it as the entrance to Egypt, and in this capacity it appears in many Greek writers; but no hieroglyphic name for it has been found so far, and it is not unlikely that cities more to the East (see above on Amet-Nebīsheh) had formerly the strategic position of Pelusium. According to Strabo (803), Pelusium was 20 m. distant from the sea; in his time it was much decayed, although later it was still the seat of a Coptic bishop. The Coptic name was ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ, Arabic *Far(a)ma*. The easternmost branch of the Nile was known as the Pelusiac; the Pelusiac mouth is now dried up completely, and the insignificant ruins of the ancient city are situated in the desert.[3]

It will be seen, therefore, that the popular identification with Pelusium rests on very feeble grounds. Jerome (see above) was most likely guided by the Aramaic

[1] The ambiguous letter 𓇋 had here the value of Aleph, to judge from demotic transcriptions.

[2] Other classical writers think of mythical persons such as Peleus, Pelusius, etc. See Wiedemann's excellent commentary on Herodotus (p. 89).

[3] On these and the history of the city see Wiedemann, *ut supr.*

etymology given in his time to the old name by Jewish scholars. It seems quite plausible that Ezekiel's Sin was a fortress similar to (perhaps not very far from) Pelusium, but of a somewhat ephemeral importance. In the critical sixth century B.C., fortifications and garrisons along the entrance to Egypt between the sea and the modern Ballāḥ-lakes seem to have changed considerably, and even before the great revolution caused by the Persian conquest in 525 B.C., the withdrawal of the large garrison to a better location may have reduced a populous city to the position of an obscure village. This must have been the case with Ezekiel's Sin, as 𝔊 could no longer identify it.[1] W. M. M.

[Cp *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. 29 10 30 14-16, where an underlying שׁוּנֵם is supposed. That Ezekiel's prophecies have been worked over by a redactor who changed the geographical setting, is pointed out in PROPHET, § 27. The 'Shunem' supposed to be referred to would be that in the Negeb. See SHUNEM.]

SIN, WILDERNESS OF (מִדְבַּר סִין), Ex. 16 1, etc. See GEOGRAPHY, § 7, and WANDERINGS.

SIN OFFERING (חַטָּאת), Lev. 4 3, etc. See SACRIFICE, §§ 28 *ff.*

SINAI AND HOREB

Two names (§ 1).
Cosmological theory (§ 2).
Bearing on Horeb-Sinai (§ 3).
Babylon and Egypt (§ 4).
Muṣri (§ 5).
Minæans and Sabæans (§ 6).
Magan and Meluḫa (§ 7).
Amarna period (§ 8).
Ma'in (§ 9).
Hebrew traditions (§ 10 *f.*).
Oldest Arab. civilisation (§ 12).
Moses story (§ 13).
Mount variously placed (§§ 14-16).
Early sacred places (§ 17).
Serbāl and J. Mūsā (§ 18).
Gal. 4 25 (§ 19).
Various views (§ 20).

Sinai is the usual name for the mountain where, according to one tradition, Yahwè had his seat and where, accordingly, Moses received the divine commands. Sinai is, therefore, the mountain of the giving of the law.

Even the most superficial observation does not fail to note that the mountain where Yahwè dwells has also

1. The two names.

another name—Horeb. In pre-critical days the explanation offered and accepted was either that Horeb was the name of the whole range and Sinai that of the individual mountain, or, alternatively, that Horeb designated the northern part of the range and Sinai the southern, and more especially the highest point of this. Criticism shows that the various sources can be sharply distinguished. (*a*) Horeb is the name of the mountain where Yahwè has his seat in E (the principal passage is Ex. 3 1; next come 17 6, where it occurs in a passage of the nature of a gloss, and 33 6. In the last cited passage, however, the words 'from Mt. Horeb'[2] are out of place, having been introduced into the text from the margin; it properly belongs to the E section 33 7-11, and more particularly to *v.* 9: 'when Moses entered into the tent the pillar of cloud descended *from Mount Horeb* and stood at the door of the tent'). In this as elsewhere E is followed by D, and the mountain is called Horeb throughout in Dt. (1 6 4 10 etc.) except in the older non-deuteronomic song (33 2), the opening portion of which is a counterpart to the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 3 *ff.*, cp Ps. 68). (*b*) On the other hand the mountain of Yahwè is called Sinai—generally Mt. Sinai (הר סיני)—in J (Ex. 19 11 34 4) and P (Ex. 16 1 24 16 34 28 32 Lev. 25 1 26 46 27 34). A 'wilderness of Sinai' (מדבר סיני) is spoken of only in P (Ex. 19 1 *f.* Lev. 7 38 Nu. 1 1 19 9 1). This is in agreement with the fact that Sinai came to be the more usual name, the later form of the tradition having as usual gained the upper hand.

We have no information from the older times regarding the Sinaitic Peninsula and the adjacent parts (see below), and it is, therefore, impossible to speak with any definiteness as to the relative frequency of the two names or their connotations. On the other hand, we are able to arrive at a quite clear perception of the idea that was connected with their use in the circle of legend and of the facts which caused the change of usage.

In the thought of the ancient East every land that can be looked upon as a geographical or political unity

2. Cosmological theory expounded.

—and so also 'the promised land'—is regarded as a reflected image of the earth and of the cosmos (*KAT*(3) 176); the points which fix the limits of the earth as a whole must, therefore, reappear also in the lesser cosmos, the country, and once more, again, in the district. It is precisely by this that the land is shown to be a natural unity—*i.e.*, a unity determined and ordained by God. According as a twofold or a fourfold division is adopted, the earth is defined by two or four points: E. and W., or N. and S., or else E., S., W., and N. So also the year and the day are divided into two halves or four quarters in accordance with the corresponding points in the course of the sun. Any one of these two or four points can be taken as the beginning of the year or of the course of the sun; the year can begin in spring as in Babylon, or in winter as with us (following Egyptian-Roman reckoning), in autumn as in the time before the rise of Babylon (end of the third millenium B.C.) in Hither Asia, and, therefore, with the Canaanites and the Israelites; lastly, in summer. The beginning selected corresponds with the nature of the divinity who is principally worshipped. Because Marduk is the god of spring the year is held to begin with spring, and because in the W. the western (*i.e.*, the autumn) god prevails, an autumn new year prevails in western lands, including Canaan, as long as there is independence.

In this connection between the year—*i.e.*, the course of the sun—and geographical conceptions we can already discern the essential character of all oriental religion and science, which is to regard all that is and all that happens as flowing from the activity of the deity. But the deity reveals himself primarily and before aught else in the heavenly bodies and their motions; for the deities of Babylon and of all Hither Asia—as the OT itself abundantly shows—without exception bear an astral character.[1] The heavenly bodies which most plainly reflect the deity in its working, in other words the most conspicuous forms of the divine manifestation, or, in ordinary language, the gods principally worshipped are the moon, the sun, and the five planets. Their periods of revolution mark the divisions of time—month, year, and larger cycles—and compel attention by their importance for the course of natural life (Gen. 1 14 8 22). In the Babylonian view of these seven great divinities the planet Venus is associated with the moon and the sun, so that the three together become rulers of the Zodiac (the *šupuk šamê*—*i.e.*, the highway of heaven, along which the seven travel). 'He (Bel) appointed Sin, Samaš, and Ištar to rule in the Zodiac.' These three have each of them four quarter or two half phases; for Venus, as an inner planet, shows the same phases as the moon, and the positions of the sun in the two or four seasons of the year are reckoned also as phases. The four remaining planets represent each one phase (one quarter) of the greater stars; thus Jupiter (Marduk) = the spring-sun, Mars (Ninib) = the summer sun, Mercury (Nabu) = the harvest sun, and Saturn (Nergal) = the winter sun.

To each of these four planets accordingly belongs one of the four points which regulate the sun's course and thus the universal order. When the division is by two, Mars and Saturn are eliminated; the reckoning in that case is by the two solar phases from equinox to equinox (spring to autumn, or autumn to spring). The sun,

[1] 𝔊's reading Saïs (*סי) for סין would furnish a good emendation, but is forbidden by the place being described as a fortress.

[2] מֵהַר חוֹרֵב. There is nothing in the Hebrew corresponding to RV's 'onward.'

[1] For what follows cp Wi. *AOF* 3 185 *ff.*, and in *Der alte Orient*, 3, parts 2 and 3.

moreover, is regarded as the god of the underworld, for the stars as they approach the sun become invisible, in other words, have their abode in the underworld. Now, this 'underworld' aspect of the sun corresponds to Saturn (Nergal), the winter sun or the god of the underworld (Pluto). To the moon accordingly (since the full moon is in opposition to the sun) belongs the opposite pole of the universe and the opposite planet Mars (Ninib), which represents the summer sun. By a complete reversal of all our modern notions, the sun is the deity of winter or the underworld, the moon the deity of summer and the upper world.

Now when the sun takes up the position which properly belongs to it in the universe, that is, when it is a winter sun, it is at the *most southerly* point of its course in the zodiac; and the corresponding full moon being in opposition is at the most northerly point. In other words, the sun is at the Saturn-sun point, the S. pole of the ecliptic, the moon at the Mars-moon point, the N. pole of the ecliptic.

The course of nature shows a similar cycle; day is succeeded by night, summer by winter, and in the larger periods of time, the æon, a similar procession is repeated. Everything that happens is divine ordering, the godhead is constantly manifesting itself anew in changed attitudes and changed activities. Thus Marduk becomes Nabu in autumn, and conversely. The same holds good of the N. and S. phase (summer and winter) of the sun or of the godhead in general; they pass each into its opposite. Further, the four (or two) quarters of the world present themselves in various aspects according to the character of the worship exercised at each given place, and according to the different methods of reckoning there employed. The Babylonian view, with the Marduk (or spring-) cult, takes as its point of orientation (Mohammedan *ḳibla*) the E. (=that which is before, קדם), and thus for it the N. is to the left, the S. to the right, and the W. behind. To the older view, which faces westward, the N. is to the right and the S. to the left. Thus arises for a later time the possibility of an interchange of diametrically opposite points, according to the point of view assumed by each writer in his theory. Hence the phenomenon constantly observed in all forms of mythology, and therefore also of cosmology, that opposites pass into one another, that a given form bears also the marks of its antithesis.

The selection of the two names, Horeb and Sinai, and their cosmological meaning thus become clear. As soon as scholars discovered the importance of the moon worship in ancient Babylonia, and the name of the moon-goddess Sin, the explanation of the name Sinai as Mountain of the Moon became natural. Proof, indeed, for this explanation of the word can be had only when the significance of this mountain in the cosmic scheme as a whole has been made out; but this is accomplished precisely by means of the other name of the mountain of Yahwè—Horeb.

3. Bearing on Horeb and Sinai.

The earth—and so also on a smaller scale each land and each separate district—is imagined as a mountain with two summits,[1] the 'mountain of the countries' of the Babylonians and Assyrians (*šad mâtâte, ursag kurkurra*). According to the orientation in each case (and as regulated by this the time at which the year was held to begin, and so forth) these two points are conceived of as E. and W. (equinoctial), or as N. and S. (solstitial). The E. (or N.) point is that of the light half of the day or year, the W. (or S.) that of the dark half. For when the sun is in the E. the day (or the year) begins, when it is at the northern point of its path it is midday or midsummer, and so on. This is the thought which lies at the bottom of the religious observances on Ebal and Gerizim[2] (Dt. 11 29 27 11 *ff.* Josh. 8 30 *ff.*); Gerizim is the mount of blessing, Ebal that of cursing, that is, of the light and dark halves respectively, of good and evil omen (right and left are the lucky or unlucky sides according to the orientation); on each mountain stand six tribes, for each half of the year has six signs of the zodiac or six months.[1]

When the two summits of the šad mâtâte are the N. and S. points of the cosmos they belong respectively to the moon and to the sun. If Sinai takes its name from the moon-goddess Sin, Horeb is derived from the sun, for the name means Mountain of Glowing, Heat (חרב and חורב), the sun at the most northerly part of its course (our sign of cancer, summer-solstice) is the glowing sun. Thus Sinai and Horeb both express like cosmological conceptions.

Making the moon point the most northerly of the ecliptic belongs to the old Babylonian order of ideas, according to which the moon stands at the head of the pantheon and the sun is regarded as god of the underworld. The opposite is also equally admissible, the moon being regarded as the star of the night and the sun as the power that quickens nature, as the star of the upper world, and as supreme deity. In this last interpretation, and, indeed, as the sole expression of the godhead, Chuen-aten (Amen-ḥotep IV., see EGYPT, § 56) sought to carry out a monotheistic worship of the sun. This would be of importance if it were held proven that it is Chuen-aten that is intended by the Pharaoh of Joseph.[2] It would seem, in any case, as if a like view underlay the designation of Sinai (as of Horeb), for the mountain upon which Yahwè reveals himself lies on the S. of the promised land. If, now, Yahwè has his dwelling on the moon-mountain situated in the S., clearly the underlying cosmic orientation is the Egyptian one which regards the S. as being above (corresponding to the course of the Nile), whilst the Babylonians had the conception (corresponding also to the course of the Euphrates) according to which it is the N. that is above —the N. pole of the cosmos, as also of the ecliptic (this last the moon-point). For the highest godhead dwells above on the summit of the šad mâtâte. To it, therefore, belongs the highest part of the ecliptic (the path of the sun) as of the sky; the portion which lies to the N. of the zodiac and thus around the N. pole. The Egyptian view presupposes the opposite conception, and, therefore, looks for all these things in the S.

4. Babylon and Egypt.

The assumption, accordingly, which should look for the seat of the highest godhead in the S. of the country, would rest more upon Egyptian conceptions, though at the same time for the present we must hold fast that the Egyptian doctrine and the Babylonian alike are daughters of a common view of the universe, and that their relation to this is somewhat the same as that of the political doctrine of two modern European civilised states to European culture and conception of the universe; diverse in details, the views of the two are on the whole identical. It is in agreement with this that the rise of the nation of Israel is carried back by legend to Egypt; and that the region where the nation found its god—*i.e.*, the expression of its political unification and its political-religious right to an independent existence as a people, in other words, to sovereignty—was still known to legend as Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, MOSES). Egypt and Muṣri alike are also in the Babylonian con-

[1] Cp Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandlungen*, 344 *ff.*; Winckler in *MVG*, 1901, 241, 283.

[2] Both are brought into connection with the goddess worshipped at Shechem, who is identical with Tammuz—*i.e.*, the god of the two halves of the year. Joseph and Joshua are the corresponding heroic figures: Wi. *GI* 2 75 *ff.* 96 *ff.* Joseph is mentioned principally in connection with Shechem, Joshua's life-work culminates in Shechem (Josh. 24). For Joshua the attainment of Shechem is what the arrival at Mt. Nebo was for Moses; Marduk (Moses) dies when the sun reaches the western point where the kingdom of Nabu (winter half of the year) begins.

[1] The number twelve always symbolises the twelve signs of the zodiac.

[2] The deduction would be that the doctrine of Yahwism consciously links itself on to this monotheism as its predecessor: see *KAT*(3) 211.

SINAI AND HOREB

ception the land of the sun, representing as they do the S. so far as the earth is concerned; but the S. of the sky is the celestial underworld where the sun has his place during winter, and thus in the Babylonian conception in the case of a revelation of the deity in Muṣri a reference to the Egyptian doctrine of the sun is presupposed.

5. Muṣri. Fresh light would certainly be shed on this side of the question should we ever come into possession of fuller information as to the state of civilisation and the religious and political conditions of the region in question (Muṣri) in early times. In the present state of our knowledge all that can be affirmed is that, the higher the antiquity we reach, the higher also the civilisation so far as the ancient orient is concerned. The Amarna period—that which comes under consideration in the present discussion—already seems to presuppose a retrogression so far as Palestine is concerned, and this would imply like conditions for the S. also. It is quite a mistake to picture to oneself the Sinaitic peninsula and the adjoining parts of Arabia as having then been under the same conditions as prevail to-day. We already know enough to justify us in affirming that these parts in ancient times were not wholly given up to nomads, and that the country possessed ordered institutions and seats of advanced civilisation. The Nabatæan state about the time of the Christian era, and that of the Ghassanids at a later period had their earlier predecessors (see *KAT*$^{(3)}$ 136 *ff.*). All of them were states in touch with the civilisation of their respective periods—pre-eminently with that of Egypt and Assyria-Babylonia—just as much as that Nabatæan kingdom with which we are in some measure acquainted through the monuments that have come down to our day and through the notices in classical authors. It is by no means impossible that we may yet come into possession of monumental evidence with regard to the region of ancient Muṣri dating from times which we at present ordinarily think of as completely without either history or civilisation. This, at least, is even already clear, that long before the period assumed for the sojourn of the Israelites oriental civilisation had been at work in these parts in a higher degree than was at a later date shown by Islam.[1]

6. Minæans and Sabæans. Above all, it has to be pointed out that we are in no position to decide definitely as to the state of civilisation of those regions during the times in question, as long as the countless records of S. Arabia, the inscriptions of the Minæans and the Sabæans, have not been made accessible and investigated. The commercial states of S. Arabia exercised political ascendency also in these regions at the time when they flourished; they extended their civilising influence as far as to the havens of the Philistines and the gates of Damascus,[2] and even left behind them in those parts a civilisation that can be directly traced to them.[3] Very specially it is from the Minæan-Sabæan inscriptions that, after what the cuneiform inscriptions and Egyptian documents have yielded or may yet yield, we may hope for glimpses alike into the political relations of the Sinaitic peninsula and adjacent regions, and still more into their civilisation—in other words into the spiritual development of the peoples and times by which the occurrences of the period of Israel's sojourn in Sinai were determined. It is chiefly on these inscriptions that we must depend for any knowledge as to the civilisation and manner of thinking—the 'genius' (*geist, génie*)—of the Semitic peoples in that quarter, where they received their purest development, and from which, in a certain sense, the tribes of Israel also took their origin (*KAT*$^{(3)}$ 8).

1 Against the notion of Arabia and the 'Arabian spirit' as being the sole basis of 'Semitism' see Winckler, 'Arabisch-Semitisch-Orientalisch' in *MVG*, 1901, 4-5.

2 The 'Harra' inscriptions are in an alphabet which shows a prevailingly S. Arabian influence.

3 Cp the 'Liḥyān' inscriptions (ed. D. H. Müller, *Epigraphische Denkmäler aus Arabien*, 1889).

All that we as yet have come to know in the way of actual historical fact regarding the Sinaitic peninsula and adjacent regions, is still in the highest degree inadequate. The oldest monuments are the Egyptian inscriptions in Wādy Maghāra and those of Ṣarbūṭ el-Khādem (EGYPT, § 45). The Pharaohs designate the people whom they have subjugated there by the name of Mentu. The still extant mines show how it was that the much prized *mafkat* (malachite, or 'kupfergrün') was obtained. The oldest known Pharaohs exploited the country for this: Snefre (first king of the Fourth Dynasty), Chufu (Cheops, the builder of the Great Pyramid), various kings of the Fifth and the Sixth Dynasty, Usertesen II. and Amenemḥe't of the twelfth; the last whose name is recorded in any inscription is Rameses II.

7. Magan and Meluḫa. Babylonian references can be adduced only in a general way in so far as already in the earliest times we have evidence of a lively commerce between Babylonia and the whole of Arabia; the information in our possession does not enable us to go into details. The Babylonian designation for Arabia is 'Magan and Meluḫa' and the two expressions are used distinctively, the one (Magan) to denote the eastern and southern part—that situated nearest to Babylonia, the other (Meluḫa) to denote the N. and W. The district of Sinai would thus form part of Meluḫa. It need hardly be said that in the many centuries of Babylonian-Assyrian history the relations with the two countries waxed and waned in importance with the fluctuations in political power and in the developments of trade; so also did the degree of knowledge regarding the regions of which we are speaking vary and the connotation of the names grow or shrink. Thus at certain times what was spoken of as Meluḫa will have been not much more than the northern fringe and the road to Egypt. The derivation of the name of the characteristic product of the Sinaitic peninsula—malachite—from Meluḫa seems obvious.

The ideas of antiquity as to the form of the earth are very far removed from the actual facts. Thus it is an essential element in the Babylonian conception that the whole of the southern part of the earth is regarded as a continuous territory stretching from utmost Nubia (Ethiopia) through South Arabia to India. The Red Sea and the Persian Gulf have nothing like their true importance assigned to them. Thus if 'Magan and Meluḫa' in the widest sense covers the whole of what lies to the S. we must include in Magan India and in Meluḫa Ethiopia (*KAT*$^{(3)}$ 137). This will explain how it is that Cush, the name of the upper valley of the Nile—thus the land to the S. of Muṣri = Egypt—designates also those lands which in Arabia are situated to the S. of Muṣri.

It is often possible, therefore, in cases where there are no special indications to guide us, for us to be in doubt as to what special regions ought to be understood by the names Magan, Meluḫa, Kuš, Muṣri—precisely as we are when we hear 'America' or 'Africa' vaguely mentioned. It is thus beyond our power to determine with precision whence it was that Gudea prince of Lagaš derived the material for his buildings which was brought (we are told) from 'Magan' and from 'Meluḫa.' We cannot be sure whether the usual opinion, which takes Sinai with its malachite to be meant by Meluḫa as the mountain of the *samtu* stone (II. R. 51 *a b* 17), is correct, for we are not in a position to say what the *samtu* stone really is.

8. Amarna period. The Amarna Letters seem to show that, essentially, the Egyptian sovereignty did not extend beyond the borders of southern Palestine. This is in agreement with the supposition that it was precisely in these times that the newly immigrating tribes of the 'Hebrews' from North Arabia, to which also the Israelites belonged, pressed forward into the regions of civilisation. We may take it,

accordingly, that this period was marked by a retrogression from the prosperity of a somewhat earlier time. It is impossible to tell with any certainty who were the 'Meluḫa-people' whom Rib-Addi, prince of Gebal, summoned to his aid along with the Egyptians; it is, however, likely, in the known circumstances, that the Egyptian troops did not consist in the main of bands of Bedouins from Sinai and Midian; more probably Nubians are intended.

9. Ma'īn. With the single exception of the inscription of Rameses II. in Wādi Maghāra we have no information from these times relating to the regions at present under consideration; but this is precisely the period which covers the time of Israel's sojourn in Sinai. It is what usually and naturally happens; of times during which great states have not dominated the border lands we hear nothing. So far as our present light carries us, however, it would seem that to this period also belongs the development of the power of the S. Arabian kingdom of Ma'īn (Minæans). For this kingdom was annihilated sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C., and its beginnings must therefore be carried back at least as far as to the thirteenth century.[1] A period of weakness in the great civilised states has also always been favourable to the rise of petty states and to the development of separate kingdoms on the borders of the region of civilisation; and a period of prosperity in the trading states of S. Arabia so far as we are able to trace their history also occurred precisely at such a time. We may venture, therefore, to hope some time or other to obtain some information regarding the regions of Sinai from the inscriptions of the Minæans just as we are indebted to a Minæan inscription of about the ninth century for an illustration of the conditions prevailing on the S. Palestinian borders (Halévy, 535 = Glaser, 1155).[2] We must, accordingly, figure to ourselves the Minæan rule in those parts as having been after the manner of that of the Nabatæans. Just as these bore rule in the Sinaitic peninsula and left settlements and inscriptions behind them, so we may be certain that the rule of the Minæans had a determining influence on the civilisation and therefore also on the religion of those parts. As the Minæan rule in el-'Ula in N. Arabia has left its traces in numerous inscriptions, so we must suppose Minæan settlements to have existed all along the caravan routes to Palestine and to Egypt.

We must conceive of the relations between the regions of Sinai and S. Arabia in those days, then, somewhat after the analogy supplied by Islam; they were not a mere El Dorado of Bedouin tribes who had remained stationary in some primitive phase of development and had remained wholly untouched by the civilisation of the orient and its knowledge (which is identical with its religion). Of course we are to believe that Bedouin tribes also did live there, and these were doubtless not genuine representatives of old oriental civilisation exactly as the peasant of to-day does not represent modern science and philosophy; but they were just as far from remaining untouched by it as any section of a population can be from remaining altogether outside of the influences of an enveloping civilisation. And the higher the oldest civilisation, the more lasting must have been its effect upon all sections of the population. True, the Bedouin is never anything but a bad Moslem; still he is one; his religious and other conceptions are influenced by Islam, and if anywhere among the Bedouins of Arabia any intellectual or political movement, any impulse towards higher forms of development arises, it must in these days associate itself with Islam, just as in those days any similar movement was inevitably associated

[1] *KAT*(3) 141 O. Weber in *MVG*, 1901, 1.

[2] See Winckler, 'Muṣri-Meluḫa-Ma'in' in *MVG*, 1898, 1; Hommel, *Aufsätze u. Abhandl.* 230 *ff.* (Hommel would give the inscription an earlier date).

with the doctrines which then dominated the East and Arabia with it.

10. Hebrew tradition. Tradition itself brings this out very clearly in so far as it has not been artificially shaped with the design of representing the nation of Israel as a purely religious community, but still proceeds upon the ordinary presuppositions as to the national conditions of national life; the older tradition does so. To the sphere of Muṣri belongs the region of Midian and this last comes within the sphere of influence of the S. Arabian states. The Elohist[1] here also exhibits the original and natural view. He presupposes that Israel was heathen before Moses[2] and that Yahwè first revealed himself to Moses during his sojourn at Horeb before the Exodus (Ex. 3 9-14). In E JETHRO the father-in-law of Moses—whom, however, the author never calls priest of Midian[3]—still appears quite clearly in a rôle which connects him with the worship of the god of the place—the Yahwè of Horeb (Ex. 18). When the Yahwist proceeds to make him priest of Midian he is giving true expression to the dependence of Mosaism on the civilisation prevailing there (writing of course from the standpoint of his own time—the eighth century—when Muṣri actually was a state; see *KAT*(3)) although in turn he suppresses the old representation, made by the Elohist, of a connection between Yahwè and the older culture of these regions in favour of a more spiritualised doctrine thrown into stronger contrast with the ancient religions.

11. Value of traditions. Every historical delineation, however, can only depict past conditions in terms of the conceptions of the historian's own time. Our oldest source can indeed conceive and set forth the subjects it deals with in the lively colours of its own age; but the question as to the value of the historical contents of its narrative is to be carefully distinguished from that as to the correctness of its apprehension and representation of the milieu. The historical value of the accounts themselves is to be judged of solely by the antiquity of the date—*i.e.*, by the possibility of a genuine historical tradition. The date at which the sources E and J were finally fixed in writing is to be sought somewhere in the eighth century; how far these in turn rest on written authorities—the only ones possessing historical validity—we do not know; but in no case can they be supposed to go so far back as to the days before the monarchy. An oral or popular tradition about earlier times possesses no direct historical value; no people preserves definite recollections of its career going more than two or three generations back. What any Israelitic or Judahite source hands down to us from the tradition of its own people must always be judged therefore by reference to the possibility of historical—*i.e.*, written—sources having been used (*KAT*(3) 204 *ff.*). What does not rest upon these possesses no other value than that of the purely theoretical doctrine of an ancient writer upon a subject of which he knew nothing. And such theories are of course of less value, not more, than those of modern science.

A Judahite-Israelite historical tradition in the sense just indicated is excluded for the times of the sojourn in Sinai; even were we to regard these as historical we could not carry the tradition back to the Sinaitic time. On the other hand, in the present case, as with the whole body of tradition relating to the patriarchal period

[1] According to the present writer's view the oldest source; see *KAT*(3).

[2] Stade, *GVI* 1 131; Gen. 35; Josh. 24.

[3] Whether his name was Jethro in E, or whether he was not rather called Hobab the Kenite may be left an open question. On Hobab see Nu. 10 29 Judg. 1 16 4 11. For our present inquiry it is indifferent which name belongs to E and which to J. The view which speaks of him as a Kenite appears to be the older and in that case would belong to E. This, however, would imply that Horeb was thought of as being not in the Sinaitic peninsula but much nearer the Israelite territory, in the region of the tribe of Kain (cp § 15).

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(*KAT*(3) as above), we have always to apply the distinction drawn between 'nation' in the ethnological sense and the same word in its *kulturgeschichtlich* and therefore also its religious sense. In the view of antiquity and therefore of Judah there was no such distinction, and hitherto the tradition has always been followed. The nation is alone the bearer of religion, of truth, of civilisation, and thus of the right that alone is divine, and all tradition as all thought is valid for this people alone, alongside of which no others possess any right in any truth. In reality every nation, like every individual, belongs to the world around it in all its ideas and in the treasures of its material and spiritual possessions. The nation of Israel is therefore in an ethnological sense to be distinguished from that spiritual movement—or religion—of which it is represented by tradition as having been the bearer, but in which in its purity neither a complete nor an exclusive part can be claimed by the nation as an ethnological whole. The religious idea in its purity was grasped only by the spiritual leaders in Israel, and these, as we now know, and as indeed is in itself self-evident and in accordance with the nature of things, stood in spiritual connection with those of the great civilised nations. It is therefore possible that for the Sinai-period, as well as for the rest of the body of patriarchal legend, the historical tradition at bottom has a connection with older extraneous sources, a connection, the object of which is to set forth the relations between the religion of Yahwè in its principles and the religious and spiritual movements of the leading lands of civilisation: Abraham comes from Babylon; Joseph goes to Egypt; the revelation of religion, the close of the development, takes place in the region of a third civilisation, and is brought into clearly expressed connection therewith in the oldest tradition by means of the figure of Jethro. Thus for the special question as to how we are to picture to ourselves the life of the tribes of Israel before the immigration we are again led back to investigation of the history of the oldest Arabian civilisation.

12. Oldest Arabian civilisation.

Whether we may venture to hope for a satisfactory answer to this question, whether we shall ever find in that quarter the definite starting-point for those movements of a combined religious and political nature which are presupposed in the figure and the activity of a Moses, may perhaps seem doubtful when it is considered how far we still are even in the case of the Babylonians, notwithstanding the much greater fulness of the information we actually possess or may still hope for, from having reached any indication as to the historical facts of which perhaps tradition is taking account in what it hands down to us respecting Abraham and Jacob. Possibly we are somewhat better off in the case of Joseph (see JOSEPH, col. 2591).

Thus, for any conception as to the general lie of things, the conditions under which this great movement (to assume its historicity) may possibly have been brought about, we must be content to fall back upon historical parallels; and these are very numerous. The first rise of Islam, and many of the religious political movements within Islam, enable us to form a conception of the manner in which also the national unification of Israel must have come about. The nation must have a god, and therefore also a worship; in this manner only does it come to possess a claim to an independent existence as a political unity. The law according to which it lives and without which a nation cannot exist is in all oriental antiquity revealed by God and in every case rests upon (divinely imparted) knowledge. All knowledge and all law is thus of divine origin,—is religion. Hence political movements generally assume a prevailingly religious character, the secular demands being based upon divine right. So it was with Mohammed and many other prophets in Islam; so also in our own Middle Ages down to the Reformation.

13. The Moses story.

The activity of Moses—or, if you will, the political developments which form the groundwork of the Moses legend—must be regarded as having been a movement of this sort. The Sinai-period would in that case represent in some sense the crowning of the work, the giving of the charter, in a word the political organisation of the movement. As such it is represented even in the legend, and there can be no doubt about the matter. For the theophany, etc., see MOSES, § 13.

The attempt at a historical criticism of the Exodus legend and its culminating point the legislation at Sinai, proceeds on the assumption that the Bedouin manner of life with its forms of organisation must supply also the key to any historical contents this episode may have as also to those of the whole legend of the early history of Israel. The 'Semitic peoples' are regarded as 'nomads' who develop their distinctive views and so also their religion from the midst of their primitive surroundings. The essence of their forms of organisation is held to find its clearest expression in the Arab Bedouin life as this is disclosed to us in Arabian poetry and in the tradition of Islam based upon this.

On this view the form of organisation that lies at the root of the Israelite national consciousness is the tribal. It is indisputable that this is the view presented also in the OT, and that Israel also in actual fact, exactly like other peoples of the East in a similar comparatively low stage of culture, is not unacquainted with this view and this form of organisation. This being so, the god who was to be the God of Israel, had of necessity to be the god of the leading tribe which laid hold on the hegemony, and thus made its tribal god into a national god in the same way as its chief or sheik raised himself to the position of king of the nation. Stade (*GVI* 1 131) supposes Kain to have been such a tribe, because the father-in-law of Moses (see above) the priest is brought into connection with Kain. Carrying this further, we should then have to suppose that the sanctuary of the god, and thus the tribal centre of worship, must be thought of as being at the place which the corresponding legend thinks of as Sinai (Wi. *GI* 1 29 *ff.*).

This, however, would give only the one side of the legend, that which corresponds to the ethnological character of the entire conception, and looks upon the nation of Israel through the eyes of antiquity. All that follows from this is that in Judah-Israel, that is to say in the historical period or period of the monarchy, a tribe, royal house, and worship was in the ascendant which traced its home to the Sinai-region. The religious or *kulturgeschichtlich* side of the question will have to be kept quite separate. Whence did the worship, which is that of the nation of Israel in the *kulturgeschichtlich* sense, receive its real contents, its doctrine? Legend answers the question with the word revelation; but if the matter is looked at from the historical and genetic point of view, it is necessary to assume a doctrine which had grown up on the soil of the ancient civilisations. For it is peoples of civilisation, not nomads and peasants, that develop new and higher ideas in the struggle with those of a lower and now no longer sufficient view of the world—Religion, *i.e.*, ethic and law.

14. Sinai-Horeb variously placed.

The question which arises out of the possibility that Sinai or Horeb had been the centre of worship of a clan or tribe that had the predominance in Judah-Israel leads us to consideration of the position of this mountain. For even though we are able to prove that cosmological ideas are here involved, many analogous phenomena show that the localities so viewed need not necessarily be pure figments of theory, that, on the contrary, a localisation of these theoretical ideas is the general rule. As is usually the case,

however, so also in the present instance, a comparison of the different sources shows that relative objects of worship, or the earthly copies of heavenly places, are located by the various sources or traditions in very diverse situations. This holds good of the mountain upon which Yahwè dwells, exactly as it holds good of any other seat of deity. Every nation, or every tribe, must necessarily point to it within its own domain; but, as in every nation and state various strata of culture and population are represented, and in the course of time also various doctrines arise, so, in like manner, different localisations can be handed down in the various strata of the tradition. A classical example of this is presented by Mts. Ebal and Gerizim (see above, § 3). The tradition (J) which places them beside Shechem has held its ground victoriously. In their cosmic meaning, however, as the two summits of the Mountain of the World, they can be shown to have been held in reverence also in other seats of worship, in the territory of other gods as well as at Shechem (Ephraim). So, for example, in the domain of worship of the once more extensive tribe (Winckler, *GI* 2) of Benjamin, in the region of Bethel. This is the meaning of the gloss in Dt. 11 30 (cp GERIZIM, § 2): they are situated near the Gilgal, the political centre of Benjamin which stands in connection with the sanctuary of Bethel. Ebal and Gerizim are other names for Jachin and Boaz in so far as these stand for definite cosmological ideas (N. and S., or E. and W. point) precisely as Sinai and Horeb do. Thus no difficulty ought to be felt if the mountain of Yahwè also is placed in various localities.

15. Pre-exilic. The view which brings it into connection with the Kenite tribe and which we must regard as the oldest, doubtless has in mind not the Sinaitic peninsula, but the region to the S. of Judah, that is to say Edom. This still finds clear expression in the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 4): 'Yahwè, when thou goest forth from Se'ir and comest down from the mountain (שׂרה = Ass. *šadû*; see FIELD, 1) of Edom'; similarly also in Dt. 33 2[1] (see PARAN, and cp We. *Prol.*(3) 359, and Di. *ad loc.*). In like manner 1 K. 19 8 originally placed Horeb (thus belonging to E, the oldest source on which Dt. rests) in the region of Edom, that is, of Ken, for Elijah cannot have undertaken any remote desert journey when he is already at the point of fainting at the close of a single day.[2] The forty days were first introduced in order to establish a parallelism with the Moses-legend.[3] The words of the Song of Deborah (Judg. 5 5) indicate that even the tradition which used the name Sinai was influenced by the same view with regard to its situation. This would go to show that the Yahwistic tradition also—for Dt. follows E (cp. § 1)—looked at matters in the same light. J and E, however, comprise the whole tradition which comes from the times of Judah's national existence. This would be in entire agreement with all that we have to presuppose for a period, the conceptions of which must have confined themselves within the limits of the actual and possible.

16. Post-exilic. The free play of fancy, as well as the enlargement of the claims of Judah to territory outside of its proper limits, could first come to their rights only after the nation had been torn away from its native soil, when Judah had come to be no longer a nation but only a religious community, the sphere of whose activity was limited only by the bounds of the civilisation of Hither Asia.

The writing which arose out of such ideas as these is what is now known as P; we could, almost, therefore, have guessed beforehand that the transference of the cosmic idea of Sinai as the seat of Yahwè to the Sinaitic peninsula proceeds from this source or from the view upon which this source is based. It finally became the basis for a conception of Israel—of its proper significance and of its past—which could never have arisen in the times in which Judah had a national existence. All those alterations and transpositions of geographical ideas which extend Israel's power far beyond its historical frontiers[1] are post-exilic. With this it would agree that the list of stages, the precise itinerary of Israel's journey to Sinai and from Sinai to Canaan, is peculiar to P.

The localisation of the Mt. of God in the Sinai peninsula must thus at the earliest belong to a late—that is, post-exilic—date. Thus we cannot assign to it a historical value, nor can it prove anything for the knowledge of the older views of Israel, or of the religious and cosmographical conceptions of Judah before the exile. For the intellectual contents of the Judaism codified by P, however, the inquiry as to the site assumed for the mountain by P would be unimportant; the essential thing to notice is that it has been transferred from regions which the national consciousness had regarded as adjoining (in the S.) to regions more remote.

Yet in this case we must also leave it open as a possibility that the transposition was not made in a wholly arbitrary manner. The old orientals knew their world, and even the waste mountain *massif* of Sinai was not for them a mere land of fairy tales in which all things are possible. Just as little as the localisation of Ebal and Gerizim beside Shechem or beside the Gilgal (Bethel) was possible without some definite point of attachment in the adjacent cults, would it have been possible for the mountain of Yahwè to be transferred to the Sinaitic peninsula without a similar reference.

On this point, also, history fails us as well as the data of archæology; we possess no fact from the older time which would enable us to prove the existence of a centre of worship in the peninsula of Sinai. About this time, in all likelihood, Ḳedar (*KAT*(3)) ruled in the then Muṣri and Meluḫa as predecessors of the Nabatæans. In view of the likeness of all oriental worships in their fundamental thought, it is very easily possible that in pre-Christian times also the same spots which Judaism pointed to as its Sinai, and Christianity afterwards took over were already holy. What we can learn of the cults of those regions shows the same forms of worship and secret doctrine as Christianity has taken over from the ancient East. The worship of the morning-star (Lucifer—*i.e.*, the 'Athtar of the southern Arabs) is to be supposed to have existed there from the earliest Minæan times, and all subsequent conquerors successively took it over in its essential features.

17. Early sacred places. 'Athtar, however, is, alike in substance and in form, essentially identical with the Marduk of Babylon. Marduk is the spring sun and the morning sun, which is also represented by the kindred body which is the morning star, according as the sun is regarded—as in Babylon—as a masculine divinity, and the morning planet Ištar as the feminine, or 'Athtar is regarded as masculine and the sun as feminine—as with the Arabs (see *KAT*(3)). The worship of the morning star is borne witness to by St. Nilus about 400 A.D. as being that of the Saracens of the Sinaitic peninsula, and the Nabatæan Dušara merely gave to the primeval deity a Nabatæan name. The mystic doctrines of his worship are exactly the same as those of the vernal god at all his seats and the same as were taken over by Christianity. Thus Isidore

1 [Cp Dt. 33 16, where Renan, Wellhausen, and Steuernagel read שֹׁכְנִי סִינַי, 'he who dwells in Sinai.']

2 Wi. *GI* 1 23; Smend, *ATliche Rel.-gesch.*(2) 35. [See also PROPHET, §§ 7 9. Kittel (*HK*, *Kön.* 150) still supposes the Horeb of the narrative to be in the Sinaitic peninsula; so too von Gall, *Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 15 (cp Ritter, *Erdkunde*,(2) viii. 2, Abschn. 1, p. 576). A somewhat keener criticism of the text, however, is adverse to this view (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 K. 19 8). Cp the remark on col. 1272, lines 14 *ff.*—T. K. C.]

3 Ex. 24 18 [P]. The forty days of absence in the wilderness (cp the temptation of Jesus). On the significance of the number see Wi. *GI* 2 83 85 (cp NUMBER, § 8).

1 The conception of Aram as Damascus, of 'eber ha-nahar as Syria, and so forth. See Wi. *GI* 2.

Characenus (see Hesychius, *s.v.* Δουσαρης) knows him as 'Dionysus,' that is, the son of the virgin Semele, who as summer and winter deity is the Tammuz of the Canaanites—*i.e.*, the Marduk (and Nebo) of the Babylonians, the Horus of the Egyptians (*MVG*, 1901, p. 278). This is not, as might perhaps be thought, a copying of Christian doctrine; on the contrary, both alike spring from the same root, the primeval oriental one. So too, we hear in the regions of the Sinai peninsula down to the time of Mohammed, at Elusa (= Ḥalaṣa) of the worship of the *alone* God who is worshipped as *dhu-'l-ḥalaṣa* and whose designation ultimately means, as indicated, the only God.[1] Here, also, the assumption of 'Christian influence' is merely a distortion of the question; we are dealing with ancient oriental doctrines and seats of worship which, with new masters, changed only their names, not their forms or the fundamental thoughts underlying them. If, accordingly, that writing and body of doctrine of Judaism which sets forth monotheism in its strictest and most abstract presentation, namely P, removed the seat of Yahwè to the peninsula of Sinai, it may very well have connected it with actual seats of worship which in their worship set forth doctrines similar to those of Elusa.

Thus arises, finally, the question as to the value to be attached to the identification of the mountain in the Sinaitic peninsula for which the claim is made that it was the mountain of revelation. If what has already been said be accepted, the only possible question is as to an identification of the doctrine of late exilic Judaism with localities that had already, at an earlier date, been rendered sacred by a worship that was analogous so far as outward form was concerned.

18. Serbāl and J. Mūsā.

By tradition two mountains have from the first been put forward, each as having been the mountain of revelation, and the question between them has continued under discussion down to the present day; these are Mt. Serbāl in the W. and Jebel Mūsā in the heart of the mountain *massif* of the peninsula.

If we are to attach any value to the tradition at all, then unquestionably Mt. Serbāl has most to be said in its favour. The oldest witnesses, from Eusebius down to Cosmas Indopleustes, testify to it, and the numerous *lauras* or monastic settlements show that the first centuries of Christianity paid honour to the holy sites in Serbāl and in Wādy Fīrân near the episcopal town of Pheirân situated there (which is mentioned by Ptolemy in the second century). Jebel Mūsā was first declared to be a holy place by Justinian (527-565), who there founded a church in honour of St. Mary the Virgin. There is no earlier tradition in its favour. On the other hand, the reasons are transparently clear why, from henceforth, the dignity thus conferred upon the new site should remain with it.

The monastic settlements on Serbāl were exposed to the attacks of the Saracens and were more than once devastated by them (so, for example, in 373 and again in 395 or 411, of which latter incident Ammonius and Nilus have given us accounts as eye-witnesses). Justinian supplied to his argument in favour of the sacred site the necessary support by erecting a fort also which gave the monks the protection they needed against the Bedouins, so that they gradually withdrew from Mt. Serbāl to the safer neighbourhood of Jebel Mūsā. The true reason for the abandonment of Serbāl and the transference of its associations elsewhere, however, is most likely to be sought in the fact that in the fifth century the monks of Pharan were threatened by the orthodox synods as Monothelete and Monophysite heretics. Justinian's measure was therefore dictated by policy and was simply a confirmation of the decisions of the councils.

Even if we choose to assume a connection of the post-exilic but pre-Justinian identification with the institutions of an older cultus, the sole witnesses that we have, the Nabatæan, testify decidedly for Serbāl.

[1] See *MVG*, 1901, p. 278, on the meaning of dhû'l-ḫalaṣa in the same sense as Mohammed's aḫlaṣ (Sur. 112). Elusa = Ḫalaṣa according to Tuch (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2)). On Ḫalaṣa see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 423 [also BERED, NEGEB, § 7, ZIKLAG].

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Many Sinaitic inscriptions,[1] which essentially contain merely the names of passing pilgrims and date from Nabatæan times onwards, are found in by far the greatest numbers in the Wādy Mokatteb (Valley of Inscriptions) of the Serbāl group; the Mūsā group comes far behind it in this. The inscriptions cannot, however, be regarded as the idle scribblings of passing trade caravans; without a doubt they are connected with the sanctity of the spot, and for the most part are the work of pilgrims.

If in these circumstances the question as to what mountain was thought of in later times is, in itself considered, one of little profit, we have the additional difficulty which stands in the way of the identification of the other sites which might be supposed to be made certain by the narrative of Exodus (Rephidim, etc.). It is doubtless true, indeed, that Judaism, like the ancient East in general, had a definite conception regarding the lands of which it spoke. If, accordingly, any one wanted to describe a definite route as that of the Exodus, he was quite able to do so. But the Exodus-legend, like all OT narratives, is full of mythological allusions, and in order to bring in these there is never any aversion to that arbitrariness which is so irreconcilable with our modern ideas of geographical fidelity. If Sinai was thought of as the earthly image of a definite cosmical idea then must also the legend—which also lay before P—indicate on the way to Sinai the corresponding phenomena of the heavenly path to the culminating point of the universe; but it may well be questioned whether, when this was being done in a representation so condensed and so excerpt-like as that of P, sufficient points of attachment would be given to render possible a comparison between the writer's representation and the actual geographical facts.

For the partisans of Jebel Mūsā there still remains the secondary question whether the actual Jebel Mūsā itself was the mountain of the giving of the law, or whether (so Robinson) this is not rather to be sought in the Rās eṣ-Ṣafṣâf, NW of Jebel Mūsā.

From the point of view of historical criticism the Sinai question has, in common with so many other questions of biblical archæology and geography, received but little attention. That the separate particulars regarding the occurrences and dates of the Sinai episode have but a limited attestation lies in the nature of the legends themselves, and in the form of their development. It is, however, upon an uncritical faith in these that all those researches and constructions rest, of which the most important are those of Lepsius (*Reise von Theben nach der Halbinsel des Sinai*), and the works of travel by Burckhardt, Rüppell, Fraas, Robinson, Palmer. The geographical details are presented clearly but uncritically in Ebers (*Durch Gosen zum Sinai*). As the Sinai-peninsula is pretty frequently visited by tourists, the handbooks also (see, *e.g.*, Baed. *Pal.*,(5) 1901) give the needful particulars as to the topography of the region. An attempt to apply the principles of geographical and historical possibility to the explanation of the biblical narratives was made by Greene, *The Hebrew Migration from Egypt* (2 ed. London, 1883). The stay in Egypt is, as usual, taken to be historical, and then it is conclusively shown that a 40-years stay in the desert and the march through the Sinaitic peninsula are impossible, that therefore an exodus from Egypt to Palestine cannot have been achieved otherwise than by the ordinary caravan-route (Greene proves his point; only, the real historical impossibility lies rather in what he assumes: the stay in Egypt). Although he takes no account of variety of sources (cp § 10) Charles Beke (*Discoveries of Sinai in Arabia and of Midian*, London, 1878) is led so far by his sound sense on the right track in his attempts at identification as to find Sinai in the territory of Midian. Only, here too, all the data of the legend are treated as available for geographical definition.

The allegorical interpretation of Sinai as Hagar by Paul in Gal. 4 25 rests doubtless upon the same astrological and cosmological identifications as does the double name of the mountain.

19. Gal. 4 25.

For if there is also a play upon the name of Hagar, that in the writer's mind cannot be the Arab. *ḥagar* ('stone')—for this does not mean rock—but the

[1] The Sinaitic inscriptions are discussed by M. A. Levy in *ZDMG* 14 (1860), 363-480, after the copies of Lepsius in *Denkmäler aus Ägypten u. Äthiopien*, etc., 6 Blatt 14-21 (Inscriptions of Wâdy Mokatteb). The inscriptions have been collected by Euting, *Sinaitische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1891.

Arab. *hagr*, 'midday,' *i.e.*, culmination point.[1] Thus it becomes synonymous with Horeb. The culmination point—*i.e.*, the N. point of the ecliptic—corresponds, however, in the old cosmology to the N. point of the Universe (the N. pole), and this is represented upon earth by the terrestrial Jerusalem, of which the heavenly antitype is the heavenly Jerusalem (συνστοιχεῖ δὲ τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ). H. W.

20. Various views. [Von Gall (*Altisr. Kultstätten*, 15) regards the identification of Horeb and Sinai as a post-exilic confusion (see Mal. 3 22 Ps. 106 19). Originally they were distinct. Horeb lay in the Sinaitic peninsula, Sinai in Midian, on the W. coast of Arabia (cp We. *Prol.*(3) 359; Moore, *Judges*, 140, 179; Stade, *Entst. des Volkes Israel*, 12). But see remarks above on 1 K. 19 8, and cp MOSES, § 5. Not all critics, however, admit that the prevalent opinion is free from serious objections. Holzinger (*KHC*, *Ex.*, p. 66) remarks that there are difficulties attending all attempts to locate the mountain of legislation. If we had only Judg. 5 4 before us, we should naturally seek for the mountain near Kadesh; at any rate, 1 K. 19 8 does not favour a site in the Sinaitic peninsula. Captain A. E. Haynes, R.E. (of the Palmer Search Expedition) placed Mt. Sinai in the desert of Et-Tīh, on the way from Egypt to Kadesh (*PEFQ*, 1896, p. 175 *ff.*). Sayce (*Crit. Mon.* 263 *ff.*) considers a site in the Sinaitic peninsula to be excluded by the presence of an Egyptian garrison in charge of the mines, and places Sinai in the eastern mountains of Seir. Cheyne (*E. Bib.*, col. 3208) prefers some mountain-group near Kadesh on text-critical grounds, which favour the supposition that the Moses-clan was admitted to the *jus connubii* and to religious communion by a tribe of Miṣrites (not Midianites) or Kenites which dwelt near Kadesh.[2]

As to the *names* 'Sinai' and 'Horeb' the most different theories have been offered. Gesenius (*Thes.* 948*a*) suggests 'muddy' as opposed to חָרֵב 'dry.' The usual critical theory connects סִינַי with סִין, 'Sin,' the moon-god; the plausibility of this is manifest (see § 3), even without referring to the fact that as late as the end of the sixth century A.D. moon-worship was practised by heathen Arabs in the Sinai peninsula (Bäthg. *Beitr.* 105; *ZDMG* 3 202 *ff.*). The article ZIN, however, suggests another explanation; both צִן and סִין may be corruptions of ישמעאל (parallel corruptions are frequent); consequently סיני may be a corruption of ישמעאלי.[3] This would correspond to חֹרֵב, regarded as a corruption of ירחמאל (see MOSES, § 5); tradition knew no other name for the sacred mountain than 'Jerahmeelite,' 'Ishmaelite.' A more obvious explanation is 'drought' (from √חרב, 'to be dry'), or as Winckler explains, 'glowing (heat)'; see § 3, end. Lagarde, however (*Uebers.* 85), connects with Aram. כְּרַב, 'to plough.'—T. K. C.] H. W.

SINIM, THE LAND OF (אֶרֶץ סִינִים; ΓΗ ΠΕΡΣΩΝ [BℵAQ]; *terra australis*; Pesh. ܣܝܢܝܡ), Is. 49 12†. Formerly biblical geographers were inclined to see here a reference to China—the land of the *Sinae* or *Thinae* of the geographer Ptolemy (Ar. and Syr. *ṣīn*). It was not supposed that the writer knew of Jewish exiles in China, but that he wished to express the idea that from the very farthest possible point the children of Zion should return. The theory, first suggested by Arias Montanus (16th cent.), has been both defended and opposed with much learning (see Strauss-Torney in Del. *Jes.*(3) 688 *ff.*, cp (4) 488 *ff.*; Che., *Proph. Is.*(3) 2 20 *ff.*; Terrien de Lacouperie,[1] *BOR* 1 [1886-7], 45 *ff.* 183 *ff.*), but the philological and historical difficulties have decided recent critics against it (see Dillm.-Kittel, Duhm, Che. in *SBOT*, Marti). China became known too late, and we should expect צִינִים. In accordance with his theory of the place of composition, Duhm thinks of the 'Phœnician Sinites' mentioned in Gen. 10 17; Klostermann, Cheyne (in *SBOT*), and Marti would read סְוֵנִים, and see a reference to SYENE [*q.v.*]—*i.e.*, Assouan on the Nile.

If however (1) the view expressed elsewhere (PROPHET, § 43) is correct, and the Prophecy of Restoration relates to the return of the Jews from a N. Arabian captivity, and if (2) the geographical horizon of Gen. 10 has been expanded, so that only a keen observer can discern its original limitation to the Negeb and Arabia, the problem of 'Sinim' is solved, and the remark of Skinner and Marti that it is a hopeless enigma is refuted.

Critically investigated, the ethnic names of Gen. 10 15-18*a* (which have been transformed by the redactor) are probably as follows:—

Ḳenaz (or Ḳain), Miṣṣur, Reḥoboth, Ishmaelite, Arammite, Geshurite, Horite, Jeraḥmeelite, Sinite, Aradite (or Arpadite?), Miṣrite, Maacathite.

That the name 'Sin' was firmly rooted in the Negeb is shown by the occurrence of 'Sin' for a wilderness (Ex. 16 1) and of 'Sinai' (in Muṣri; see MOSES, § 14, SINAI, §§ 4, 15) for a mountain. From this point of view, Duhm's theory was a step towards the true solution. Whether, however, Sin, Sini, Sinim are original, and connected with Sin the Babylonian moon-god, may be questioned. Analogy favours the view that Sin like Zin (צִן) is a corruption of ישמעאל (Ishmael); see SINAI, § 20, and cp SHEM.

Filling up one obvious lacuna, the passage now becomes—

> Lo, these come from Jeraḥmeel (מירחמאל),
> And lo, these from Zaphon,[2]
> And [lo, these] from Arabia (מערבים),
> And these from the land of Sinim (or, Ishmael?).

T. K. C.

SINITE (הַסִּינִי—*i.e.*, the Sinite; ΑΣΕΝΝΑΙΟΝ [AEL], ΣΕΙΝΑΙΟΥ [Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 2]; *SINÆUM*), a Canaanite (Phœnician) tribe, Gen. 10 17 = 1 Ch. 1 15 (om. B, ΑΣΕΝΝΕΙ [L]). In Ass. inscr. (*Siannu*), as well as in OT, the name is grouped with Arḳa (ARKITE), and Ṣimirra (ZEMARITE), in the former sometimes also with *Usnu* (*e.g.*, *KB* i. 172 ii. 27 26) which Fried. Del. (*Par.* 282) proposes to find in *Ḳal'at el-Ḥoṣn* NE. of Tripoli and W. of *Ḥomṣ*. In spite of the different sibilant it is no doubt the same as the land of *Ši-a-na-ai*,[3] mentioned in the monolith of Shalmaneser II., immediately after Irkanat (ARKITE, *n.* 1), Arvad, and Usanat (cp Usnu); the king bears the characteristic name Adunuba'li (cp ארנבעל *CIS* i. no. 138, etc.). It is less certain whether Sin is to be found in the list of N. Syrian cities visited by Thotmes III.[4]

Apart from such help as the above evidence yields, the site of 'Sin' is uncertain. The identification with *Syn* near the *Nahr 'Arḳa* (see GEOGRAPHY, § 16 [2]) finds some support in the Targ. rendering 'Orthosia,'

[1] [On the reading of Gal. 4 25, and on the bearing of the text-critical problem on the question here discussed, see HAGAR, § 3.]

[2] The theory is that this is the view of things out of which the representation in our Hebrew text has arisen. It is based on a new criticism of the form of the Moses-narrative.

[3] The alternative would be to connect שמעאלי with the name of the Babylonian Moon-god. The same connexion would then have to be supposed for the other members of the group of (probably) related names—שמואל, שבואל, שובל, שאול (cp SAUL, SHOBAL, SHEMUEL). On the ground of numerous phenomena, not all of which are indicated in the present work, the writer hesitates to suppose this connection.

[1] This clever and much-regretted scholar thought of the tribes of the Šina on the slopes of the Hindu-cush. 'They are enumerated in the laws of Manu, in the Mahabhârata, the great epos of India, in the *Lalita vistara*, in the Ramayana, the Puranas, and elsewhere, a body of evidence which goes back to the times before the Christian era.' They are now, it is added, five in number, and still live in the same or nearly the same region.

[2] Duhm and Marti (cp also *SBOT*) omit מִצָּפוֹן, as an interpolation from Ps. 107 3. This arises from their not rightly understanding צפון (see ZAPHON), and involves inserting a new stichus, ואלה מקצה הארץ. See *Crit. Bib.*

[3] So Craig, *KB* 1 172 l 94; the older reading is *Si-za-na-ai*, cp *KAT*(2) 196.

[4] Viz.: *Sai-na-r-ka-y* (207) and *Sai-'no-ra-g-n-na* (211): the former may mean 'Sin the hinder' (cp Ass. *arka*, 'behind'); see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 289.

the ruins of which town are probably situated a little to the S. of the *Nahr 'Arḳa* (see ORTHOSIA). This, however, seems too close to *'Arḳa*, and it might be better to look further N. and find a trace of the name in the *Nahr es-Sîn* (or *Nahr-el-Melek*)[1] about two hours N. from Bāniyās on the road to *el-Lādiḳiyeh* (Laodicea); so Baed.(3) 411. But the Ass. *siannu* (=*siānu*) presupposes the form סִיָנִי (cp Fr. Del. *l.c.*), which is certainly older and presumably more correct than the MT סִינִי (with which 𝔊 Vg. agree), and the difficulty of reconciling the two forms is a grave objection to the identifications hitherto proposed. The same applies also to the suggested connection with the fortress of Sinna (Strabo, xvi. 11 18; Di.; BDB). S. A. C.

SION. 1. שִׂיאֹן; CΗωΝ [BAF], CΙωΝ [L]; Dt. 4 48. See SIRION.

2. σιων, 1 Macc. 4 37, etc. See ZION.

SIPHMOTH (שִׁפְמוֹת [Gi.], שְׂפָמוֹת [Bä.]), one of the places where David, when in Ziklag, had allies, 1 S. 30 28 † (CΑΦΕΙ [B], but also, in a doublet [see *v.* 29] CΑΦΕΚ; CΑΦΑΜωC [A], CΕΦΕΙΜωΘ [L]). The idea that the name may be connected with שְׁפָם (Nu. 34 10 *f.*) is rejected by Wellhausen as impossible. But there is reason to think that the geographical references both of Nu. 34 2-12 and of 1 S. 30 27-31 have been misunderstood and consequently misrepresented by the editor; originally both passages referred probably to the Negeb (cp RIBLAH).

In Nu. 34 11 Shepham and Riblah (*i.e.*, probably Jeraḥmeel) are mentioned together. So too in 1 S. 30 29 (𝔊B) σαφεκ, which corresponds with Siphmoth, is mentioned after κειμαθ (= Maacath, a region in the Negeb), and in *v.* 28 MT and 𝔊 agree in combining Siphmoth (σαφει) with Eshtemoa (εσθειε [*v.* 28], θειμαθ [*v.* 29]) and Racal (καρμηλος)—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel. We also find a gentilic SHIPHMITE [*q.v.*], which certainly belongs to the far S. This view may require us to substitute 'Rehoboth' for 'Hebron' as David's first centre after leaving 'Ziklag,' and to suppose 'Eshtemoa' to be identical with SHEMA [*q.v.*]. It is at any rate plausible. T. K. C.

SIPPAI (סִפַּי), a Rephaite slain by Sibbechai the Hushathite: 1 Ch. 20 4 (CΑΦΟΥΤ [B], CΕΦΦΙ [A], CΑΠΦΙ [L]). In 2 S. 21 18 he appears as Saph (סַף; σεφ [B], σεφε [A]). The Pesh. in the superscription prefixed to Ps. 143 [144] has: 'To David, when he slew Asaph [Saph] brother of Gulyād [Goliath]' (cp 𝔊). In 2 S. 21 18 𝔊L reads ἐπάταξε . . . τοὺς ἐπισυνηγμένους τῶν ἀπογόνων . . . which, as Klostermann has shown, presupposes the form אֲסַפַּי (a name analogous to the further abbreviated ASAPH), and this may be near the correct reading, א being easily dropped after the final י of סבכי.

SIRACH. The present article will deal with those portions of the Hebrew text of Ben-Sira that have been published since the completion of the article ECCLESIASTICUS (March 1900). To the list of new fragments given there (col. 1166, n. 4) we have up to this time (Jan. 1903) to add only 18 31-33 19 12 20 5-7 13 37 19 22 24 26 published, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, by M. Gaster in *JQR* for July 1900. The material now published includes 3 5*d*-16 26 18 31-33 19 12 20 5-7 13 25 8*b* 13 17-24 26 1 2*a* 30 11-33 3 35 9-38 27 39 15-51 30: about two-thirds of the whole book.

1. Extent of Heb. material.

2. New fragments.

The new fragments agree in the main in character with those previously known, but also differ from them in some interesting particulars.

(*a*) *Adler fragment.*—The passage published by Adler, 7 29-12 1 (A^Adler), is written astichometrically, agreeing in this regard with MS A of Schechter and Taylor (A^Sch.). The text is corrupt; but in most cases it is possible to emend it with considerable probability. It has one ḳĕrē (8 2) and one marginal note (10 13), and over several words (10 1, etc.) are placed dots indicating the necessity of correction. 9 3 *f.* 10 2 11 6-8 are provided with vowel-points and accents, and a few other words are pointed in whole or in part.[1] It thus appears that the passage has been revised by a scribe who, unfortunately, did not possess the material or the ability to correct the more serious errors of the text. Doublets occur in 8 1 9 3 10 30*c*,*d*-31 11 25 27*a*,*b* 11 27*c*,*d*-28; in 8 1 the second clause is corrupt in the first couplet, correct in the second, and, as the first clause of the second couplet is nearly identical with the Syriac (S)—employing the word קשה in a Syriac non-Hebrew sense—the verse may have been revised in accordance with the Syriac, or it may offer a variant reading which was followed by S; 10 30*c*, *d* is defective, *v.* 31 is complete and independent of 𝔊 and S; 11 25=S, *v.* 27*a*, *b*=𝔊 nearly (emend H עלי to מעשי); 11 27*c*, *d*=S, *v.* 28=𝔊 nearly (𝔊 renders אחרית badly by 'children'). The *agreement of the two couplets of a doublet with 𝔊 and S* respectively may suggest imitation of these versions by H, and in some cases doubtless there has been imitation.[2] On the other hand, in a number of couplets, as 7 33 (unless חן is error for חן) 8 6 7*b* 11 14 16 9 4 11 15 10 5 7 10 17 *f.* 22 11 28, in spite of the occurrence of a couple of Syriasms, it is clear that the text of H is not dependent on 𝔊 or S. The obvious cases of dependence are rare, and the impression made by the passage as a whole is that it represents a genuine, though corrupt, Hebrew text.

That the MS has passed through the hands of an Aramaic-speaking scribe is shown by the occurrence of Syriasms: קשה (8 1), חווה (8 11), ענה apparently (9 14), and probably משא על פיהו (9 18, cp S נסב על פומה).[3] There is no case of an Arabism in the present text; but there is an indication that in the text from which our S was made the word חלק occurred in the sense of 'create': in 10 18 H reads: 'pride is not becoming' (נאוה), for which 𝔊 has, 'pride was not created' (נברא), whilst the פלג of S represents Heb. חלק; it would seem, therefore, that in some Heb. MS or MSS חלק was employed in the sense of ברא.[4] An example (8 1) of apparent translation from Syriac is given above, and a probable second example is found in 11 25*c*, which seems to be a corrupted doublet (תהיה for יגיד). For quotations from this portion of Ben-Sira in Saadia and the Talmud, see below (§ 3).

(*b*) *Lévi fragment.*—The fragment 36 24-38 1 (C^Lévi), edited by Lévi in *REJ*, Jan.-March 1900, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, offers a new recension of material already published (by Schechter and Taylor in their 'Ben-Sira,' and G. Margoliouth in *JQR*, Oct. 1899). Unlike the latter it is written astichometrically; this, however, is a difference to which no importance can be attached. It abounds in scribal errors, has harsh constructions (as in 37 1), and employs late Hebrew expressions (for example, דין, 37 2, in the sense of 'grief, misfortune').[5] In general, however, it is superior to the text of MS B of Schechter and G. Margoliouth. It sometimes accounts for the errors of the versions; for example, its נדור צבא in 36 26 shows how the readings εὐζώνῳ and ܕܨܒܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ arose. In a couple of cases

[1] This suggests that Sin has derived its name from the moon-god (Sin).

[1] Saadia remarks that the text of BS known to him was provided, like the biblical books, with vowel-points and accents. If the statement is to be taken literally it points to a MS written more carefully than those that have come down to us.

[2] On the interpretation of doublets see the remarks of Nöldeke in *ZATW*, 1900, p. 1. D. S. Margoliouth in *Exp. T*, April 1902, calls attention to a doublet in Ben-Zev's translation of Ben-Sira (40 16), in which one couplet agrees with S, and the other with 𝔊.

[3] חרמך (9 4) is probably scribal miswriting for תמסך.

[4] So Lévi in *JQR*, Oct. 1900. Nöldeke (*ZATW*, 1900, p. 1) and Houtsma (*Th. T*, 1900) hold that חלק='create' is a genuine Hebrew stem. The fundamental sense of the stem may be 'divide, cut up' (as Nöldeke suggests), whence, on the one hand, 'number, arrange, create,' and, on the other hand, 'destroy.' These meanings are variously distributed in the Semitic languages; but no North-Semitic dialect, as far as our documents go, employs the stem in the sense 'create'—this particular sense is found only in Arabic, in which it is the usual one. Still the possibility of this sense in Hebrew must be admitted. Cp König, *Die Originalität d. heb. Sirachtextes*, 69 *f.*, and Ryssel in *St. Kr.*, 1901, p. 579.

[5] דין here appears to be identical with Aram. דון 'anxiety' ܕܘܢ; the writing דין may represent a local pronunciation, or may be a scribal error for דון.

(37 26 28) L agrees with H against 𝔊. The most interesting feature of this fragment is that in many cases its text is identical with the marginal readings of MS B, whence it appears that these readings are not the emendations of the scribe but are derived from another MS. This MS was not identical with C^Lévi since it sometimes differs from this latter; but the two are derived from one earlier text. It is probable (as Lévi points out) that the marginal readings in the rest of B (the Cowley-Neubauer fragment) come from the same or a similar source, and we thus have an indication of the existence of a third family of Ben-Sira manuscripts in addition to those represented by A and B.

(*c*) *Selections.*—Still a different type of text is presented by three fragments containing selections from Ben-Sira: one, containing 4 23*b* 30 *f.* 5 4-7 9-13 36 19*a* 25 17-19 22-24 26 1 2*a* and bits of 25 8 13 20 *f.* published, with annotations, by Schechter (in *JQR*, April 1900); a second, containing 6 18*d* 19 28 35 7 1 4 6 17 20 *f.* 23-25, published, with translation and annotations, by Lévi (in *REJ*, Jan.-March 1900); and a third, containing 18 31 (one word) 32 *f.* 19 1 *f.* 20 5-7 37 19 22 24 26 20 13, published, with facsimile, translation, and annotations, by Gaster (in *JQR*, July 1900). Possibly a number of such selections existed; this would be a natural result of the popularity of the book. Groups of couplets, taken from different parts of Ben-Sira, occur in the Talmud; for example, in *Sanhedrin*, 100*b*. In such cases the object is to bring together the aphorisms relating to some one subject (women and the household in *Sanh.* 100*b*); these need not have been taken, and probably were not taken, from a book of extracts; but they may have suggested the compilation of such books. In the fragments under consideration, whilst the couplets show a variety of subjects, a certain unity is observable; in that of Schechter the chief points are the desirableness of moral firmness and the wickedness of women; in that of Lévi, the pursuit of wisdom and the cultivation of humility; in that of Gaster, the characteristics of the wise man. For the sake of distinction these books of extracts may be designated by the letter E.

The Schechter fragment (E^Sch., = his C) is in tolerably good form, having only two badly corrupted passages, 5 11 and 5 13 (1)*a* (= 36 19*a*). It accords now with the Greek, now with the Syriac, differing in this regard sometimes in the same couplet.[1] Often it goes its own way, being sometimes (as in 5 12) of a curtness that suggests originality; and its irregular oscillation between 𝔊 and S indicates that it is not based on either of these versions. It is in general agreement with the Greek in several cases in which MS A^Sch. agrees with the Syriac.

The Lévi fragment (E^Lévi, = his D) coincides in material with part of MS A^Sch., and gives a better text than that of the latter. From 6 18 to 7 20 it is nearer to 𝔊 than to S, and in the remaining couplets is nearer to S. It is carefully written; there are two or three scribal mis-writings of letters, and a word is omitted in 7 6 and probably also in 7 21. It contains no Syriasms or Arabisms, and has the tone of an independent text.

The Gaster fragment (E^Gaster) resembles E^Sch. in agreeing sometimes with 𝔊, sometimes with S. In several couplets (18 32 *f.* 19 1 20 6) it serves to explain the errors of one or both of the versions; clearly in some cases these last are free renderings of H. The Hebrew text is corrupt or defective in 19 2*b* 20 5, and has apparently one Syriasm (37 19, נחכם for יחכם).

With the light got from the new fragments we may now speak more definitely than was possible two years ago of the conclusions to be drawn from the whole of the Ben-Sira Hebrew material. In the first place, we may consider the facts that make for the genuineness of the

3. Genuineness of the Heb.

Hebrew text—that is to say, against the supposition that it is a translation from versions.

(*a*) *Talmud.*—The question of the quotations from Ben-Sira in the Talmud is complicated by the corruptions of the Talmud text as well as by the peculiar habits of the Talmudic doctors: their frequent disregard of literalness, and their fondness for grouping clauses or couplets from different parts of the book and adding or interweaving passages from the canonical books. Their citations are not necessarily authority for the wording of the original, but may testify to a form or forms current in the Talmudic period, and may help to establish the original text.[1]

There are indications (though, for the reasons mentioned above, these are not clear) that the two Talmuds, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian, had, in some cases at least, different texts of Ben-Sira. Thus in 3 21 Talm. Jer. *Hag.* 77*c*, agrees with H in the first word (where Talm. Bab. and Saad. have a different word) and also in the last word, but in the rest of the couplet has a wholly different reading (perhaps based on Job 11 8)[2]; in the same passage Bab. Talm. *Hag.* 13*a* (and so Midr. Rab., Gen. 8) has a doublet, in which the first couplet is identical with the form in 𝔊 and S, whilst the second, although diverging from Jer. Talm., 𝔊, S, and H, agrees with H and Saad. in one peculiar expression (מכוסה); in this doublet we may have an indication of at least two forms of the Ben-Sira text in the fifth century, one of which is here represented by 𝔊 and S, and the other by H (there being also in this latter scribal variants); possibly, however, both couplets are original, and H has taken one, and 𝔊 the other. In 7 17 the 'hope' of H is supported by *Āb̄ōth* 4 7 (against 𝔊 and S 'fate'), but *Āb̄ōth* and the versions agree in reading 'humble thyself' instead of H 'humble pride'; in both cases the readings of the versions are the better. A noteworthy group of selections from Ecclus. 9 occurs in Talm. Bab. *Sanh.* 100*b*, *Yĕbām.* 63*b*, the order of lines being: 8*a*, 3*b*, 9*a*, *b* (in part), 8*c* (to which is added Prov. 7 26*b*); 8*a* = H (emended), 𝔊 (S being different); 3*b* (where H has a doublet) agrees in part with one form of H, in part with the other; in 9 the text of Bab. Talm. seems to be in disorder, or to be very free; it has 'beside her' (אצלה)[3] instead of 'with a married woman' (𝔊, S, and, by emendation, H בעולה), and 'to mingle' instead of 'do not drink'; 8*c* is a slightly expanded form of emended H (= S). In 11 1*b* 29*a* 13 25 the Talmudic text is substantially the same as that of H and 𝔊, S. It is in general more correctly written than H, which is full of scribal blunders; yet the two are sufficiently alike to suggest that our H rests on a genuine Hebrew text. We cannot be surprised at scribal errors, doublets, omissions, and additions in a text of the tenth or the eleventh century when we find similar occurrences in the Talmud as well as in the versions.[4]

(*b*) *Saadia.*—The resemblance between Saadia and H is very close, the differences between the two being little more than variations of diction, and the advantage lying sometimes with one, sometimes with the other; in 5 5 *f.* (H רגנו, Saad. עוו) and 6 6 (H בעל, Saad. גלה) the wording of H is the better, but in 6 6*a* the order of words in Saadia is the more correct; on the other hand, in 6 7 13 11 the Aramaic נסיון of H is probably to be emended into the מסה and מנסה of Saadia. He appears to have

1 In 25 17 it agrees with 𝔊^ℵAVL in the expression 'like a bear,' while 𝔊^B and S read 'like sackcloth'; if ἄρκος is Gk. corruption of σάκκον, H here follows a Greek text.

1 On the quotations in the Talmud and Saadia, in addition to the authors mentioned above, col. 1172, n, 2, see Bacher (*JQR*, Jan. 1900), Edersheim (in Wace), Lévi (*Comm.* and *REJ* and *JQR*) and Ryssel (in Kautzsch's *Apokryphen* and *St. Kr.*, 1901-1902); cp Schechter in *JQR* 3 and 4.

2 Bacher suggests that Jer. Talm. חרע is an erroneous completion of the abbreviation חר׳, which should be read חדרש.

3 Rashi, אצל בעלה. The text of Bab. Talm. should perhaps be emended after H and the versions. But in *v.* 9, where H has only 'strong drink' and 𝔊^BNAC only 'wine' (S 'old wine'), Bab. Talm. has both terms, possibly accounting for the differences between H, 𝔊, and S.

4 On the Syriac of Ecclus. 9 8 *f.* see Lévi, in *JQR*, Oct. 1900 p. 8 *f.*

had a text that was substantially identical with ours; his citations may be considered to establish, as far as they go, a text of the tenth century, though of its history we know nothing.[1] Its special similarity to that of our Hebrew MSS may be a result of the proximity in time of the two. Saadia also quotes as from the 'Wisdom of Eleazar ben Irai' a passage that is found in our Ben-Sira (3 21 *f.*), and the text quoted by him differs from that of our Hebrew in only a couple of unimportant forms (H פלאות, Saad. כמופלא; H בַמה ש, Saad. באשר);[2] the natural conclusion is that the book of Eleazar ben Irai (if this name really belongs to a separate author and is not a corruption of 'Eleazar ben Sira') contained extracts from Ben-Sira or from some work based on Ben-Sira.

(*c*) *Relation of H to* $\mathfrak{G}$ *and S.*—It is a common remark that the Hebrew MSS of BS fall into two divisions: those that more resemble the Greek, and those that are nearer the Syriac; to the former division belongs the B-group, to the latter the A-group. This classification holds in a general way, but may easily be pressed too far. Even in the earlier A and B material there are a number of passages that are adverse to such a classification, and many more appear in the new fragments. The division into these two classes has, however, been held to indicate that our Hebrew is a translation from the Greek or the Syriac. With the new material at our disposal it may be said that this supposition, as an explanation of the Hebrew as a whole, seems to be definitely excluded. It appears to be set aside by the irregularity of the accordance of H with $\mathfrak{G}$ or S, by its not infrequent divergence from and correction of both the versions, by its relation to the quotations in the Talmud and Saadia, and by its tone, which in many places is free and independent and is characterised by an aphoristic curtness that a translator would not be likely to attain. We must rather account for the general relation between H and the versions by supposing that H is the descendant of early texts, some of which were the basis of $\mathfrak{G}$, others the basis of S. The omissions in S call for fuller treatment than they have yet received. They may be due in part to the frequent fondness of this version for clearness and condensation, in part to the defectiveness of the MS from which it was made.

(*d*) *Diction.*—The testimony of the new fragments confirms the judgment of the language expressed under ECCLESIASTICUS. After allowance has been made for obvious scribal errors the diction of H does not differ materially from that of Koheleth. Aramaisms and New-Hebrew forms and expressions may well have been employed by Ben-Sira himself (such forms occur even in the Book of Proverbs), and, as regards the fragments, there was no time, from 200 B.C. to 1000 A.D., when Jewish scribes would not be likely to insert familiar Aramaic words—the more that the text of Ben-Sira was not protected by canonical sanctity. The vocabulary of the fragments furnishes abundant material for lexicographical research.[3] The limits of the 'New-Hebrew' vocabulary are not sharply defined; at present it is hardly possible to draw the line distinctly between 'Neohebraisms' and 'Syriasms,' and there is a similar indistinctness (though a less clearly marked one) as to Arabisms. In respect of purity of style the fragments differ among themselves:

1 The question whether the 'Sefer ha-Galuy' (in which the citations occur) is the work of Saadia is discussed by D. Margoliouth, Harkavy, and Bacher in *JQR* 12 (1899-1900). There seems to be no good reason to doubt its genuineness.

2 Here, as elsewhere, Saadia is nearer than H to the classic usage; the scribes of H (except in $C^{Lévi}$ and A^{Adler}) are fond of the short rel. pron. ש. But this usage, though distinctive for a given MS, is not a mark of the date of a Ben-Sira text, since it is common in late OT writings and in the Talmud.

3 On this point cp the Comms. of Lévi and Ryssel; the articles of Nöldeke and Houtsma (see above, col. 4632 n. 4); Schwally, *Idioticon d. Christl.-pal. Aram.* (1893); Fraenkel, in *MGWJ*, 1899; Jacob, in *ZATW*, 1902; art. ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, above, col. 281 *f.*; and various discussions in *JQR* and *REJ*.

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$C^{Lévi}$ is relatively free from faults; parts of A and B are greatly disfigured. The blemishes testify mostly to the number of hands through which the MSS have passed, not to the work of a translator. The aphoristic curtness of style of the fragments has been referred to above.

On the other hand, whilst the fragments produce a general impression of originality, the text appears in some passages to have been translated from or conformed to that of a Version or of the Talmud. Some instances of probable and apparent imitation of Versions are mentioned above (ECCLESIASTICUS, § 5), and others have been pointed out by critics; most of the examples cited relate to the Syriac, a few only to the Greek.[1] These cases, which are relatively not numerous, do not prove a general translation or imitation, but exhibit the procedures of particular scribes in the passages in which they occur. The same remark is to be made of cases in which H appears to follow the Talmud;[2] such imitations by late scribes are natural. The corruptions of the BS text began early and continued a long time; there was little to restrain the fancies and the negligence of copyists. Taking into consideration the two sets of facts—the evidences of originality and the evidences of slavish imitation—the more reasonable conclusion seems to be that the text of the fragments is in general genuine, but full of corruptions.

4. Employment of Versions and Talmud.

It is hardly possible at present to make a helpful classification of the Heb. MSS of Ben-Sira; for such a classification we need more Heb. material. An obvious and simple principle of division would be the relation of the fragments to the two main groups of Greek texts ($\mathfrak{G}^{\aleph a.c\ etc.}$ and $\mathfrak{G}^{B\ etc.}$) or to the two Greek and the Syriac. But, in addition to the fact that the relations of the versional texts to one another and to the original Hebrew are not clear, there is the difficulty that the fragments show a confusing variety of similarity and dissimilarity to the Versions and to one another. This is true of all the Heb. MSS so far published: in the same paragraph, and even in the same couplet, the text sometimes turns from one version to another, or, abandoning both, goes its own independent way. It is obvious that it has experienced a variety of fortunes, and that, whilst it sometimes corrects the Versions or is corrected by them, it in some cases goes back to sources different from theirs. It can be, therefore, only a rough classification that is based on resemblances to the Versions. The direct testimony to the Hebrew text is contained in the Talmud (about 700 years after the composition of Ben-Sira's book) and Saadia (about 400 years after the Talmud). The Talmudic readings differ a good deal from our H, but Saadia is substantially identical with the latter; the differences between the citations in the Talmud and those in Saadia may be taken to represent roughly the changes undergone by the Heb. text in the interval between the two. The text of the Talmud is in general accord with the unglossed Greek ($\mathfrak{G}^{B}$), but is free from the scribal variations that crept into the latter; it may, thus, represent a Hebrew text (perhaps as early as the 2nd cent. of our era) which was in substantial accord with the Gk. text that underlay our two main Gk. recensions. This Heb. text was probably the basis

5. Classification of Heb. MSS.

1 On the acrostic, 51 13-30, see Taylor, in Schechter and Taylor's *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, p. lxxvi *ff.* Lévi, in *REJ*, 1899, gives a number of cases of imitation. But 46 20 is not a case in point. H דרך is not a translation of corrupt S, but a variant of earlier H ארח, which was a scribe's corruption of original H אחרית. If H had translated S (אורחה), it would have written ארח. See *REJ* 39 188.

2 A probable example is given by Professor Lévi, in *JQR*, Oct. 1900, p. 15, and another by Professor Margoliouth, in *Exp.T*, April, 1902. Cp Bacher, in *JQR*, vol. 12 (1899-1900), p. 286 *ff.*

of our fragments. We may suppose that the Heb. (handed down through Jewish circles) and the Gk. (made 132 B.C., and transmitted by Alexandrian Jews and by Christians) did not differ materially from each other in the second century A.D. After that time they went their separate ways: the Gk. (under what circumstances we know not) fell into two divisions, with one of which the Syriac stood in some close relation;[1] the Heb. was not similarly divided into families, but was roughly treated by scribes, who obscured its readings, and in a few cases copied or imitated the Versions, especially the Syr.[2] Our Hebrew fragments, after they have been freed, as far as possible, from scribal errors, must be classified according to the degree of their purity or impurity, and according to their peculiarities of diction.[3] Such a classification, however, yields no very striking or important results—the differences between the fragments in correctness and style are not great. They must be examined and judged every one for itself. So far, they have not contributed much to the restitution of the original text in passages in which the Versions are obscure. They often confirm one or more of the Versions, and sometimes correct or explain words or lines; but in general the text of Ben-Sira remains nearly as it was before the discovery of the fragments. These, however, apart from the emendation of the text, have called forth renewed study of the book, and have added to the vocabulary of the Hebrew language.

6. Literature. In addition to the works on Ben-Sira given above (col. 1178) the following may be mentioned:—Raebiger, *Ethice apocr.* (1838); Daubanton, in *Theol. Stud.* 4 (1886); Houtsma, in *Th.T* 343 (1900); Ryssel's *Comm.* in *St. Kr.* (1900-02) (completion of his comm. on the Hebrew text); Grimme, *Mètres et strophes d. l. fragments heb. d. Manuscrit A. d. l'Ecclés.* (Fr. trans.) (1901); Kartz, *Die Scholien d. Greg. Abulf. Bar-Heb. z. Weisheitb. d. Josua b. Sira* (1892); and various short arts. in *JQR*, *REJ*, *ZATW*, *Rev. Bibl.*, *Th. Rundschau*. C. H. T.

SIRAH, WELL OF (בּוֹר הַסִּירָה, 'walled cistern'? cp on סהר, PRISON, § 2 (9)), 2 S. 3 26, the name of the spot from which Abner was enticed back to Hebron, after he had concluded his interview with David (see ABNER), and had set out on his return journey northward. Josephus calls it βη[ρ]σηρα—*i.e.*, בְּאֵר סִרָה—and says that it was 20 stadia from Hebron (*Ant.* vii. 1 5). Rosen has called attention (*ZDMG* 12 486) to a spring and reservoir, situated about a mile out of Hebron, a few steps to the W. of the old northern road, and now called 'Ain Sāra. Grove (*DB*,(2) *s.v.* 'Sirah') and Conder (*Tentwork* 286) agree that this may be the ancient 'well of (the) Sirah'; indeed, Conder goes so far as to say that 'this may be considered one of the few genuine sites in the neighbourhood of Hebron.' It is true, the original form of the name may have been סְהִירָה, Sehirah (*i.e.*, 'enclosed'?), for 𝔊^BA gives (ἀπὸ τοῦ φρέατος) τοῦ σεειραμ, where μ may of course be disregarded (cp σηλωμ = Shiloh), 𝔊^L . . . φρ. σεειρα, Vg. *a cisterna Sira;* Targ. מגובא דסירתא; Aq. ἀπὸ τοῦ λάκκου τῆς ἀποστάσεως (הַסָּרָה). It is more probable, however, that 'Hassirah' covers over some gentilic or ethnic, and if 'Hebron' is a corruption of 'Rehoboth,' and David's first kingdom was really in the Negeb (as some recent articles in the present work assume), some gentilic or ethnic of the Negeb—such as אשחור, Ashḥur (cp חרס, Ḥeres)—is to be expected.

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SIRION (שִׁרְיֹן, שִׂרְיוֹן; ϲⲁⲛⲓωⲣ [BAFL] in Dt.; ⲟ ⲏⲅⲁⲡⲏⲙⲉⲛⲟϲ [BℵARTU]—*i.e.*, יְשֻׁרוּן, in Ps.), a 'Sidonian' or Phœnician designation of Hermon, Dt. 3 9 Ps. 29 6. It is also recognised by Pesh. in Dt. 4 48 (שִׂרְיֹן for שׂיאן); and in Jer. 18 14*a*, by Grätz and Cornill, according to whom, to show the unnaturalness of Israel's desertion of Yahwè, Jeremiah asks, 'Does the snow of Lebanon melt away (הֲיָזוּב) from the rock of Sirion' (read מִצּוּר שִׂרְיוֹן for מ׳ שָׂדָי, 'from the rock of the field')? It is not clear, however, that 'Sirion' is the right form; it is hardly confirmed by the Ass. *sirara* (*KAT*(2) 159, 184; cp Del. *Par.* 101, 103 *f.*).

It is probable that 'Hermon' was also a designation of the mountains of 'Jeraḥmeel.' Dt. 3 8 *ff.*, in its original form, seems to have described the territory of Cusham, where OG (*q.v.*) reigned; similarly Dt. 4 48. 'Sirion' can now be explained. Like 'Hermon,' it represents an ethnic—perhaps ישׂראל (Israel).

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SISAMAI, RV SISMAI (סִסְמַי, or סִסְמַי [see Gi.]; ϲⲟϲⲟⲙⲁⲓ [BA], ϲⲁϲⲁⲙⲉⲓ [L]), a Jeraḥmeelite; 1 Ch. 2 40†.

Baethgen (*Beitr.* 65) and Kittel on 1 Ch. *l.c.* call attention to the Ph. name ססמי in a bilingual where Gr. has σεσμαος; and Baethgen, following Renan, accepts ססם as a divine name. But in spite of Kittel's implied suggestion (see SHALLUM, 3) it may well be questioned whether Sismai can be = עֶבֶד ססם 'servant of (the god) Sisam.' Of all the other names in 1 Ch. 2 34-41 there is hardly one which cannot be at once with some confidence pronounced to be a clan-name. The names which follow Sismai are Shallum, Jekamiah, and Elishama, names which may plausibly be regarded as related to Ishmael and Jerahmeel. סוס and סוסים have sometimes arisen by corruption out of כוש and כושים; it is possible that ססמי represents כֻּשְׁמִי, 'one from Cusham' (= the N. Arabian Cush). Cp ששן (Sheshan??), *v.* 34, the name of a Miṣrite slave, which may represent כשן (Cushan); see, however, SHESHAN. T. K. C.

SISERA (סִיסְרָא, § 51; on meaning, see below; ϲⲉⲓϲⲁⲣⲁ [B], ϲⲓϲⲁⲣⲁ [AL]; in Judg. 5 20, ⲓⲏⲗ [A]).

1. The leader of the Canaanites opposed to Deborah and Barak (Judg. 4 *f.*). The narrative, however, is inconsistent, and presents Sisera in a twofold aspect; according to the poem (5) he is the greatest of the confederate Canaanite kings, whilst the prose account (4) represents him merely as the general[1] of Jabin king of Hazor, and as having his abode in Kadesh (so Marq., see HAROSHETH). See further DEBORAH and SHAMGAR. In the latter article the difficult name Sisera is considered; it has probably not a Hittite but a N. Arabian origin. If the Nethinim are really (see Che. *Amer. J. of Theol.*, July 1901, pp. 433 *ff.*) Ethanites or N. Arabians, the explanation here offered will be confirmed (see, however, NETHINIM). See 2, below. The royal city of Sisera (or Jabin) is (*ex hyp.*) not the Hittite city Kadesh (see HAROSHETH) but the place known as Kadesh-barnea (Kadesh-jeraḥmeel).

2. The name of a family of (post-exilic) Nethinim: Ezra 2 53 (B om. σισαρα[α] [AL]); Neh. 7 55 (σεισαραθ [A], σεσει. [Bℵ], om. L]); 1 Esd. 5 32 (σεραρ [BA], ASERER [AV], SERAR [RV]).

SISINNES (ϲⲓϲⲓⲛⲛⲏϲ), 'governor of Syria (Cœlesyria) and Phœnicia,' 1 Esd. 6 7 7 1. The name is also that of a faithful courtier of Darius, Arr. i. 25 3 vii. 6 4 (Σισινης). On its possible origin, see TATNAI (the corresponding name in Ezra, Neh.).

SISMAI (סִסְמַי), 1 Ch. 2 40† RV, AV SISAMAI.

SISTRA. See MUSIC, § 3 (3).

SITNAH (שִׂטְנָה; ⲉⲭⲑⲣⲓⲁ [ADL, om. E]), the name of one of the contested wells in the story of Isaac and Abimelech, Gen. 26 21. The name still lingers; see REHOBOTH.

SITHRI (סִתְרִי), Ex. 6 22 RV, AV ZITHRI.

SIVAN (סִיוָן; Esth. 8 9; Bar. 1 8). See MONTH, § 2.

SKIRT. 1. *šūl*, שׁוּל (Ex. 28 33 RV [AV 'hem'], Is. 6 1 RVmg. [EV 'train']).[2] The word, like the cognate

[1] For some illustrations of the diversities of Gk. readings see N. Peters, 'Die sahidisch-koptische Uebersetz. d. B. Ecclus.' 57 *ff.* in *Bibl Stud.* 3 3 (1898).

[2] The acrostic, 51 13-30, seems to be the only example of copying on a large scale; the other cases, not numerous, affect only single words or expressions.

[3] On palæographic peculiarities see Schechter, in Schechter and Taylor's *Ben Sira*, and Gaster in *JQR* for July, 1900.

[1] This seems to be not original; cp JABIN and see JUDGES, § 7.

[2] In Is. 6 1 the Tg. and 𝔊 avoid the anthropomorphism of the

šōbel (שֹׁבֶל, Is. 47 2†, RV 'train') is derived from a root meaning 'to hang down.' It is only the mantle that has a skirt or train, and in this lies the whole point of Is. 47 2; the 'tender and delicate' maidens remove the veil and flowing robe to perform the work of slaves.

2. *kānāph*, כָּנָף, rather 'corner' or loose-flowing end. See FRINGES, and cp SACK.

3. *peh*, פֶּה. See COLLAR, 2 (col. 858). I. A.

SKULL. See CALVARY, GOLGOTHA.

SLAUGHTERMEN (Gen. 37 36 AVmg., etc.). See EXECUTIONER, 1.

SLAVERY. The word does not occur in EV. '**Slave**' is found only twice in AV (Jer. 2 14, and here only in italics as an explanation of יְלִיד בַּיִת ['home-born slave']; Rev. 18 13 for σωμάτων), and twice in RV (Dt. 21 14 24 7, הִתְעַמֵּר בְּ, 'deal with as a slave [marg. chattel]'; AV 'make merchandise of'). The Heb. עֶבֶד, *'ebed*, is rendered 'servant' (1 K. 2 39 etc.).

1. Hebrew meaning. Among the Hebrews, as in the ancient world in general, there was no such thing as free labour in the modern sense; men-servants and maid-servants were the property of their masters—in other words, were slaves. We must carefully dissociate this word, however, from certain ideas inseparably connected with it in the modern Christian world. In the Hebrew conception there was no such profound difference between the slave's relation to the head of the house, and that held by the other members of the family. Free-born wives and free-born children are legally all alike under the power of the master of the house. The father can sell his children as well as his slaves to another Israelite. The slaves are not regarded as beings of an inferior order, but are true members of the family, and, though destitute of civil rights, are nevertheless regarded as fellowmen, and, indeed, if of Israelite descent, are held in as high esteem as freemen who at the same time are foreigners. Considered in itself, therefore, there is no degradation attaching to slavery. This is sufficiently shown by the one notorious fact that a man would not infrequently sell himself into slavery, and voluntarily remain in that condition.

2. Slaves: their position, etc. In the legal and actual standing of the slave the point whether he was an Israelite or not was exceedingly important. The bulk of the slaves in ancient Israel would seem to have belonged to the non-Israelite category. In the main they had become slaves—as all ancient law sanctioned—through the fortune of war. There existed, indeed, also in Israel the barbarous custom of the *ḥērem* (see BAN). The war being regarded as a war of Yahwè, the entire booty was often devoted 'to Yahwè'; that is to say, every living thing was put to death, and every lifeless thing destroyed (see, *e.g.*, 1 S. 15). In the otherwise humane Dt. even, only the women and children of conquered towns are to be spared—*i.e.*, made slaves. Desire of gain doubtless often interposed as a practical corrective of this cruel precept, and it is probable that, as a rule, the custom was to turn to account as slaves the men as well as the women (1 S. 15 1 K. 20 39 *f.* etc.). Israelites also, we may be sure, had frequent opportunities, if so minded, for buying slaves in foreign markets. Their Phœnician neighbours, with whom they always had active commercial relations, were famous throughout antiquity as slave-dealers (cp Am. 1 6). The 'strangers within the gates' must also, occasionally at least, have found themselves compelled to sell themselves or their children. And, lastly, the slave population was constantly augmented by the birth of children to slaves in the home of their master—the *yělīdē bāyith* (יְלִדֵי בַיִת) of Gen. 14 14—children who, of course, were themselves also slaves.

3. Master and slave. The master's right of property in his slaves of foreign origin was unlimited. He could sell them, or give them away to Israelites or non-Israelites as he chose. Yet these slaves, too, were by no means left absolutely defenceless to the caprice of their owner. The old consuetudinary law interposed energetically on their behalf. The master was not entitled to kill them; the killing of a slave was a punishable offence—a provision which becomes all the more noticeable when it is remembered that in the case of children the father did possess a limited power of life and death (see LAW AND JUSTICE, §§ 10 14). With the Greeks and Romans this power was, as regards slaves, a matter of course. The master's right of punishment was, in Israel, further restricted, and the slave protected from serious maltreatment, by the rule that the slave became entitled to his freedom if his master in chastising him had done him some lasting bodily injury, such as the loss of an eye or of a tooth (Ex. 21 26 *f.*). Even in such cases, indeed, the principle that the slave was the property of his master was not lost sight of. The law exempted the master from punishment if an interval of at least a day had elapsed between the maltreatment of the slave and his death. The presumption was that the death had not been intended, and it was held that the master had suffered penalty enough in the loss of his property, 'for he is his money' (Ex. 21 20 [21]). The killing or maiming of another man's slave was also regarded only as injury done to property, for which compensation was required. Thus, if a slave were gored by a vicious ox the owner of the ox had to pay a compensation of thirty shekels to the owner of the dead slave for his negligence in not looking after an ox known to be dangerous. (The sum mentioned clearly represents the average value of a good slave at the time of the enactment.) The owner of the ox was not liable to any further penalty, however, though when a free man was killed in like circumstances the case was one of murder and the owner of the ox was punished with death (Ex. 21 28 *ff.*). The runaway slave also enjoyed the protection of ancient custom. The prohibition of extradition indeed is not met with in express terms earlier than Dt. (23 15 *f.*); but we may safely take it that ancient custom, at least, did not require extradition as a matter of course. The decision in each case, as it arose, lay in the discretion of the city to which the fugitive had betaken himself. Shimei, for example, must in person come and fetch his slaves who had fled to Gath (1 K. 2 39 *f.*). Lastly, the slave was protected against over-driving by the institution of the Sabbath, which, in the view of the ancient law-giver, aimed specially at the benefit of slaves and the lower animals (Ex. 23 12 Dt. 5 12 *ff.*).

The legal position of the foreign female slave was still better. She was often her master's concubine—as is shown by the loan-word *pīlegeš* (פִּלֶגֶשׁ; Gr. παλλακίς), which the Hebrews doubtless got from the Phœnicians. Dt. (21 10 *ff.*) gives precise regulations for the case of an Israelite owner who seeks thus to appropriate a female captive. He is not allowed to take her at once; she must after coming into his house shave her head and pare her nails and bewail her father and mother for a full month, after which her master may espouse her. This regulation, also, we may safely assume to have rested on ancient custom.

It must further be remembered that to ancient feeling there was nothing degrading in the idea of the master of a female slave being lord also of her body, any more than there now is in modern Islam. As is shown elsewhere (see MARRIAGE, § 1), the freewoman also became a wife by purchase, and there is no essential difference in the position of a secondary wife. The position of the concubine is superior to that of the ordinary slave in this, that her master is not at liberty to sell her again. As regards the foreign concubine indeed this is expressly laid down only in Deuteronomy: her master must free her if he desires to put her away. But this also certainly comes from ancient practice common to the Israelites with other Semitic peoples. Even now it is held among the Arabs to be a shameful thing for a master to sell a slave who has been his concubine, especially if she have borne children to him; and this had the sanction of antiquity even in Mohammed's time (cp WRS, *Kin.* 73).

figure by rendering זיו יקריה ('the brilliancy of his glory') and δόξα respectively.

Slaves of Israelite descent were in the minority. Kidnapping of slaves within the tribes of Israel was severely prohibited both by law and by ancient usage (Ex. 21 16), though this did not prevent its occasional occurrence (Gen. 37 26 *ff.*), in which case, however, it was prudent to send the victims abroad. There were, however, other ways in which Israelites could become the property of Israelites. The Hebrew parent was at liberty to sell his children into slavery, only not to a foreigner; and doubtless there were many cases in which poor men availed themselves of this right (Ex. 21 7 *ff.*). The insolvent debtor also was sold (2 K. 4 1 Am. 2 6 8 6 Neh. 5 5 8). So too the convicted thief, who was unable to make good his theft (Ex. 22 2 *f.*); according to Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8 2) he was in this case given to the person he had robbed (cp a provision in the law of the twelve tables). Finally, in cases of great poverty, a last resort was for a man to declare himself and his family the property of some well-to-do person (Lev. 25 39 47). What is related of the patriarch Jacob may also have frequently occurred; a suitor who was unable to pay the *mōhar* or purchase-money demanded for the bride would voluntarily hire himself as a slave for a fixed time to the father of the girl (Gen. 29 18; cp MARRIAGE, § 1).

The position of such Israelite slaves was considerably better than that of those of foreign origin. The main difference, so far as the law was concerned, lay in this, that the foreign slave remained a slave all his life, whilst the Hebrew slave had a legal right to manumission, and within a definite time had to be released for nothing. According to the Book of the Covenant the slavery of an Israelite lasted six years; in the seventh year he again became free (Ex. 21 1 *ff.*). The story of Jacob warrants the conjecture that in the original custom the Hebrew slave served for seven full years, and that later, under the influence of the Sabbatical idea, the beginning of the seventh year was taken as fixing the date of the release (cp Stade, *GVI* 1 378). By the seventh year of course is meant, not the Sabbatical year of a still later time, but a relative term reckoned from the date of the beginning of the bondage. If the slave had brought a wife along with him, she, and doubtless also their children, became free along with himself. If, however, he had entered into bondage alone and afterwards as a slave had received a wife from his master, she and also the children remained the property of the master (Ex. 21 7 *ff.*). Manifestly, in the case of a wife being given to a slave, only a foreign woman could be intended; for the Hebrew female slave the master had either to take to himself or give to his son (see below). A characteristic light on the whole position of the Hebrew slave is shed by another fact; the law can presume that in many cases the slave will prefer not to use his legal right to his liberty, but will voluntarily elect to remain in bondage. The rule just mentioned, regulating the retention of wife and children, must frequently have produced such cases; another cause will be mentioned later. If the slave desired to remain with his master in perpetuity, his master was to bring him before 'ĕlōhīm' and there fix his ear with an awl to the door-post (Ex. 21 5 *f.*; cp Dt. 15 16 *f.*). Interpreters are not agreed as to whether by 'ĕlōhīm' we are to understand the sanctuary, and that the declaration could only be duly made there. See col. 3224, note 2. Deuteronomy says nothing about the sanctuary, but doubtless assumes that the ceremony will be in the house of the master. This might be a result of the concentration of the cultus at Jerusalem; but it might equally well be held to show that neither also did the ancient custom reflected in the Book of the Covenant prescribe a ceremony at the sanctuary, and that by 'ĕlōhīm' are meant the household gods,[1] the Penates which in old times were found in every house (cp *e.g.*, 1 S. 19 13; see TERAPHIM). The ceremony can have had no other meaning than that the ear of the slave—that is, his obedience—is firmly nailed to this house and pledged to it for all time coming.

4. Manumission.

Elsewhere also boring the ears is met with as a sign of slavery; *e.g.*, among the Mesopotamians (Juv. 1 104), Arabs (Petr. *Sat.* 102), the Lydians (Xen. *Anab.* iii. 1 31), and others (see Di. on Ex. 21 5 *f.*).

Deuteronomy advances a step (15 13 *f.*), and requires of the master that he shall not send his slave away empty but shall give him a liberal present from flock and threshing-floor and winepress. Here we catch sight of another motive which may have often induced the slave to remain in voluntary bondage: the emancipated slave, if quite destitute, was in worse case in a state of freedom than before—left to his own resources, exposed to every hardship and oppression. To the man who had no land of his own the position of a free working man, or any other favourable opportunity of earning a livelihood, was hardly attainable at all, or, if attainable, only to a very limited degree. Many a man might therefore prefer slavery with comfort to freedom with destitution. The precepts of Deuteronomy are not complied with. The legislator himself feels that he is leaving much to the discretion of masters, and therefore exhorts them all the more earnestly (*v.* 18): 'It shall not seem hard to thee; . . . for Yahwè thy God shall bless thee [therefore] in all that thou doest.' What we read in Jer. 34 8 *ff.* is significant of much; in the time of a great distress, when Jerusalem was under siege, Zedekiah ordered the inhabitants of the city to free their Israelite bondmen and bondwomen, and so to fulfil the commandment that had been so neglected. But hardly had deliverance come and the siege been raised before the liberated slaves were again reduced to bondage.

5. Year of Jubilee.

P will not have any such thing as slavery for an Israelite. If an Israelite finds himself driven by poverty to sell himself into slavery, he is not in reality to be regarded as a slave, but as a free wage-earner or *gēr* (Lev. 25 35 39 *f.*). For all Israelites together are the servants of Yahwè, who brought the nation up out of the land of Egypt; they must not therefore treat one another as slaves (Lev. 25 42). In the matter of emancipation, indeed, the law had to yield to the force of custom; but the emancipation of the Hebrew slave was no longer to occur in the seventh year of his slavery, but only in the year of Jubilee, every fiftieth year. In this year (see JUBILEE) all land reverts to its original owner; the liberated slave thus has the means of subsistence secured for himself and his family.

The attempt (Oehler, *PRE*(2) 14 341 *f.*) to interpret this law as having in view only those slaves who, when the year of Jubilee came, had not yet been six years in bondage, and that thus the Jubilee release coexists as an institution with that of the seven-years' release, finds no support in the text itself; neither can we (so Di.) interpret the law as relating only to those slaves who, previously, at the seventh year's release, had voluntarily remained in bondage, and who now in any case have to go free in the year of Jubilee; had this been meant, it would have been said.

It is only in the case of his having been compelled to sell himself to a *gēr* or foreigner in the land that the law offers the Israelite the possibility of an earlier release (in such a case he cannot reckon on the same brotherly treatment as with a brother Israelite). Here a redemption was possible, the right of which belonged not only to the nearest kinsman, the brother or uncle on the father's side, but also to the bondman himself if in the meanwhile he had come into possession of means. The price of redemption also was fixed by law, and in a sense very favourable to the slave or his redeemer. The purchase-money originally paid by his present owner was to be regarded as a sort of hire paid in advance for the years of service from the date of purchase till the next jubilee,[1] and above this a sum proportionate to the

[1] [See Nowack, *HA* 177, and especially Eerdmans, *Th.T*, 'De beteekenis van elohim in het Bondsboek,' 28 272 *ff.* (1894).]

[1] An indirect confirmation of what has already been said—

time which may have been spent up to the time of the Jubilee year was to be paid as redemption-money, so much for each year (Lev. 25 47 *ff.*). Such a regulation clearly presupposes post-exilic conditions. Before the exile the case of an Israelite being compelled to sell himself to a foreigner was hardly conceivable. The foreigners in the land were few, and were themselves in a position more closely approaching that of the slave than that of the freeman (see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 14 *b*). Since the exile, however, a large non-Jewish population had settled in Judæa, and, to the great mortification of the Jews, had attained a position of wealth and prosperity in marked contrast with that of the poor returning exiles.

In so far as these laws are bound up with the idea of a year of jubilee they of course were never carried into practical effect any more than the year itself was observed. But the idea underlying them nevertheless gained the upper hand; the idea, namely, that for an Israelite to own his brother Israelite as a slave is irreconcilable with the essential nature of the theocracy. The poor who had sunk to such a degree of poverty realised the ignominy of such a position as they had never done before; essentially they knew themselves the equals of their rich brethren and the possessors of equal privileges. When in Nehemiah's day the severe stress of the times had compelled numbers of the poorer people to pledge themselves and their children to their richer brethren to save themselves from starvation, the situation was shocking to them, and they turned to Nehemiah. Nehemiah took their part, censured the nobles and wealthier classes for their impiety, and succeeded in inducing them to free their poor brethren from their mortgages (Neh. 5 1 *ff.*). This fundamental principle—that no Jew can ever be a slave—was taken over by the later Talmudic law; even the thief, who had been sold for his crime, was not to be regarded as a slave (see Winter, *op. cit.* 10 *ff.*). And when the manifold wars of Seleucids and Ptolemies again and again reduced multitudes of Jews to slavery under heathen masters, their redemption was regarded as a sacred duty and a meritorious service (1 Macc. 3 41 2 Macc. 8 11).

The same legal principles apply substantially to the Israelite female slave; but in the older period the release at the end of the seven years could not apply, the woman being her master's concubine. If an Israelite girl was sold by her father to a master—which of course happened only when he was unable to sell her to a husband—the purchaser was bound to treat her as his wife in respect of 'food and raiment and duty of marriage.' If he failed in any of these respects, he had to set her at liberty for nothing. If the purchaser did not desire to marry her at all, he could give her to his son as concubine. If, however, he did not wish this either, then he could sell her only to a purchaser who wished her for a concubine, not to a foreigner; but, holding this position, she could not become a freewoman in the seventh year. Not till we reach the time of D do we find the privilege of release in the seventh year claimed for her with the option of voluntarily remaining in slavery. It appears that in the time of D the ancient custom according to which the female slave had the position of concubine no longer prevailed. According to Talmudic decisions a wife can never be sold as a slave; but the father had the right to sell his daughter as long as she was under marriageable age (cp Winter, *op. cit.*).

6. Retrospect. From what has been said it will be manifest that the lot of slaves, in its legal aspects, was not specially hard, and custom, even if in various respects often coming short of the law, in other important respects demanded more. From everything that we read about slaves we gather that they were treated as members of the family, and that the head cared for their well-being as for that of his own children. The whole manner of their relations with their masters shows that they were treated, not as dumb, driven creatures, but as men with minds of their own which they were free to express.

Saul is indebted to his slave for his information about Samuel the seer and his importance, and it is his slave who lends him the prophet's fee (1 S. 9 6 *ff.*). It is a slave who advises Abigail to make peace with David—quite against the will of the master of the house—and she follows his advice (1 S. 25 14 *ff.*). Eliezer in the patriarchal legend figures as the comptroller of the household, and is invested with a sort of guardianship over Isaac, the son of the house (Gen. 24 1 *ff.*). Compare also the relation of Ziba to Meribbaal, Jonathan's son (2 S. 9 1 *ff.* 16 1 *ff.*). The slave could even marry the daughter of the house (1 Ch. 2 34 *f.*), and, failing a son, become the heir (Gen. 15 2 *ff.*).

In the last resort this favourable position of slaves arose from the fact that as members of the family they were admitted to the family worship. To the ancient view this came as a matter of course. The slave could not have his own worship, his own god; as housemate he must necessarily participate in the worship of the master of the house. So Eliezer prays to 'the God of his master Abraham' (Gen. 24 12, etc.). The Priestly Code expressly demands the circumcision of slaves (Gen. 17 12). This, too, must have been in ancient times a matter of course. Otherwise the alien slave would have been a continual source of religious pollution for the whole house. This also is the tacit presupposition of Deuteronomy when in its humane concern for the slave it requires that he be allowed to participate in sacrifice and feast (12 18 16 11). The non-Israelite, the uncircumcised person, could not possibly be admitted to a share in the sacrificial meal. The slave, being admitted to the family worship, becomes (in the earliest times when ancestor-worship comes in) capable of continuing this worship and thus of inheriting (see above). It is in this standing which the slave enjoys as a co-religionist and fellow-worshipper that the most powerful possible motive is found for his master to treat him with kindness and fatherly care, just as to-day, in Islam, slaves as fellow-believers are treated with all humaneness. The brotherhood in the faith in Islam now, as in Israel of old, is not, as unfortunately it has come to be in the Christian world, a mere empty phrase, but a very real force.

7. Bibliography. See, besides the handbooks of Hebrew archæology, Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, § 127 *f.*; Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht*, 2 236 *f.*; the articles on slavery in Winer, Schenkel, Riehm, Herzog-Plitt, Guthe; the monographs by Mielziner (*Die Verhältnisse der Sklaven bei den alten Hebräern*, 1859), Mandl (*Das Sklavenrecht des AT*, 1886), Grünfeld (*Die Stellung der Sklaven bei den Juden nach bibl. u. talmud. Quellen*, 1886), Winter (*Die Stellung der Sklaven bei den Juden in rechtlicher u. gesellschaftlicher Beziehung nach talm. Quellen*, 1886).

I. B.

SLEEVE (פַּס), Gen. 37 3 *ff.* 2 S. 13 18 RV[mg.] See TUNIC, § 1.

SLIME (חֵמָר, ασφαλτος[1]; in Ex. ασφαλτοπισσα), *ḥêmār*, as distinguished from *ḥōmer*, 'mortar, clay,' always denotes the raw material, RV[mg.] correctly 'bitumen' (Gen. 11 3 14 10 [where Var. Bib. suggests 'naphtha'], Ex. 2 3† [see PITCH]). On the philology of the two terms see Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.* 161, and on the biblical passages cited, see BABEL [TOWER OF], SODOM AND GOMORRAH, and MOSES, § 3 (col. 3207), respectively, and cp generally BABYLONIA, § 15; BITUMEN; CLAY; DEAD SEA, § 6; MORTER.

SLING. Two Hebrew words have been so rendered.

1. קֶלַע, *ḳéla'*, σφενδόνη [πετροβόλος in Job 41 20], *funda*; 1 S. 17 40 50 25 29 2 Ch. 26 14 Job 41 20 Zech. 9 15 Ecclus. 47 4.

2. מַרְגֵּמָה, *margēmāh*, σφενδόνη, Prov. 26 8†, AV and RV[mg.] (RV 'heap of stones'; so Frankenberg). 'The least improbable translation is that of AV' (Toy, *ad loc.*); but the sense of 'sling' seems incapable of proof. Like רגמה in Ps. 68 28 the word is probably corrupt.

3. σφενδόνη, 1 Macc. 6 51 ('instruments for casting fire and stones, and pieces to cast darts and slings'). See SIEGE, § 4.

[In 1 S. 14 14 *b*, the text of which in MT is corrupt (as a reference to AV and RV will suggest), 𝔊 introduces a mention of 'pebbles,' apparently meaning sling stones. The words are ἐν βολίσι καὶ [ἐν πετροβόλοις καὶ ἐν] κόχλαξιν τοῦ πεδίου. For צמד שדה 𝔊 seems to have read וּבְצֻרֵי הַשָּׂדֶה, 'and with flints (of the plain).' But this does not at all suit. We must look further. There are many parallels for this correction of צמד שדה (RV 'in

that the law knows nothing of a release in the seventh year. Otherwise the reckoning would have to refer to the seventh year also, and not merely to the year of Jubilee.

1 Derivation unknown. Possibly Semitic, though the suggested connection with the root found in the Heb. *ṭāphal*, 'besmear,' does not commend itself.

an acre of land'; cp ACRE), into הַמַּצָּב, 'the garrison' (see *v.* 15). The scribe first wrote מצב, and then, having omitted the article, wrote it again more correctly המצב. Out of מצב המצב, by transposition and corruption, צמרשרה arose. 'Pebbles' (κόχλαξ) also appears in 1 Macc. 10 73; slingers, it is implied, would find a lack of sling-stones in the Philistian plain (cp FLINT).—T. K. C.]

From its simplicity, it might have been inferred that the sling (קלע), an improvement upon the simple act of throwing stones,[1] was one of the earliest forms of weapon. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that it was employed in quite remote times by shepherds as a protection against wild animals, by agriculturists to drive away birds (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 381), and also by hunters (Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1 312 [1878]), and by the light-armed soldier in warfare (*ibid.* 1 210; for the Arabians cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 176). In Palestine the shepherd carried a sling, in addition to his staff, and a bag to hold his smooth stone bullets (1 S. 17 40); and the Benjamite warriors are supposed to have been renowned for their effective use of this weapon, employing it as well with the left hand as with the right (cp Judg. 20 16 1 Ch. 12 2). In Judith 9 7 it is mentioned as one of the weapons in which the Assyrians trusted.

We possess illustrations of the sling from Egypt, from Assyria (Layard, *Nineveh* [1852], 332), and from Rome. The Egyptian slinger is in the act of throwing (Wilk. 1 210). The sling is made of a plaited thong,[2] the centre being broad enough to form a receptacle (כַּף, *kaph*, 1 S. 25 29) for the stone.[3] One end seems to be attached to the hand, the other being simply held; the part of the sling in which the stone is lodged is loosely supported by the other hand. The sling is swung over the head (cp Ecclus. 47 4), apparently with some such motion as in bowling, the loose end flying into the air. The stones are carried in a bag which hangs from the shoulder. In the illustration from Rome the sling (*funda*) seems to be of the same kind (see Rich, *Dict.* under 'funda'); but only one hand is employed, whilst the stones are held in a fold of the slinger's mantle by the other.[4] The slingers seem to have worn, as a rule,[5] no armour, and to have carried no other weapons (Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 524; cp Rich, under 'Funditores'). A. Lang (*Homer and the Epic*, 375 *f.*) explains why there are so few references to the sling in Homer (see *Il.* 13 599 716) by the remark that Homer 'scarcely ever speaks at all of the equipment of the light-armed crowd'; the sling 'was the weapon of the unarmed masses, as of David in Israel.'

The sling is still used in Syria, in Egypt, and in Arabia. You may still come upon young Syrian shepherds practising with their slings (see, *e.g.*, Harper, *In Scripture Lands*, 140); Doughty speaks of Arab boys 'armed as it were against some savage beast with slings in their hands' (*Ar. Des.* 1 432), but Thomson (*Land and Book* [1894], 572) only saw it used at Ḥâṣbeiya, on Mount Hermon, by boys in 'mimic warfare.'

It was long in use among Europeans, too, even the simplest form of it (see above) surviving. Thus it was used by the Anglo-Saxons, though 'whether for warfare or the chase alone, it is not easy to determine' (Hewitt, *Ancient Armour in Europe*, 1 58 *f.*, fig. on p. 59). Hewitt also gives later instances (1 156; see the interesting plates, xxvii. l. li.); it was used in battle as late as the sixteenth century (3 605). M. A. C.

[1] Still skilfully exercised by the Arabs (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 238 402), as it was amongst the N. American Indians (Schoolcraft, as quoted in Keller, *Lake Dwellings* [ET], 1 141; 'there is evidence to show that, as an amusement, it was "very common amongst the ancient races"'). The practice seems to have continued, even among the Romans, in addition to the other; the *accensi*, as distinguished from the *funditores*, threw the stones with their hands (see Rich, *Dict.* under 'Funditores').

[2] Slings were also made of 'twisted hair, sometimes human hair' (Schliemann, *Ilios*, 437 [1880]).

[3] Cp Keller, *Lake Dwellings* [ET], 1 141, 'broader in the middle, in order to keep the projectile as in a hood or cap.'

[4] 'Like the bow, the sling gained its real importance after the Carthaginian wars, owing to the skill of the Balearic allies' (F. Haeffer, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans* [ET], 574 *f.*).

[5] There were, no doubt, exceptions. Cp F. Haeffer, *The Life of the Greeks and Romans* [ET], 574 *f.*

SLUICE (שֶׂכֶר), Is. 19 10 AV, after Tg. Most moderns render, 'all those who work *for hire* (שֶׂכֶר) will be grieved (אַגְמֵי, cp POOL, 1) in soul.' So virtually RV.

SMITH. 1. חָרָשׁ; see HANDICRAFTS, § 1; cp CHARASHIM.

2. מַסְגֵּר, *masgēr*; 2 K. 24 1 16 Jer. 24 1 29 2, everywhere ‖ חרש (1. above).

SMYRNA (CMYPNA WH, ZM. Ti, Rev. 1 11; ἐν Σμύρνῃ, Rev. 2 8).[1] Smyrna is a very ancient town; its history falls into two distinct periods, associated with two distinct sites. Old Smyrna (ἡ παλαιὰ Σμύρνα, Strabo, 646; cp Paus. vii. 5 1) stood at the NE. corner of the bay under Mt. Sipylos above the alluvial plain of the mod. *Burnabat.* It was said to have been built by the Amazons (Strabo, 550), in whom we may trace a tradition of the Hittite occupation of Lydia. To them also was ascribed the foundation of Ephesus, Cyme, and Myrina.[2]

1. History of old city.

The Amazons were primarily the priestesses of that Asiatic nature-goddess whose worship the Hittites introduced into western Asia Minor (see EPHESUS, DIANA). Upon the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor the town was occupied by the northern section, who are called the Æolians; but the Colophonians seized it by treachery, and thenceforth it ranked as an Ionic city (Herod. 1 150). Its position gave it the command of the trade of the valley of the Hermus which flows into its gulf, and made it the most powerful rival of the Lydian capital, Sardis, which lay on the middle Hermus, about 54 R. m. to the East. Hence a primary object of the policy of the Lydian dynasty of the Mermnadæ was to make themselves masters of Smyrna and the other Greek towns on the coast (see LYDIA).

Smyrna successfully resisted the attack of Gyges (Paus. iv. 21 5 ix. 29 2), but succumbed to that of Alyattes (about 580 B.C.; Herod. 1 16). Smyrna was destroyed, and its inhabitants dispersed in villages; 'it was organised on the native Anatolian village system, not as a Greek πόλις' (Rams. *Hist. Geog. AM* 62, *n.*; cp Strabo, 646, Λυδῶν δὲ κατασπασάντων τὴν Σμύρναν περὶ τετρακόσια ἔτη διετέλεσεν οἰκουμένη κωμηδόν). The trade of Smyrna was taken over by Phocæa, which, like the other Greek towns, was absorbed in the Lydian empire; when Phocæa in its turn was destroyed by the Persians, Ephesus became the chief commercial city in this region. Some of the extant early electrum or gold coins with the lion type, usually classed as issued by Sardis, may really be mementoes of the early commercial greatness of Smyrna (so Rams. *op. cit.* 62).

Alexander the Great, warned, it is said, by a vision (Paus. vii. 5 1), conceived the design of restoring Smyrna as a city. This design was actually carried into effect by his successors Antigonus and Lysimachus; the earliest undoubtedly Smyrnæan coins are in fact tetradrachms of Lysimachus, bearing the turreted head of Cybele with whose worship Smyrna was always prominently associated. New Smyrna thus arose, nearly three hundred years after its destruction. The new site, about three miles (Strabo, 634, περὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους) S. of the old site, was on the shore of the gulf, at the foot of Mount Pagos, the last western member of that chain of hills which, under various names (Olympus, Tmolus), divides the valley of the Hermus from that of the Cayster. The natural beauty of the mountain-girt plain was remarked by the ancients.[3]

2. The new city.

The architecture of the city was worthy of its setting. The streets were laid out in straight lines at right angles

[1] Σμύρναν is read in the 'western' text for Μύρρα in Acts 27 5 in D. The more ancient form of the name, down to the end of Trajan, was Ζμύρνα or Ἰμύρνα; later it was written in the familiar form Σμύρνα (Cμύρνα). See the coins, and cp Furneaux, note on Tac. *Ann.* 3 63.

[2] The part of Ephesus which owed its foundation to the Amazons was called Samorna or Smyrna (Strabo, 633 *f.*). And Myrina is evidently the same word, initial Σ being lost, as in μικρός for σμικρός (Sayce on Herod. 1 15).

[3] Pliny, *HN* 5 31 'montes Asiæ nobilissimi in hoc tractu fere explicant se'; Strabo, 646, καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν, μέρος μέν τι ἔχουσα ἐπ' ὄρει τετειχισμένον, κ.τ.λ.

to one another, after the system of Hippodamus of Miletus, who had so laid out Thurii (443 B.C.) and the Piræus for Pericles (for the Ἱπποδάμειος τρόπος see Aristot. *Pol.* 4 (7) 11 = 1330 *b*, 21 *f.*). Extending from the temple of Cybele, the 'Golden Street' ran right across the city to the opposite temple of 'Zeus upon the Heights.' The only drawback was that, being unprovided with drains, the streets were sometimes flooded by storm-water (Strabo, 646). Many temples (those of Cybele, Zeus, the Nemeses, Apollo, Asklepios, and Aphrodite Stratonikis were the chief), a Stadium, an Odeum, a Public Library, an *Homerium* dedicated to Homer, a Theatre (one of the largest in Asia Minor), and several two-storied Stoai (Strabo, *l.c.* στοαί τε μεγάλαι τετράγωνοι, ἐπίπεδοί τε καὶ ὑπερῷοι) made Smyrna one of the most magnificent cities of the East. Few remains of this ancient splendour survive.

Smyrna also possessed a good harbour, which could be closed (Strabo, *l.c.* λιμὴν κλειστός). Apart from the prosperity arising from the fact that the bulk of the trade of the Hermus valley passed through its port, the territory of Smyrna was very fertile and produced much wine.

The people of New Smyrna were gifted with political sagacity which stood them in good stead in dealing with the Seleucidæ and afterwards with the Romans. The decree is still extant (243 B.C.) in which mention is made of the temple of Aphrodite Stratonikis, which was (by a sort of false etymology or play upon words) associated with the honour paid by the Smyrnæans to Stratonice, wife of Antiochus I. (see *CIG* 3137 = Hicks, *Manual*, no. 176). In return, Seleucus II. declared both the temple and the city to have rights of asylum. By this pronouncement the city was removed from his jurisdiction and probably exempted from the necessity of providing troops or of receiving his garrisons (see Holm, *Gk. Hist.*, ET, 4 449). During the war with Antiochus the Great the Smyrnæans embraced the Roman cause and were, upon its conclusion, granted the privileges of a *civitas* (*sine fœdere*) *libera et immunis* for their loyalty (cp Polyb. 21 48 and *CIG* 3202, 3204 *f.*).

When the Romans finally occupied Asia, Smyrna became the centre of a ***conventus juridicus*** which embraced the region from Myrina to Teos and the skirts of Mount Sipylos as far as Magnesia (Pliny, *HN* 5 31; Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 29). In the war with Mithridates it retained its loyal attitude (cp Tac. *Ann.* 4 56). The sole exception to the course of prosperity arose when Trebonius, one of Cæsar's murderers, took refuge within its walls and was besieged by Dolabella, who finally captured the city and put Trebonius to death (Strabo, 646; Dio Cass. 47 29 Cic. *Phil.* 11 2).

According to Tacitus (*Ann.* 4 56), the Smyrnæans had, as early as the consulship of Marcus Porcius Cato (195 B.C.), erected a temple dedicated to *Roma*. On the ground of their constant loyalty, and this display of it, they made claim before Tiberius in 26 A.D. to the privilege of erecting a temple to the emperor. Out of the list of the contending Asiatic cities Sardis and Smyrna were preferred, and Smyrna won the day (see NEOCOROS). There is extant a Smyrnæan coin bearing on the obverse a figure of Tiberius in the centre of a temple, with the inscription Σεβαστὸς Τιβέριος (Eckh. 2 547).

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that, Asia Minor being under the Empire the 'paradise of municipal vanity' (Mommsen, *RG* 5 302), Smyrna vied with its neighbours in the accumulation and assertion of empty titles. Like Sardis, Pergamos, and other cities (see Momms.-Marq. *Röm. Staatsverw.* 1 343), she held the title of metropolis.

Her great rival in this respect was Ephesus, who enjoyed the high-sounding titles πρώτη πασῶν καὶ μεγίστη, and μητρόπολις τῆς Ἀσίας. What exactly the possession of the title πρώτη implied that the mutual strife for this 'primacy' (πρωτεῖα) should have been so keen (cp Aristides, *Or.* 1 771, Dind.; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 2 148 R.) is not certainly known; but probably it was connected with the question of precedence at the games of the κοινὸν Ἀσίας (see ASIARCH). The strife between Smyrna and Ephesus continued until the emperor Antoninus settled the dispute (Philostr. *Op.*, ed. Kayser, p. 231 24, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ Σμύρνα τὰ πρωτεῖα νικῶσα).

The coinage of Smyrna richly illustrates the above points. From the time of its ruin by Alyattes to that of its restoration, there was of course no issue of coins. The usual silver coins of Roman Asia, the *Cistophori*, in the case of Smyrna bear the legend ZMYP, with the head of Cybele as a symbol. The imperial coins bear the honorary titles Νεωκόρων; πρώτων Ἀσίας, or πρώτων Ἀσίας γʹ νεωκόρων τῶν σεβαστῶν κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει (the third Neocorate here asserted begins towards the end of Sept. Severus). Certain coins bearing a figure of Homer seated were called Ὁμήρεια (Strabo, 646), and perhaps reproduced some statue in the *Homerium*. In addition to the worship of the Sipylene Mother (Cybele) to which the epithet Σιπυληνή on certain coins refers, the cult of the Nemeses was largely practised in Smyrna, and on some coins are seen figures of two Nemeses appearing in a vision to Alexander and charging him to restore the city (Paus. vii. 5 1 *f.*). The Griffin, a frequent Smyrnæan type, symbolises this worship, just as the Lion symbolises that of Cybele.

3. NT references.

Points of contact between the above and the address in Rev. 2 8 *f.* are not very obvious, though not entirely wanting. Probably many phrases would fall upon the ears of those for whom the message was intended, with a force which is now quite lost. Especially may this have been the case at Smyrna, where much importance was attached to a method of divination from chance phrases (Paus. ix. 11 7, 'divination by means of voices . . . is, to my knowledge, more employed by the people of Smyrna than by any other such people'). Outside the walls there was a 'sanctuary of voices.' It has been suggested, therefore, that the words with which the message opens would come with peculiar force to those who perhaps had heard similar phrases in the pagan mysteries. Similarly, the phrase 'crown of life' (*v.* 10, τὸν στέφανον τῆς ζωῆς) must inevitably have suggested or have been suggested by a prominent feature of life at Smyrna—the public Games (cp Paus. vi. 14 3 *f.* for a striking incident occurring at one of the celebrations held at Smyrna, in 68 A.D.). It was on such an occasion that the Asiarch Philippus was forced by popular clamour to doom the aged Polycarp to death (155 A.D.). The Games were characteristic of pagan life, and socially, though not politically, they would serve as an effective touchstone of sentiment. The fact that on the occasion of Polycarp's martyrdom the Jews also took part in accusing him of enmity to the state religion, is strikingly in accord with the words of Rev. 2 9, where the Jews of Smyrna are called 'a synagogue of Satan.' 'He that overcometh' must also be used with reference to the gymnastic and other contests familiar to the Smyrnæans. It would, however, probably be a mistake to confine the suggestiveness of the phraseology too narrowly.

The 'crown of life,' for example, may also have associations connected with the complimentary crown bestowed upon municipal and other officials for good service. It is also noteworthy that many Smyrnæan coins show a wreath or crown within which is the Lion symbol, or a magistrate's name or monogram (see illustration in Head, *Hist. Numm.* 509). This emblem also might enter into the complex associations of the words, which it is the task of historical imagination to revivify.

Smyrna, now *Ismīr*, is the commercial capital of Turkey. Plan, with very full account of ancient remains and modern town, in Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor*, 70 *f.* For the older Smyrna, see Curtius, *Beitr. z. Gesch. und Topographie Kleinasiens*, Berl. 1872. W. J. W.

SNAIL occurs twice in the OT as the translation of two terms.

1. חֹמֶט, *ḥōmeṭ* (Lev. 11 30), where, however, some kind of LIZARD (*q.v.*) is meant (RV 'sand-lizard').

2. שַׁבְּלוּל, *šabbĕlūl* (Ps. 58 8 [9]), a word of uncertain etymology, which is found in the Targ. under the form תֵּבְלְלָא. The rendering 'snail' is probable and is supported by the Talm. *Shabbāth*, 77 *b*, where Rashi, in his commentary, explains it by *limace*. Ewald, with less probability, follows 𝔊 and Vg. (κηρός, *cera*) and renders 'melted wax.' Some land snail is probably referred to, and the allusion to its melting away may have reference to the trail of slime which the mollusc leaves behind it as it crawls, or may refer to the retirement of these animals into cracks and crevices, where they are no more seen, at the approach of the dry season. The land and freshwater mollusca of Syria are fairly numerous and varied, and it is interesting to note that the Dead Sea contains no molluscs, whilst the sea of Tiberias has a rich molluscan fauna. Bliss (*A Mound of Many Cities*, 110) found a quantity of snail shells; 'snails had doubtless been used for food.' [A

strong protest is raised against the prevalent view of the text of this passage by Cheyne, *Ps.*[(2)].]

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

SNARE. For מוֹקֵשׁ, *mōḳēš*; פַּח, *paḥ*; חֶבֶל, *ḥébhel*; also βρόχος (=*mōḳēš*) and παγίς (=*mōḳēš* and *paḥ*), see FOWL, § 9. For מְצוֹדָה, *mĕṣōdāh*, see NET, 4, and for שְׂבָכָה, *śĕbākāh* (Job 18 8 AV), see NET, 5. For פַּחַת, *páḥath* (Lam. 3 47 AV), cp PIT, 7.

SNOW (שֶׁלֶג, *šéleg*; Bib.-Aram. תְּלַג, *tĕlag*; Ass. *šalgu*; χιων). Like rain and hail, the snow was traditionally supposed to be kept in store-chambers in the sky (Job 38 22). It is at God's command that it falls (Job 37 6 Ecclus. 43 13); it is he who '*plucks out* snow like wool' (Ps. 147 16, read הַנֹּתֵק). Its sure effect in fertilising the ground supplies a figure for the certainty of prophecy (Is. 55 10 *f.*); its brilliant whiteness, for the clear complexion of those exempt from agricultural toil (Lam. 4 7), for a conscience free from the sense of guilt (Ps. 51 7 [9] Is. 1 18), for the appearance of lepers (Ex. 4 6 Nu. 12 10 2 K. 5 27), for the shining raiment (Dan. 7 9) and hair (Rev. 1 14) of a heavenly or divine being. No less than five references to snow occur in the Book of Job. In describing the treachery of his friends, Job refers to the ice and snow which help to swell the streams from the mountains in spring[1] (Job 6 16); and twice again he refers to the snow water (9 30 24 19 [not in 𝔊]).

The phrase 'it snowed on Zalmon' (so Driver, *Par. Ps.*) in Ps. 68 14 [15] is puzzling; we should have expected 'on Hermon.' Appearances point strongly to the view that the passage is corrupt. See ZALMON.

A beautiful proverb (Prov. 25 13) reminds us how enduring Oriental customs are.

Like the cooling of snow [in a drink] in time of harvest,
Is a trustworthy messenger to him who has sent him;
He refreshes the soul of his lord.

One could think that this proverb had been written in Damascus; sherbet cooled with snow was hardly a summer drink at Jerusalem. Indeed, 'snow' and 'summer' to an ordinary citizen of Jerusalem suggested incongruous ideas (see Prov. 26 1, 𝔊 δρόσος). Jeremiah refers to the eternal snows of Lebanon (Jer. 18 14; see SIRION), and in the eulogy of the pattern woman it is said (Prov. 31 21[2]) that she needs not to be afraid even of 'snow' (*i.e.*, of the coldest days of winter) for her household because 'they are clothed with scarlet' (or, 'with double clothing'; see COLOURS, § 14). In a famous passage (2 S. 23 20 = 1 Ch. 11 22) Benaiah, the son of Jehoiada, is said to have slain, not only two lion-like men of Moab (so AV) and a 'goodly' Miṣrite (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*, col. 3164), but also 'a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow.' Why the snow is referred to, however, is not clear. An old French Hebraist (Vatable in *Crit. Sac.* 2 2462) says it is because lions are strongest in the winter. The Hebrew, however, has not 'in time of snow,' but 'in the day of the snow'—*i.e.*, on some one day on which heavy snow had fallen.'[3] Such a snowfall might be mentioned as something remarkable from its rarity. In 1 Macc. 13 22 we read of 'a very great snow' which hindered the movements of Trypho, the opponent of Jonathan and Simon the Maccabees. It is conceivable that a lion 'had strayed up the Judæan hills from Jordan, and had been caught in a sudden snowstorm' (GASm. *HG* 65), and that Benaiah went down into the cistern into which the animal had fallen and killed it; but the passage is full of textual errors.

Klostermann and Budde read thus (cp ARIEL)—
'The same (Benaiah) slew two young lions near their lair;[4] he also went down and slew the (parent) lion in the midst of the pit on the day of the snow.' More probably, however, the passage records the slaying of two Jerahmeelites (הארִיה, אראל) in Maacath-'arab—*i.e.*, Arabian Maacath, on the day (*i.e.*, famous battle) of Ishmael. See *Crit. Bib.*

South of Hebron snow is rare, and along the seaboard of Philistia and Sharon, as well as in the Jordan valley, it is altogether unknown. In Jerusalem it is to be seen in the streets two winters in three; but it soon disappears. Very snowy winters, however, do occur.

In the winter of 1857 the snow was 8 inches deep and covered the eastern plains for a fortnight. The results were disastrous.[1] Nearly a fourth of the houses of Damascus were injured, and some of the flat-roofed bazaars and mosques were left in heaps of ruins. The winter of 1879 was still more remarkable; 17 inches of snow, even where there was no drift, are recorded.[2]

T. K. C.

SNUFFDISHES (מַחְתּוֹת), Ex. 25 38 etc. See CENSER, 2; CANDLESTICK, § 2.

SNUFFERS. 1. מְזַמְּרוֹת (√זמר, 'to pluck'?), *mĕzammĕrōth*, 1 K. 7 50 2 K. 12 13 [14] 25 14 Jer. 52 18 2 Ch. 4 22†. Cp CANDLESTICK, § 2.

2. מֶלְקָחַיִם, *melḳāḥáyim*, Ex. 37 23. RV 'tongs.' See TONGS, CANDLESTICK, § 2; COOKING, § 4.

SO (סוֹא; ϲηγωρ [B], ϲωα [A], on 𝔊ᴸ see below; Vg. *Sua*). In 2 K. 17 4 we read 'the king of Assyria found conspiracy in Hoshea, for he had sent messengers to So, king of Egypt.' This happened in, or directly before, 725 B.C. Egyptologists formerly looked to the first two names of the Ethiopian or twenty-fifth dynasty of Egypt, Shabaka or his successor Shabataka. In accordance with an erroneous chronology, that dynasty was believed to have begun in 728, and the conquest of Egypt and Hoshea's embassy seemed to coincide very remarkably.[3] In the first place, however, the names of *Shaba*(or *bi*)*ka* (*Šabaku* in cuneiform transcription, Sabakōn in Herod 2 137, and in Manetho) or *Shaba* (or *bi*)*taka* (Sebichos, Manetho) could not satisfactorily be compared with So, which would have been an unparalleled mutilation, not to mention the insuperable difficulty of Egyptian š as Semitic s. In the second place the chronology must now be considered impossible. We know, as the only firm point for the chronology of the Ethiopian kings, that Tirhaka-Tah(a)rḳō died in 668/67 and that his successor (Tandamani) was expelled from Egypt during the following year. Manetho gives to the first three Ethiopian kings, 40 (Africanus) or 44 years (Syncellus), Herodotus 50 years to the only Ethiopian king whom he knows, Diodorus 36 years to all four kings. The monuments insure 12 + 26 (not more) + 3 + 3 (alleged, and not counted) years to the dynasty. The maximum for the beginning of the Ethiopian family in Egypt would thus be 712; probably it is rather to be assumed some years later (about 709?). Consequently, Samaria had been destroyed and Hoshea had perished before the Ethiopians conquered Egypt. As kings of Ethiopia alone, they could not come into consideration for Syrian politics. Winckler (*MVAG*, 1898, p. 29) has made it probable that Shabaka, the Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt, lived in peace with Assyria, exchanging presents with Sennacherib. Furthermore, we should expect the title 'king of Kush-Ethiopia' in the case of the alleged Ethiopian ruler, or Pharaoh in the case of a true Egyptian prince.

The cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon tell us of *Sib'e*, a *turtanu*—*i.e.*, general or viceroy—of Pir'u, king of Muṣri, who vainly assisted the rebellion of Ḫanunu of Gaza against Assyria and suffered a complete defeat at Raphia (*Rapiḫi*) in 720 by Sargon. We see from the cuneiform orthography that the biblical form So ought to be vocalised *Sewe* or, better still, that the w is a corruption for b and the original reading was Sib'e. Winckler's first suggestion of the possibility that this Sib'e was not a petty Egyptian prince but a Muṣrite, a

1 Cp Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1 124.
2 𝔊B, however, has no mention of snow.
3 H. P. Smith gives the very improbable sense, 'He used to go down (יָרַד) and smite the lions in the pit on snowy days.'
4 בְּנֵי הָאֲרִי אֶל־מַחֲבָאָם (Klo., Bu.).

1 J. L. Porter (Kitto, *Cyc. Bib. Lit.* 3 399).
2 Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 2 58.
3 The present writer was still under this impression when preparing the article EGYPT (§ 66 *a*). Wiedemann (*Gesch. Aeg.* 587) compared So with the fabulous Sethōn of Herodotus.

representative of the king Pir'u (not Pharaoh) of Muṣri —*i.e.*, Northern Arabia—was in *AOF* 126 (cp *GI* 1 170); in *MVAG*, 1898, pt. i., he finally treated it as certain (see now *KAT*(3) 146). The correctness of this view is evident (cp HOSHEA, col. 2127), although the old, impossible theory (see above) is still frequently found repeated.

Very remarkable is the form of 2 K. 17 4 in 𝔊ᴸ, which substitutes for So, 'Adramelech, the Ethiopian, residing in Egypt' (Ἀδραμελεχ τὸν Αἰθίοπα τὸν κατοικοῦντα ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ). Seductive as this piece of information looks —only the name Adramelech could never be treated as an Egyptian or Ethiopian name—it is shown by the data of the cuneiform inscriptions to be an exegetical addition, quite in harmony with the paraphrastic character of 𝔊 which presents such an analogy to the Targum. It is quite remarkable that the Jewish scholars who inserted this addition knew enough about the history of Egypt to think of that Ethiopian dynasty (the date of which they, like modern Egyptologists, put too high, see above) and to conclude that an Egyptian ally of Israel could have been only a governor under the king, residing in remote Napata. This imperfect (cp the date and the impossible name Adramelech) knowledge cannot be accepted, however, as historical evidence outweighing the direct testimony of the monuments. [See further *Crit. Bib.*] W. M. M.

SOAP, or **SOPE**, in modern language, means a compound of certain fatty acids with soda or potash, the potash forming the 'soft,' the soda the 'hard' soaps of commerce. Soap is believed to have been invented by the Gauls, and became known to the Romans at a comparatively late date. Pliny says *fit ex sebo et cinere*, and that the best is prepared from goat-tallow and the ashes of the beech-tree. A soap-boiling establishment with soap in a good state of preservation has been excavated at Pompeii.

The word 'soap' is used in EV to translate the Heb. *bōrīth* (בֹּרִית, a derivation of √ברר, cp בֹּר, 'cleanness') in two passages (Jer. 2 22 Mal. 3 2†)[1] which allude to the cleansing of the person and of fabrics respectively. It is not possible to ascertain exactly what substance, or substances, are intended. As a rule the ancients cleansed themselves by oiling their bodies and scraping their skins, and by baths, and they cleaned their clothes by rubbing with wood ashes and natural earths, such as fuller's earth, carbonates of sodium, etc. They cleansed their wine and oil casks and their marble statues with potash lyes.[2] Natural carbonate of soda (see NITRE) was also used, as well as the juices of certain plants (see below) which, owing to the presence of *saponin*, form a soap-like lather with water. See LYE, NITRE.

Canon Tristram states that considerable quantities of soft soap are, at the present day, manufactured in Palestine by boiling olive oil with potash, procured by burning several species of *Salicornia* (glass wort) and *Salsola* (salt wort), especially *S. Kali*, which abound in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea and in the salt marshes which fringe the coast. Cp Lōw, 43. A. E. S.

SOCHO (שׂוֹכוֹ), 1 Ch. 4 18 AV, RV **Soco**, a name in the genealogy of the b'nē JUDAH, cp SOCOH, 1.

SOCOH (שׂוֹכֹה in Josh. *Kt.*; but Kr. שׂוֹכוֹ as in Ch., where RV has Soco; in S. and K. שֹׂכֹה [Kt.] שׂוֹכוֹ [Kr.]; σωχω [BAL]).

1. A town in the Shephelah of Judah, grouped with Jarmuth, Adullam, Azekah, etc.; (Josh. 15 35 σαωχω [B]), and mentioned with Azekah in the description of the encampment of the Philistines in 1 S. 17 1 (cp EPHES-DAMMIM), where AV has **Shochoh** ([εἰς] σοκχωθ[3]

[1] In both passages 𝔊 has ποία or ποά, ℵ* by a curious mistake in Mal. 3 2 πλοῖα ('grass'); Vg. in Jer. has *herbam borith*, in Mal. *herba fullonum*.

[2] Fullers also used putrid urine, which was so offensive that they were compelled to live beyond the walls or in remote parts of the city of Rome.

[3] The reading Σοκχωθ represents a plur. form; cp Eus. *OS*(2) 293 32 (Σοκχω· κῶμαι εἰσί δύο . . . ἡ μὲν ἀνωτέρα, ἡ δὲ κατωτέρα Σοκχωθ χρηματίζουσαι) and Jer. *ib.* 151 21 . . . unus in monte et alter in campo situs, qui Sochoth nuncupantur. Both Eusebius and Jerome strangely confuse Socoh with Succoth-benoth (2 K. 17 30).

[BL], εισογχω [A], Jos. *Ant.* vi. 9 1 σωκους). Socoh was fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 7 **Shoco** AV, σοκχωθ [BA], σοκχω [L], σωχω [Jos. *Ant.* viii. 10 1]), but, according to the Chronicler, was taken by the Philistines in the reign of Ahaz (2 Ch. 28 18 [**Shocho** AV, σοκχωθ [L]). The site intended is no doubt esh-Shuweikeh (as if a diminutive form of שׂוֹכָה). The ruins which bear this name occupy a strong position (1145 ft. above the sea level) on the S. side of the great valley of Elah (see ELAH, VALLEY OF), at the point where the Wādy eṣ-Ṣūr becomes the Wādy es-Sanṭ (cp GASm. *HG* 228 *ff.*; Che. *Aids*, 85). Perhaps this Socoh was the birthplace of the Antigonus who came after Simon the Righteous and preached disinterested obedience (*Pirḳē Ābōth*, 1 3, אנטיגנוס איש סוכו). The gentilic is plausibly found in the 'Sucathites' (Socathites) of 1 Ch. 2 55; see JABEZ.

[The trend of the present writer's criticism, however, is to show that the geography of the OT narratives has often been misunderstood and consequently misrepresented by the redactors spoken of above. Saul's struggle with the arch-enemies of his people (the Zarephathites, miscalled the Philistines; see SAUL, § 4 *c*) was in the Negeb. The fight described in 1 S. 17 was in the valley(?) of Jeraḥmeel (*'ēmeḳ hā-'ēlāh*, and *'ēphes dammīm*) near Maacah—'which belongs to Jeraḥmeel'—and Azekah. A Socoh, or perhaps rather Maacah, in the Negeb was probably meant in the other passages referred to above, as they were originally read. The Sucathites too (1 Ch. 2 55) should rather be designated the 'Maacathites.' See SHABBETHAI. T. K. C.]

2. A second town of this name is grouped with Shamir, Jattir, etc., in the mountain district of Judah (Josh. 15 48 σωχα [B]), and is identified with another *esh-Shuweikeh*, situated 10 m. SW. of Hebron and E. of the Wādy el-Khalīl (*BR* 2 195). According to the ordinary view of the sphere of action of Solomon's twelve prefects (see, however, SOLOMON, § 6, note 1) this is probably the Socoh which formed part of the prefecture of BENHESED [*q.v.*] (1 K. 4 10 RV, AV **Sochoh**, σοχλω [A], σομηνχαζα [KAL]? σαμηνχα [B], αμηχα [L?]).

The Egypt. *sa-a-kà*, *ša-o-kò* in the list of Šošenḳ can hardly be identified with either of the above. From its position in this list a more northerly situation seems necessary (cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 160 *f.* 166).

SODA (נֶתֶר), Prov. 25 20 RVmg., EV NITRE (*q.v.*). Cp SOAP.

SODI (סוֹדִי; ϲογδ[ε]ι [BAF¹L]), father of Gaddiel, Zebulunite (Nu. 13 10).

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

Biblical references (§ 1).	New theory (§ 7).
Critical analysis (§ 2).	Stucken's 'dry' deluge (§ 8).
Lot-story not historical (§ 3).	Judg. 19 15-30 (§ 9).
Possible classification (§ 4).	Result (§ 10).
Difficulties (§ 5).	Religious suggestions (§ 11).
Text of Gen. 19 24 *f.*, etc. (§ 6).	Literature (§ 12).

1. References. SODOM (סְדֹם; ϲοδομα [BℵADEQZΓ], plur.), ϲοδομ[ε]ιται Gen. 19 4, and GOMORRAH (עֲמֹרָה, γομορρα [BAL], in OT sing. and plur.; in NT (AV GOMORRHA) plur., except in Mt. 10 15 according to Treg. [but not Ti. WH], with CDPL [DL γομορας, so γομορα Jer. 23 14 ℵ]), two cities represented in the traditional text of Gen. 13 10-12 19 25 as situated in the 'Circle (כִּכָּר, AV 'plain,' RV 'Plain') of Jordan,' and less distinctly in 14 3 as in the Vale of SIDDIM (*q.v.*). According to the same text, the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah and their allies were defeated by CHEDOR-LAOMER, king of Elam, and his allies, who carried away both the people and the goods of Sodom and Gomorrah, but were forced to give these up by the rapid intervention of the warrior 'Abram the Hebrew' (Gen. 14 1-16). In Gen. 18 16-33 19 1-29 we have the account of (1) a dialogue between Abraham and, first of all, the Elōhīm who visited him, and then Yahwè alone, respecting the fate said to be impending over

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'Sodom and Gomorrah'[1] (virtually equivalent to 'Sodom'); (2) the circumstances leading up to the culminating act of wickedness committed in Sodom; and (3) the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah and other cities, and the escape of Lot and his two daughters. The sin of Sodom is often referred to as typical of horrible and obstinate wickedness, Is. 1 10 3 9 Jer. 23 14 Dt. 32 32; and its destruction as a warning, Is. 1 7 9 13 19 Jer. 49 18 Zeph. 2 9 Dt. 29 22 Am. 4 11 Lam. 4 6 (for EV's 'iniquity' and 'sin' read 'punishment'). Sometimes, too, it is mentioned alone as the destroyed guilty city, Gen. 19 13 ('this place' = Sodom) Is. 1 7 3 9 Lam. 4 6 (cp Gen. 14 17 *ff.* [but in *v.* 17 𝔊^L inserts καὶ βασ. γομ.], where the king of Sodom figures alone); but Gomorrah is often mentioned too, Gen. 13 10 18 20 19 24 28 Is. 1 9 *f.* 13 19 Jer. 23 14 Am. 4 11 Zeph. 2 9 Dt. 32 32. 'Neighbour cities' are also referred to in Jer. 49 18 50 40; cp Ezek. 16 46 *ff.* ('Sodom and her daughters'). In Hos. 11 8 Admah and Zeboim, and in Dt. 29 23 [22] Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim are given as the ruined cities; cp Gen. 10 19 and 14 2, where in like manner these four cities are mentioned together. In Wisd. 10 6 the inexact phrase 'Pentapolis' is used (see RV). The description of the sin of Sodom in Ezek. 16 49*b* 50*a* is evidently based on the legend known to us from Gen. 19, and similarly that of the punishment in Dt. 29 23 [22] agrees with that given in the traditional text of Gen. 19 24-26. Allusions to the fate of Sodom appear to occur in Ps. 11 6 [but see below] 140 10 [11] Job 18 15 Is. 34 9 *f.* Jer. 20 16 Ezek. 38 22. Curiously enough, in a geographical passage (Gen. 10 19), Sodom and Gomorrah and Admah and Zeboim are spoken of as if still in existence. These are the data relative to the history of Sodom and the other cities supplied by the traditional text.

The references to Sodom (Gomorrah is rarely added) in the Apocrypha and in the NT are as follows—2 Esd. 2 8 5 7 7 36 Ecclus. 16 8 Wisd. 19 14 Mt. 10 15 (Mk. 6 11 [not in best texts] Lk. 10 12) Lk. 17 29 Rom. 9 29 (quotation) 2 Pet. 2 6 Jude 7 Rev. 11 8 (cp Ezek. 23 3, etc.).

Before proceeding further it is necessary to refer briefly to the critical analysis of the section in which

2. Critical analysis.

the Sodom-story is contained (Gen. 18-19 28). That *v.* 28 belongs to the Priestly Writer is admitted; its true place is probably after 13 12*a* (P), which states that 'Lot dwelt in the cities of הכבר' (rather ירחמאל, 'Jeraḥmeel'). With regard to the rest of the section, it is admitted that there has been a prolonged process of editorial manipulation. Only thus indeed can we account for the singular combination of passages which refer to Yahwè as the speaker and actor with other passages which indicate three men as charged with representative divine functions, and for the not less singular fact (1) that whereas Abraham's hospitality is claimed by 'three men,' Lot receives into his house only two men, who are called in the present text of 19 1 'the two *mal'ākīm* (EV 'angels'),' and (2) that in 19 17, whereas the first verb is in the plural ('when *they* had brought them forth'), the second is in the singular ('*he* said'; so again, *v.* 21). It was long ago suggested (and the same idea has lately been worked out by Kraetzschmar[2]) that there have been imperfectly fused together two versions of the story of 'Sodom,' in one of which Yahwè was said to have appeared in a single human form, and in the other in a group of men; whether we regard these men as 'ĕlōhīm' (cp Gen. 1 26 3 22 11 7) or divine beings, the chief of whom is Yahwè, or as '*mal'ākīm*' (commonly rendered 'angels'), does not affect the critical inquiry. It is impossible, however, to work out this theory to a satisfactory result; the original narrative may have been modified by editors, but we cannot to any large extent admit the theory of independent literary strata. Fripp, therefore, was justified in attempting to show[1] that in the earliest form of the story Yahwè himself was the only speaker and agent. Comparing this story, however, with analogous stories in Genesis and elsewhere, it is much more natural to suppose that in its original form three men—*i.e.*, three 'ĕlōhīm'—were spoken of, and that the distinction between Yahwè (who remained—see 18 22*b*—to talk with Abraham) and the 'two *mal'ākīm*' who went to 'Sodom' was due to the same later writer who, as Wellhausen (*CH* 27 *f.*) has rendered probable, introduced 18 17-19 and 22*a*-33*a*, a passage which reveals the existence in the writer's mind of doubts as to the divine justice, such as we know to have been felt among the Jews in later times. There is also reason to think that the references to Lot's wife (19 15 *f.* 26; contrast *v.* 12) and the whole of the Zoar episode, together with the account of the birth of Moab and Ben-ammi (?), are later insertions, though by no means so late as the two insertions in ch. 18 mentioned above.[2]

Here, however, we are chiefly concerned with the contents of the Lot-story (ch. 19). We are told that as

3. Lot-story not historical.

a punishment for disregard of the sacred law of hospitality, and for a deadly sin committed at least in intention, 'Yahwè rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from Yahwè out of heaven, and overthrew those cities, and all the Plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground' (19 24 *f.* RV). Is it possible to explain the origin and meaning of this story, accepting provisionally the form in which it is given in the traditional text?[3]

That the story is historical (however laxly the word be interpreted) ought to be at once denied by those who have read the earlier legends of Genesis in the light of the comparative critical method. If the Deluge is not historical, and if Abraham and Lot are ultimately the creations of the popular imagination, how can the strange story in Gen. 19, for which, as we shall see, there are so many parallels in folk-lore, be regarded as historical? It is surely no answer to appeal to the accordance of the phenomena of the catastrophe of Sodom with those which have happened elsewhere in 'similar geological formations,' or to the justification of the traditional description of that catastrophe by 'authorities in natural science' (but not in historical criticism) and by some competent critics of the OT. For the narratives of the Hebrew *Origines* must be accepted or rejected as wholes. Plausible as Dawson's view[4] may be, that the description of the catastrophe of Sodom is that of 'a bitumen or petroleum eruption, similar to those which on a small scale have been so destructive in the region of Canada and the United States of America,' and the more ambitious theory of Blanckenhorn,[5] that the catastrophe, which was a real though not a historical event, began with an earthquake, continued with igneous eruptions, and ended with the covering of the sunken cities by the waters of the Dead Sea, it would require great laxity of literary interpretation to assert that this is what either the Yahwistic narrative, or the earliest references in the prophets, intend. As Lucien Gautier remarks (above, col. 1046), 'The text of Genesis speaks of a rain of fire and brimstone and a pillar of smoke rising to heaven, but neither

[1] Regretfully we abstain from drawing out the beauties of the story in chap. 18. For parallels to the divine visit see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, pp. xxxiv-xxxvii, and 312 *f.*; cp also Hom. *Od.* 17 485 *ff.*

[2] 'Der Mythos von Sodoms Ende,' *ZATW* 17 81-92; cp *New World*, 1 236.

[1] *Composition of the Book of Genesis*, 50-53 (1892), and *ZATW* 12 23 *ff.* (1892).

[2] In an essay in the *New World*, 1 243, only the geological myth in *v.* 26 relative to the pillar of salt is regarded as an accretion. Gunkel (*HK*, *Gen.* 188 *ff.*) holds that Lot's wife played no part in the original story, and that the Zoar episode is also a later insertion, but he claims *vv.* 30*b*-38 for the original story.

[3] Knobel has, at any rate, noticed that the Sodom catastrophe closes the second stage in the early narrative, corresponding to the Deluge.

[4] *Expositor*, 1886 (1), p. 74; *Modern Science in Bible Lands*, 486.

[5] *ZDPV* (see end of article).

of an earthquake, nor of an igneous eruption, nor of an inundation.' Nor can we venture to pick and choose among the details of the story in Gen. 19.

It is of no more use to justify with some plausibility two or three expressions in a part of the Sodom-story by means of 'scientific' lore than to make it out to be, modestly put, not impossible that 'Chedorlaomer, king of Elam,' may have invaded Palestine at a time when Abraham may have lived. If 'authorities in natural science' sometimes speak as if Gen. 19 were in part historical[1] (more plausibly, based on a tradition of a real occurrence), we must remember that historical criticism and natural science are both studies which require a special training, and if critics of the OT even in the nineteenth century have thought that they could (here and in the Deluge-story) disengage a true tradition of a prehistoric natural fact from the mass of superimposed legend, one may remark in explanation that these critics belong to a transitional period, and that the criticism of to-day has to throw off the weaknesses which it has inherited from the past.

The chief extra-biblical passage in which distinct reference is made to the destruction of the cities as historical is in Strabo (xvi. 2 44), where, after describing the rugged and burnt-up rocks, exuding pitch, round about Μοασάδα (*i.e.*, the stupendous rock-fortress Masada, near the SW. shore of the Dead Sea), the geographer mentions the native tradition that here thirteen cities once flourished. The ample circuit of Sodom their capital can, he says, still be traced. In consequence of an earthquake, and of an eruption of hot springs, charged with bitumen and sulphur, the lake advanced suddenly (ἡ λίμνη προπέσοι); some of the cities were swallowed up, and others were deserted by as many of the inhabitants as could flee. Josephus (*BJ* iv. 8 4), speaking of the lake Asphaltitis, upon which the country of Sodom borders, uses similar language:—'There are still the remains of the divine fire, and the shadows (σκιάς) of five cities are visible as well as the ashes produced in their fruits.'[2] It is hardly possible to avoid taking these reports together, and assuming that Strabo's informant was of the Jewish race. If we reject the claim put forward by critics in behalf of the statement in Gen. 19 24 *f.*, we must still more certainly reject the statement of Strabo as historical evidence.[3]

[1] *E.g.*, besides the late Sir J. W. Dawson, Canon Tristram (*The Land of Israel*, 356). Describing a valley at the N. end of the salt-range of Usdum, he says 'The whole appearance points to a shower of hot sulphur, and an irruption of bitumen upon it, which would naturally be calcined and impregnated with its fumes; and this at a geological period quite subsequent to all the diluvial and alluvial action of which we have such abundant evidence. The catastrophe must have been since the formation of the valley, and while the water was at its present level—therefore probably during the historic period.' Blanckenhorn, however, is more in touch with biblical critics. In his second article he expresses his adhesion to the views (then just published) of Kraetzschmar, and says, 'This makes it plain that while it is certainly very probable that the account in Genesis points to a natural occurrence which was real but not "historic," the Yahwistic form . . . is altogether different from the original tradition, which is rather to be sought in the references and figurative statements of the prophets' (*ZDPV* 21 69 [1898]). Whether this stress on the prophetic references, only two of which can be at all early, is justifiable, need not here be discussed.

[2] See also Tacitus, *Hist.* 5 37. The reference may be (1) to the fruit of the *'osher*-tree (*'ušar*, *Calotropis procera*, of the family *Asclepiadaceæ*), which Hasselquist (*Travels*, 1766) calls *poma sodomitica*, and found in abundance about Jericho and near the Dead Sea. He says that they are sometimes filled with dust, but 'only when the fruit is attacked by an insect which turns all the inside into dust, leaving the skin only entire, and of a beautiful colour.' The tree, says Tristram (*NHB* 484), grows to a height of from twelve to fifteen feet, and the fruit is 'as large as an apple of average size of a bright yellow colour, hanging three or four together close to the stem.' It easily bursts when ripe, and 'supports a very singular orthopterous insect, a very large black and yellow cricket, which we found in some plenty on all the trees, but never elsewhere.' But (2) Tristram's suggestion that the fruit of the colocynth is meant deserves attention. See GOURDS [WILD]. The fruit, though fair of aspect, has a pulp which dries up into a bitter powder, used as medicine. But to suppose that the phrase 'the vine of Sodom' (Dt. 32 32) has any reference either to the colocynth or to any other botanical plant, is plainly a mistake (see the commentators).

[3] Still more obviously worthless for critical purposes is the statement of Trogus (Justin, xviii. 3 3) that the Phœnicians were forced to leave their home beside the *Assyrium stagnum* by an earthquake. Bunsen took this *stagnum* to be the Dead Sea. But, as A. von Gutschmid (*Beitr. zur Gesch. des Orients*, 26) pointed out, the *Assyrium stagnum* is certainly not the Dead Sea, but the lake of Bambyke (Mabug or Hierapolis).

SODOM AND GOMORRAH

From the point of view which is here recommended it is all-important to bring the Sodom-story into the right class of myths or semi-mythic legends. It is not necessary that mythic stories of the same class should all give the same particulars; it is enough if they agree in some leading 'motive.' Lack of space prevents us from mentioning more than a few such stories. Let us refer first to the story of the punishment of the guilty city Gortyna. 'The people of this city led a lawless existence as robbers. The Thebans, being their neighbours, were afraid, but Amphion and Zethos, the sons of Zeus and Antiope, fortified Thebes by the magic influence of Amphion's lyre. Those of Gortyna came to a bad end through the divine Apollo.'[1] 'The god utterly overthrew the Phlegyan race by continual thunderbolts and violent earthquakes; and the survivors were wasted by a pestilence.'[2] Usually, however, it pleases the creators of folk-lore to represent the punishment of wicked cities as consisting in their being submerged by water. Homer (*Il.* 16 384 *ff.*) speaks of the pernicious floods which Zeus brings by autumnal rain-storms on godless, unjust men. The well-known story of Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Met.* 8 611-724) belongs to the same subdivision. Similarly a place on the Lake of Thun is popularly said to have been destroyed because a dwarf was refused hospitality during a storm by all the inhabitants except an aged couple who dwelt in a miserable cottage.[3] A French journal of folk-lore contains a long series of folk-tales about these swallowed-up cities, most of which have a moral.[4] It is true, the moral may be omitted. Thus, according to Prof. Rhys,[5] each of the Welsh meres is supposed to have been formed by the subsidence of a city, whose bells may even now sometimes be heard pealing merrily.

4. Possible classification.

For further European examples see Tobler, *Im neuen Reich*, 166 *ff.* (1873); Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 546 *f.*, and cp Usener, *Religionsgeschichtl. Untersuchungen*, 3 246. A story similar to that of Lot told by the Chinese Buḍdhist pilgrim, Hiouen Thsang, who travelled in India (7th cent. A.D.), may be added. There was a city called Holaolokia, which was very rich but addicted to heresy. Once an Arahat (one made free by insight) came there, and was treated inhospitably: earth and sand were thrown upon him. Only one man had pity on him, and gave him food. Then said the Arahat to him, 'Escape; in seven days a rain of earth and sand will fall upon the city, and no one will be left, because they threw earth upon me.' The man went into the city and told his relations; but they mocked him. The storm came, and the man was the only one who, by an underground passage, escaped (Paulus Cassel, *Mischle Sindbad*, 7 [Berlin, 1888]).

A similar story is also told in Syria. The well-known Birket Rām, two hours from Bāniās, which is evidently the crater of an extinct volcano, is said to cover with its waters a village, whose population, under aggravating circumstances, refused hospitality to a poor traveller. Usually, however, such villages or cities in Arabian legend are classified as *maḳlūbāt* 'overturned ones,' which at any rate implies destruction by other means than a flood; one thinks at once of the technical term *mahpēkah* ('overturning') used in the OT for Sodom and Gomorrah, and of Job 15 28 where the wicked man is described as dwelling in 'desolate cities . . . which were destined to become heaps.' E. H. Palmer tells us[6] how the Arabs of the neighbourhood account by a myth for the blocks of stone at the base and on the summit of Jebel Madara; stones here take the place of the brimstone and fire in our present form of the Sodom-story. Nor is it only in et-Tīh that stories of ruined cities are handed down among the Arabs, and that the desolation is accounted for by the

[1] So in effect Pherecydes (*Fragmenta*, 128).
[2] Pausanias, 9 36 (Frazer).
[3] Tobler (*op. cit.*).
[4] *Revue des traditions locales*, 1899-1900, 'Les villes engloutées.'
[5] *The Arthurian Legend*, 360 *ff.*
[6] *Desert of the Exodus*, 416.

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infidelity and the abominable deeds of the former inhabitants.[1] Wetzstein (in Delitzsch's *Job*, Ger. ed. 197) gives a number of such stories; one of them contains a detail illustrative of the 'pillar of salt' which was once Lot's disobedient wife. At the source of the Raḳḳād (in the Jaulān) this explorer saw some erect and singularly perforated jasper formations, called *el-fārida*, 'the bridal procession.' Near them is its village, *Ufuna*, which, in spite of repeated attempts, can be no more inhabited. It remains forsaken, according to the tradition, as an eternal witness that ingratitude, especially towards God, does not escape punishment.

To put aside such facts (of which only a selection has been given) as irrelevant, and to substitute for them the speculations of 'authorities in natural science' unversed in critical researches, would involve a serious lapse from sound critical method. The case of the Sodom-story is parallel to that of the Creation-story, and still more of the Deluge-story, in the Hebrew *Origines*, to explain which in any degree by taking account of the subtle theorisings of geologists would detract from the clearness and validity of the approximately correct solutions of the critical problems involved. It is now beyond gainsaying that naive races, in viewing certain striking phenomena of nature, suggestive of special divine interventions, are led, by a mental law, to form mythic narratives respecting calamities which have happened to individuals or to populations under circumstances which in the most widely separated regions resemble each other. The Sodom-story in the traditional text can be in its main features explained as such a mythic narrative, and cannot otherwise be accounted for in any way that is not open to well-founded critical objection.

There are no doubt several difficulties which still remain to be dealt with. (1) There are some features in the Sodom-narrative which remind us of the strange story in Judg. 19; the introduction of these features requires explanation.

5. Difficulties.

(2) There is one reference (Gen. 14 3) to the site of the ruined cities which suggests that they were swallowed up by the waters of the Dead Sea; if the text is correct it appears to contradict the statement in 19 24, which makes no reference to a flood. (3) The expression 'overthrew' (וַיַּהֲפֹךְ) in 19 25 is, strictly speaking, inconsistent with the representation in *v.* 24. Blanckenhorn, it is true, has a speculative justification for the expression. But the fact that 'overturning' became the 'technical term' in literature for the destruction of Sodom may well make us hesitate to follow this eminent geologist. (4) It is almost as difficult to localise Sodom and Gomorrah as to localise Paradise.

It is only on the last of these points that we are tempted at present to dilate; but here we prefer to adopt the clear and full statement (*HG*, 505-8) of Prof. G. A. Smith. (It should be mentioned, however, that the question is, for us, of importance only in so far as it opens up problems as to the successive phases of the Sodom-story. The historical character of the narrative could not be rescued even if the geographical difficulty referred to were removed.)

'There is a much-debated but insoluble question whether the narratives in Genesis intend to place the cities to the N. or to the S. of the Dead Sea.

'For the northern site there are these arguments—that Abraham and Lot looked upon the cities from near Bethel, that the name Circle of Jordan is not applicable to the S. end of the Dead Sea, that the presence of five cities there is impossible, that the expedition of the Four Kings, as it swept N. from Kadesh-Barnea, attacked Hazazon Tamar, which is probably Engedi, *before* it reached the Vale of Siddim and encountered the king of Sodom and his allies; that the name Gomorrah perhaps exists in *Tubḳ 'Amrîyeh*, near *Ain el-Feshkhah*; and that the name of Zoar has been recovered in *Tell Shāgūr*.

'On the other hand, however, at the S. end of the Dead Sea there lay throughout Roman and mediæval times a city called Zoara by the Greeks and Zughar by the Arabs, which was identified by all with the Zoar of Lot. Jebel Usdum is the uncontested representative of Sodom. Hazazon Tamar may be not Engedi, but the Tamar of Ezekiel, SW. of the Dead Sea. The name "Kikkar" may surely have been extended to the S. of the Dead Sea, just as to-day the Ghor is continued for a few miles to the S. of Jebel Usdum; Jewish and Arab traditions fix on the S.; and, finally, the natural conditions are more suitable there than on the N. to the descriptions of the region both before and after the catastrophe, for there is still sufficient water and verdure on the eastern side of the Ghōr to suggest *a garden of the Lord*, while the shallow bay and long marshes may, better than the ground at the N. end of the sea, hide the secret of the overwhelmed cities.

'Such is the evidence for the rival sites. We can only wonder at the confidence with which all writers dogmatically decide in favour of one or the other.'

It may be added that Grove (in Smith's *DB*(1), art. 'Salt Sea') has argued at length for a northern site as the real one. He is supported by Canon Tristram (*Land of Israel*, 360-363) and Prof. Hull (*Mount Seir*, 165). The latter writes thus, 'From the description in the Bible, I have always felt satisfied that these cities lay in some part of the fertile plain of the Jordan to the N. of the Salt Sea, and to the W. of that river; and when visiting the ruins of Jericho, and beholding the copious springs and streams of that spot, how applicable to it would be the expression "that it was well-watered everywhere" (Gen. 13 10), the thought occurred, May not the more modern city (ancient Jericho) have arisen from the ruins of the Cities of the Plain?' We may add that the name 'Jericho' most probably comes from ירחם (Jeroham, Jarḥam) = ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel).

Up to this point we have accepted the biblical texts in their present form. The gains of the criticism based upon these texts have not been trifling or unimportant; but the difficulties connected with the story of the destruction of Sodom have not all of them been overcome.

6. Text of Gen. 19, etc.

The passages which have now to be criticised textually are Gen. 10 19 13 10 14 19 17-25 19 30 Am. 4 11 (Is. 1 7) Hos. 11 8 Zeph. 2 9 Ps. 11 6.

(*a*) Gen. 10 19 defines the territory of the Canaanite as extending 'from Zidon in the territory of Gerar, as far as Gaza; in the direction of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, as far as Lasha.' But can this be right? Zidon, Gerar, Gaza, Sodom, Lasha? That the rest of Gen. 10 has first of all become corrupt and then been manipulated by an ill-informed redactor is clear; can *v.* 10 be an exception? Evidently 'Canaanite' should be 'Kenizzite,' and most probably the names in *v.* 19*b* should be Ishmael, Jeraḥmeel, Shaul.[1]

(*b*) Gen. 13 10. The awkwardness of the clause 'before Yahwè destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah' has been noticed by critics; how could Lot know anything of the impending catastrophe? Other interpolations have also been noticed and yet neither the true limits of the passage, nor its meaning, have been fully understood. If we apply the right key, a full solution of the problem becomes possible. Read—'And Lot lifted up his eyes and beheld that Jeraḥmeel was everywhere well-watered [before Yahwè, etc.], like the garden of Yahwè, [like the land of Miṣrim in the direction of Missur].'[2] The description derives its points from the circumstance that Paradise was localised by early tradition in the land of Jeraḥmeel. Cp PARADISE, § 6. It is a most interesting fact that (if our restoration of the text is accepted) Sodom and Gomorrah were, like the primæval Paradise, placed by Israelitish writers in Jeraḥmeel.

(*c*) Gen. 14. The huge difficulties arising out of this passage are well-known. Critical opinion leans for the most part to the view that it is a post-exilic Midrash in honour of Abraham, but that it contains some material drawn directly or indirectly from a Babylonian source.[3]

[1] Cp Koran, Sur. 7 99 *f.*

[1] 'Admah' and 'Zeboim' were naturally added after the redactor had succeeded in producing 'Sodom' and 'Gomorrah.'

[2] The words within [] are interpolated. 'Miṣṣur' means the capital of Miṣrim.

[3] Moore, however, whilst not questioning the present text,

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Gunkel even thinks that the scenes between Abraham and Melchizedek and the king of Sodom sound like popular tradition. He also remarks that the old tradition speaks either of Sodom and Gomorrah, or of Admah and Ṣeboim;[1] the combination of the four seems to him to rest on a later fusion of the current traditions. Winckler, too, deals with the question of the names. In *v.* 10 we hear only of the two kings of Sodom and Gomorrah (𝔊 and Sam., ומלך עמרה; the verb is plural). This critic, however, thinks that, as in 18 20 and 19 24, both Sodom and Gomorrah are regarded as subject to the same ruler; later editors, amplifying as usual, increased the number of kings. Far be it from us to deny the acuteness of previous critics, especially Winckler;[2] it appears to the present writer, however, that a keener textual criticism is urgently needed to bring out the real, as opposed to the imaginary, problems of the narrative. The true story seems to have stated that in the days of Abram war broke out between Jeraḥmeel king of Geshur (disguised as 'Shinar') or Ashḥur (disguised as 'Arioch') and Ishmael king of Sēlām (or Še'ulām?[3]). For twelve years the latter had been Jeraḥmeel's vassal; after this he rebelled. A year passed, and then king Jeraḥmeel came and made a raid among the Jeraḥmeelites of Zarephath, Rehoboth, and Kadesh. The king of Sēlām came out to oppose him; but he and his army were put to flight; the city of Sēlām was plundered, and Lot was one of the captives. News of this came to Abram the Hebrew, who lived at Reḥoboth (miswritten 'Hebron') and was in close alliance with the Jeraḥmeelites. At once he called together his Kenite and Jeraḥmeelite neighbours,[4] pursued the spoilers as far as Reḥob in Cushan, and brought back the captives and the property which the spoilers had taken. On his return two kings came out to meet him. One was the king of Ziklag (Ḥaluṣah?), a specially sacred city, whose king was also priest of the God of Jeraḥmeel,[5] and solemnly blessed Abram—a blessing which Abram acknowledged by the payment of tithes (cp Gen. 28 22). The other was the king of Sēlām, who offered Abram the whole of the recovered property. Abram, however, generously refused this, swearing by Yahwè, the God of Jeraḥmeel, that he would not commit such a sin against Jeraḥmeel's land,[6] or receive anything that belonged to the king of Sēlām, lest the king should thus be entitled to say that he (and not Yahwè) had enriched Abram. Only the clans which accompanied Abram—Eden [Aner], Heleṣ [Eshcol], and Jeraḥmeel [Mamre]—required their just share of the spoil.

The war was therefore between two branches of the Jeraḥmeelite race, and Abram the Hebrew, himself half a Jeraḥmeelite,[7] interposed in the hour of need for his neighbours and relatives. Sēlām, generally miswritten סדם (MT Sedom), but once שלם (*v.* 18 MT Salem), was not situated anywhere near the Dead Sea, but in Jeraḥmeel. Whether the earlier tradition really knew anything of a place called 'Gomorrah,' is already doubtful. The Vale of Siddim, or rather haś-Śiddim, which the traditional text (*v.* 3) identifies with a piece of water called 'the Salt Sea,' together with the bitumen-pits also referred to in that text (*v.* 10) disappears, when the text has been closely examined in the light of results of textual criticism elsewhere.[1] See *Crit. Bib.*

(*d*) Gen. 19 17-25. 'Zoar, on the SE. edge of the Dead Sea, covered over now by the alluvium, once lay in a well-watered country with a tropical climate. The Israelite tradition is surprised that this little bit of land has escaped the ruin of Sodom, and explains this treatment by the intercession of Lot who desired Zoar as a place of refuge. Thus the legend of Zoar is a geological legend. At the same time it contains an etymological motive; the city is called *Ṣo'ar*, because Lot said in his prayer, "It is only *miṣ'ar* (something small)."' So Gunkel (*Gen.* 192), according to whom the Zoar episode (including the incident about Lot's wife) is a later offshoot of the legend. We accept Gunkel's analysis (see § 2, n. 4), but cannot venture to accept his interpretation of the legend. The stress laid on מצער in *v.* 20 suggests that the real name of the city was מָצוּר, and thus agrees with the view that Sodom was neither N. nor S. of the Dead Sea, but in Jeraḥmeel. 'Zoar' therefore, needs emendation into 'Miṣṣur.'[2] The Zoar-episode has been retouched; originally it was, not a geological, but an etymological myth.

But was it only the Zoar-episode that underwent manipulation? Textual criticism enables us with much probability to answer this question. There are several reasons for suspecting that the text of *v.* 24 is corrupt. (1) The verb הפך in *v.* 25, as many critics have remarked, does not accord with the description in our text of *v.* 24.[3] (2) The reference to bitumen-pits in 14 10 (see *c*) and to 'fire and brimstone' in Ps. 11 6 (see *h*) are due to corruption of the text. Taking our passage in connection with Ps. 11 6, we should not improbably emend it thus:—

'And Yahwè caused it to rain upon Sēlām and upon 'Amōrah [and upon] Reḥoboth seven days[4] from heaven.'

This is of importance with regard to the original form of the legend. Note that in *v.* 25 'those cities' is equivalent to כל הככר—*i.e.*, כל ירחמאל, 'all Jeraḥmeel.' 'Sodom' is not the only city which is caught in the net of its own wicked deeds. We cannot but expect a reference to some other place besides Sodom and its appendage Gomorrah. That in the original story the implied accusative to 'caused to rain' was, not 'brimstone and fire,' but 'rain,' is in accordance with *v.* 25, where הפך, 'to overturn,' may be illustrated by Job 12 15, 'he sends them (the waters) out, and they overturn the earth.' 'From Yahwè out of heaven' (as the traditional text reads) has never yet been adequately justified.[5] Tg. Jer. distinguishes between the Word of the Lord and the Lord. Similarly the Christian Council of Sirmium, 'Pluit Dei filius a Deo patre.'

(*e*) Gen. 19 30. The traditional text is so extraordinary that we quote it in full. 'And Lot went up out of Zoar, and dwelt in the mountain, and his two daughters with him, for he feared to dwell in Zoar; and he dwelt in a cave, he and his two daughters.' Kautzsch-Socin agree with EV, except that they render הָר, 'Gebirge' (mountain-country); they also remark in a note that MT has 'in *the* cave' (בַּמְּעָרָה), 'perhaps with reference to a definite locality which was connected with Lot.' We are then told (*v.* 31 *f.*) that, in order to continue the family, the two daughters agreed to 'make their father

thinks the assumption of a special source for the few details about the campaign superfluous (Genesis, § 8; col. 1677).

[1] Admah and Zeboim, however, take the place of Sodom and Gomorrah only in a single passage (Hos. 11 8), which is not free from the suspicion of corruptness.

[2] *AOF* 1 101 *ff.*; *GI* 2 26-42.

[3] Ša'ul being probably a name belonging to the Negeb. Cp Semū'el, Išma' 'el.

[4] Read in *v.* 14 ויקרא את־קינים ובית ירחמאל [ישמעאלים]. 'Three hundred and eighteen,' in which Hitzig sees Gematria, and Winckler (*GI* 2 27) an astronomical number, is simply due to an editor's manipulation of corrupt repeated fragments of ישמעאלים, 'Ishmaelites.'

[5] עליון, like עולם in 21 33, comes from ירחמאל.

[6] 'If from a thread to a shoe-latchet, and if I would take anything,' is impossible. 𝔊 relieves the construction by omitting the second וְאִם. But the parallelistic arrangement is thus destroyed, and the improbability of the alleged proverb, 'Not a thread nor a shoe-latchet,' remains. Read אם־אחמא על־ארץ ירחמאל.

[7] 'Abram' = Ab-raḥam = Ab-jeraḥmeel; see Rekem and cp Terah.

[1] The gloss on עמק השדים in *v.* 3 is so absurd that Winckler even identifies the ים המלח with lake Ḥūleh in the N. His theory is a monument of ingenuity, but will not stand. ים המלח surely comes from ירחמאלים, and עמק השדים from מעכת כושים (cp a more frequent transformation of the latter word—דמשק). בארות בארות חמר is simply בעיר ירחמאל ('by the city of Jeraḥmeel').

[2] The presumption is that צער everywhere should be מצור; each alleged occurrence, however, needs to be separately considered (see *Crit. Bib.*).

[3] According to Gunkel, the raining of brimstone from heaven is analogous to the Assyrian custom of strewing salt on the site of a destroyed city (cp Salt). But surely when the rain of brimstone fell, Sodom had not been destroyed. Nor can the custom referred to (which is really a symbol of consecration, see Ezek. 43 24, and cp Salt, § 3) be illustrative of Yahwè's raining brimstone.

[4] Read שבעת ימים for ואש מאת יהוה.

[5] Ewald (*GVI* 2 223) quotes this passage in support of the theory that Yahwè was originally a sky-god. He compares Mic. 5 7 [6], 'as dew from Yahwè.' But it is the tautology that is startling.

drink wine,' and to 'lie with him.' Gunkel rightly points out that the original narrators of this story can have seen nothing wrong in the transaction; the circumstances which they have described rendered law and custom inoperative (cp LOT). But the awkwardness of the passage is evident. How could Lot have been afraid to remain in the city which had been divinely granted him as a refuge? One can understand his taking refuge in a cave in the mountains, if he was unaware that Zoar had immunity from destruction; but the present form of narrative is intolerable. And whence was the wine spoken of obtained? Gunkel proposes to assign *v.* 30*a*, together with the rest of the passage relative to Zoar, to a supplementer. But it is not plain why, if the original narrative brought Lot safely to a cave in the mountains, a supplementer should have complicated matters by the introduction of the 'Zoar-episode.' It would be simpler to omit the cave-episode as an afterthought (to account for the names Moab and Ammon).

But this is not the true remedy, which is—to apply textual criticism. There is a good parallel in 1 K. 18 4 13, where another strange story is told about an occurrence 'in the cave'; probably (PROPHET, § 7) מְעָרָה there is a corruption of a place-name, and a beautiful consistency is restored to the legends of Elijah if we emend מערה into צרפת, 'Zarephath' (both Elijah and Elisha [see SHAPHAT] were connected with southern Zarephath). It is plausible, therefore, to emend מערת here, too, into צרפת, comparing Josh. 13 4, where (see MEARAH) the original text probably had 'Zarephath that belongs to the Miṣrim.' To do this, we must make the not improbable assumption that the city which in *v.* 20 the traditional text calls מִצְעָר, and in *vv.* 22 *f.*, 30 צֹעַר, but which the original text must have called מִצּוּר (Miṣṣur), was more fully called צרפת מִצּוּר, 'Zarephath of Miṣṣur' (cp Josh. 13 4, emended text). We shall have to return to this later (§ 10).

The alternative is to suppose that here, but not in the other passages referred to, מְעָרָה is a corruption of Miṣṣur. The general sense of the passage is the same.

(*f*) Am. 4 11 Is. 1 7. These are the two earliest of the passages in which מהפכה (cp הֲפֵכָה, Gen. 19 25) occurs as a kind of technical term for the legendary destruction of 'Sodom.' In Is. 1 7 the phrase is כמהפכת זרים, but we must, with most critics since Ewald, read כמ׳ סְדֹם (cp Dt. 29 22 [23] Jer. 49 18). In Am. 4 11 we find a longer and rather peculiar phrase, 'like Elōhim's overturning of Sodom and Gomorrah' (so also Jer. 50 40). This is generally supposed to be due to a consciousness that the Sodom tradition was originally connected not with the religion of Yahwè, but with Canaanite 'heathenism'; cp Gen. 19 29 [P], 'when Elohim overturned the cities,' etc.

The presumption is, however, that the Sodom-tradition is not of Canaanite but of Jeraḥmeelite origin. In this case it is not safe to insist that the story was not originally Yahwistic, for it seems probable that Yahwè was admitted by some of those who dwelt in the Negeb to be the god of the country. Some change in our critical theory is indispensable, and, having regard to what has been said elsewhere, it is not unreasonable to suppose that את־סְדֹם ואת־עֲמֹרָה, wherever it occurs in the phrase referred to, is a later insertion, and that the true 'technical phrase' is כמהפכת ירחמאל, 'like the catastrophe of Jeraḥmeel,'[1] with the possible alternative of כמ׳ סדם, 'like the catastrophe of Sodom.'

(*g*) Hos. 11 8. It is not probable (1) that 'Admah' and 'Zeboim' should be corrupt in Gen. 14 2 8 and correct in Hos. 11 8, and (2) that we should not be told to whom Yahwè (in his present mood) declines to yield up his people. There must be an error in the text; and, with 10 6 before us (where 'Asshur' means the great N. Arabian power, and 'Jareb' is a corruption of 'Arāb = Arabia) we can hardly be far wrong in restoring ירחמאל for כאדמה, ישמעאל for אשימך, and אמגנך for כצבאים.[2] Thus the passage becomes, How shall I give thee up [to] Jeraḥmeel? how shall I surrender thee [to] Ishmael?'

(*h*) Zeph. 2 9. This very questionable bit of Hebrew needs emendation. Read (after כַּעֲמֹרָה, 'as Gomorrah')

[1] אלהים, like עֶלְיוֹן and עולם (see § 6, n. 6), is one of the current distortions of ירחמאל.

[2] נ was taken to be a fragment of צ; the final ם comes from ו. The editor manipulated the corrupt text under the influence of an exegetical theory.

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כושם וירחמאל שממה עד־עולם, 'Cusham and Jeraḥmeel (shall be) a desolation for ever.' For us, the principal result of this is that the '*salt* pits' (which suggest the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea) disappear.[1]

(*h*) Ps. 11 6. The vagueness and also the excessive vehemence of this passage may well awaken suspicion. Probably we should read—

The Ishmaelites will give way, the Maacathites, the Reḥobothites;
A blast of horror is the portion of Cusham.[2]

The figure is taken from the simoom; there is no thought of the judgment of the 'ruined cities.'

It will be at once noticed that three out of the four still remaining difficulties in the story of Sodom disappear through the above criticism of the text.

7. New theory.

1. The cities were really, according to the earlier tradition, 'overthrown,' not, however, by an earthquake, but by floods of water from that upper ocean which formed a part of the cosmic system of the Hebrews. 2. The scene of the catastrophe was, not beside the Dead Sea, but in the land of Jeraḥmeel, and we are justified in inferring from Gen. 13 10 that it was the district of Eden, where in primeval times the divine wonder-land had been visible, that suffered. It now becomes inevitable to conjecture that the original story of Sodom, or rather perhaps Sĕlām, was the Deluge-story, or one of the Deluge-stories, of the Jeraḥmeelites. It is plain that such a story is needed to complete the cycle of racy Jeraḥmeelite tales of the *Origines*, and in dealing with the Deluge-story in Gen. 6-8 we have already found reason to hold that an earlier form of that story may have represented the Deluge as overwhelming the land of the Arabians and the Jeraḥmeelites, and the ark as settling on the mountains of Jeraḥmeel (PARADISE, § 6, col. 3574, cp col. 3573, n. 3). The unexpected coincidences between the Deluge-story and the Sodom-story confirm the view tentatively proposed before (PARADISE, *l.c.*). We may take it, therefore, to be extremely probable that the Hebrew as well as, according to Jastrow,[3] the Babylonian narrative in its earliest form represented the Deluge as originally partial. Let us now trace the parallelisms between the Hebrew and Babylonian Deluge-story and the narrative in Gen. 19 (as emended).

Deluge-story.	Gen. 19.
1. The righteous man, 'Noah' (6 9), or rather Ḥanok (see NOAH), or, as the great Babylonian story said, Parnapištim.	1. The righteous man, Lot (19 1-8).
2. [Anger of the divinity against the city of Šurippak.]	2. [Anger of the ĕlōhīm against the city of Sodom (19).]
3. The extreme corruptness of society (6 11-13 *ff.*).	3. The culminating act of wickedness (19 4-11).
4. The divine revelation (6 13 *ff.*).	4. The divine revelation (19 12 *f.*; cp 18 20 *f.*).
5. A long-continued, destructive rain-storm (7 10-12 17 *ff.*) on the land of the Arabians and Jerahmeelites (7 4), or (with thunder and lightning) on the Babylonian city of Šurippak.[4] The latter lasted for *seven days*.	5. For seven days a destructive rain-storm on the cities of the whole of Jeraḥmeel (19 24 *f.*).

[1] Schwally (*ZATW* 10 188 *ff.*) has already noticed the difficulties of MT, but has no adequate emendations.

[2] See *Ps.*(2) Note that ונפרית has been corrupted from רחבותי (cp *d*).

[3] Jastrow, who has partly traced the parallelism between the Sodom-story and the Deluge-story, writes thus: 'Moreover, there are traces in the Sodom narrative of a tradition which once gave a larger character to it, involving the destruction of all mankind, much as the destruction of Šurippak is enlarged by Babylonian traditions into a general annihilation of mankind' (*RBA* 507).

[4] We assume here that a tradition of a storm which overwhelmed Šurippak has been fused with the tradition of a far larger flood in the Deluge-story in the epic of Gilgameš (cp DELUGE, § 22; and especially Jastrow, *Relig. Bab. Ass.* 507). That even the former tradition is historical, we are far from asserting. Nor do we deny that the Deluge-myth in its earliest form related to all mankind. See DELUGE, §§ 18, 22.

6. 'Noah' and his family delivered (7 13 23*b*).	6. Lot and his family delivered (19 15 *ff.*).
7. The ark grounds on the mountains of Aram (so read) —*i.e.*, Jerahmeel (8 4), or (Babylonian) on the mountain of Niṣir.	7. Lot warned to escape to the mountains [of Jeraḥmeel] (19 17).

To these parallelisms we may add, though with some reserve, the parallelism between Ḥanōk (Enoch), father of Methuselah (= Methusael = Ishmael) and grandfather of Lamech (= Jeraḥmeel), and Lōṭ, nephew or perhaps originally (cp 14 14 16) brother of Abraham (= Abraham = Father of Jerahmeel) and father of Moab (rather, Miṣṣur?) and Ammon (rather, Jeraḥmeel?). This parallelism is of importance, not for the story itself, but for ascertaining the particular ethnic origin of the story. It is not appropriate that the escaped righteous man (who in the earliest Deluge-myth was a solar hero) should have any further concern with this earth. If Ḥanōk (mythologically) was the father of Methuselah (Ishmael), and Loṭ the father of Miṣṣur and Jeraḥmeel, it must in the original story have been before the Deluge. And even if Noah (Naham?) was really the name of the hero of the Deluge-story in chaps. 6-7, Naham is certainly a name of the Negeb (see NAHAM, NAHAMANI). Altogether, nothing can be more probable than that those who first arranged the Hebrew legends had their minds full of Jeraḥmeelite associations. We can now fully appreciate the remark of Gunkel (*Gen.* 195) that since the story of Sodom says nothing at all of water, although the site so strongly suggested this, it is plain that the scene of the narrative must originally have been elsewhere. Of course, the present place of the story and much besides is due to a skilful redactor.

It is true, the name of the hero is different. But there were presumably different forms of the Jeraḥmeelite as well as of the Babylonian Flood-story. Probably enough, there was another version in which Abraham was the hero; comparing Gen. 8 1 ('God remembered Noah') with 19 29 ('God remembered Abraham'), one may, in fact, not unnaturally expect that Abraham, not Lot, should be the chief personage of the second story. The visit of the elōhīm to Abraham is an uneffaced indication that he originally was so. Certainly, something can still be said for Lot, who may originally have been greater than he now appears, and have been a worthy *brother* (see above) and rival of Abraham. But this is a pure conjecture, and one might even infer from 13 7-9 that Abraham and Lot originally belonged to the class (well represented in ancient legends) of *hostile* brothers,[1] and that Abraham corresponds to Abel (cp Remus) and Lot to Cain (cp Romulus). The legend might have taken this turn.

It is also true that in chap. 19 there is nowhere any trace of an underlying reference to the 'box' or 'chest' (a term specially characteristic of an inland country) in which the survivors were preserved, and that in 19 28 Abraham is said to have seen 'the smoke of the land going up as the smoke of a furnace.' But on the first point we may answer that if only Lot and his family were to be saved, no ark was necessary; the 'ĕlōhīm' would convey the small party to a place of safety. And as for the other point, we must, at any rate, credit the last redactor with enough capacity to adjust a mutilated narrative to his own requirements.

Stucken has offered another explanation of the legend which now occupies us.[2] According to him, the Sodom-and-Gomorrah-story was originally a 'dry' Deluge-story—*i.e.*, a legend of the destruction of men by other means than a flood; such a story he finds in the Iranian legend of the Var (or square enclosure) constructed by Yima (see DELUGE, § 20*b*), in the Peruvian and other stories of a general conflagration, and in the Egyptian story of the destruction of men by the gods.[3] Whether the combination of stories which refer to water with those which make no such reference is either theoretically or practically justified, may be questioned; but we may, at any rate, admit that if the present text of Gen. 19 24 correctly represents the original story, the singular

8. Stucken's theory; a 'dry' deluge.

[1] Stucken, however (*Astralmythen*, 87) points out that the distinction between friendly and hostile brothers in mythology is a fluid one.

[2] *Astralmythen*, 96.

[3] See Naville, *TSBA* 4 1-19; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 164 *ff.*

Egyptian story referred to is the nearest parallel to it. Here the 'Divine eye' is the executioner; it takes the form of the goddess Ḥathor, and slays men right and left 'with great strokes of the knife.' It seems to us, however, (1) that it is much more probable that the Jeraḥmeelites had two forms of a proper Deluge-story than that one of the extant Deluge-stories was only such in a loose sense of the term, especially having regard to the Babylonian Flood-stories, and (2) that the difficulties of Gen. 19 24 *f.* call loudly for the application of textual criticism.

9. Judg. 19 15-30

Stucken seems happier in his explanation[1] of the parallelism between Gen. 19 1-11 and the strange story in Judg. 19 15-30. He thinks that both stories have the same mythological kernel—viz., the tradition of the dividing of the body of the primæval being Tiāmat (the personified ocean-flood), with which compare also a series of myths of the division of the bodies of supernatural beings (*e.g.*, Osiris). It is in fact all the more difficult to believe that Gen. 19 1-11 and Judg. 19 15-30 stand at all early in the process of legendary development, because both the stories to which these passages belong are ultimately of Jeraḥmeelite origin. This may be assumed in the former case (1) from the place which the 'Sodom'-story occupies among legends that are certainly in their origin Jeraḥmeelite, and (2) probably from the legend of the origin of 'Miṣṣur' and 'Jeraḥmeel' (so read for 'Moab' and 'Ammon' in 19 37 *f.*) which is attached to the 'Sodom'-story. And it is hardly less clear a deduction in the latter case from the results of textual criticism. For the story in Judg. 19-20 can be shown to have referred originally not to Benjamin but to some district of the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb.[2]

10. Result.

So far as the outward form of the story is concerned, our task is now finished. Now to resume and, if need be, supplement. Originally, it seems, there was but one visit of the ĕlōhīm; it is to Abraham, not to Lot, that the visit was vouchsafed. Abraham (*i.e.*, in the Jeraḥmeelite story, a personification of Jeraḥmeel) was the one righteous man in the land. He received timely warning that those among whom he sojourned had displeased God, and the ĕlōhīm took him away to be with God. Then came a rainstorm submerging all Jeraḥmeel. This original story, however, received modifications and additions. Loṭ or Loṭan, the reputed son, not of Seir the Horite, but probably of Miṣṣur the Jeraḥmeelite, was substituted for Abraham, and a floating story of mythic origin (the myth spoke of violence done to a supernatural being) was attached to the story of Loṭ in a manipulated form, so as to explain and justify the anger of the ĕlōhīm. After this a legend was inserted to account for the name Miṣṣur; Loṭ had taken refuge at Miṣṣur, by divine permission, because it was but a 'little' city, and again another legend was added to record the circumstance that the people of Miṣṣur and Jeraḥmeel were descended from that righteous man,[3] who with his two daughters alone remained (the removal of the hero to the company of the ĕlōhīm had been forgotten) in the depopulated land. (The names were afterwards corrupted.) Finally, a corruption in the text of 19 24 suggested that the scene of the story must have been in that 'awful hollow,' that 'bit of the infernal regions come to the surface' which was at the southern (?) end of the Dead Sea. And the singular columnar formations of rock-salt at Jebel Usdum (cp DEAD SEA, § 5) to which a myth resembling that of Niobe (originally a Creation myth?) may perhaps already have

[1] Stucken, *op. cit.*, 99 *ff.*

[2] There was probably a confusion between בנימין (Benjamin) and בִּנְיָמִן = בן־ירחמאל. בית לחם יהודה (Bethlehem-judah)= בית ירחמאל (Beth-jeraḥmeel). The 'Gibeah' of the story was perhaps the Jeraḥmeelite Geba (Gibeah?) mentioned in 2 S. 5 25 (cp *v.* 22, and see REPHAIM). The 'Bethel' in Judg. 20 18 is the southern Bethel, repeatedly spoken of by Amos (see PROPHETIC LITERATURE, §§ 10, 35). See *Crit. Bib.*

[3] The genealogists often vary in particulars of relationship.

become attached,[1] was appropriately transferred to the altered legend, and identified with Lot's wife.[2]

It may be hoped that to many students it will appear no slight boon to be relieved from the supposition that

11. Religious suggestions. the peoples with whom the early Israelites had intercourse were so much beneath them in morality as the traditional text represents. Misunderstood mythology is the true source of the terrible narratives in Gen. 19 1-11, Judg. 19 15-30. At the same time no criticism can deprive us of the beneficially stern morality which is infused into a most unhistorical narrative. Apart from the plot of the story there are several points of considerable interest for the history of Israelite religion. Thus (1) in 19 12-16 it is presupposed that the righteousness of the good man delivers not only himself but his whole house; very different was the conviction of Ezekiel (14 14 *ff.*). (2) It is at eventide that the visits of the ĕlōhīm are made, both to Abraham and to Lot. As the light of day wanes, man is more open to religious impressions; the Deity, too, loves to guard his mysteriousness, and performs his extraordinary operations by night (cp 32 25 [24] *ff.*, Ex. 14 24). It is not unnatural to ask, how it comes about that elsewhere Yahwè is said to 'cover himself with light as it were with a garment' (Ps. 104 2), and to think of the influence of the Iranian religion. (3) Unmeaning repetitions in prayer may be useless; but repetitions which show earnestness are considered by the narrator to be aids, not hindrances. It is a mistake, as Gunkel remarks, to speak of Lot's 'weakness of faith.' (4) But, if we may treat Abraham's converse with Yahwè as a part of the narrative (it does in fact belong—thanks to a supplementer—to the section which links the Abraham-prelude to the Lot-story), we have a riper fruit of religious thought in 18 23-32. 'Not for Lot alone, but for all the righteous men in Sodom, his prayer is uttered, and it is based upon a fine sense of justice: "Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" And what is right? Not the mere prescription of a legal code; justice must be softened by compassion. Each of the supposed ten righteous men of Sodom has links innumerable binding him to his fellow-citizens. Is he to be sent abroad without any of those to whom nature or custom has attracted him? No; a single righteous man can at least (as in the case of Noah) save his family, and "for ten's sake I will not destroy the city"' (*New World*, 1 245). It must not be thought that because mythology and, more widely regarded, the popular imagination have largely influenced the Hebrew narratives, they are therefore to a trained eye devoid either of historical or of religious interest.

12. Literature. To the books and articles cited under DEAD SEA, add the commentaries of Dillmann, Holzinger, and especially Gunkel; also Cheyne, *New World*, 1 236-245; Kraetzschmar, *ZATW* 17 81-92; Stucken, *Astralmythen*, Part ii., 'Lot' ('the myths attached to the name of Lot are the torso of a primitive myth').

T. K. C.

SODOM, VINE OF (גֶּפֶן סְדֹם), Dt. 32 32. See SODOM, col. 4655 n. 2; VINE, § 2.

SODOMA (ϲοδομα) Rom. 9 29, RV SODOM.

SODOMITISH SEA (*mare Sodomiticum*), 2 Esd. 5 7. See DEAD SEA.

SOJOURNER (גֵּר). See STRANGER AND SOJOURNER.

SOLDIER (בֶּן הַגְּדוּד, 2 Ch. 25 13; ϲτρατιωτηϲ, Mt. 8 9 etc.). See ARMY, WAR, § 4.

[1] These perishable formations change from year to year, as Blanckenhorn remarks (*ZDPV* 19 34, n. 1). The 'Lot's Wife' of Warren may have altered since 1870. But others will no doubt arise. On the connections of the story see Stucken, 83, 110, and especially 231. For a late Arabian legendary 'Lot's wife' see Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*.

[2] 'Not much greater variety is there between the story of Lot's wife's transformation into a pillar of salt and Niobe's into a stone.' So wrote the old Anglican theologian, Dean Jackson (*Works*, 1 100).

SOLOMON (שְׁלֹמֹה; ϲολομων), son of David by Bathsheba, and his successor as king of Israel.

[𝔊 favours the form שְׁלֹמֹן. In the best MSS σαλομων and σαλωμων alternate; σολομων almost always in NT; in Acts 7 47, however, Ti. with ℵAC (against BDEHP) adopts σαλωμων, but Treg. and WH σολομων. Cp Lag., *Übers.* 53 86 96.]

The superficially plausible derivation from *šālōm*, שָׁלוֹם, 'peace' is retained by Kittel (*Kön.* 6), but is

1. Name. against the analogy of the other names (critically regarded) in David's family. Another explanation has lately been proposed with abundant learning and ingenuity. After summarising it, we will pass on to a third view. According to Winckler,[1] the name שלמה refers to a divine name שלם (šlm), which is attested in the Phœnician proper name יכנשלם, and allusively in the title שר־שלם (Is. 9 6 [5]).

Another form of the name of this deity was Šalman (cp the Assyrian royal name, Šalman-ašarīdu, and the Σαλαμαν of Greek inscriptions). This god is identified with Rešeph, and was therefore a Canaanite Apollo. According to Winckler, the king's true name was Dodiah (=Jedidiah, 2 S. 12 25); the name Šelōmō or 'Solomon,' like 'Bath-sheba' (='daughter of the Moon-god'), is of mythological origin, and was given to the king by later writers in connection with 'the transference of the legend of Semiramis-Bilḳīs to Sheba.' In fact, the only complete parallel to the form Šelōmō comes, according to him, from Arabia (Salâmâ). Elsewhere (*Preuss. Jahrbb.* 104 269; cp *GI* 2 286) Winckler puts the mythological connection thus: 'Formed from the divine name Šelem (Ass. Šalman). It corresponds to Nebo whom it designates as the god of the winter-half of the year (*šelim* is the west = Ass. *šulum*, sunset).'

It would seem that this acute critic somewhat exaggerates the bearings of mythology on onomatology. Certainly the analogy of the other names in David's family (as explained by the present writer) seems to be opposed to this scholar's explanation. That 'Jonathan' is composed, as Winckler and most scholars suppose, of a divine name and a verb, is due, as could easily be shown at length, to misapprehension. 'Jonathan' is only another form of NETHANIAH (*q.v.*); it is a modification of the ethnic name Nethani = Ethani, 'Ethanite.' That 'David' is a modification of a divine name is not impossible (cp DOD, NAMES WITH), but is opposed to the analogies of Dodiah (if this name is really correct) and of Dodi (MT Dodo, Dodai). It is quite as possible that Dod (whatever its ultimate origin) was an ethnic, and if, following analogies, we seek for an ethnic as the original of שלמה, we cannot be blind to the existence of ישמעאל and of שַׁלְמָה (see § 2). For the pronunciation שְׁלֹמֹה later writers are responsible. The true text of 2 S. 12 24 *f.* seems to suggest another pronunciation, Shillūmō (or Shallūmō?), arising out of the story of David's sin. See JEDIDIAH.

It is a long road which leads to the later conception of 'Solomon in all his glory.' We are here only

2. Early history. concerned with the strict facts, without idealisation, which of course does not mean that we have no sense for poetry, and no sympathy with the changes of popular feeling. The story of Solomon's birth is given in 2 S. 11 2-12 25—a composite narrative which has already received consideration (see BATHSHEBA, JEDIDIAH). Certainly there is much to learn from it; certainly we should wish to include it in a selection of fine Hebrew narratives. But with unfeigned regret we must pronounce it to be in the main unhistorical. The name Bathsheba, indeed, and the historical character of its bearer are, one may venture to hold, even after Winckler's arguments, alike secure. Just as קרית ארבע (Kirjath-arba?) is not 'the city of Four' (the god whose numerical symbol was four), so בת שבע (Bathsheba) is not 'the daughter of Seven' (the god whose numerical symbol was seven—*i.e.*, the Moon-god, cp SHEBA), and consequently Bathsheba is not a mere pseudo-historical reflection of Ištar, the mythological daughter of the Moon-god.

[1] Wi. *GI* 2 223; *KAT*(3) 224. For the view of another Assyriologist see Sayce, *Hibb. Lect.* 57; *Early History*, 425; cp Simpson, *The Jonah Legend*, 141 *f.*

We may, however, admit that the story of David's treachery to URIAH (*q.v.*) probably developed out of a current oriental legendary germ, without of course disparaging the value of the Bathsheba story as given in 2 S. 11 2-12 25 for other than purely historical purposes. And we must also claim the right to extract a fragment of history from 2 S. 11 27 12 15*b*-25, rightly read, and illustrated by the story of Solomon's accession in 1 K. 1 *f.*, and by the lists of David's sons in 2 S. 3 2 *ff.* 1 Ch. 3 1 *ff.* The 'fragment of history' is that Solomon had another name, which name is given in our present text as Jedidiah.[1]

Passing next to 1 K. 1 *f.*, we find reason to think with Winckler that Solomon's opposition to the claim of Adonijah to succeed David was due not to his own and Bathsheba's selfish ambition, but to the consideration that after the successive deaths of Amnon and Absalom he, not Adonijah, was the legitimate heir to the throne. Here, however, we part from Winckler. Bathsheba is for us no mythological figure, but the true mother of Solomon; she is in fact identical with Abigail.[2] That Solomon's mother should bear two names in the tradition is not more surprising than that a king who oppressed the Israelites in early times should be called both Jabin (Jamin)—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel—and Sisera—*i.e.*, Asshur—both Jerahmeel and Asshur being N. Arabian ethnic names (see SHAMGAR ii., § 2). Bathsheba is in fact equivalent to Bath-Eliam (2 S. 11 3) or Bath-Ammiel (1 Ch. 3 5).

The name Bathsheba represents Abigail as an Ishmaelite woman (בת־שבע=בת־שמע=[בת־ישמע]אל); the name Abigail, as a Jerahmeelite. But Ishmael and Jerahmeel are often used as synonyms; the same woman could therefore be called a daughter of Ishmael and a daughter of Jerahmeel. So too שלמה and the name out of which ידידיה has probably been corrupted—viz. ירחמאל—are equivalents. Salma describes its bearer as having Ishmaelite or Salmæan affinities (see § 1, end), Jedidiah as being Jerahmeelite by extraction. The latter name too, appears to be given to the son of Abigail in the true text of 2 S. 3 3 and 1 Ch. 3 1, where the respective readings כלאב and דניאל are manifestly wrong, and both most probably presuppose the same original ירחמאל.

Adonijah's claim to the throne, however, must have been based upon some theory. If he was not the oldest living son of David, he may yet have been the oldest of those born after David's accession.[3] Probably David both favoured his pretensions and accepted him as co-regent. Unfortunately Adonijah neglected to bring over to his side the so-called 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (Rehobothites and Zarephathites),[4] who formed the royal body-guard, and with the aid of their leader Benaiah, Solomon compelled the old king to reject Adonijah.

In 1 K. 2 17 (cp *v.* 21) it is stated that Adonijah desired leave to make Abishag the Shunammite his wife (cp WRS, *Kinship*, 88 *ff.*). It is possible that Solomon, with the same object as Adonijah, actually took 'Abishag' (the name comes from פילגש, like Bilkis in the Semiramis legend from παλλακίς) into his harem, and that Rehoboam was the son of Solomon by 'Abishag.' See SHUNAMMITE.

Upon this theory Solomon was not one of the sons born to David at Jerusalem (2 S. 5 14 1 Ch. 3 5-8), and the traditional view of his age at his accession,[5] based on very insecure data, needs to be revised. Certainly the narrative in 1 K. 1 *f.* does not favour the view that Solomon was a young man (the rhetorical language of 1 K. 3 7*b* 1 Ch. 29 1 22 5 cannot be regarded as decisive); the hero of the *coup d'état* displays all the adroitness and astuteness of a practised politician. How Solomon treated his opponents is stated elsewhere (ADONIJAH, ABIATHAR, JOAB, SHIMEI); the story, which has a basis of fact (HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 1), makes it difficult for a modern to idealise this despotic prince. It is singular that 'Nathan the prophet' should have assumed the prominent position which belongs rather to Benaiah;[1] but ampler justice is done to the priest ZADOK (*q.v.*) for his energetic support of the son of 'Bathsheba.' It is probable that the Jerusalem priesthood exacted a very full recompense, and that fresh favours conferred on their body bore fruit for Solomon in the early idealisation of his conduct as a sovereign.

Was the substitution of Zadok for Abiathar accompanied by changes in the cultus at Jerusalem?[2] It is a question which baffles the critical student. The narrators give us much that we could have spared, and withhold much that would have been of great value to us. Their own interest is largely absorbed in the buildings of Solomon, especially in that of the temple. That the description in its present form comes (as Kittel supposes) from the Annals, seems hardly probable; as it now stands, it may perhaps represent a later age, to which the temple in particular had become a subject of learned but not altogether sober inquiry. See KINGS [BOOK], § 6, PALACE, TEMPLE (and cp Stade, *GVI* 1 318 *ff.*, and *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 129 *ff.*). It is even to some extent doubtful whether the whole story of the building of a temple of Yahwè as well as of a royal palace outside the city of David is not due to misapprehension. According to Winckler (*GI* 2 252 *ff.*) the true temple of Solomon was merely a renovation of the old sanctuary of David on its original site—*i.e.*, within the city of David—though it must apparently be admitted (see MILLO) that this scholar's explanation of *millo* and consequently the form in which he presents his theory needs reconsideration.

3a. Buildings.

There is, however, another point, not less important, and more capable of solution. According to the tradition in its present form (MT and 𝔊), the timber for building the temple was furnished, together with artificers, by Hiram king of Tyre. The relation thus indicated between Israel and the Tyrian king is, if accurately reported, in the highest degree remarkable. If, as Winckler, who follows MT, interprets what he thinks the historical truth, the king of Israel was in vassalage to the king of Tyre (?), how is it that after Solomon's time we hear nothing of attempts on the part of Tyre to strengthen its hold upon Israel, and on the part of Israel to free itself from Tyrian supremacy? True, all on a sudden, in the ninth century, we hear of an Israelitish king marrying a daughter of 'Ethbaal, king of the Zidonians' (1 K. 16 31). This, however, is an equally singular and an equally suspicious statement, when we consider that the most influential power in the politics of Israel and Judah (putting aside Assyria) was

3b. Hiram.

1 That the text of 2 S. 12 24 *f.* is not in its original form, is evident; a possible restoration will be found elsewhere (see JEDIDIAH). The present form of the text seems to be due to an editor who thought Jedidiah ('beloved of Yahwè'?) too good a name for the first child. By assigning this name to Solomon he unconsciously made a concession to historical facts. For S. A. Cook's theory, see *AJSL* 16 156 *f.* [1900], and cp JEDIDIAH.

2 Abigail probably = Abihail (see NABAL), and Abihail appears ultimately to come from Jerahmeel.

3 Wi. *GI* 2 245.

4 The explanation of 'Cherethites and Pelethites' (see JUDAH, § 4, PELETHITES) here given, is not that of Winckler; but (like S. A. Cook, *AJSL* 16 177, n. 61 [April 1900]) this able critic recognises, quite independently of the present writer, that this faithful warrior-band came from the Negeb.

5 𝔊A (1 K. 2 12), with about twenty other MSS and some versions (Arm. etc.), gives Solomon only twelve years at his accession, and Jerome (cp 132 ad Vitalem) asserts that the 'hebraica veritas' agrees with 𝔊. Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 7 8) gives his age as fourteen; he also says that he lived to 94! For other traditional statements, see Nestle, *ZATW*, 1882, pp. 312 *ff.*, and *Theol. Stud. aus Würtemberg*, 1886, p. 160 *f.*; Kaufmann, *ZATW*, 1883, p. 185; Gautier, *Rev. de théol. et de philos.*, Nov. 1886; Lagarde, *Mittheil.* 2 40, n. 1. Stade (*GVI* 1 297) says, not less than twenty years old; Kittel (*Kön.* 6), referring to 1 K. 11 42 14 21, doubtfully suggests eighteen.

1 Schwally (*ZATW*, 1892, p. 156) doubts whether Nathan was really a prophet. That הנביא ('the prophet') should probably be הַנְּדָבִי, 'the Nadabite,' is pointed out elsewhere (PROPHET, § 6).

2 See Winckler (*KAT*(3) 234), who inclines to think that Zadok was introduced by the later legend in the interests of the monotheistic idea.

not Tyre but the N. Arabian Muṣri. Now it so happens that, as Winckler too, with extreme moderation holds, צור (Tyre?) is miswritten for מצור (Miṣṣur?) in Am. 1 9 and Ps. 87 4 (cp TYRE). What, then, is there to hinder us from supposing (if other critical considerations favour this view) that the same error has occurred elsewhere? צידון, also, is undoubtedly miswritten sometimes for מצור or מִצְרָן. How, then, do we know that 'king of the צידנים' in 1 K. 16 31 should not rather be 'king of the מִצְרִים,' in which case אתבעל (cp אשבעל) should of course be ישמעאל? The probability that Ahab's matrimonial connection was with Muṣri, not with Tyre, has been referred to under PROPHET (§ 7, col. 3862, with n. 1); and when we take into consideration a fact which will be referred to presently—viz. that Solomon's principal wife was a Miṣrite princess—we shall see that if he went anywhere outside the land of Israel proper for timber, political interests would naturally impel him to go to the N. Arabian Muṣri. (We assume provisionally that the wooded mountain districts of the Negeb were not in Solomon's possession.) Nor must we forget that 'Ahiram' (whence 'Hiram') is one of the most probable popular corruptions of 'Jeraḥmeel.'[1] Ahiram or Hiram might indeed be the name of a king of Tyre; but it might also (cp Aholiab=Jeraḥmeel?) be that of a N. Arabian artificer.

It would not be critical to urge against this view of the seat of Hiram's kingdom that Josephus[2] quotes a passage from the Tyrian history of Menander of Ephesus and another from that of Dios, in which Εἴρωμος, king of Tyre, son of Ἀβίβαλος, is said to have had intercourse with 'Solomon, king of Jerusalem.' The date of Menander and Dios is presumably in the second century B.C., and though we may credit them when they tell us of the succession of the kings of Tyre, and of events not legendary in character which they can only have known from ancient authorities—*i.e.*, from the Tyrian archives (which Josephus positively asserts that Menander at least had inspected),[3] we cannot venture to trust them when they touch upon matters closely related to the then current Jewish history. Thus when Menander (in Jos. *Ant.* viii. 13 2) tells us that there was a drought in Phœnicia, which lasted for a year, and was closed through the potent supplications of Ἰθώβαλος, king of Tyre, we divine at once that this is directed against the Jewish statement that a long drought in the land of Israel was terminated through the intercessions of Elijah,[4] and when Εἴρωμος is said by Menander and Dios (Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5 3) to have had a match of riddle-guessing with Solomon, we can see that this is based on the Jewish story of the riddles by which the queen of Sheba tested Solomon (1 K. 10 1).

We have no extra-biblical authority for doubting that if Solomon was indebted for building materials and artificers to any foreign king, it was to the king of Miṣrim, not to the king of Tyre. According to the most probable text of 2 S. 8 2 12 31 David had conquered both Miṣṣur and Jeraḥmeel (see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp SAUL), so that if we hear of a king of Miṣṣur in the reign of Solomon, we may assume that he for a time at any rate owned the supremacy of the king of Israel. If so, there is nothing inconsistent in the double statement that Solomon had his own workmen in the mountains (1 K. 5 13 *ff.* [27 *ff.*]), and that Hiram sent workmen to cut down wood at Solomon's request.[5] Nominally, the mountain country of Jeraḥmeel (called, as we shall see, Gebālōn) was a part of Solomon's dominions, so that as suzerain he had a right to send

[1] Kittel (on 1 Ch. 14 1) prefers the form Ḥūram; Schrader (*KAT*(2) 170), Ḥirom. Cp HIRAM, end. The view taken above seems to the present writer the best. Urumilki is attested as a Phœnician royal name in an inscription of Sennacherib (*KAT*(2) 185, cp also ארמלך, an ancestor of Yeḥawmelek, *CIS* i. no. 1), and Urumilki probably=Jeraḥmeel.

[2] *Ant.* viii. 5 3 (§§ 144-149); *c. Ap.* I 17 *f.* (§§ 112-120).

[3] Dios, too, says Josephus, was trusted for his exactness (*c. Ap.* i. 17 112).

[4] Winckler (*KAT*(3) 250) gives a different explanation of Menander's assertion, which, however startling, might be acceptable, if it did not presuppose the traditional Hebrew text of the Book of Kings.

[5] As the text stands, Solomon asks Hiram for help in the hewing of timber (1 K. 5 1-10). It is in the hewing of stone that Solomon's labourers are represented as taking a prominent part.

SOLOMON

workmen to do his bidding.[1] The forms of courtesy, however, may have required that he should request the vassal-king to send his own more skilled labourers to direct and to aid those of Solomon, and in order to prevent war from breaking out between Israel and Miṣṣur during the long building operations[2] at Jerusalem, as well as to foster a more friendly feeling based upon mutual services, the Israelitish king is reported to have paid Hiram (Jeraḥmeel) annually large quantities of wheat and oil.[3]

We are obliged sometimes, however reluctantly, to form historical conjectures, and this seems to be the most conservative one which, on the present subject, with due account of textual criticism, can be made plausible; but the fact, mentioned at a later point (§ 7), of the ill-feeling which Cusham or Aram (=Jeraḥmeel) bore to Israel leads us to question its accuracy. Only by force and by the transplantation of part of the subject population (2 S. 12 31, see SAW) could David keep his hold on the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb. It is probable that Solomon found it even more difficult than his father to do this, and from 1 K. 9 11-14 it would appear that Solomon was forced by the king of Miṣṣur to cede to him twenty cities in the land of Jeraḥmeel, and over and above this to pay a hundred and twenty talents of gold.[4]

The existence of a grave historical problem cannot, it would seem, be denied. We have offered the best solution of it at our disposal. It only needs to be added that the misstatement that Solomon procured timber and workmen from the king of Tyre must have been facilitated by the fact that the name 'Hiram' was actually borne by a king of Tyre, and that it was favoured by the observation of later Jews that the mountains of the Negeb were not in their time abundantly wooded (the trees having been cut down), whereas Lebanon was still well provided with timber. Whether, as Winckler supposes, part of the Lebanon was in the possession of Solomon, need not here be considered.

It is important, however, to mention these necessary corrections of names in MT. (1) The mountain country where timber was sought (1 K. 5 6) was called, not Lebanon, but Gebālōn (from Ar. *jibāl*, cp GEBAL), the people of which are, in 1 K. 5 18, called Gebalites.[5] The same correction is plausible elsewhere, *e.g.*, Is. 14 8 Zech. 11 1, etc. (2) In 1 K. 9 11 13 הגליל and כבול are both popular corruptions of ירחמאל. (3) In 1 K. 10 11 *f.* 2 Ch. 2 8 [7] 9 10 *f.* the 'almuggim' or 'algummim' timber should rather be designated 'Jeraḥmeel' timber. It came (2 Ch. 2 8 [7]) not from Ophir, but from Lebanon—*i.e.*, Gebālōn. Cp ALMUG TREES (end), where the theory mentioned—that almug-wood came from Lebanon (2 Ch. 2 8)—points in the direction of the critical view here recommended.

We need not deny that Solomon was a builder, or that he was aided by Jeraḥmeelite artificers (for which we have partial analogies[6] in Bezalel, b. Uri, b. Hur, and Oholiab, b. Ahisamach, in Ex. 31). One of these (whose father was a Miṣrite, but his mother an Israelite of the Negeb[7]) bore the same name as that assigned to the Miṣrite king—

4. Commerce.

[1] The δυναστεύματα (?) which Solomon 'opened' in Lebanon (Gebalon?) according to 𝔊BA (δυναστεύοντα, 𝔊L) in 1 K. 2 46c may, as Winckler thinks, have been mines. See Winckler, *Alt. Unt.* 176; *GI* 2 261, n. 2.

[2] Twenty years are assigned to them in 1 K. 9 10; cp 6 38 7 1.

[3] 1 K. 5 11 [25], where for the second כֹּר read בַּת (see COR).

[4] The best part of this is due to Winckler (*GI* 2 262; *KAT*(3) 237). He thinks that the original which underlies the present text of 1 K. 9 14 is וישלח (חירם) למלך צר מאה, where חירם is a gloss inserted at the wrong place. The sense is, 'and he (viz. Solomon) sent to the king of Tyre [Hiram] 120 talents of gold,' *i.e.*, Solomon had to make up for the inadequate cession of territory by a large payment in gold. The king, however, with whom Solomon had to do was not Tyrian but Miṣrite, and the ceded territory not 'Galilæan' but Jeraḥmeelite.

[5] 1 K. 5 18 [32] should run וַיִּפְסְלוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׁמָעֵאל וּבְנֵי יְרַחְמְאֵל הַגִּבְלִים, 'and the Ishmaelites and the Jeraḥmeelites—the Gebalites—fashioned them.' Without the key to the names critics have been obliged to assume a deep corruption of the text (cp GEBAL, 1).

[6] All the names here quoted, except the first, are Jeraḥmeelite. The tribes of Judah and Dan were both largely mixed with Jeraḥmeelites.

[7] His father was a Miṣrite (מצרי not צרי), his mother either a

viz. Hiram, *i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel; the Chronicler (2 Ch. 2 12 [13]) calls him Hurani-abi, but this surely must be the same name (חורם אבי = ירחמאל). Cp HIRAM, 2, and on the place where he did his work (1 K. 7 46) see TEBAH. Nor need we altogether reject the other traditions of the intercourse between Solomon and 'Hiram.' If the view of the historical facts underlying 1 K. 9 11-14 adopted above be correct—*i.e.*, if hostilities broke out between the king of Miṣṣur and Solomon, in which Israel was worsted—it is reasonable to suppose that the war was occasioned, not only by the craving for revenge, but also by a desire on 'Hiram's' part for commercial expansion. Having no port of his own, he was glad to use EZION-GEBER (*q.v.*), at the head of the Gulf of 'Akabah, which formed part of Solomon's dominion. Hiram had indeed no mariners to send, but he sent 'servants' of his own—*i.e.*, commissioners and merchants—to buy and sell at the places where the ships might touch. The chief object which both kings longed for was naturally gold; Ophir, the port of the great Arabian or E. African gold-land, was the goal of these early voyagers (see GOLD, IVORY, OPHIR, TRADE, § 49).

The very different, commonly-held, opinion that 'at Ezion-geber (which [Solomon] retained, in spite of the return to Edom of prince Hadad) a ship was built, similar to those employed by the Phœnicians in their voyages to Tarshish (and hence called Tarshish ships), and manned in part by experienced Tyrian sailors,' and that 'from that port it was dispatched at intervals of three years to Ophir, bringing back thence gold, silver, ivory, valuable woods, and precious stones, as well as curious animals such as apes and peacocks,'[1] appears to rest on an inaccurately transmitted text and a not sufficiently thorough-going historical criticism. The best form that gratitude to past critics can take is surely not to repeat temporary conclusions, but to carry forward their work. We venture, therefore, to present some of the most pressing changes of view to which we have recently been led by independent research.

Even apart from the rendering of אֳנִי (1 K. 9 26, 𝔊 ναῦς) by 'ship' (RV, 'a navy of ships'), which has had the authority of Hitzig and Kittel[2] (*Hist.* 2 189), and the question as to the history of Hadad, there is much that is very doubtful in the opinion referred to. The 'apes' and 'peacocks' are considered elsewhere (see especially OPHIR, PEACOCKS); on the difficult question relative to the mention of silver as well as of gold in 1 K. 10 22, see SILVER, § 2. 'Valuable woods' should rather be 'a rare, fragrant wood, analogous to the spices or spice-plants of the queen of Sheba' (read אֲהָלִים—*i.e.*, eagle-wood [see ALOES), not אַלְמֻגִּים—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeelite wood). The three passages bearing on Hiram's participation in the Ophir expeditions are (*a*) 1 K. 9 27, (*b*) 10 11, (*c*) 10 22. As for (*a*), the true text, translated, should probably run, 'And Hiram sent his servants, Jeraḥmeelites, on the ships with the servants of Solomon.' אנשי אניות is a corruption of ישמעאלים, and ידעי הים of ירחמאלים. Either 'Jeraḥmeelites' or (better) 'Ishmaelites' is a gloss or variant. In (*b*) we should read, 'And also the merchant-ships . . . brought from Ophir very much eagle-wood and precious stones.' חירם should be סֹחֵר (ם and ס confounded); cp Prov. 31 14. In (*c*) 'for the king had at sea ships (galleys) with oars[3] (אֳנִי מָשׁוֹט)'; to this was added in the earlier text אֳנִי סֹחֵר, 'merchant ships' (omit עִם, an editorial insertion), which is a gloss on 'אני מ. The phrase 'Tarshish ships' is a hopeless puzzle until we apply methodical textual criticism to the Hebrew phrase. See TARSHISH, § 7.

That Solomon, at one period of his life, had friendly relations with Muṣri is shown by his marrying a daughter

5a. Miṣrite princess.

of Pir'u king of Miṣrim (so beyond doubt we should read in 1 K. 3 1 9 16 in place of the very improbable MT[4]). This was pointed

Naphtuḥite (נַפְתּחִי, not נַפְתָּלִי) or a Danite, in either case a woman of the Negeb. See 1 K. 7 14; 2 Ch. 2 14, and cp NEPHTOAH.

1 Wade, *Old Testament History* (1901), 299.

2 In *HK*, 'Kön.,' 87, and *KGH*, 'Jes.,' 298, however, Kittel adopts the collective meaning 'fleet.'

3 See TARSHISH, § 7, where אֳנִי־שַׁיִט, Is. 33 21, is compared.

4 It is indeed difficult to imagine a king of Egypt giving one of his daughters to a vassal king (cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 390) in Palestine.

out by the present writer,[1] and afterwards independently by Winckler. To the notice of the marriage in 3 1 it is added in 9 16 that Pir'u took the field against a certain city, slew its inhabitants, and gave it as a portion to his daughter, Solomon's wife.[2] The place is called in the traditional text Gezer, and its inhabitants Canaanites; but both Judg. 1 29 and Josh. 16 10 lead us to doubt this, and it is in itself more probable that for גֶּזֶר (Gezer) we should read גְּשֻׁר (Geshur), and for הכנעני (the Canaanite), as elsewhere, הקנזי (the Kenizzite); some place in the far SW. of Palestine is presumably intended (see GESHUR, 2).

Kittel (cp Burney, Hastings, *DB* 2 862*a*) does well to separate 9 16-17*a* (as far as גזר) from *vv.* 17*b*-22; it has evidently been taken from a context which spoke of the marriage. At the same time its present context is full of interest, and we must return to it later (§ 7).

The Arabian land of SHEBA (*q.v.*), too, was interested, as legend asserted, in Solomon. Its queen is said to

5b. Queen of Sheba.

have actually come to Jerusalem to test Solomon's wisdom.[3] According to Kent (*Hist. of the Hebrew People*, 1 179) the object of her visit was to bring about a commercial treaty with Solomon. But surely the form of the legend is late. It is Tiglath-pileser and Sargon who tell us of queens of 'mat Aribi,' and 'mat Aribi' (see *KAT*(2) 414) is not Sheba; indeed, the Sabæan empire arose much later than Solomon. Probably, as Winckler suggests (*GI* 2 267), the queen of Sheba is but a reflection of the Miṣrite princess whom Solomon married. How Solomon came to be called the wise king, *par excellence*, is not clear. If it meant originally that he was as skilful in preserving, as his father had been in creating, a kingdom, the epithet was greatly misplaced. More probably, however, the title arose from the close intercourse between Solomon and the N. Arabian kings and kinglets. The Miṣrites and the Jeraḥmeelites were celebrated for their wise proverbs and apologues. To heighten Solomon's glory, it was stated by the later legend that, just as he was greater than his neighbours in war, so he excelled them in their own special province of wisdom (see 1 K. 5 9 *f.* [4 30 *f.*]). How far Babylonian influences affected him we are unable to say positively. But the phenomena of the early Genesis stories as explained by the present writer lead him to think that N. Arabia transmitted quite as much as Babylonia, though in doing so it could not avoid augmenting a mass of ideas and beliefs ultimately of Babylonian origin. See SHAVSHA, also CREATION, PARADISE, and cp EAST [CHILDREN OF], ETHAN, HEMAN, MAHOL.

Legend also lays great stress on Solomon's just judgment—a capacity for which was indeed one aspect

6. Solomon's despotism.

of Hebrew 'wisdom'; but there is no satisfactory evidence for this, and the highly oriental story in 1 K. 3 16-28 has a striking parallel in a Buddhist Jâtaka. We can, however, most probably assert that Solomon was highly despotic in his methods; on this, historians who differ widely on other points are agreed.[4] If we are rightly informed, Solomon treated both the Israelites and the surviving Canaanites[5] as only good enough to labour, like the Egyptian fellahs till recently, at the royal buildings (5 13 *f.* [27 *f.*], cp 12 18). He is also said to have divided the country ('all Ishmael'?) into twelve departments (to a large extent, it would seem, independent of tribal divisions), each of which was under a deputy or

1 *JQR*, July 1889, pp. 559 *f.* Cp Winckler, *GI* 2 263; *KAT*(3) 236.

2 Maspero's expansion of this passage (MT) in *Struggle of the Nations*, 738, is unduly imaginative.

3 Menander of Ephesus (as we have seen) represents Solomon and Hiram as the rival sages.

4 Cp Kittel, *Hist.* 2 186; M'Curdy, *HPM* 2 155 (§ 524).

5 Other passages to be referred to presently seem to show that the N. Arabian subject population was specially employed in the corvée, though if Israelites had to do forced labour, the surviving Canaanites would of course not be spared. It is not well to attempt a too positive solution of such problems.

prefect (נִצָּב, 4 7 = נְצִיב, *v.* 19), charged with the duty of keeping up a constant supply of court luxuries, and also, we may be sure, of collecting the taxes, and perhaps too of providing forced labour.[1] In the Lebanon (? Gebalon) alone he is said to have had 10,000 labourers constantly employed (5 14 [28]). The overseer of the corvée was the hated Adoniram (1 K. 4 6 5 14; cp 12 18). No wonder that discontent became rife, especially in the powerful tribe of Ephraim. How a leader of the rebels was found is told elsewhere (see JEROBOAM, 1).

At the same time there are certain passages in our composite narrative which may make us hesitate to accept the darkest picture of Solomon's despotism. In 9 20-22, which we may hesitate to regard as merely a late attempt to whitewash Solomon's character,[2] it is expressly said that the corvée was limited to non-Israelites. And the singular statements respecting the number of Solomon's 'stalls of horses' (4 26 [5 6]) and of his chariots and horsemen (10 26), when critically inspected, appear rather to be statements respecting the number of his Cushite, Jerahmeelite, and Zarephathite servants (see *Crit. Bib.*). The narrative in 1 K. 12 no doubt ascribes the separation of N. and S. to the hateful corvée; but the account is too anecdotal to be strictly historical, and surely the forced service, so far as it existed, pressed heavily on the S. as well as on the N.

Certainly Jeroboam was an Ephrathite. But there may have been a southern, as well as a northern, Ephrath; Jeroboam's mother (see JEROBOAM, 1) was a Miṣrite, and the name of his clan (see NEBAT) may plausibly be explained as Arabian. And as for the statement (11 28) that Jeroboam was placed 'over the labour of the house of Joseph,' it is possible that here and in Am. 6 6 יוסף (יסף) has been miswritten for 'ישמעאל = 'ישם (Ishmael).[3]

We have assumed that Solomon's relation to Muṣri was not that of supremacy, but that of dependence. It should be frankly stated, however, that there is a considerable body of evidence which, rightly understood, points in an opposite direction.

7. Was he lord of the Negeb?

(1) There is the passage already referred to (2 Ch. 8 2), where Hiram is represented as the ceder of the twenty cities. (2) In close proximity to this, it is said (2 Ch. 8 3) that Solomon went to Hamath-zobah and prevailed against it. Now Hamath-zobah here, as in 2 S. 8 3, we take to be partly a corrupted, partly a manipulated reading; the true text gave Maacath-zarephath—*i.e.*, the Zarephathite Maacath. And the strong cities which Solomon built (1 K. 9 15 [end], 17-19) were probably called Hazor, Jerahmeel, Geshur, Beth-horon (in the S.), Baalath, Tamar in Arabia.[1] (3) There are also the passages (4 26 [5 6] 10 26) referred to above, which, when critically emended, appear to assert the reduction to bondage or serfdom of a large portion of the Jerahmeelite population. And (4) there is a singular statement (10 14 *f.*) respecting the amount of gold which came every year to Solomon, the close of which should run nearly thus—'apart from the tribute (עֹנֶשׁ) of the Zarephathites and the Jerahmeelites (cp SPICE-MERCHANTS) and all the kings of Arabia.'[2]

These passages, however, seem to prove nothing but the strong determination of later writers to idealise the reign of Solomon. That Solomon was, for a time at any rate, lord of the Negeb (with the exception of 'Hiram's' twenty cities) may be admitted. That he had battles in the Negeb is also true, and his foe was no minor chieftain but the king of Miṣṣur himself, and Solomon was worsted in the conflict. The reference to HADAD[3] and to REZON[4] in 1 K. 11 14-25 and to Jeroboam's journey to Miṣrim in *v.* 40,[5] confirm the view that Solomon's position in the Negeb was seriously and frequently threatened. It is noteworthy that Rezon is said to have 'reigned in Damascus' (rather Cusham), just as Hadad 'reigned over Aram' (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel). Evidently there was a strong jealousy between Israel and the neighbouring peoples of Jerahmeel and Miṣṣur. (Cp Stade, *GVI* 1 303, who, however, adheres to MT.)

The references to Solomon's horses, as we have seen, need to be carefully inspected; they have been much misunderstood.

8. References to horses.

There is evidence enough that סוּסִים (horses), and כּוּשִׁים (Cushites), רכב (chariot), and ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel) have an unfortunate tendency to get confounded, and this confusion has affected the story of Solomon.

Still, we need not doubt that Solomon had, not indeed 'chariot-cities'[6] (see MARCABOTH), but at least horses and chariots. On the *locus classicus*, 1 K. 10 28 *f.*, see HORSE, § 1 (5), MIZRAIM, § 2*a*, TRADE, § 49. It is a question, however, whether criticism does not make it a plausible view that the Miṣrim from which Solomon derived horses and chariots was the N. Arabian rather than the N. Syrian referred to in these articles. This at least can with much probability be stated, that, whilst there were nomadic tribes in N. Arabia whose riding animal was specially the camel (see CAMEL, § 2), there was also a settled population skilled in the useful arts and riding on horses (see *Crit. Bib.*). Our information on these points is scanty, but a negative attitude towards the inference here stated is possible only at the cost of rejecting critical facts which all hang together, and throw a light on many dark places in the history of Israel.

The total result of our study of Solomon is that his

[1] The brevity of the above statement is justified by the present state of textual criticism. The document to which it refers (1 K. 4 7-28 [5 8]) is admittedly obscure. 'The text,' says Benzinger, 'is a good deal corrupted, and has received interpolations.' In special articles on the names (see also FOWL, FATTED) some of the difficulties are dealt with. The point of view, however, in these articles is not more advanced than that of critical commentators in general. A further application of the key which Winckler (only half-conscious of its wide-reaching consequences) put into our hands, when he showed that מצרים sometimes stood for מִצְרִים—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Muṣri—and that this country exercised a persistent political influence on the Israelites, has results which, if correct, are of the utmost importance for the early regal period of the history of Israel. It becomes probable that Kittel's remark (which was thoroughly justified from a conservative textual point of view) that the table of prefects 'only concerns Israel proper, inasmuch as the conquered territories are referred to (4 21 [5 1]) in a different style,' is the reverse of the fact. The present writer holds that the twelve prefects were placed not over 'all Israel' (as the traditional text has) but over 'all Ishmael' (a parallel error to that in 2 S. 24 12; see TAHTIM-HODSHI)—*i.e.*, over the Negeb—that in 4 22 *f.* [5 2 *f.*] the account of Solomon's 'provision for one day' has grown out of a list of the peoples or tribes of the Negeb, and that in 4 26 [5 6] the true text affirms that the Cushites, Jeraḥmeelites, Ishmaelites, and Zarephathites were servants to Solomon. 1 K. 4 20 is the only passage which distinctly breaks the connection. See *Crit. Bib.*

[2] This is the view of Kittel and Benzinger. The statements of 9 20-22 are thought by them to be refuted by a reference to 5 13 [27] 11 28 12 4. The text of these passages, however, will not bear the stress that is laid upon it. See preceding note (near end).

[3] On Am. 6 1-14, which appears to the present writer to refer to the Israelites settled in the Negeb, see *Crit. Bib.*

[1] Implying emendations of the text; see *Crit. Bib.* See also TAMAR, TADMOR, TRADE, § 50. The reader will find the old view and the new in collision, but this is inevitable. The problems before us are partly of a text-critical, partly of a historical character.

[2] Cp TRADE, § 50, where the corrected printing עֲרָב (cp Ch.) is admitted. We must add, however, that very probably פחות הארץ has arisen out of הצרפתים, written at the end as a correction of הרכלים ;התרים, as in Neh. 3 32, = ירחמאלים; and of this same word מסחר is also a corruption (ם = ס).

[3] Hadad was probably an Arammite (אֲרַמִּי)—*i.e.*, a Jeraḥmeelite—rather than an Edomite: see *Crit. Bib.* on 2 S. 8 13 *f.* Winckler (*KAT*(3) 240) independently suggests that Hadad was of Aram-Zoba, not of Edom. Aram-Zoba, however, is really Aram-Zarephath, according to the present writer's view of the original text. See ZOBA. We must not, however, confound the spheres of action of the two adventurers, Hadad and Rezon.

[4] Rezon was a fugitive from his lord the king of Zarephath (= Maacath-Zarephath, above).

[5] See *JQR*, July 1899, pp. 551-556. As against Winckler (*KAT*(3) 241, the present writer thinks that 'Shishak' in *v.* 40 is merely an error for כּוּשִׁי (see PHARAOH, SHISHAK, 2).

[6] Cp, however, CHARIOT, § 5, CITY (*f*), and Wi. *GI* 2 210.

political importance has been very much exaggerated.

9. Political importance. Already in 1 K. 4 24 [5 4] we find the extent of his kingdom idealised as that of David had been. It is not difficult to account for this. The geographical statement in 4 24 [5 4] arises simply from a misinterpretation of נָהָר (*nāhār*) in *v.* 21 [5 1], which really means the 'nāḥal Miṣrim,' but was supposed to mean the Euphrates.[1] Later ages went farther in the same course, and in Pss. 45 and 72 (the latter of which, however, has received a later insertion) his life furnishes the framework for pictures of the Messianic king. Against this idealisation the redactor of ECCLESIASTES (*q.v.*) in his own way protests.

We now turn to Solomon's religious position. Was he a polytheist? Did he ever, as W. E. Barnes (Hastings, *DB* 2 511*b*) expresses it, 'patronise foreign worship?'

10. Not a polytheist. An affirmative answer is suggested by 1 K. 11 1-8. It is plain, however, from 𝔊's text, as well as from the phenomena of MΓ, that the original has been much expanded by later hands from a religious motive.[2] There was no bad faith in this; the later writers simply recast history in the light of certain fundamental principles—those of Deuteronomy (cp KINGS [BOOK], § 6). And their procedure appears more startling than it really was, owing to the fact that the ethnic names and the names of the gods have been accidentally corrupted. The original statement probably was that which underlies 11 7, 'Then did Solomon build a sanctuary for the god of Cusham and Jeraḥmeel'—*i.e.*, for his Miṣrite wife; this probably stood in connection with the account of Solomon's marriage (cp 16 31-33).

Various comments on this were inserted in the margin, and introduced by the redactor or redactors into the text. Lastly, corruption transformed 'the god of Cusham' into 'Chemosh the god (abomination) of Moab,' and 'Jeraḥmeel' into 'Milcom the god (abomination) of the b'ne Ammon.' In what is now *v.* 1, 'Jeraḥmeelite, Miṣrite, Reḥobothite' became 'Moabite, Ammonite, Edomite (from "Arammite," a variant to "Jeraḥmeelite"), Zidonian, and Hittite,' and in what is now *v.* 3, 'princesses Ishmaelites' became 'princesses seven hundred,' and 'concubines Ishmaelites' became 'concubines three hundred.'

That Solomon had a number of wives, both Israelite and non-Israelite, is probable enough, but he did not make altars for all of them, nor did he himself combine the worship of his wives' gods with that of Yahwè. He can have had no thought of denying the sole divinity of Yahwè in the land which was Yahwè's 'inheritance.' It is a distortion of the true text when 𝔊^{L} represents Solomon as 'burning incense and sacrificing' (ἐθυμία καὶ ἔθυε) to foreign gods.[3] That this ambitious king had such a chastened piety as we find in 1 K. 8 14-61 (cp Driver, *Intr.*(6) 200 *ff.*) is on all grounds inconceivable; but we have no reason to doubt that according to his lights he was a faithful worshipper of Yahwè, so far as this was consistent with his despotic inclinations.

11. Later idealisation. [In the apocryphal Book of Wisdom, again, the composition of an Egyptian Hellenist, who from internal evidence is judged to have lived somewhat earlier than Philo (see WISDOM OF SOLOMON), Solomon is introduced uttering words of admonition, imbued with the spirit of Greek philosophers, to heathen sovereigns. The so-called Psalter of Solomon, on the other hand, a collection of Pharisee Psalms preserved to us only in a Greek version, has nothing to do with Solomon or the traditional conception of his person, and seems to owe its name to a transcriber who thus distinguished these newer pieces from the older 'Psalms of David.'[4] In NT times Solomon was the current type alike of magnificence and of wisdom (Mt. 6 29 Lk. 11 31). But Jewish legend was not content with this, and, starting from a false interpretation of Eccles. 2 8, gave him sovereignty over demons, to which were added (by a perversion of 1 K. 4 33), lordship over all beasts and birds, and the power of understanding their speech. These fables passed to the Arabs before the time of Mohammed (*Nābigha*, 1 22), found a place in the Koran, and gave Solomon (Suleimān) a lasting fame throughout the Moslem East. The story of Solomon, the hoopoe, and the queen of Sheba in the Koran (*Sur.* 27) closely follows the second Targum to Esth. 1 2, where the Jewish fables about him may be read at large. Solomon was supposed to owe his sovereignty over demons to the possession of a seal on which the 'most great name of God' was engraved. See Lane, *Arabian Nights*, Introd., n. 21, and chap. 1, n. 15.—W. R. S.]

For a survey of Solomon's reign in connection with the longer history, see ISRAEL, §§ 23-25; on Solomon's psalm (?), CREATION, § 26, and on two supposed daughters of Solomon, see SALMAH. T. K. C.

1 Cp EGYPT, BROOK OF, and see Wi. *GI* 2 254.

2 See Benzinger and Kittel, and cp Driver, *Intr.*(6), 192.

3 See, however, Burney (Hastings' *DB* 2 865*a*, note†), who favours 𝔊^{L}, and thinks that the fact 'has been toned down by some later hand into the statement of MT.'

4 On the Aprocryphal 'Psalms of Solomon' see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 77-85. Cp also APOCRYPHA, § 14.

SOLOMON'S PORCH (η στοα [του] σολομων[τ]ος), Jn. 10 23 Acts 5 12. See TEMPLE, § 30 *f.*

SOLOMON'S SERVANTS, CHILDREN OF (בְּנֵי עַבְדֵי שְׁלֹמֹה), a guild of persons attached to the second temple, mentioned in Ezra 2 55 58 Neh. 7 57 60 11 3† (υιοι δουλων σαλωμων [BAL]; Ezra 2 55 υ. αβδησελ [B]; 2 58 υ. ασεδησελμα [B], υ. αβδησελμα [A]), with the NETHINIM (*q.v.*), and sometimes (*e.g.*, Neh. 3 26 31 10 29) apparently included under that term. Bertheau-Ryssel leaves it uncertain whether this guild of 'servants of Solomon' grew out of a small part of the Canaanitish bondservants of Solomon (1 K. 9 20 *f.*) which may have been assigned to the temple. The probability is, however, that the phrase has nothing to do with Solomon, but is corrupt. On Solomon's corvée, see SOLOMON, § 6.

Just as one can hardly doubt that the so-called *nĕthīnīm* are really the Ethanites, so the *bĕnē 'abdē Šĕlōmōh* must, it would seem, be either the *bĕnē 'ōbēd-šalamū* or the *bĕnē 'ōbēd-'ĕdōm*. 'Ōbēd-'ĕdōm is probably a corruption of *'arāb-'ĕdōm*—*i.e.*, Arabia of Edom, and *'Ōbēd-šelōmōh* of *'arāb-šalamū*—*i.e.*, Arabia of the Salmæans (see SALMAH, 2). The Jerahmeelites and Edomites seem to have been strongly mixed with pure Israelites after the exile. One of the families of the Obed-edom or 'Arab-edom guild (if we may call it so) bears the name 'bĕnē Hassōphéreth' (or Sophereth)—*i.e.*, bĕnē Ṣārephāthīm, or Zarephathites. See SOPHERETH. T. K. C.

SOLOMON'S SONG. See CANTICLES.

SOLOMON, WISDOM OF. See WISDOM OF SOLOMON.

SOMEIS (σομεεις [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 34 RV = Ezra 10 38 SHIMEI, 16.

SON OF GOD

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In the Semitic languages the individual is often designated as a 'son' of the species to which he belongs, the species being indicated by a collective or plural noun (see SON OF MAN, §§ 1, 4-6).

Similarly, a member of the genus 'god' seems to have been designated as *ben ĕlōhīm* (Aram., *bar ĕlāhīn*).

1. Synonym of 'god.' This is suggested by Gen. 6 2-4 Ps. 82 6 Dan. 3 25. As early as the second century B.C. the *bnē ĕlōhīm* in Gen. 6 2 4 were understood in some circles to be angels, and this interpretation is certainly nearer the truth than the rationalising exegesis that made the fathers of the giants 'sons of mighty men' or 'pious folk' (see § 2). But the term can scarcely have conveyed originally the idea of 'angels.' At the time when the myth was first

told in Judah, it is not likely that the doctrine of angels had yet developed. As 'the daughters of men' were simply 'women,' so 'the sons of the gods' were 'gods.' Such a usage of the phrase must have been deeply rooted, since even in the Hasmonæan age 'sons of 'Elyōn' was an expression employed as a synonym of 'gods.' In Ps. 82 6 *bnē 'elyōn* is used in the second hemistich as an equivalent of *ĕlōhīm* in the first. In Dan. 3 25 the celestial being seen in the fiery furnace is called *bar ĕlāhīn* (cp Pesh.). This is indeed explained by *mal'ăkēh*, 'his angel,' in 3 28, and so the phrase was undoubtedly understood by the author. But it is not probable that the Jews of the Maccabæan period called an angel *bar ĕlāhīn*; as good monotheists they no doubt said *bar ĕlāhā*. The author, however, endeavoured to make the speeches of pagan kings and queens more plausible by putting upon their lips such phrases as, in his judgment, they would naturally use. He lets them speak of the 'wisdom of gods' (5 11) and the 'spirit of holy gods' (4 5 *f.* [8 *f.*] 5 11). As these expressions were borrowed from pagan phraseology, *bar ĕlāhīn* was probably drawn from this same source. If the polytheistic neighbours of Israel employed the phrase, they are likely to have meant by it not 'an angel,' but a 'god.' Even in Job 1 6 38 7, the 'sons of the gods' are apparently conceived of as divine beings, subordinate to the Most High, but still associated with the elements, stars, or nations, over which they once reigned as independent rulers; and the same may be true of Ps. 29 (*bnē ēlīm*).

2. Designation of an 'angel.' Whilst originally these divine beings were not 'angels,' it is natural that in course of time they should become identified with the special class of 'messengers' (*mal'ākīm*). In Gen. 6 2 4, some MSS of 𝔊 (A 37, 72, 75) read *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, and this reading seems to have been found by many patristic writers (cp also *mala'kē* in the margin of Syr.-Hex., and the Persian Vs.), though the majority of MSS and daughter-versions have the more literal *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*. Such a reference to angels is assumed in many passages.

So in Enoch 6 2 (*οἱ ἄγγελοι υἱοὶ οὐρανοῦ*, Giz. frg. and Eth.) 19 2 etc., Slavonic En. 7 18, Jubilees 5, Test. 12 Patr.: Reuben 5, Philo, 1 262, ed. Mangey, Jos. *Ant.* i. 3 1, § 73, Jude 6, 2 Pet. 2 4, Justin, *Apol.* 1 5, *Clem. Hom.* 8 13, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3 528, Tert. *De Virg. Vel.* 7, Lactantius, *Instit.* 2 15, Commodianus, *Instruct.* 1 3.

In Ps. 29 1 82 6, Targ. has בתי מלאכיא; in Job 1 6, 𝔊 reads *οἱ ἄγγελοι τοῦ θεοῦ*, and in 38 7 *ἄγγελοί μου*, and Targ. in both places *malākayyā*, and in Dan. 3 25 [92] 𝔊 renders *ἀγγέλου θεοῦ*. The translation 'sons of the angels' (Job 38 7 Pesh. *b'nai mala'kē*, En. 71 1) or 'children of the gods' (En. 69 4 5 106 5) apparently presupposes the use of *ĕlōhīm* (or Aram. *ĕlāhīn*) as a designation of angels, the 'sons' being the individuals of this class. Whether Aquila's rendering, *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν θεῶν*, reflects such an identification of *ĕlōhīm-θεοί* with angels, or a more correct apprehension of the original meaning, or simply the conviction that the Most High can have no sons (cp Midr. *Tĕhillīn*, 2 7), cannot easily be determined. The fact that Gen. 6 2 4 are the only passages where the Targs. (Onk. and Jon.) render *b'nē ĕlōhīm* with *b'nē rabrĕbayyā* indicates that the common significance is here forced to yield, for dogmatic reasons, to a less natural meaning. The same is true of Sym. *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν δυναστευόντων*, Sam. Targ. בני שלטניה, and Saadia *banu'l ašrāfi*, 'sons of the mighty,' 'the rulers' or 'nobles.' It is also significant that the term *ḳĕdōšīm*, which designates the gods as objects of worship, was transferred to the angels (cp Job 5 1 15 15 Zech. 14 5 Dan. 4 14 Ps. 89 6 8 Tob. 8 15); in Ecclus. 45 2, the original seems to have read ויכבדהו כאלהים (𝔊 translating אלהים with *ἅγιοι*), and a similar transfer is likely to have taken place in the case of the term 'watcher.' If 𝔊 is correct, in Dt. 32 8 (apparently a late gloss), the בני אל seem to have been limited in some circles to the celestial representatives, or patron angels, of the different nations.

At the basis of the myth in Gen. 6 1 *ff.* lies the idea of the physical descent of some men from divine beings [cp NEPHILIM, § 1].

3. Offspring of a god. The famous giants of old were regarded as sons of gods and of beautiful women. This explanation was especially resorted to in the case of great heroes of antiquity and of kings (see § 5). But clans and tribes also traced their descent from divinity through their eponym heroes. When the Moabites are said to be the sons and daughters of Chemosh (Nu. 21 29), the Hebrew singer used a phrase that is likely to have been employed by the Moabites themselves to claim descent from Chemosh, to indicate that they were his offspring in the world. Gen. 19 30-38 cannot be urged against this view. It probably referred originally to the descent of a pre-Edomitish clan from its divinity Lotan (see LOT). Edom, Esau, Ammon, Gad, Asher, and other *gentilicia*, are, beyond a question, names of gods [cp TRIBES, § 3]. Abram (the 'exalted father' of Hebron), Isaac (the 'smiling' El of Beersheba), Jacob (the 'pursuing' El of Shechem), Israel (the 'fighting' El of Mahanaim),[1] Ishmael (the 'listening' El of Beer-lahai-roi), Jerahmeel (the 'pitying' El of Raḥama) and many more, can scarcely have been other than divine figures originally. The sons of these were, no doubt, once regarded as physical descendants of gods, though the term was later understood to designate them merely as the offspring of eponym heroes, or as belonging to the tribes bearing these names. However foreign to the ideas of a later time, the conception that the Israelites descended from Yahwè himself is likely to have existed in earlier days. When, in extant literature, Israel is called 'son of Yahwè,' and the members of the people 'sons and daughters of Yahwè,' this is indeed probably, in every instance, used in a metaphorical sense (see § 4). Nevertheless, there are indications that the sonship once was taken more literally. Already, the connection between Yahwè's fatherhood and his creation of Israel is significant. In the Assyrian, *banu* means 'build,' 'fashion,' 'beget'; the same term denotes creation and procreation: Dt. 32 8 ('the rock that begat thee . . . the El that brought thee forth') shows how closely the ideas were related in the Hebrew mind. The tendency to make the eponym heroes sons of gods and women, seen in Greece (cp Rohde, *Psyche*,(2) 152 *ff.* 169 *ff.*) and elsewhere, was evidently at one time operative in Israel as well. The original paternity of Isaac is but thinly disguised in Gen. 18 10 *ff.* 21 1 *ff.* (cp that of Samson in Judg. 13 where *mal'ak* is probably a later addition). It is quite evident that at sanctuaries provided with *maṣṣēbōth* and *ashērīm*, *ḳĕdēšīm* and *ḳĕdēšōth*, the simple folk-religion cannot have left Yahwè without a consort and children. In Ezek. 23 Yahwè marries two sisters and begets children by them. This is an allegory. But when even a late prophet does not hesitate to introduce this conception as a figure of speech, it may be reasonably supposed that an earlier time found it only natural that Yahwè, as well as other gods, should have children by graciously visiting women of his choice. Gen. 6 1 *ff.* shows that gods might do this without offending the morals of the age. The notion of a physical divine paternity is not incompatible with an otherwise highly developed moral sense (see § 17).

4. Figurative use. The very fact that in Hebrew literature Israel is primarily the son of Yahwè and the individual Israelite only by virtue of his connection with the people, indicates that the phrase was once understood in a literal sense, since collective sonship is mediated through the eponym hero. Nevertheless, the idea of physical descent has been so strongly suppressed that the term is practically everywhere used figuratively, to express the love and

[1] As the 'Job stone' found by Schumacher at Sheikh Sa'd in Ḥaurān proves that Ramses II. penetrated into the E. Jordan country, it is possible that the Israel referred to in the Me(r)neptah inscription was a tribe having for its centre Mahanaim.

paternal care of Yahwè and the reverence and obedience of Israel.

Already in Hosea 2 1 the ethical significance often associated with this metaphor comes to view when the prospect of becoming 'sons of the living God' (*b'nē El ḥai*) by a moral reformation is held out to the Israelites. In Hosea 11 1 the text is doubtful. Mt. reads 'out of Egypt I have called my son.' 𝔊 seems to have found a plural (לבניו, τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ). See LOVINGKINDNESS. 'His children' would refer to the 'sons of Israel.' In Is. 1 2 30 1, the Israelites are called 'sons of Yahwè.' That the phrase was felt to be a figure of speech is evident from Dt. 1 31 8 5 ('as a man bears [chastens] his son, so Yahwè'; cp Ps. 103 13); but 14 1 asserts 'Ye are the sons of Yahwè, your God,' and 32 6 asks 'Is he not thy father, thy maker?' In Jer. 3 4 Yahwè is said to be a father; 3 19, 'How shall I place thee among sons,' means 'make thee a son' (see Duhm, *Jeremia*, p. vi), consequently contains the idea of adoption. The promise, 'I shall be a father to Israel, and Ephraim shall be my first-born' is given in Jer. 31 9. Similarly Ex. 4 22, 'My son, my first-born, is Israel.' In Is. 63 16, the first-born of Yahwè is emphasised, in contrast with the neglect of the people by Abraham and Israel; the cult of these heroes brings no relief. Cp also 'our father,' Is. 64 8 [7]. Mal. 1 6 assumes that Yahwè is constantly represented by the people as a father. Mal. 2 10-16 has suffered much corruption by intentional alteration and by accident [see *Crit. Bib.*]. But *v.* 10 clearly shows that Yahwè is the father of the Israelites and their ancestor. In *v.* 11 neither 𝔊 nor Pesh. seems to have found in the text 'and marries the daughter of a strange god' (אל נכר), but some phrase which could be interpreted 'and walks after (or 'serves') foreign gods.' This may be a free rendering of ובא אל בית אל נכר, 'and enters the house of a strange god,' but MT shows that the idea of a woman being the daughter of her god was not foreign to Hebrew thought (cp Nu. 21 29 Wisd. 9 7 12 21 16 10). In Ps. 73 15, 'the generation of thy children' refers to the Jews. The fatherhood of God is finely expressed in the prayer, Ecclus. 23 1, beginning Κύριε, πάτερ, 'Lord, father.' In Ecclus. 4 11 the Hebrew reads ואל יקראך בן, 'and God shall call thee son.' Here sonship has an ethical quality. That is also the case in Wisd. 2 18, 'if the righteous man is God's son, he will uphold him'; whilst in 5 5 the sons of God probably are the occupants of the celestial world, including angels and human saints (see § 7); in 9 7 12 21 16 10 18 4, the sons and daughters of God are the Israelites, and in 18 13 the people is said to be recognised by the Egyptians as 'God's son.' In Judith 9 4 the Jews are God's 'dear children.' In Esth. 6 14, they are the 'sons of the only and true God,' and in 3 Macc. 6 28 they are the sons of the 'most mighty and heavenly living God.' Eth. Enoch 62 11 speaks of 'his children and his elect,' but the passage is probably a Christian interpolation. Cp also Sib. Or. 3 702, 'sons of the great God'; Ps. Sol. 7 30, 'sons of their God'; 18 4, 'as a first-born only-begotten son'; Ass. Mos. 10 27, 'sons of God'; Jubilees 1 15, 'sons of God'; and 4 Ezra 6 58, 'thy people, first-born and only-begotten.'

It may be inferred from such instances that the designation of God as father in a figurative sense goes back at least to the eighth century and was common in Israel in the last century B.C.; that the Israelites felt themselves to be sons and daughters of Yahwè because of their connection with the holy Yahwè-worshipping people; and that here and there the thought of a spiritual sonship based on character was reached.

Founders of states and kings in general were regarded in antiquity as sons of gods.

5. The king.

Numerous examples were gathered from Greek and Roman writers by D. F. Ilgen in 1795. He, however, wrongly supposed that the basis of what he deemed simply a figure of speech was the relation of the king as pupil to the divinity as teacher. In reality, the divine paternity was looked upon as an important fact. In the case of a long-reigning dynasty, or one connected by marriage with the preceding one, it was sufficient to assume a transmission of the divine life from an original impregnation by a god; in the case of a usurper not connected by marriage with the previously reigning family, resort must be had to an immediate divine fatherhood. Thus, the kings of Egypt were considered as the sons of Re' by virtue of descent from him; but Alexander could be declared a son of Ammon Re' only by a denial of Philip's paternity, and a revelation of his birth without a human father (Trogus in Justin, *Hist.* 11 11). Less prominence was evidently given to this conception in Assyria; but its existence is proved by 5 R. 2 97 where Ašur-bāni-pal says *Ašur ilu banña*, 'Ashur the god, my begetter.' The Ptolemies as successors of the Egyptian kings accepted such titles as 'son of Rē',' 'υἱὸς τοῦ Ἡλίου,' 'son of Isis and Osiris'; and some of the Seleucidæ, as successors of Alexander, also received the title Θεοῦ υἱός. The latter title was frequently used by the Roman emperors as well as *divus*, θεός, and *ĕlāhā* in the East (see Dalman, 227, and Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1 166 *ff.*).

Even in Israel the king was regarded as standing on a higher level than ordinary men and given the name 'son of Yahwè.' His quasi-divine character is already indicated in the fact that he was anointed. Originally the pouring out of oil on his head was a sacrifice, an act of worship. Yahwè's anointed was recognised as partaking of Yahwè's sanctity, as possessed of a divine spirit and a higher intelligence (1 S. 10 9). It is more likely to be a reflection of a generally prevailing opinion than mere flattery, when the woman in 2 S. 14 17 20 declares that David is like the gods in hearing what is good and evil, and has the wisdom of the gods to know all that is in the earth (*mal'āk* is probably a late interpolation). How the people before the exile looked upon their kings, cannot be determined from the literary remains reflecting the often strongly anti-royalist spirit of the prophets. Is. 9 6 shows that a poet in the exile did not hesitate to predict for a child born to the royal family (possibly a son of Jehoiachin) that he would be called a 'mighty god' (*ēl gibbōr*). 2 S. 7 14, probably written after the exile, as H. P. Smith has perceived, and possibly in the days of Zerubbabel, presents the son of David as the son of Yahwè, and significantly predicts for him that in spite of this he will be punished as human beings are, though not destroyed. When kings again sat on the throne of David in the Hasmonæan age, they naturally applied to themselves this promise. Yahwè's anointed king was his son, born as such on the day of his coronation, whom the nations and their rulers should obey (Ps. 2). Accustomed as men in Israel had been to hear their Ptolemaic or Seleucid rulers referred to both as 'god' and as 'son of god,' the two terms easily merged into each other when applied, as they were, to the Hasmonæan kings. In Ps. 58 2 and 82 6 Pharisaic hymn-writers scornfully designate these native rulers as 'gods' (*ĕlōhīm*) and 'sons of God' (*b'nē 'elyōn*). There would be no sting in this sarcasm, if they were not actually designated as such. That this was the case is shown by Ps. 45 7 *f.* [6 *f.*], where a poet laureate of one of these princes on the occasion of a royal wedding apostrophises the monarch as divine. In Ps. 89 26 *f.*, 2 S. 7 14 is applied to Alexander Jannæus (so Duhm). Zech. 12 8 probably also applies to the reigning family.

On the other hand, Ex. 21 6 22 9 [8] do not prove that rulers were called 'gods.' They refer to household gods (Eerdmans), and Targ. and Pesh. which render 'judges' are certainly wrong. So far as known, the king was never regarded in Israel as literally the son of Yahwè. The underlying thought seems to have been that the king became a 'son' by the infusion of his divine father's life and intelligence.

6. The Messiah.

In view of the fact that the king in Israel was called a son of God, it is somewhat strange that there is so little evidence of its use as a title of the coming Messiah. There is no passage in Jewish literature that can be confidently dated as earlier than Christianity, in which this name is given to the Messiah.

Enoch 105 2 is probably an interpolation (so Drummond, Charles, Dalman). 4 Ezra 7 28 *f.* 13 32 37 52 14 9 are all doubtful. The Aramaic original is lost, and the extant versions (Syr., Lat., Eth., Ar., Arm.) have all passed through Christian hands, and manifestly suffered changes in these very passages (see Drummond, 285 *ff.*). The Targ. to 2 S. 7 14 renders 'like a father' and 'like a son,' and the Targ. to Ps. 2 7 'thou art dear to me as a son'; Ps. 2 is generally referred to Israel. In Origen's time the Jews looked forward to the coming of God's Messiah, but professed to find no reference in prophecy to a coming son of God (*c. Celsum*, 1 49). Only rarely (as in *b. Sukka*, 152 *a* and Midrash *Tehill.* 2 7) is a Messianic interpretation of Ps. 2 found. There can be little doubt that the reason for this lies in the reaction, first against Hasmonæan pretensions, and subsequently against Christian exegesis. But between the insistence upon Davidic descent as a rebuke to the illegitimate line in the Psalter of Solomon, and the emphasis upon the human character of the Messiah (ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων) by Trypho as a disavowal of the new god, the great Messianic movements stirred many circles in Jewry, besides the followers of Jesus, with eagerness to discover a reference to the Messiah in every passage that lent itself to the purpose. It therefore remains possible that the identification of the Messiah as the son of God represents not merely the blending of two independent convictions, but the synonymy of two terms. Dalman objects to *bar ĕlāhā* as a Messianic title, on the ground that it was not customary to

mention the name of God, as Mk. 14 61 υἱὸς τοῦ εὐλογητοῦ indicates. But Mt., who, according to Dalman, alone rendered the original idiomatic *malkūthā da-shĕmayyā* for 'kingdom of God' with βασιλεῖα τῶν οὐρανῶν, has in 26 63 υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, and so also Lk. 22 70; and there is no indication that 'sons of God' was rendered otherwise than by *b'nē elāhā*. Nevertheless, *bar ĕlāhā* is not likely to have been very commonly used as a designation of the Messiah, and there is no absolute proof of its use at any time.

7. One raised from the dead.

In Lk. 20 36 those that are accounted worthy of another world and of being raised from the dead are said to be equal to angels and 'sons of God, because they are sons of the resurrection.' According to Rom. 1 4 Jesus was shown to be a son of God by his resurrection from the dead. The idea that the ranks of the heavenly beings may thus be increased, is older than the thought of a resurrection.

Heroes that are well-pleasing to the gods may be carried aloft to be with them for ever, as Uta-napišti in the Gilgamiš epic, or Enoch and Elijah [see DELUGE, § 17, ELIJAH, ENOCH, and cp ETHAN, PARADISE, § 3]. Slavonic Enoch 22 gives a fine description of Enoch's reception in heaven, and his celestial garments. Into the same company of heavenly beings men could be brought from the subterranean realms of Shĕōl, when the Mazdayasnian doctrine of a resurrection had become familiar in Israel. Even in circles where the Greek conception of immortality prevailed, the godly man was supposed to take up his abode after death among the sons of God, and to obtain his inheritance among the saints (Wisd. 5 5). It is the merit of Barton (*New World*, 1899, pp. 114 *ff.*) to have called attention to this thought.

8. The Logos.

Among the Jews accessible to Greek philosophy, it was especially Philo who prepared the way for the Christian doctrine of the son of God by his Logos-speculation. When he called this Logos 'the perfect son,' 'the first-born son of God' (*De Vit. Mos.* 14; *De Conf. Ling.* 14; *De Agric.* 12), he did not imply that it was an individual, an hypostasis, a person. Yet it was inevitable that the term 'son of God' should suggest a mediator between God and the world, a celestial personality more grandly conceived than any other associated with the name, and herein lies much of its historic importance (see §§ 23, 25; and for a description of Philo's Logos the careful studies of Jean Réville, Soulier, Siegfried, Anathon Aall, and Grill).

9. The Synoptics.

The term 'son of God' (υἱὸς θεοῦ, υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) or 'my (sc. God's) son' (υἱός μου) occurs in the Synoptic gospels 27 times, and the term 'the son' (ὁ υἱός) 9 times. It will be convenient to record the occurrences in detail and to classify them.

1. 'Son of God' or 'my (God's) son':—27 times.

a. Enumeration.

Mt. 3 17 4 3 6 5 9 14 33 16 16 17 5 26 63 27 40 43 54	=	11 times.
Mk. 1 1 11 3 11 5 7 9 7 14 61 15 39	=	7 ,,
Lk. 1 32 35 3 22 38 4 3 9 8 28 9 35 22 70	=	9 ,,

b. Analysis.

i. In three Gospels:—3 times.

Mt. 3 17 = Mk. 1 11 = Lk. 3 22: baptism.
Mt. 17 5 = Mk. 9 7 = Lk. 9 35: transfiguration.
Mt. 26 63 = Mk. 14 61 = Lk. 22 70: trial.

ii. In two Gospels: 4 times.

Mt. 27 54 = Mk. 15 39 (centurion)	=	once.
Mk. 5 7 = Lk. 8 28 (demon)	=	once.
Mt. 4 3 = Lk. 4 3 (temptation) / Mt. 4 6 = Lk. 4 9 ,,	=	twice.

iii. In one Gospel:—10 times.

Mk. 1 1 (superscription), 3 11 (demon)	= twice.
Mt. 5 9 (name of peacemakers), 14 33 (after walk on the sea), 16 16 (Peter's confession), 27 40 (at the cross), 27 43 (alleged quotation)	= 5 times.
Lk. 1 32 35 (annunciation), 3 38 (genealogy)	= 3 times.

2. 'The son' (ὁ υἱός) alone: 9 times.

a. Enumeration.

Mt. 11 27 (thrice) 24 36 28 19	=	5 times.
Mk. 13 32	=	once.
Lk. 10 22 (thrice)	=	3 times.

b. Analysis.

The three in Mt. 11 27 correspond to the three in Lk. 10 22 (hymn of Jesus)	= 6
Mk. 13 32 is equivalent to Mt. 24 36 (not even the son)	= 2
Mt. 28 19 (baptismal formula) has no parallel	= 1

10. Principles of criticism.

It is not sufficient, however, to consider the texts in which the title actually occurs. Passages throwing light upon Jesus' conception of the divine fatherhood in general and man's sonship must also be examined. Parables in which the term 'son' might be regarded as referring to Jesus, must be taken into consideration. Whenever a reputed saying of Jesus is drawn into the discussion, it must be tested in a retranslation into the Aramaic dialect spoken by Jesus; and the same applies to utterances concerning him by persons to whom this Galilean speech was the vernacular. The differences between the accounts of the evangelists must be observed. It is not permissible to leave out of sight the peculiarities of the evangelists, or the influence upon their minds of later thought and a growing tradition. It is necessary to bear in mind the fundamental distinction between the Greek words ascribed to Jesus which we possess, and the Aramaic sentences he spoke which we can only surmise; between the stories told for religious edification, and the history often symbolised rather than described in them. Moreover, the condition of the text must be sedulously watched.

11. Ethical significance in genuine sayings of Jesus.

In a number of passages whose substantial genuineness admits of little doubt Jesus is reported as having used the term 'sons of God,' or an equivalent, of men in such a manner as to imply a certain moral likeness to God.

Whilst in Mt. 5 9 the thought may conceivably be that the peace-makers will be called sons of God because they will be deemed worthy of a share in the resurrection (Lk. 20 36 and cp § 7), more probably the idea is that when the kingdom of heaven shall be established on earth, as it soon will be, they will be recognised by virtue of their spiritual kinship to God as his true sons. This is manifestly the case in Mt. 5 45, where sonship is based on an impartial and forgiving spirit like God's. Whether Jesus said 'sons of your father who is in heaven' or 'sons of the Most High,' as in the parallel passage in Lk. 6 35, is doubtful. Most probably he said 'sons of the father who is in heaven.' This is suggested by a comparison of Mt. 6 11 (ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) with Lk. 11 13 (ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, where, however, Sin. Syr. seems to read 'the father that is in heaven'). Mt. apparently had a preference for the pronominal additions. But whether אבא or אבוכון was originally used, it is significant that Jesus did not limit the divine paternity and did not exclude from sonship those who were 'themselves evil.' The same is strongly indicated also in the parables of the lost son (Lk. 15 11 *ff.*) and the two sons (Mt. 21 28 *ff.*), which teach that man even when he errs does not cease to be the son of God and the object of his fatherly affection. In Mt. 23 8 *f.* Jesus is speaking to the crowds as well as to his disciples, warning them not to call men Rabbi, Abba, and Moreh, 'for one is your master,' 'one is your father,' 'one is your teacher,' the reference being everywhere to God (see Köhler, *JQR* 13 567 *ff.*). On the other hand, in Mt. 10 20 29 and Lk. 12 32 the disciples are addressed, and those to whom the kingdom will be given are clearly distinguished by their character from the rest of the people. Even more manifest is this distinction in Mt. 17 25 *ff.* As kings on earth demand tribute not of their sons but only of strangers, so the heavenly king does not impose taxes on his sons. Those who think of God as taxing them for the support of the temple-cult are in reality strangers to him; the relations of sons to the heavenly father are characterised by freedom. In view of such a profoundly ethical conception of sonship and Jesus' attitude in general, it is difficult to believe in the historical accuracy of his refusal to work a miracle for a Phœnician woman on the ground alleged (Mt. 15 21-28 Mk. 7 27-30).

12. Jesus' self-consciousness as a son of God.

The synoptic tradition records no utterance of Jesus in which he distinctly refers to himself as a 'son of God.' In Mt. 27 43 it is indeed said that mocking high priests, scribes, and elders quoted him as having said: 'I am a son of God.' The only ground for such an assertion would be Jesus' answer to the high priest's question (Mt. 26 67). But see § 20 and SON OF MAN, § 37 (end). The taunt seems to have been made up of phrases from Wisdom 2 16-18 (see Brandt, 209). Of more importance would be the distinction between 'my father' and 'your father,' if this could be traced back to Jesus himself.

The Gk. text of Mt. gives the impression that Jesus said 'my father' when speaking of his own God or to him, whilst he said 'your father' when referring to the God of his disciples or the

people, and that he taught his disciples to say 'our father,' but did not use this expression himself. Already a comparison with the synoptic parallels in which the possessive pronouns are lacking tends to raise doubts as to the integrity of the text. The prayer Jesus taught his disciples begins in Lk. 11 2 with 'Father' (πάτερ); and textual criticism renders the originality of the pronoun in many instances quite uncertain. When, furthermore, the attempt is made to recover the actual Aramaic words used by Jesus, the fact comes to view that in practically all cases the original is likely to have been simply *Abba* (אבא). Where the Gk. Mt. had πατέρ μου or ὁ πατήρ μου, *Evang. Hier.* has simply *Abba* in the extant passages, Mt. 10 32 *f.* 16 16 18 10 19 35 26 39; and the same is true of Lk. 2 49 10 22 etc. If this version is made from the Greek without the aid of an Aramaic translation, only a strongly entrenched usage can account for the suppression of the possessive. If, as seems probable, an earlier Aramaic gospel was consulted in the translation, the testimony is doubly significant. It is confirmed by other remains of Palestinian Aramaic.

Jesus almost certainly said only *Abba* in his own prayers as well as in the prayer he taught, and *Abba dĕ bashĕmayyā*, 'the father who is in heaven,' in referring to God. This conclusion is not merely of negative value. Positively, it indicates an exceedingly keen sense of the fatherhood of God creating a true filial attitude and a gentle feeling of brotherliness toward men. Into the innermost recesses of his spirit we cannot penetrate. Even if our sources were more fruitful and less heavily overlaid by tradition than they are, there would still remain the unfathomed depth of an experience colouring every characteristic thought and deed, the indefinable quality of a rich inner life, the mystery of a great and fruitful genius. But we are able to draw certain inferences from the fact that the highest moral and religious conceptions of sonship ascribed to him find expression in utterances in which he either speaks of men in general (Mt. 5 9 45 48), or includes himself with others (Mt. 17 25 *ff.* Mk. 3 35). Whilst he may have avoided such a statement as 'I am a son of God,' because *bar ĕlāhā* might have suggested an angel, a translated being like Elijah, or a king, it is possible, therefore, that the real reason was his fear lest he be misunderstood as claiming for himself alone that relation to the Father into which his own experience made him so desirous that all men should enter.

13. Hymn to Father and Son.

How well founded such apprehensions would have been may be seen from Mt. 11 25 *ff.* (Lk. 10 21 *f.*) 24 36 (Mk. 13 32) 28 19 and also from Mt. 21 33-46 (Mk. 12 1-12 Lk. 20 9-19) 22 2 (Lk. 14 16). In the first of these passages the gradual growth of a logion may be observed. The text presented by our MSS with minor variations between Mt. and Lk. already occurs sporadically in the second century (present tense Justin, *c. Tryph.* 100, 'knowledge of the Son first'; Iren. iv. 6 1, *Clem. Recog.* 2 47). Older than this, however, as modern critics generally recognise, is the text found in Justin, *Apol.* 1 63; *Clem. Hom.* 17 4 18 4 13 20; Marcosians in Iren. i. 20 3; Marcion in Tert. *c. Marc.* 2 27; Iren. ii. 6 1 iv. 6 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7 18 109 etc., which reads, with unimportant variations, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔγνω τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ (οὐδὲ) τὸν υἱὸν (τις γινώσκει) εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ οἷς (ᾧ) ἂν ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψῃ (βούληται ἀποκαλύψαι). The principal differences are that ἔγνω occurs in place of γινώσκει, that the sentence 'no one knew the Father except the Son' precedes 'nor any one the Son except the Father,' and that as a consequence it is the son instead of the father that reveals the son. Schmiedel (*Prot. Monatshefte*, 1900, p. 1 *ff.*) regards this as an original utterance of Jesus and understands the aorist to intimate that there was a time when Jesus discovered that God was a father, a thought that until then had not been present to his mind. According to this critic, the men who once believed in the fatherhood of God were all dead, and among Jesus' contemporaries no man recognised God as a father. Having become a 'son' by the discovery, he naturally looked upon himself as 'the Son' as long as he remained alone with his conviction that God was a father. But already Ewald (*JBW*, 1855, p. 160) pointed out that the difference between ἔγνω and γινώσκει would not appear in the Heb. *yādaʿ*, and Dalman (233) rightly insists that in the unvocalised Aramaic text the participle *yādaʿ* and perfect *yĕdaʿ* could not be distinguished. This difficulty would indeed be obviated if a derivative of נכר is supposed to have been used in the original (*Evang. Hier.* has מכר in Mt.); but even so (aphel perf.) this verb would scarcely have necessitated an aorist rather than a present tense. Klöpper (*ZWTh.*, 1896, pp. 501 *ff.*) and Dalman strongly urge the improbability of the revelation of the son through the son. Yet only the son's knowledge of the father follows naturally the transmission of all knowledge to the son. The rather irrelevant statement that 'no one knows the son except the father,' has the appearance of being a gloss drifting into different places. If it is removed, the connection is greatly improved: 'All things (that are hidden from the wise and disclosed to babes) have been transmitted (*Evang. Hier.* אתמסר) to me by the Father, and no one knows the Father except the son and he to whom the son is willing to make a revelation.' It is difficult, however, to see how even such an utterance could have come from the lips of Jesus. The alleged return of seventy disciples from a journey during which they had been engaged in exorcising demons does not furnish a natural occasion for such a comment as this (see Bruno Bauer, *Kritik der Ev.-gesch.* [1891] 2 266 *ff.*). That Jesus should have thought of himself as possessed of all knowledge and regarded all other men as ignorant of God is scarcely conceivable. Long usage had rendered the term 'father' as a designation of God quite familiar to the contemporaries of Jesus, and piety had invested the name with deep spiritual significance (see § 4). But the abbreviated title 'the son' would probably have been as unintelligible to the Jews of Jesus' time as it was well understood by the Christians of the second century. Pfleiderer (*Urchristenthum*, 445 *ff.* 509 *f.*) recognises the influence of Pauline ideas, and Brandt (pp. 561, 576) considers Mt. 11 25-30 to be a hymn regularly constructed of material largely borrowed from Ecclus. 51. Neither of these views is perhaps capable of strict demonstration. But the underlying conviction that this cannot be a genuine saying of Jesus is as irresistible as the evidence of its gradual growth is conclusive.

14. Son's limited knowledge.

In Mt. 24 36 (Mk. 13 32) the clause 'neither the Son' (οὐδὲ ὁ υἱὸς) is lacking in many MSS, and (among other ancient witnesses) in the Syr.-Sin. Most modern scholars reject it. Scholten (*Het oudste Evang.* 227) maintained that it was also lacking in the original Mk. Dalman (159) thinks that the original text was 'not even the angels,' and that 'not even the son but the father only' is a later addition.

Schmiedel (*l.c.* 20) also regards the words in Mt. as spurious, but considers those in Mk. as genuine because they cannot have been engendered by reverence for Jesus, a motive that led the editor of Mt. to omit them in copying his source. It is not apparent why the supposed original copyist should have been more sensitive on this point than the later interpolator of Mt. In the first half of the second century it is not likely that any Christian was offended by the subordination of the Son or his limited knowledge (Scholten, *l.c.*). Only the rising estimate of Jesus can account for the place of the Son between the angels and the Father, for the emphasis upon the fact that even he did not know the day and the hour, and for the use of the abbreviated title. Mk. 13 32 seems to have been added to the Apocalypse of Jesus to explain either the absence of a sufficiently exact date or the delay in the fulfilment of prophecy.

15. Baptismal formula.

The third passage in which 'the Son' occurs is Mt. 28 19. That the trinitarian baptismal formula does not go back to Jesus himself is evident and recognised by all independent critics. Acts and the Epistles show that other formulas were used but not this one, that the apostles did not feel warranted to preach to the heathen without a special revelation, and that the early church never referred to this commandment. The fact that it is ascribed to Jesus after his death is also significant;

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Conybeare (*ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 275 *ff.*; *Hibb. Journ.* 1, 1902, pp. 102 *ff.*) has shown that there was, as late as in the time of Eusebius, an earlier text which read: Πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί μου 'Go ye and make disciples of all nations in my name,' and has rendered it probable that the expanded form originated about 140 A.D. in the Old Latin texts of Africa, that it thence crept into the Greek text at Rome, and finally established itself in the East during the Nicene epoch in time to figure in all surviving Greek codices.

16. Allegory of husbandmen.

How Jesus understood his peculiar relation as a son may, according to Dalman (230), be seen very clearly from Mt. 21 33-46 (Mk. 12 1-12 Lk. 20 9-19). He regarded himself as the beloved son, or, as Gen. 22 2 𝔊 and Trg. suggests, 'the only begotten son,' entitled to the empire of the world, but destined to be put to death. On the other hand, Jülicher (*Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 1899, pp. 385 *ff.*) after a most searching examination of these texts comes to the conclusion that the story of the wicked husbandmen is not a parable describing something that might have happened in real life, but an allegory, and that it is in no sense an utterance of Jesus, but the work of early Christian theology. The justice of this verdict is appreciated when the marked contrast to all genuine parables, the lack of verisimilitude, the assumptions contrary to fact, and the charges based upon future conduct are duly noticed. In regard to Mt. 22 2, where the king makes a marriage feast for his son, Dalman rightly calls attention to the absence of the son during the meal, and the fact that in the parallel (Lk. 14 16) there is no mention of the son.

17. Proclamation by heavenly voices.

According to Lk. 1 32 35, the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that the child she was to bear would be called 'the Son of the Most High,' or 'the Son of God,' because the Holy Ghost would come upon her. Divine sonship is here made dependent upon physical generation. Jesus will be called Son of God because he is to have no human father. This mythical conception which was widely prevalent in antiquity (see §§ 2, 5) seems to belong to a late stratum (cp Conybeare, *ZNTW*, 1902, pp. 192 *ff.*) and is of Gentile-Christian origin (cp Hillmann, *JPT*, 1891, pp. 231 *ff.*). Older than it, is the idea that the Son of God was born as such at the baptism. Between the reports of the heavenly proclamation on this occasion in the synoptics there are important differences. Whilst Mt. 3 17 reads 'This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased,' Mk. 1 11 and Lk. 3 22 have 'Thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased.' It is possible, however, that *D a b c ff*^{2*}*l* and a large number of patristic quotations have preserved a more original reading in Lk. 3 22—viz., υἱός μου εἶ σύ· ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε, 'Thou art my son, to-day I have begotten thee.' The generation of the Son of God is in this case accomplished by the entrance of the Holy Ghost as a dove. This earlier myth seems to have been supplanted by that of the Virgin birth. The announcement of the heavenly voice at the transfiguration (Mt. 17 5 Mk. 9 7 Lk. 9 35) was then transferred to the baptism. (Cp Holtzmann, *Die Synoptiker*,[3] 85.)

18. Proclamation by demons.

The early church was convinced that not only heaven but also hell knew the secret of Jesus' divine sonship. Demons repeatedly proclaimed him the Son of God, Mk. 3 11 5 7 (Lk. 8 28; cp also Mk. 1 27); and Satan himself used his knowledge of this fact to lead him into temptation (Mt. 4 3 6; cp Lk. 4 3 9). To accept the opinion of the evangelists as to the supernatural knowledge and activity of demons is no longer possible.

It is assumed by many critics that the demoniacs actually spoke such words as are ascribed to them, and that they themselves, as well as their reporters, were only mistaken in their interpretation of mental and nervous disorders. Being thrown into great excitement by the extraordinary impression of Jesus' personality, these sufferers gave voice to their own or the general feeling that Jesus was the Messiah. But on this theory it cannot be explained why men excited to madness by the political situation should have avoided the one unmistakable Messianic title, 'Son of David,' and employed a term that cannot be proved to have been then used, nor why, of all men, only the demoniacs should proclaim him as the 'Son of God.' As it is especially Mk. who emphasizes this testimony of the demons, it is natural to see in it a phase of his general conception of Jesus' life and character. He had to reckon with a strongly entrenched tradition to the effect that Jesus had not proclaimed himself as the Messiah. From the premises of his Christian faith he could only conclude that Jesus had then concealed his Messiahship and the divine nature which he associated with it. Such a fact might be hidden from men, but not from demons. They must have known, in spite of his disguise, the divine Son by whom they were to be judged. It is particularly the merit of Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimniss*, 1901, pp. 73 *ff.*) to have called attention to this aspect of the case. The story of the temptation should be considered from the same point of view. [Cp TEMPTATION, §§ 4-6.]

As no objective reality can be ascribed to these voices from the world of evil spirits, it is idle to inquire whether in their reported utterances 'Son of God' corresponds to an Aramaic *bar ĕlāhā*, *bar ʿelyōn*, *b'reh d'ĕlāhā*, and what meanings each of these forms may have conveyed.

19. Petrine confession.

The same conception that Jesus' divine sonship cannot be known by men except by a special revelation from another world is found in Mt. 16 17. Of such a revelation there is no hint in the accounts of Peter's confession at Cæsarea Philippi given by Mk. (8 27-33) and Lk. (9 18-22). But neither of these evangelists puts the title 'Son of God' upon the lips of Peter. Mk. has simply ὁ χριστός, Lk. ὁ χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ; the latter probably goes back to *mĕšīḥā dĕ-yahwe*, cp 1 S. 24 7 Trg., and Ps. Sol. 18 7 χριστὸς κυρίου, and originally 17 32, and not to a *mĕšīḥā d'ĕlāhā* not found elsewhere. It is more likely that Peter used this longer form than the shorter one in Mk. There is no reason to doubt either the question or the answer in the form preserved by Mk. and Lk. Before carrying out his plan of proclaiming the kingdom of heaven in Jerusalem, Jesus would naturally desire to know the attitude of the people. If Peter's description gave him some assurance that there was no immediate danger in that direction, the views as to his personality cherished by his disciples seem to have made him all the more apprehensive, and caused him most earnestly to forbid them to make any such statement concerning him.

It has long been recognised that Mt. 16 17-19 is a late interpolation. It may already reveal the pretensions of the Roman bishop (Wernle, *Syn. Frage*, 192), and has been more correctly interpreted by Catholic exegetes than by Protestants (Bauer, *Kritik*, 36). But, apart from the macarism, the text of Mt. has been interpolated (cp Holtzmann, *Syn.*[3] 257) by the addition of the two terms 'son of Man' (see SON OF MAN, § 39) and 'son of the living God' (cp Hosea 2 1, 𝔊 υἱοὶ θεοῦ ζῶντος). Van Manen (*Th.T*, 1894, p. 184) is probably right in thinking that 'Son of God' is not here a designation of the theocratic king, but to be taken in a metaphysical sense. But to the interpolator ὁ χριστός was no longer a mere equivalent of 'the Messiah'; it had no doubt already assumed the same significance as the 'Son of God.'

20. High Priest's adjuration.

According to Mt. 26 63 the high priest said 'I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou be the Christ, the Son of God'; in Mk. 14 61 he simply asks 'Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed?' and in Lk. 22 67 the elders of the people say 'If thou art the Christ tell us,' and only after the reference to the Son of Man, 'Art thou then the Son of God?' *v.* 70. It is evident that according to Christian tradition Jesus was asked by the priests whether he regarded himself as the Messiah, and that the particular form of the question shaped itself freely. In Mt. and Lk. Jesus does not commit himself; Mt. 26 64 reports only the brief Σὺ εἶπας, 'Thou sayest so,' Lk. 22 70 his reason for not answering as well as his rejoinder, 'You say that I am.' On the meaning of Σὺ εἶπας see Thayer, *JBL* 13 40-49; Merx, *Die vier kan. Ev.* 2 384. These gospels represent a tradition according to which Jesus maintained his incognito before the priests as well as before

Pilate. The apparently earlier form of the narrative preserved in Lk. makes no mention of false witnesses, blasphemy, a formal sentence to death, and personal indignities, but tells of two false charges brought against Jesus by the priests before Pilate—viz., his forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar and his declaring that he himself is the Christ, an anointed king. Mk. has all the additions of Mt. and, besides, takes the important step of changing Σὺ εἶπας into Ἐγώ εἰμι 'I am.' What took place in the pontifical residence to which Jesus had been carried was probably as little known to his disciples as to us. (See Brandt, 53 *ff.*; We. *Skizzen*, 6 [1899] 207; cp SIMON PETER, § 15.) At the time when these accounts were elaborated, 'Son of Man,' 'Christ,' and 'Son of God' had become synonymous, and 'Son of God' was understood as 'God,' so that the blasphemy of making oneself equal with God could be conceived of as a charge brought against Jesus. The 'Son of God' in Mt. 27 40 is lacking in the parallel passage Mk. 15 29 *f.*, and the utterance is based on Mt. 26 61 (Mk. 14 58), having no more historic value than these improbable testimonies.

21. Centurion's exclamation.

In utter amazement at the miracles that accompanied the death of Jesus, the centurion cried 'Of a truth this is the Son of God' (or 'the son of a god'), Mt. 27 54 (Mk. 15 39). As there is no reason to suppose that the great darkness, the earthquake, the rending of the veil in the temple, and the rising of the dead from their tombs actually occurred [cp EARTHQUAKE, § 2], the occasion for such an exclamation did not exist. Of these miracles Mk. mentions only the rending of the veil. Since the centurion could not have seen this, even if it happened, his astonishment is left without a cause. If Mk. had thought that the centurion became convinced of the divinity of Jesus by the fact that he died somewhat earlier than expected, uttering a loud cry, he would scarcely have introduced the statement as to the veil. By his tendency to shorten the accounts that he copied, he has here, as elsewhere, rendered his own incongruous. Both Mt. and Mk. no doubt thought of 'Son of God' in a Christian sense. While it is quite doubtful whether any of the evangelists found the loud cry significant, it is possible that a centurion accustomed to such sights saw in the relatively speedy release from suffering an evidence that this political criminal was indeed a righteous man (Lk. 23 47), though Lk. thought of the miracles as occasioning this judgment.

22. Origin of title in Synoptics.

A critical study of the synoptic material leads inevitably to the conclusion that Jesus never called himself 'the Son of God,' and never was addressed by that title. That he was proclaimed as such by voices from heaven and hell is a notion consonant with the ideas of the time, but not of such a nature as to command belief at present. But this negative result raises a question concerning the origin of the term 'Son of God.' Sanday regards it as certain that it was applied to Jesus in 1 Thess. 1 10, '23 years after the ascension,' and thinks it 'easier and more critical' to see in the expression a continuation of Jesus' own teaching than to look for its explanation in other directions. But apart from the impossibility of proving that the epistle quoted was written '23 years after the ascension,' by pointing to the Pauline literature Sanday has himself drawn the attention away from the line of direct transmission of the thoughts and words of Jesus. It is indeed in Hellenistic circles that the title as we find it applied to Jesus is likely to have originated. There is a possibility (see § 6) that in some circles the intensified study of 'Messianic' prophecies during the first century A.D. caused the term *bar ĕlāhā* to be used as a title of the Messiah. Wernle (*Anfänge uns. Rel.* 295) goes too far when he asserts that no road leads from the OT and Rabbinism to the doctrine of the deity of Christ, as Sanday rightly maintains. In Hasmonæan psalms 'gods' and 'sons of God' are still synonyms and, in language tinged with apocalyptic imagery, the reigning kings are described both as 'gods' and as 'sons of God.' In spite of practical monotheism, the belief in the existence of gods as celestial princes or as demons continued. Such a phrase as 'sons of God' because sons of the resurrection does not reflect a specifically Christian consciousness, but is likely to go back to 'Rabbinism,' showing its conception of the possibility of becoming a son of God in a metaphysical sense through a resurrection. Tendencies in the direction indicated can be pointed out, and are natural enough, since the mental habits of the Aramaic-speaking Jew cannot have been so radically different from those of the Greek-speaking Jew. Nevertheless it should be admitted that we possess no direct evidence of the use of *bar ĕlāhā* as a Messianic title. On the other hand, the term υἱὸς θεοῦ was frequently met with in the Græco-Roman world as a title of kings and a designation of heroes born of divine fathers or translated to be with the gods. The ideas associated with θεός and υἱὸς θεοῦ flowed into each other and had a metaphysical rather than an ethical significance. The meaning generally given to the term in the empire would unconsciously colour the thought of Hellenistic Jews when they found it employed in the Greek version of their Scriptures in what they took to be predictions of the Messiah. The titles υἱὸς θεοῦ, Κύριος, and Σωτήρ would certainly apply as well to the coming king of Israel as to the Roman Emperor. So far Jewish thought might certainly have gone, though it cannot be strictly proved that it went. It is not necessary to go outside the boundaries of Jewish thought, influenced by Greek speculation, for the ideas of an elevation into the sphere of divine life, through resurrection and ascension, the victory over demons knowing the secrets of another world, and even the birth of a hero without a human father, as Philo shows. In the present state of NT criticism it is not possible to date with accuracy the appearance of one or another of these ideas in Christian literature; but it may, perhaps, safely be assumed that they had all found expression by the beginning of the second century.

23. Use of title in Fourth Gospel.

In Jn. 'Son of God' (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) occurs ten times, and 'the Son' fourteen times. As in the case of the Synoptists it will be convenient to give the details.

1. 'Son of God': 10 times.

1 34: testimony of John.	10 36: OT precedent.
1 50: Nathanael's confession.	11 4: glorified through Lazarus.
3 18: belief in him.	11 27: Martha's confession.
5 25: dead hearing his voice.	19 7: making himself God's equal.
6 69: Peter's confession.	20 31: purpose of book.

In 3 16 'the only begotten son' occurs, and in 17 1 'thy son.'

2. 'The Son': 14 times.

3 17 35 36 5 20 21 22 *bis* 23 26 6 40 8 35 36 14 13 17 1.

In 1 18 the true reading seems to be μονογενὴς θεός, in 9 35 τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; in 1 34 the text is uncertain, Syr. sin. cur. reading 'the chosen one of God.'

It is important to observe that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ is used by John, Nathanael, Peter, Martha, and the evangelist himself, but rarely by Jesus, whilst ὁ υἱός is as a rule employed by Jesus alone. In the ecclesiastical circles whose christology this gospel reflects, the longer form, usually in addition to ὁ χριστός, was evidently used in public confessions of faith, and the shorter form had already come into vogue in theological discussions. To this evangelist 'the Son' was a divine being who had appeared in human shape. He was 'a god' (θεός 1 1), 'an only-begotten god' (μονογενὴς θεός 1 18) who had assumed human nature, had become flesh (1 14). He was the Logos of whom Philo had spoken as 'the Son,' the medium of creation and redemption. It was not blasphemy for him to claim a title felt to be equivalent to 'God,' for he had been sent from heaven, whilst in the Scriptures men who had only received oracles from heaven were called 'gods' (10 33 *ff.*) And he called those happy whose faith

allowed them to say 'My Lord and my God!' without having seen the evidences of his resurrection (20 29).

It is no longer necessary to prove that the words put upon the lips of Jesus in this gospel cannot have been uttered by him. Even scholars generally distrustful of results that contravene ecclesiastical tradition are no longer willing to maintain the position of Schleiermacher and Neander, but freely admit 'in this collection of sayings an element—possibly a somewhat considerable element—that represents not so much what was actually spoken as enlargement and comment embodying the experience and reflection of the growing church' (Sanday). The critical estimate gained by the investigations of Bretschneider, Strauss, Bruno Bauer, Schwegler, Baur, and Zeller was in the main so sound that it has been adopted, even after the severe testing by Bleek, Ewald, and Reuss, with modifications that do not essentially affect it, not only by Hilgenfeld, Keim, Volkmar, Holtzmann, Scholten, Thoma, Pfleiderer, and Albert Réville, but also by Schürer, Jülicher, and substantially Harnack, whose theory of authorship and interpolations does not render it usable as a source for the history of Jesus (*Das Wesen des Christenthums*, p. 13 ET, p. 19 *f.*). It is significant that the most recent investigators, Jean Réville, Kreyenbühl, Schmiedel, and Grill agree in rejecting the Johannine authorship, the authenticity of the speeches, and the various partition-theories. That all parts of the book reveal the influence of the Philonian Logos-idea was never so fully demonstrated as by Réville and Grill; however mistaken his theory of authorship may be, Kreyenbühl has exhibited, even more clearly than Baur, the gnostic affinities of the gospel; Schmiedel has shown convincingly how essentially correct the interpretation of the external evidence by the Tübingen school was; and by setting Jn.'s central idea, the incarnation, against the background of Oriental speculation, Grill has not only used the comparative method that henceforth must find a wider application in all biblical interpretation, but also revealed the legitimacy of that process of thought which led from the Fourth Gospel to the *Symbolum Nicænum*.

24. In Epp. and Rev. In the epistolary literature of the NT the following facts are noticeable.

'Son of God' occurs in 1 and 2 Jn. . . .	= 13 times
'the Son' occurs in 1 and 2 Jn. . . .	= 6 ,,

Neither occurs in—

(*a*) Jas. Jude 1 Pet. 3 Jn. or (except in an allusion to the transfiguration) 2 Pet.

(*b*) in Phil. Philem. 2 Thess. 1 Tim. 2 Tim. and Titus.

In the remaining epistles the occurrences are:

1. 'Son of God'

Rom. 1 3 4 9 5 10 8 3 29 32	= 7 times
Gal. 1 16 2 28 4 4 6	= 4 ,,
1 Cor. 1 9 2 Cor. 1 19 Eph. 4 13 Col. 1 13 1 Thess. 1 10	= 5 ,,
Heb. 1 5 4 14 6 6 7 3 10 29	= 5 ,,

2. 'the Son'

1 Cor. 15 28	= once
Heb. 1 2 8 3 6 5 8 7 28	= 5 times

The conception in the Johannine epistles is the same as in the fourth gospel. Rom. 1 3 is especially important as showing the idea of divine sonship based on the resurrection. Connected with this metaphysical sense of the term is the conception that men are not in themselves sons of God but may become such by endowment with divine spirit, 8 6. In Gal. 1 16 the manifestation of the risen Son of God is described as an inner process.

In Eph. and Col., which show the influence of the Logos speculation, the Son is the pre-existent medium of creation: the phrase 'first-born of all creation,' Col. 1 15, should not be interpreted so as to exclude priority (Sanday), since 'he is before all things,' as *v.* 17 shows. The closest affinity to the fourth gospel is found in Heb., where 'the Son' is an essentially divine being, subordinate to the Most High, but higher than 'the heavenly man' of 1 Cor. 15. Schenkel finely observed the embarrassment the author felt at the thought of this being learning obedience or suffering 'though he was a Son.' The Alexandrian exegesis of chap. 1 shows with what peculiar material the road from the OT was paved.

The term does not occur in Acts, and Sanday rightly decides against παῖς θεοῦ being interpreted as an equivalent. In Rev. 2 18 the Christ is called 'Son of God.' The strangely composite christology of this book may be connected with its composite authorship and the transmission of its text.

25. Historical significance of title. A careful examination of the gospels tends to produce the conviction that Jesus never assumed the title 'Son of God' either to designate himself as the expected king of Israel or to intimate that his nature was unlike that of other men, but that he spoke of men in general as 'the sons of God' and of God as their father, and also used the expression as a mark of distinction for those whose character resembled God's, who by their filial relation were freed from bondage to legal enactments concerning the cult, whose spirit and conduct established peace in the world, and who would be accounted worthy of a share in the resurrection from the dead. From a modern point of view such an attitude no doubt appears ethically more valuable than the loftiest claim of kingship or of godhood. The personality which historical criticism is able to discover behind the gospel records is not only more real but more ideal than the portrait the evangelists produced. Nevertheless the bestowal upon Jesus of a title he did not claim and probably could not have understood marked a step forward. When he was lifted up from earth and made a god, he drew all men unto himself. For him they abandoned the gods of their fathers, and out of his fulness they all received some measure of grace and truth. It may be questioned whether without this deification it would have become historically possible for him to dispense his spiritual gifts through the ages. It was far easier for men outside of Jewry to look upon the bearer to them of such treasures of life as a god than as a mere man; and even Hellenistic Jews must translate his personality into the supernatural to derive from it such spiritual benefits as their education had prepared them to receive. There is an element of truth in Wernle's keen observation that 'christological dogma did not arise through a gradual increase but, on the contrary, through Jewish and anti-gnostic reduction of the popular faith' (*Anfänge*, 295). It was after all the true humanity of the Son of God that bore off the victory at Nicæa. But it should not be denied that there had been a gradual growth into that well-balanced conception which, it would seem, was best adapted to guard the spiritual interests involved. As the œcumenic creeds were the corollaries of that conception of 'the Son of God' who is himself 'God' which comes distinctly to view in the fourth gospel, so this itself is the product of a long development of thought in Israel as well as in Greece, and among the Aryans of India and Persia. The contribution of Jesus himself to this development was the indelible impression of his personality. His own thought was too grand in its simplicity for the world to appreciate. That it means more to be a child of God in the sense in which Jesus used the term than to be the Son defined by the Nicene creed, is a truth still hidden from many who are wise and prudent.

26. Literature. The title has been discussed with more or less fulness in numerous commentaries, OT and NT theologies, critiques of the gospels, and lives of Jesus. Among the latter those of Strauss, Neander, Keim, Hase, Schenkel, Beyschlag, Weiss, and A. Réville should be mentioned. The following works deal with various aspects of the question. Ilgen, 'De notione tituli filii dei' in Paulus, *Memorabilien*, 7, 1795, pp. 119-198; Bertholdt, *Christologia Judæorum*, 1811; Colani, *Jésus Christ et les croyances messianiques de son temps*, 1864; Wittichen, *Die Idee Gottes als des Vaters*, 1865; Vernes, *Histoire des idées messianiques*, 1874; Drummond, *The Jewish Messiah*, 1877; Schenkel, article 'Sohn Gottes' in *Bibellexikon*, 1875; Stanton, *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*, 1886; Wendt, *Die Lehre Jesu*, 1890; Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1892; Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, 1897; Paul, *Vorstellungen von Messias*, 1895; Brandt, *Evangelische Geschichte*, 1893; Thoma, *Genesis des Johannes-Evangeliums*, 1882; Pfleiderer, *Urchristenthum*, 1887; Jean Réville, *Le Quatrième Evangile*, 1901; Kreyenbühl, *Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*, 1900; Grill, *Untersuchungen über die Entstehung d. vierten Evangeliums*, 1902; Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, 1897; Schmiedel, *Prot. Monatshefte*, 1900, p. 1 *ff.*; Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, 1898; Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis*, 1901: Rose, 'Fils de l'homme et fils de dieu' in *Revue biblique*, 1900, pp. 169 *ff.*; Schmidt, *Son of Man and Son of God in Modern Theology* (in press); Stevens, *The Teaching of Jesus*, 1901.

N. S.

SON OF MAN

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The expression 'Son of Man' (*ben ādām*) is in Hebrew literature a synonym of 'man.' Apart from Ezekiel and Daniel it seems to be used exclusively in poetic style.

1. Synonym of 'man.'

ben-ādām (בֶּן אָדָם) in Nu. 23 19 Is. 51 12 56 2 Jer. 49 18 33 50 40 51 43 Ps. 8 5 80 18 146 3 Job 16 21 25 6 35 8, probably also in the original of Ecclus. 17 30 Judith 8 16 Test. 12 Patr. Joseph 2; *ben ĕnōš* (בן אנוש) in Ps. 144 3. The meaning is rendered perfectly clear by *īš* (איש), *ĕnōš* (אנוש), or *géber* (גבר) occurring in the parallel stichoi. Such poetic expressions may be either survivals of forms once in common use or later creations. When cognate languages offer no analogy, the latter is more probable. In this case, the strongly entrenched Aramaic usage (see § 4) is in favour of the former explanation. Collectives like אֱנוֹשׁ, אָדָם, בָּקָר, צֹאן are very old; and the designation of the individual of the species as בֶּן־אָדָם or בֶּן־אֱנוֹשׁ, a man, בֶּן־בָּקָר, an ox, בֶּן־צֹאן, a sheep or a goat, is likely to belong to the same early period.

A still simpler phrase for 'a man,' *aḥad hā-ādām* (אַחַד הָאָדָם), occurs only in Judg. 16 7, where it seems to have been preserved from an earlier form of the story in which Samson was not 'one of mankind' but a solar divinity. While *īš* (איש, originally also a collective, cp בני איש, איש ישראל) and *iššāh* (אשה) apparently tended to displace *ben-ādām* and *bath-ādām* (or *bath han-nāšīm*, Dan. 11 17) and were supplemented by *ādām* and *ĕnōš* in the sense of 'man' 'the human being,' *der Mensch* (frequently found in Ecclus.), the plurals *bnē ādām* and *bnē īš* maintained themselves more strongly against the collectives both in the sense of 'people' '*Leute*' and in that of 'mankind.'

The plurals occur thus: בְּנֵי אָדָם in Gen. 11 5 Dt. 32 8 1 S. 26 19 2 S. 7 12 1 K. 8 39 Ezek. 31 14 Mic. 5 6 Joel 1 12 Ps. 11 4 12 2 9 14 2 21 11 31 20 33 13 36 8 45 3 49 3 53 3 57 5 58 2 62 10 66 5 89 48 90 3 107 8 15 21 31 115 16 145 12 Prov. 8 4 31 13 22 Eccl. 2 8 3 10 21 8 11 9 3 12; בְּנֵי אִישׁ in Ps. 4 3 49 3 62 10 Lam. 3 33 Ecclus. 16 15 36 23 38 7 40 1; בְּנוֹת הָאָדָם, 'the women of the human race' in Gen. 6 2.

2. Special use in Ezekiel.

In Ezekiel the expression 'son of man' occurs some ninety times, always as the title by which the prophet is addressed by Yahwè. The question naturally arises, why Ezekiel represented Yahwè as constantly employing this term; or, if its use was not due to conscious reflection, but to inspiration in a certain pathological condition, why this particular form of speech suggested itself with such frequency.

Jerome regarded the term as expressive of the frailty of him who was honoured with divine visions and commissions, and most modern scholars have found in it an intimation of weakness and insignificance (Smend, Bertholet, Kraetzschmar, Toy). Appel, however, deems this explanation inadequate, examines the title in the light of the various passages in which it occurs, and comes to the conclusion that it was given to the prophet by way of distinction to set him off from his fellowmen. According to the theory of Maurice Vernes (*Hist. des idées messianiques*, 187 [1874]) 'son of man' is synonymous with 'prophet.' Fiebig thinks that it may have been more natural to use the longer form in the vocative. Already in the interpretation of the phrase in Ezekiel we meet with an emphatically low and an emphatically high estimate, a synthetic and an analytic judgment, an assumption that it is a title of office and an appeal to philology and literary criticism; and there is an element of truth in each contention. There can be no question as to the general identity of 'son of man' and 'man.' It is also quite evident that 'son of man' cannot have been used by man as a title of a prophet. He might be referred to as *ha-ḥōzeh* (החוה) 'the seer,' *han-nābī'* (הנביא) 'the speaker,' *ham-mōreh* (המורה) 'the oracle giver,' *īš hā-ĕlōhīm* (איש האלהים), 'the man of God,' but not simply as 'the man.' The ordinary designations, however, would not be so suitable in the mouth of God and angels. By them the prophet would be either called by name (Am. 8 2 Dan. 9 22 10 11 *f.*), or addressed as a representative of the human race. In the latter case, the fact that celestial beings hold converse only with their chosen ones would naturally make the expression suggestive, not merely of inferiority of race, but also of special privilege. Its use would consequently express the prophet's self-consciousness as well as his humility. Dan. 8 17 shows that in some circles it was thought proper for the *angelus interlocutor* to address the prophets as 'human being' (בן ארם), when the name was not used.

The employment of this phrase by Ezekiel seems, then, to have arisen from the double feeling of humility and elation expressed in Ps. 8. Much of the repetition may be due solely to literary habit, and some instances to later imitation (see SCYTHIANS, § 5).

3. Doubtful meaning in Ta'ănīth 65*b*.

The only apparent exception in Hebrew seems to be Talmud, Pal. *Ta'ănīth* 65 *b*.

The passage contains the following comment on Nu. 23 19 by Abbāhū (about 280 A.D.): 'If a man says "I am a god," he lies; (if he says) "I am a son of man," he will in the end regret it; (if he says) "I ascend to heaven," he may say it, but he cannot accomplish it.' If the text is sound, the interpretation of Laible, Bacher, and Dalman is no doubt essentially correct. Abbāhū, who was often in conflict with Christians, unquestionably refers to Jesus. He is not likely to have had in mind either Moses (Schwab) or the tower-builders (Rabbinic commentators, followed by Cohen in Lietzmann). Christians like Sason, who in their disputations with him seem to have used to some extent the Hebrew language, probably translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου by *ben hā-ādām*, as, in modern times, Delitzsch. It is supposed that the indefinite *ben ādām* was suggested by Nu. 23 19, and that the context was depended on to indicate the reference. The real difficulty, however, is to understand why Abbāhū should have regarded it as an assumption on the part of Jesus to call himself 'son of man,' such as any man must in the end regret. It is not a question of Messianic titles and prerogatives. The Messiah is not a god, in Jewish theology, and does not ascend to heaven, nor is it improper for him, or any other man, to call himself a son of man, *ben ādām*. The original may have read 'I am a man and I ascend to heaven,' בן ארם אני ואני עולה לשמים, the words סופו לתהות בו being a misplaced gloss. Abbāhū would, then, wittily allude to the self-designation of Jesus as a confession that he was not a god but a man, while emphasising thereby the enormity of his claim, inferred from Jn. 14 24 and Acts 1 9.

4. Aramaic usage.

In Aramaic 'son of man' is used with great frequency as a synonym of 'man.'

1. *Early inscriptions.*—For the Assyrian and Persian periods we are wholly dependent upon inscriptions. These are often dated and represent a widespread territory; but they are for the most part very brief, and the vocabulary is limited. It is of comparatively small significance that the term 'son of man' does not occur in them, since it is very seldom that any designation of man is found. But it is important that among the few instances אנש occurs three times as a plural or collective—viz. קדם אלהי וקדם אנש 'before gods and man' (Zenjīrli, Panamu

stele, *l.* 23, eighth century), ואלהן ואנש 'gods and men' (Teima, sixth century *CIS* 2 no. 113*a*, *l.* 20), VII. אנש 'seven men' (Kuyunjik, Oct. 680, *CIS* 2 no. 17).

2. *Syriac.* — Among the East Aramaic dialects (Syriac, Mandaic, Babylonian Talmudic) the expression is most common in Syriac. Even if the Pesh. of OT is essentially a Jewish work, it cannot, in view of text and canon, be earlier than the first century A.D., and probably does not antedate the oldest Christian productions by more than fifty years. The fact that 'man' is rendered *bar nāšā* in the OT rather less frequently than the original Syraic literature would cause one to expect is therefore likely to be due to the translators clinging as closely as possible to the Hebrew text, and not to any change in the common speech of Edessa. That *nāšā* originally was a collective and virtually a plural is abundantly evident from the preponderating usage. The fact that in a translation from one dialect into another the Bibl. Aram. [כְּ]בַר אֱנָשׁ of Dan. 7 13 was rendered [איך] כבר אנשין in Syriac[1] shows that even the indefinite אנש gave the impression of being a collective. There are many instances, however, where the Syriac אנשא is used as a singular. That *bar-nāšā* originally denoted the individual of the species man is perfectly clear from the collective meaning of אנשא and the prevalent usage. It is the ordinary, though not the only, designation of man, the individual, and the emphatic ending א does not prevent it from meaning 'a man' as well as 'the men.' איש and בר אנש are both used for 'one,' 'some one,' 'any one,' 'jemand,' 'each.' In the version made by Paul of Tella in 618 *ben ādām* is rendered by *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* in Nu. 23 19 Ezek. *passim*, Jer. 49 18 50 40 etc.; and by *b'reh de-bar-nāšā* in Jer. 51 43, while *bar-nāšā* is reserved for *ādām* or *ĕnōš*. This does not show that *b'reh dĕ-nāšā*, which never occurs in Pesh., was a natural Syriac translation of *ben ādām*, but only that Paul of Tella, when he had already used *bar-nāšā* for *ādām*, availed himself of the form created as a *terminus technicus* of Christian theology (see § 13) for a synonym. That he should do so is neither more nor less strange than that he should employ the similar phrase *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā*. The same influence of the phrase constructed as a rendering of **ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου** is seen in the NT where Pesh. uses *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* even in Jn. 5 27 Heb. 2 6 Rev. 1 13 14 14, though the Greek has only **υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου**.

iii. *Biblical use.*—In Pesh. the Heb. *ben ādām* is rendered *bar-nāšā* everywhere except in Job 35 8. *bar-nāšā* is the translation of *ādām* in Ex. 13 13 33 20 1 S. 15 29 Is. 44 13 Jer. 26 10 14 Ezek. 1 3 10 26 10 8 14 28 2 9 Mal. 3 8 1 Ch. 29 1, of *ĕnōš* in Ps. 55 14 66 11 90 3 103 3 104 15 Job 15 14 25 4 32 8. But more frequently another word is chosen, such as *'nāšā* or *b'nē 'nāšā* or *gabrā* for *ĕnōš*; *ādām* or *b'nē nāšā* or *'nāšā* for *ādām*. It is interesting to observe that in Ecclus. the Heb. *īš* is rendered *gabrā*, 14 2 *f.* 31 16 36 20 26; *'nāšā*, 27 5; *b'nē 'nāša*, 15 19. *ādām* is rendered *bar-nāšā*, 11 2 13 15 41 11; *b'nē nāšā*, 15 17; and *kol nāšā*, 16 17; *b'nē ādām* is rendered *b'nē 'nāšā*, 16 15 40 1. Similarly in the Aramaic portions of OT., *ĕnāšā* is rendered *bar-nāšā* in Dan. 7 8; elsewhere *ĕnāš* by *'nāš* (Dan. 2 10), אנשי (constr. plur.; Ezra 4 11), *kol-nāš* (Dan. 3 10), *'nāšā* (Dan. 5 5 etc.); and *ănāšā* with *b'nē nāšā*, Dan. 2 38 5 21, or *'nāšā*, Dan. 4 29 [25].

In the NT the *Evangeliarium Hier.* uses the indeterminate *bar-nāš* exclusively as a rendering of ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 8 9 19 6 Mk. 8 36 *f.* Lk. 7 8 18 2 Jn. 3 37 5 34 7 22 23*a* 10 33 11 50 16 21 (Jn. 7 23*a* is not an exception as the construction demands the emphatic);[2] *bar-nāšā* only for ὁ ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 4 4 12 35*a*, *b* 26 24*a*, *b* 74 Mk. 2 27*a*, *b* Jn. 18 17 29 19 5; *gabrā* in the sense of 'husband,' Mt. 19 5 10 (cp Mt. 1 16 Lk. 2 36 Jn. 4 16 *ff.*), but also in Mt. 26 72 as a synonym of *bar-nāšā* in 26 74; and *'nāš* with the meaning 'any one' in Mt. 19 3 10 end. The exact use of the emphatic is all the more remarkable as *gabrā* so rarely occurs, and this rare occurrence is itself peculiar in view of the fact that *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* is the ordinary rendering of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. In the Curetonian Fragments, *bar-'nāšā* is used indiscriminately for ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 4 4 12 12 43 15 11*a*, *b* 18 20 19 6 Lk. 9 25 Jn. 3 27 5 34 7 22 23*a*, *b*; *gabrā* for ὁ ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 8 9 12 35*a*, *b* 19 3 5 10 Lk. 23 4 47; *'nāš* in Mt. 15 20 for 'one.' In the Sinaitic MS *bar-nāšā* is likewise used without discrimination for ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 4 14 12 12 (?) 43 15 11*a*, *b* 18 20 19 6 Mk. 8 36 *f.* 10 9 Lk. 18 2 Jn. 2 23 3 27 5 34 7 22 23*b* 10 33; *gabrā* for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, Mt. 8 9 12 35 19 10 35 Mk. 10 7 Lk. 4 4 6 45 7 8 Jn. 11 50 18 17; *bar-nāš*, Jn. 7 23, and *'nāš*, Mt. 15 20, for 'one,' *jemand*. In the Pesh. substantially the same condition prevails, as *bar-nāšā* is used for ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 12 12 19 6 Mk. 8 36 *f.* Lk. 9 25 Jn. 3 27 5 34 7 23*a* 10 33 16 21, even more frequently than for ὁ ἄνθρωπος as in Mt. 4 4 12 43 15 11*a*, *b* 18 20, and *gabrā* for ἄνθρωπος in Mt. 8 9 Lk. 7 8 Jn. 11 50 as well as for ὁ ἄνθρωπος, Mt. 12 35 19 5 10 Lk. 4 4 6 45 Jn. 18 17 29 19 5, and *'nāš* has the sense of 'some one' in Mt. 19 3 Jn. 2 25*a*. In Mt. 16 13 οἱ ἄνθρωποι is rendered *'nāšā* by Pesh., Cur., and Sin., while the *Ev. Hier.* has *b'nē 'nāšā*. To show that *'nāšā* may be sing. and *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* a grammatical possibility, Driver quotes Job 7 20 14 19 33 16, Pesh., as 'precise formal parallels.' Such passages as Ex. 31 14 Dt. 8 3 Is. 51 12 Job 25 6 Eccles. 7 28 *f.* are better examples of *'nāšā* as

[1] Here and occasionally elsewhere in this article the Syriac has been transliterated into Hebrew for the sake of simplicity.

[2] Lietzmann's statement (p. 83) that ἄνθρωπός τις is rendered ברנשא חד in Lk. 5 20 is not correct. The Greek is ἄνθρωπε, and the Ev. has ברנשא, as the vocative is regularly indicated by the emphatic. Ἄνθρωπός τις is rendered ברנש חד, Lk. 5 11.

sing., since in the three cases quoted it seems to be a collective (Job 7 20, Syr. 'maker of the human race,' Heb. נֹצֵר הָאָדָם, 'watcher of mankind,' 𝔊 τῶν ἀνθρώπων; 14 19, 'hope of the human race,' Heb. תִּקְוַת אֱנוֹשׁ; 33 16, 'ears of men,' Heb. אֲנָשִׁים, 𝔊 ἀνθρώπων). The construction of collective nouns with sg. suffixes is very common. In appearance the forms *'ābōdeh d'anāšā* (maker of man), *sabreh d'anāšā* (hope of man), and *edneh d'anāšā* (the ear of the man) look very much like *b'reh d'anāšā* (son of man); in reality there is a marked difference between them. While the former are perfectly clear and idiomatic expressions, the latter is artificial, vague, and ambiguous. It may be translated either 'son of the human race,' or 'son of the human being.' But it is no more apparent what it means to be 'a son of the human race,' in distinction from being a mere member of the human family (*bar-nāšā*), than why a man's father should be emphatically described as 'the human being.' The form can be explained by the exigencies of theological thought (cp § 13), not by the laws of Aramaic speech.

iv. *Mandaic.*—In Mandaic בר אנאשא occurs, *Genza* i. 207 22, in the sense of 'man.' Two plurals are found, בני אנאשא and בנאת אנאשא (formed as אבות, אבאהאתא). The late form בארנאשיא, plur. *Asfar Malwaše*, 298, shows how completely the first part of the word was lost to consciousness. עניש, 'a man,' 'any one,' occurs only in *status absolutus*. But the most common expression for 'man' is גברא. Cp Nö. *Mand. Gram.* 127, 148.

v. *Babylonian and Talmudic.*—In Babylonian Talmudic ברנשא was likewise used, though not so frequently as אנשא, for 'man.'

vi. *Judæan dialect.*—Among the W. Aramaic dialects (Judæan, Samaritan, Galilæan, Nabatæan) this idiomatic expression seems to have been less common in the S. than in the N. It does indeed occur as early as 165 B.C. in Dan. 7 13. For here *kĕ-bar-ĕnāš* (כבר אנש) means 'like a human being.' Dalman thinks that this chapter has been translated from a Hebrew original which had כְּבֶן אָדָם. Even if that were so, the translator would not have chosen *bar-nāš* in preference to *bar ādām*, exclusively used by Onkelos, if, in the circles where he moved, *bar-nāš* and *bar-nāšā* were not more commonly used. For the plural he uses *bnē ănāšā*, Dan. 2 38 5 21, or *ănāšā*, 2 43 4 16 *f.* 25 32 7 8; cp Ezra 4 11. *ĕnāš* occurs only in the sense of 'a man,' 5 5 6 7 12 7 4 14 2 10 3 10. The oldest Targums, ascribed to Onkelos and Jonathan, are written in the same Judæan dialect. As בר אנש does not occur at all in Onkelos—*ben ādām* being rendered *bar-ādām*—and only in Is. 51 12 56 2 Jer. 49 18 33 50 40 51 43, Mic. 5 6 for *ben ādām* in Jonathan, it is possible that the distinctive word for man, the individual, *bar-nāšā*, was not in vogue, *gabrā*, 'man, the male,' and *ănāšā*, 'man, the race,' being employed also to denote the member of the human family. The fact that בני אינשא occurs with greater frequency both in Onkelos and Jonathan may then show that the plural survived longer than the singular for the same reasons as in Hebrew. But the influence of a more extensive cultivation of the ancient Hebrew tongue in Judæa, especially among those capable of acting as interpreters, should not be overlooked; and it is quite likely that the common speech of the people was less affected by Hebraisms than the paraphrases would suggest.

vii. *Samaritan.*—In the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch ברנשא is found only in some manuscripts in Gen. 9 6 and Nu. 23 19. Since it occurs quite frequently in Markah (cp Fiebig, 17 *ff.*), it is safe to infer that here also the influence of the original upon the learned translators renders the version less trustworthy in this respect as a witness to Samaritan usage.

viii. *Galilæan dialect.*—In regard to the Galilæan dialect we possess the simplest information. In the freedom of spontaneous utterance and repartee in the Palestinian Talmud the peculiarities of popular speech have a better chance of revealing themselves than in the translations, and the later Targums follow less closely the Hebrew than the earlier. But even when due weight is given to this fact, the extraordinary frequency of the idiom no doubt indicates a more extensive use on the part of the people of Galilee. Dalman is inclined to regard it as a comparatively late development under the influence of the Syriac, and thinks that a person in the first century A.D. using so strange an expression as *bar-nāsā* then would not have been understood as speaking of 'man.' But Fiebig has shown that, not only did Hoša'ya, about 200 A.D., use ברנשא רבא for 'a great man' (*Shĕkālīn* 5 6), but Šime'on b. Yochai, about 130-160 A.D., used ברנש for 'man,' '*der Mensch*' (*Berach.* 1 5), and possibly also Sime'on b. Gamaliel, his contemporary, if a certain saying has been preserved more accurately in Talm. Bab., *Nĕdārīm* 54*b*, *Mĕ'īlā* 20*b*. The indifference to the emphatic state points to long usage even in the first part of the second century. It is extremely difficult to believe that only three generations earlier an expression that had taken such deep roots, and is found in the literary remains of all Aramaic dialects, should not have been widely used in Galilee as an equivalent of אנש or אנשא in the sing., and it is quite incredible that so natural and idiomatic a designation of the individual of the human race should not have been understood as 'man,' but taken to be an esoteric expression. Mesopotamia and N. Syria were old centres of Aramaic speech, and it is therefore natural that the old term to denote a member of the human family should have maintained itself most strongly there. Of ברה דאנשא there is apparently no trace in the

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Galilæan dialect. It does not even occur in Christian testimony which may represent this dialect.

ix. *The Nimrod legend in Bĕrēšith rabba.*—It is quite unnecessary to resort to Babylonian mythology, as Fiebig is inclined to do, for an explanation of ברנשא דמביל רוחא (*Ber. rabba* 38 p. 47); Abraham no doubt intended to lead Nimrod on from the worship of man to that of God, as he had from the worship of the elements to that of man; every man is a bearer of the breath of life, and no mysterious pregnant sense is demanded.

x. *Nabatæan.*—Of the Nabatæan nothing is known except through inscriptions. In these only אנוש in the sense of 'one,' 'some one,' 'any one' occurs. No inference can be drawn concerning the existence of ברנש or ברנשא. The use of this term in Aramaic has been treated with most comprehensiveness by Fiebig, with most Talmudic learning by Dalman, and with most insight by Wellhausen. An essentially correct understanding of it lies at the basis of the theory developed by Eerdmans, Schmidt, Meyer, and Lietzmann (see § 30).

5. Analogous forms in Assyrian, Ethiopic, and Arabic.

In the Babylonian myth concerning Adapa and the S. wind (*Recueil de trav.* 20 4) the hero is addressed as *Zir amiluti* (3 12). Hommel (*Exp. T.* May 1900, p. 341) translates this expression, 'spring of mankind,' explains it as 'he from whose seed the whole of mankind is sprung,' and compares it with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. If this translation were possible, the phrase would have nothing in common with the Greek term or its Aramaic original. But it clearly means 'seed of men'; and as *zeru* in 2 R. 36 48 is distinctly said to be a synonym of *maru*, 'son,' *zir amiluti* is an exact equivalent of בר אנשא. Whatever his relation to Ea, Adapa is a mortal man, not a god, and is to be punished for his presumption. The idea that he is the first man is precluded by 16 11 12 16. [Cp PARADISE, § 12.]

Adapa's designation as *mar Iridu*—'son [*i.e.*, citizen] of Iridu'—(cp *mar Batili*, *mar Barsip*, *mart Ninâ*, *mart mal Aššur*) shows that, like בֵּן and בר, *maru* was used to designate the member of a larger body. Delitzsch aptly compares *mar ummani* (pl.), 'an artist'; *mar ikkari*, 'a peasant'; *mar išpari*, 'a weaver,' with Heb. בְּנֵי הַנְּבִיאִים; *mart nunt* also means simply 'fishes,' and *mar iṣṣuri*, 'a bird.'

The Ethiopic Bible renders 'son of man' by *wăldă săb'ĕ*, *wăldă bĕ'ĕsī*, *'ĕg uălă 'ĕmăḥĕyāu* and *wăldă 'ĕguăla 'ĕmăḥĕyāu*. Of these terms *wăldă săb'ĕ* is probably the most original. As *săb'ĕ* is a collective and virtual plural, *wăldă săb'ĕ* exactly corresponds to בראנשא *Wăldă bĕ'ĕsī*=*filius viri* is the equivalent of בר גברא, but, like גברא, *bĕ'ĕsī* is also used for 'man,' '*der Mensch.*' Our ignorance of the native mythology renders it impossible to decide whether in *'ĕguălă 'ĕmăḥĕyāu*=*proles matris vivi*, the reference to Eve is original, and the expression consequently of Jewish or Christian origin, or some other mother, human or divine, is intended. It is often used collectively for οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, בני אנשא. *Wăldă 'ĕguălă 'ĕmăḥĕyău*, 'son of the offspring of the mother of the living,' is apparently a Christian term made substantially on the same pattern and for the same reason as ברה דברנשא. It was exclusively used for ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in the NT, and by reminiscence or interpretation found its way into passages having only υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου such as Jn. 5 27 Heb. 2 6 Rev. 1 13 14 14 and also Ps. 80 18 Dan. 7 13 Ezek. 2 1 and throughout the book, and Enoch 37-71 *passim* (see § 7).

In the Arabic version 'son of man' is most frequently rendered *ibnu'l insāni* both in OT and NT. Sometimes *ibnu insāni* occurs, Is. 51 12, and in Ps. 146 3 בֶּן אדם is rendered *bani bašari*. In the NT *ibnu'l bašari* occurs frequently (see § 13). *Bašaru* is a collective and plural, but used for 'man,' the individual, as well as for 'man,' the race.

6. Dan. 7 13.

Dan. 7 13 is the earliest passage in Aramaic literature where the term 'son of man' occurs. One 'like a human being' (*kĕbar ĕnāš*, כבר אנש) appears before the Ancient of Days and receives the empire of the world. The Messianic interpretation of this passage meets us as early as in the first century A.D. in Enoch 37-71 (see § 7) and 4 Ezra (see § 8). The evangelists apparently understood it as referring to the Messiah (cp especially Mt. 26 64 Mk. 14 62), and the natural impression of the Greek gospels is that Jesus himself shared this view. It consequently prevailed in the church. Through the influence of 'Aḳība, Joshua b. Levi, and Shemuel b. Naḥman, it also gained the ascendancy in the synagogue. On critical grounds it has been accepted by a number of modern scholars.[1] Its strength lies in the fact that it recognises the presence in this passage of a well-known concrete personality. But it utterly fails to explain how the Messiah, once introduced, can have dropped so completely out of the author's thought, not only in the explanation of the vision where he is unceremoniously ignored, but also in the future deliverance with which Michael has much to do but the Messiah nothing. A non-Messianic interpretation appears already in Enoch 71 (see § 8), where Enoch is evidently understood as being the 'son of man' of Daniel's vision. Ibn Ezra interpreted *bar-ĕnāš* as referring to the people of Israel. In modern times this view has been maintained by many scholars.[1] Yet a symbolic representation of 'a more humane regime,' '*ein Menschheitsideal*' savours more of modern humanitarian ideas than of the concrete conceptions of Semitic antiquity.

The present writer (*JBL* 19, 1900) was led by these difficulties to regard the manlike being as an angel, and more particularly Michael, the guardian-angel of Israel. He pointed out that angels are constantly introduced as having the appearance of men;[2] that the only angelic representative of Israel is Michael ('your prince,' שַׂרְכֶם, Dan. 10 21 12 1); and that his coming with the clouds after the destruction of the beasts, in view of 4 Ezra 13 1 Apoc. Elijah 14 20 15 1, may show that the battle with chaos-monsters had already been transferred from Yahwè to Michael. This view has been accepted by Porter (Hastings, *DB* 4 260), who also suggests the demonic character of the beasts. The objection that one would expect the heathen nations to be likewise represented by their angel princes is met partly by the traditional form of the appropriated Marduk myth, partly by a lingering respect for these angelic dignitaries who are the former gods of the nations. Chaos-monsters may be consumed by fire, but angels are not slain. That the one like a man is neither the Messiah nor a mere symbol of Israel has independently been argued by Grill (*Untersuch. über die Entst. des Vierten Evang.* 50 *ff.* [1902]), who also thinks of Michael, but is inclined to look for a still higher being whose name is significantly withheld, like that of the numen of PENUEL (*q.v.*), at the same time a 'most exalted personal intermediary between God and the world and a transcendant prototype of the God-pleasing humanity ultimately to be realised in the people of the Most High.' The first part of this definition suits Michael; whether he or any other angel was ever thought of as the ideal Israelite, is more doubtful.

Völter (*ZNTW*, 1902, p. 173 *f.*) has also abandoned the hitherto prevailing views and suggested that the celestial being is none else than the Mazdayasnian *Ḫšathra vairiya*, one of the Ameša speñtas who is a personification of the kingdom of heaven. But apart from the uncertainty as to the date of the Avestan documents, Daniel's man-like being is a representative not of the heavenly kingdom, but of Israel.

7. Enoch 37-71.

Another originally Aramaic book (so rightly Schürer, Lévi, We.) in which the term 'son of man' occurs is Enoch 37-71. It is known to us only through an Ethiopic translation. That a Greek version even of this part of the Enoch literature once existed may be inferred from Tertullian (*de cultu feminarum*, 1 3); but whether the Ethiopic translation was made from it, is uncertain. According to Bruce (in Laurence, *Libri Enoch Proph. Vers. Æthiop.* 11 [1838]) 'the Jews in Abyssinia admit it into their Canon; it is not, however, the Book of Enoch received amongst the Rabbins.' The first Ethiopic version may therefore have been made by a Jew from the Aramaic. This would account for a

[1] Lengerke, Ewald, Knobel, Hilgenfeld, Bleek, S. Davidson, Riehm, Orelli, Dillmann, Behrmann, Jul. Boehmer.

[1] Hofmann, Hitzig, Wittichen, Colani, Kuenen, Straton, Keim, Vernes, Smend, Toy, Marti, Meinhold, Bevan, Réville, Dalman, Schürer, Gunkel, Wellhausen, Lietzmann, Charles, Prince, Driver, Curtis, Hahn.

[2] כמראה גבר, Dan. 8 15; כדמות בני אדם, Dan. 10 16; כמראה אדם, Dan. 10 18; גברין, Dan. 3 25; האיש גבריאל, Dan. 9 21, cp 10 5 12 6 *f.*; ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου, Rev. 14 14 [see § 9], 'like white men,' Enoch 87 2.

number of Aramaisms not so likely to pass through the medium of a Greek translation. See APOCALYPTIC, § 30.

That the text has suffered numerous interpolations is universally admitted. A series of these were apparently taken from a lost Apocalypse of Noah. Already Laurence perceived some of them; Köstlin (*Th. Jahrb.* 1856, p. 240 *ff.*) recognised those that most certainly have this origin, 54 1-55 2 60 65 1-69 25. Tidemann (*Th. T*, 1875, p. 261 *ff.*) conjectured that 41 3-9 43 44 59 were drawn from the same source, and Charles has adopted this view. Bruno Bauer (*Kritik d. Gesch.* 1 402 [1841]) first called attention to the now generally recognised secondary character of 70, 71, and suggested that the 'Son of Man' passages were interpolated. Hilgenfeld (*Jüd. Apokalyptik*, 162 *ff.* [1857]) presented the only natural interpretation of 67 4-13 by which the Noachic interpolations are found to be later than 79 A.D., and the most probable explanation of 56 1 *ff.* which apparently makes the original work later than Nero. His view that the book was essentially the work of a Gnostic Christian was accepted by many scholars. The objection that one would expect more distinctive Christian teaching was met in part by a reference to the Enochian masque, in part by emphasis upon the important Christian ideas found in the book. Drummond, however, showed in a convincing manner, that the Messianic passages were out of harmony both with the title and with the contents in each figurative address, and that their removal rendered the discourses far more intelligible (*The Jewish Messiah*, p. 48 *ff.* [1877]). This argument was further elaborated by Pfleiderer (*Urchrist.*, 312 *ff.* [1887]). A similar view was independently presented by Bousset (*Jesu Predigt*, 106 [1892]). But Drummond's theory failed to explain how any man could have written chap. 71 either before or after these interpolations were made, and also why a Christian interpolator should not have used the title *wăldă 'ĕguălă 'emăḥĕyāu* exclusively as it is in the NT. 71 1-16 can be accounted for only on the assumption that the text preceding it somewhere made an allusion to a man who has righteousness, yet in such a manner as to render it possible to regard Enoch as the man intended. This precludes the possibility of any passage containing the peculiar Christian phrase 'son of the offspring of the mother of the living' (62 7 9 14 63 11 69 26 *f.* 70 1) having been a part of the text to which 71 1-16 was added. It is among the passages in which 'son of man' is rendered *wăldă săb'ĕ* (46 2 *ff.* 48 2 60 10) or *w. bĕ'ĕsi* (62 5 69 29 *a*, *b*) that such an allusion must be sought. In 60 10 the author of the Noachian fragments used *bar-nāšā* or *ben-ādām* precisely as it is used in Ezek.

It is difficult to think through chap. 46 in the Aramaic without obtaining the impression that the Ethiopic is a direct translation of the original. 'I saw one like a man;' 'I asked in regard to that man;' 'he answered: this is the man who has righteousness;' 'this man whom thou hast seen will arouse the kings.' The use of the demonstrative (ברנשא הו) is evidently in good order. On the theory of a translation from the Greek, the present writer and subsequently Charles pointed out the use of the demonstrative for the missing article in the Ethiopic, permitting the assumption that the Greek had everywhere simply ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. But Flemming (in Lietzmann, *PHM*) has rightly called attention to the fact that in the NT *wăldă 'ĕguălă 'ĕmăḥĕyaū* is never preceded by a demonstrative. *Wăldă săb'ĕ* is as admirable a reading of *bar-nāšā* in 46 2 *ff.* as in 60 10. Even in 48 2, 'in that hour that man was named (*i.e.*, 'called') before (Aramaic for 'by') the Lord of Spirits,' the use is natural. The scene in 46 is reminiscent of Dan. 7. As Daniel's manlike being was not mentioned by name, he might be an angel like Michael, a translated hero like Enoch, a true descendant of David snatched up to heaven and preserved for the day of his appearance, or a Christianised pre-existent Messiah. The present description no doubt suggests to us the Messiah; but it is quite possible that in an earlier form of it the man who walked with God, revealed hidden secrets and achieved victories, pointed as clearly to Enoch, the vision being (rightly or wrongly) ascribed, like others in the book, to Noah. That *wăldă bĕ'ĕsi*, if original, could be used in the same sense as *wăldă săb'ĕ* is evident from 71 14 which refers back to 46 2. In 62 5 all MSS except the oldest read *w. bĕ'ĕsīth*, 'son of woman'; in 69 29 the oldest manuscript has the same form. This shows that Christian copyists tampered with the text from theological motives, the dogmatic interest being here the same as that which crowded *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* (ברה דגברא) out of use. These MSS themselves are probably Christian interpolations, as is, undoubtedly, 71 17 (cp Schmidt, art. 'Enoch' in *Jewish Ency.*; *Son of Man*, ch. 7; *AJTh.* 7).

In the original discourses the term consequently never seems to have occurred. It is found in one of the Noachic interpolations in the sense of 'man' as a rendering of *bar-nāšā*. In 46 2 *ff.*, and 48 2 which may have belonged to the same early stratum of insertions, it has no other meaning. At these points Christian interpolations appear to have attached themselves. Where in the rest of the book these are most manifest, the distinctive NT title is employed.

8. 4 Ezra 13 3 *ff.*

In the Apocalypse of Ezra 13 3 *ff.* the seer beholds one like a man (*quasi similitudinem hominis*) coming out of the sea (*de corde maris*) with the clouds of heaven, refers to him again as that man (*ille homo*) and simply 'the man' (*homo*), and receives the interpretation that this is the man through whom the Most High will redeem creation. We do not possess the original; but the extant versions (Lat., Syr., Eth., Arm.) all seem to come from the lost Greek translation. As the author evidently has Dan. 7 13 in mind, the original probably had *ben-ĕnāš* and *bar-nāšā* which may have been rendered correctly ἄνθρωπος and ὁ ἄνθρωπος in the Greek. The connection shows that there can be no question of 'man' or 'the man' being a title. Though the term 'Messiah' is not mentioned, there can be little doubt that the Messiah is intended. Retouching by Christian hands may be observed in all the versions. But the book, written in the reign of Domitian, probably shows the most transcendental conception of the Messiah found in Jewish thought. All the more significant is it that the final judgment is not one of his functions. In 6 1 the true text is preserved by Lat., Arm., 'through a man' being a Christian addition in Syr. Eth. Ar., as Hilgenfeld has shown (*Messias Jud.* 54 *n.*).

9. Revelation.

The Christian parts of the Apocalypse of John contain two passages, 1 13 and 14 14, where the phrase ὅμοιον υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου 'like a son of man' occurs. It is the exact equivalent of *kĕ-bar-ĕnāš* and the author no doubt had in mind Dan. 7 13. In the first place it is unquestionably the celestial glory of Jesus that is described with colours largely borrowed by Ezekiel. As 14 15 introduces 'another angel,' the impression is that the manlike being of 14 14 is also an angel. That this angel has a crown upon his head does not show that he is the Messiah. The angel of Sardis (3 11), the celestial presbyters (4 4 10), the angel represented as a white horse (6 2), and the horse-like locusts (9 7), also wear crowns, and the angels are the harvesters in Mt. 13 41. It is of utmost importance that this work, written substantially at the close of the first century (APOCALYPSE, § 35, col. 207), though with later additions, knows nothing about the title ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

10. NT Epistles.

The term ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is not found in any of the fourteen epistles ascribed to Paul; in 1 or 2 Pet., 1, 2 or 3 Jn., James or Jude. Its absence in this entire literature representing different lands, periods, and tendencies of thought can scarcely be accidental. It may not prove that all the authors were unacquainted with the term. As it is used in the Fourth Gospel, the reason for its non-occurrence in 1, 2, 3 Jn. may be that there was no occasion for using it. On the other hand, if Jude had found it everywhere in his copy of Enoch as a Messianic title, and known of it as the self-designation of Jesus, he is quite likely to have referred to it. In Heb. 2 6, Ps. 8 5-7 is quoted as referring to Jesus. The author sets forth the inferiority of a revelation indicated through angels, and argues from the Psalm that the world to come was to be subject not to angels but to one who had been made for a little while lower than the angels (𝔊). The same reference of the passage to Jesus is seen in 1 Cor. 15 27. Heb. 2 9 clearly indicates the underlying question: Of whom does the prophet speak, of man in general, or of some particular man? The answer was found in *v.* 6. He spoke of one who had been made for a little while (βραχύ τι) lower than the angels to be afterwards made ruler of all things. This could only apply to Jesus. The author of 1 Cor. 15 45 *ff.* designates the Christ as ὁ ἔσχατος Ἀδαμ, ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ. Thus he evidently strives to express the ideal, supernal humanity of Jesus. Yet it never seems to have occurred to him to use for this purpose the common synoptic title, nor the mere term ὁ ἄνθρωπος, or an equivalent, without a modifying adjective or adverbial expression.

The most natural explanation is certainly that it was not known to him.

As an alternative the possibility was suggested in *JBL* 15 36 that he may have regarded it as an inadequate characterisation of that heavenly man who was no longer to be known according to the flesh; but such disregard was deemed incompatible with a knowledge on his part of this as the one Messianic title used by Jesus. Schmiedel (*Prot. Monatsch.* 1898, pp. 260 *ff.*, 1901, pp. 342 *ff.*) thinks that he may have hesitated to present to Greek readers a term which, unlike the Jews, they would not have understood as a synonym of 'man' but literally as 'the son of the man.' Such considerations do not seem to have influenced the earliest translators (cp § 36); if they were seriously entertained by himself, it is difficult to see how he could have allowed the objectionable phrase to run its course wherever the evangelical tradition went without an explanation.

11. Acts 7 56. Apart from the gospels, Acts 7 56 is the only passage in NT where *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* occurs. Whether it comes from the Author to Theophilus or represents a real utterance of Stephen [see STEPHEN, § 7], it shows that there were some Christians who did not reverently shrink from the use of what in the gospels is the exclusive self-designation of Jesus, nor hesitate to employ it lest it be misunderstood by Greek-speaking people. The author manifestly takes for granted that the excited populace must recognise in the phrase a designation of Jesus and not merely a Messianic title. What is deemed blasphemy is not that he claims to see the Messiah on the right hand of God, for that is his place, but that he claims to behold the murdered Jesus in the Messiah's place. If the statement is historical, Stephen may have said in Aramaic: 'I see *bar-nāšā*,' *i.e.*, 'a man,' or 'the man,' intending to continue his sentence, or referring to the righteous man with whose death he had just charged the people. But it may be a free imitation of Lk. 22 69.

12. Occurrences in the Gospels. The term *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* occurs in the gospels eighty-one times—viz., thirty times in Mt., fourteen in Mk., twenty-five in Lk., and twelve in Jn.

The references are as follows:—Mt. 8 20 9 6 10 23 11 19 12 8 32 40 13 37 41 16 13 27 *f.* 17 9 12 22 19 28 20 18 28 24 27 30*a b* 37 39 44 25 31 26 2 24*a b* 45 64; Mk. 2 10 28 8 31 38 9 9 12 31 10 33 45 13 26 14 21*a b* 41 62; Lk. 5 24 6 5 22 7 34 9 22 26 44 58 11 30 12 8 10 40 17 22 24 26 30 18 8 31 19 10 21 27 36 22 22 48 69 24 7; Jn. 1 51 3 13 *f.* (5 27) 6 27 53 62 8 28 9 35 12 23 34*a b* 13 31.

Mt. 18 11 (= Lk. 19 10), 25 13 and Lk. 9 56*b* (= Lk. 19 10) TR are rightly obelised by critical editors. The sixty-nine Synoptic passages clearly do not represent as many distinct utterances. By removing the most obvious parallels, Holsten and Oort leave forty-two, Mangold and Driver forty. In any such arrangement there is much exercise of subjective judgment, since passages in the different gospels that are not absolutely alike are regarded as identical, while exact parallels in the same gospel may or may not be considered as duplicates. As it is of some importance to know which of these occur in all three, in two, or only in one of the gospels, the following arrangement may be made for convenience' sake, involving no judgment as to the number of times, or separate occasions, when the evangelists considered Jesus as having used the expression. Eight in Mt., Mk., and Lk.:

1.	Mt. 9 6	Mk. 2 10	Lk. 5 24.
2.	,, 12 8	,, 2 28	,, 6 5.
3.	,, 16 27	,, 8 38	,, 9 26.
4.	,, 17 22*a*	,, 9 31	,, 9 44.
5.	,, 20 18	,, 10 33	,, 18 31.
6.	,, 24 30*b*	,, 13 26	,, 21 27.
7.	,, 26 24*a*	,, 14 21	,, 22 22.
8.	,, 26 64	,, 14 62	,, 22 69.

Five in Mt. and Mk.:

9.	Mt. 17 9	Mk. 9 9	12.	Mt. 26 24*b*	Mk. 14 21*b*.
10.	,, 17 12	,, 9 12	13.	,, 26 45	,, 14 41.
11.	,, 20 28	,, 10 45.			

Eight in Mt. and Lk.:

14.	Mt. 8 20	Lk. 9 58	18.	Mt. 24 27	Lk. 17 24.
15.	,, 11 19	,, 7 34	19.	,, 24 37	,, 17 26.
16.	,, 12 32	,, 12 10*a*	20.	,, 24 39	,, 17 30.
17.	,, 12 40	,, 11 30	21.	,, 24 44	,, 12 40.

One in Mk. and Lk.:

22.	Mk. 8 31	Lk. 9 22.

Nine in Mt. alone:

23.	Mt. 10 23	28.	Mt. 19 28.
24.	,, 13 37	29.	,, 24 30*a*.
25.	,, 13 41	30.	,, 25 31.
26.	,, 16 13	31.	,, 26 2.
27.	,, 16 28		

Eight in Lk. alone:

32.	Lk. 6 22	36.	Lk. 19 10.
33.	,, 12 8	37.	,, 21 36.
34.	,, 17 22	38.	,, 22 48.
35.	,, 18 8	39.	,, 24 7.

13. Renderings in the Ancient Versions. The earliest Aramaic translation of the Gospels, the Sinaitic Syriac, renders ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* by *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* (ברה דגברא) in Mk. 8 38 Lk. 7 34 and Jn. 13 31; in Lk. 11 30 and Jn. 12 23 only *b'reh* (ברה) is left; in all other extant passages *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* (ברה דאנשא) seems to have been used.[1]

The Curetonian fragments have ברה דגברא in Lk. 7 34 9 26 22 48, elsewhere ברה דאנשא. In the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum* the phrase is rendered ברה דגברא in Mt. 9 6 12 32 16 13 17 9 12 22 19 28 24 27 30*a* 37 39 Lk. 5 24 6 5 22 9 58 11 30 12 4 8 10*a* 19 10 24 7 Jn. 3 13 *f.* 6 27 53 62 *bis*, 8 28 13 31: ברה דברנשא (*b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā*) in Mt. 24 30*b* 44 25 31 26 2 24*a b* 45 64 Mk. 2 10 8 31 38 9 31 10 33 Lk. 21 27 36 22 22 Jn. 1 51 12 23 34 *bis*.

Only in the Pesh. is ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* uniformly rendered *b'reh dĕ-nāšā*. Driver's statement (Hastings, *DB* 4 582) that in the Sin., Curet., and Pesh. the term is *always* represented by *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* is incorrect. The occurence of *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* in Lk. 7 34 (Sin., Cur.), Mk. 8 38 (Sin., Ev.) and the identical Lk. 9 26 (Cur.), Lk. 22 48 (Cur.) and Jn. 13 31 (Sin., Ev.) is not without its importance. It suggests that in the case of some sayings *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* had so established itself in common usage that even translators who, for dogmatic reasons, preferred *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* were influenced by it. It is evident that *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā* is a creation of Christian theology designed to avoid misconstruction of *b'reh dĕ-gabrā*. Originally the latter was no doubt intended to mean simply *filius hominis*; but the root idea (*filius viri*) could not fail to be embarrassing to the dogma that Jesus was not the son of a man. Its use by Paul of Tella (see § 4) shows that the substitute was not unknown among the Christians of Mesopotamia. Cureton explained that his translator 'was not accurately acquainted with the Greek language, and therefore translated . . . *filius viri* not *hominis*' (*Remains*, p. lii). But the Greek phrase, which is everywhere the same, could not have troubled him, and he knew his own language. If, in some places, he used what he must have regarded as a synonym, the reason is probably to be looked for in tradition.

It is significant that *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* never occurs in the Palestinian lectionary, and that in Mt. and Lk. *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* maintained itself everywhere except in Mt. 24-26 and Lk. 21-22. So completely has the consciousness of the element 'son' in Son of Man disappeared that 'son of the son of man' meant only 'son of man.' Possibly the introduction of the new phrase in the synoptic apocalypse (see § 41) and in certain typical sayings is reminiscent of an earlier Aramaic version having only *bar-nāšā*. The Edessene translators could not render the Greek phrase by *bar-nāšā* since this would have taken no account of the articles. As the idea was new, no extant expression could be used, and any term would be open to misapprehension. The form apparently first chosen, *b'reh dĕ-gabrā*, might be understood as the son of some particular man, but *gabrā* had the advantage of being a singular. In the end the objection that it might be taken to imply that Jesus had a human father proved more serious, and the phrase seems gradually to have been crowded out of use until the officially recognised version had no other form than *b'reh dĕ-nāšā*. 'Son of the human being,' might be interpreted 'son of Mary.'

[1] לברא ראנשא, Lk. 22 48, is either a scribal error or ראנשא is a later addition; ראנשא, Jn. 6 27, was no doubt preceded by ברה.

The earliest Arabic version was probably made from some Aramaic translation. It is not likely, however, that this was the Peshita, as it would then undoubtedly render *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* everywhere with the same phrase. But in Mt. 9 6 16 13 Lk. 9 58 17 24 26 19 10 Jn. 1 51 3 13 *f.* 6 27 53 62 8 28 it uses the term *ibnu 'l bašari*, while elsewhere the rendering is *ibnu 'l insāni*. *Bašaru* is a collective, but is frequently used as a sg., and *ibnu 'l bašari* is not improbably a rendering of *b'reh dĕ-gabrā*.

The Ethiopic everywhere translates the Greek term *wăldă 'eguălă 'emăḥeyāu*, never expressing the article by a demonstrative *zĕekā* or *zentū*. With the same uniformity the Latin versions render it *filius hominis*.

On the relation of Marcion and other Gnostics to the Synoptic title see § 43 *f.* It cannot safely be maintained that it was unknown to all of the 'apostolic fathers.'

14. Patristic and mediæval interpretation.

The most natural interpretation of *Barn.* 2 10 is that the author alludes to it when, having found in an interpolated text of Ex. 17 14 a reference to the son of God, he declares that Jesus is prefigured in it 'not as son of man, but as son of God.' The inference may be drawn that about 130 A.D. the title was known in some circles and understood as designating the human nature assumed by the Son of God. In a later addition to the Ignatian epistle to the *Ephesians* 20 2 the title is found (τῷ υἱῷ ἀνθρώπου), apparently interpreted as referring to Jesus' descent from David. Justin (*Dial.* 100) explained the title as referring to Jesus' descent through Mary from David, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham. Irenæus (*Haer.* 3 19) understood it to denote that Jesus was the son of Mary 'quæ et ipsa erat homo,' and Tertullian strongly argued the impossibility of any other interpretation (*adv. Marc.* 4 10). Origen, on the contrary, regarded it as unnecessary to seek for a particular human being, since the expression simply meant 'man' and was chosen by Jesus from pedagogic motives, as when God is represented as a man (Migne, 13 15 37).

Even in Greek the member of a body was sometimes indicated by υἱός, as in υἱ. τῆς γερουσίας, υἱ. τῆς πόλεως, υἱ. τοῦ δήμου, υἱ. 'Αφροδισιέων (cp Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, 1 166), and υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου was frequently found in parallelism with ἄνθρωπος in the LXX. So profound a student of these versions as Origen may therefore have rightly understood the idiom.

Theodoret introduces the Hebrew and Aramaic usage to account for certain phrases compounded with υἱός or θυγάτηρ in 𝔊; he may have applied the same principle to this case. Chrysostom certainly regards the term as simply designating 'man' in Jn. 5 27 (Migne, 59 223). That seems also substantially to have been the view of Augustine (*Contra Arian.* 18). It is possible that Cyprian's comparison of Mt. 12 32 with 1 S. 2 25, and inference that the church cannot forgive sins against God, indicates that he understood *filius hominis* to designate 'man' in a generic sense in some passages, as Lietzmann has suggested (p. 80). Jerome was not prevented by his knowledge of Hebrew from identifying 'the human being' as the virgin Mary (*Com.* in Ps. 85); and this continued to be a common interpretation. Euthymius Zigabenus (about 1100 A.D.) explains that ἄνθρωπος may mean γυνή as well as ἀνήρ (Migne, 129 293), and Alexander of Jumège (d. 1209) only regrets the difficulty of rendering in French a title which is identical so far as the meaning is concerned, but not grammatically, with *filius virginis*. In the first German translation it was indeed translated *sūn der maid* (Codex Teplensis and three earliest editions), and the Romance version of the Waldenses had *filh de la vergene*. Nicolaus de Lyra understood Mt. 12 8 to affirm that blasphemy against Christ's humanity is not as unpardonable as that against his divinity, and Mt. 16 13 to be a confession on his part of the humble fact of his humanity while his disciples understand it of his divinity (*Biblia Sacra*, 1588, vol. ii.). A curious comment on 'men' in Mt. 16 13 is 'homines sunt qui de filio hominis loquuntur, Dii enim qui deitatem intelligunt.'

With the renaissance of learning, the first attempts at a philological explanation appeared. Génébrord, a noted Hebraist, commenting on Mt. 12 32, declared that 'son of man' meant simply 'man' and, returning to Cyprian's suggestion, saw in Eli's words (1 S. 2 25) an expression of the same sentiment. Sins against men may be pardoned, but not sins against God (*De S. Trinitate*, 1569). Flacius Illyricus defined *filius hominis* as *unus quispiam homo* (*Clavis*, sub voce 'filius'). Beza regarded the expression as a Hebrew phrase for man, and suggested the Hebrews' custom of speaking of themselves in the third person, but also called attention to the fact that in the gospels no one except Jesus does so. It is the merit of Grotius to have first recognised that in Mt. 12 8 the conclusion must be, 'Therefore man is lord also of the sabbath.'

15. Resort to the Hebrew?[1]

Pointing to Mk. 2 28 as exhibiting the more original connection he conclusively showed that the argument would have no cogency if the Son of man were interpreted as the Messiah, and could not have been understood, since at the time Jesus had neither declared himself to be the Messiah nor been willing to have his disciples proclaim him as such. In regard to Mt. 12 32 he came to the same conclusion as Génébrord; but he refrained from attempting an explanation of any other passages on the same principle (*Crit. Sac.* 6 445 *f.*).

The discovery that upon two occasions Jesus spoke, not of himself, but of man in general, when employing this phrase, naturally seemed less important than the conjecture that he constantly used 'the man,' in the sense of 'this man,' for the personal pronoun. The latter was maintained by Coccejus (*Schol.* in Mt. 8 20), and found its way into the first life of Jesus by Hess (1 160 261 269). Bolten's criticism was important because through it a third passage (Mt. 9 6) was added to the two of Grotius, and the Aramaic term *bar-nāšā* was brought into the discussion (*Der Bericht d. Matth.* 1792).

16. Substitute for personal pronoun?[1]

He called attention to the Syriac use of *b'reh de-nāšā* with no more force than that of an indefinite pronoun, found it strange that the Greek translator should have failed to take note of this Aramaism, and boldly maintained that in Mt. 24 27 Jesus said, 'So will be the appearance of some one,' meaning by 'some one' himself. In regard to all passages except Mt. 9 6 12 8 Paulus returned to the opinion of Coccejus ('hic homo pro ego'), pointed out the importance of Jn. 12 34, and suggested a later misapprehension under the influence of Dan. 7 13 (*Exeg. Hdbuch*, 1 465 500 2 21 *f.*). Kuinoel accepted the interpretation given by Grotius of Mt. 12 8 and, in spite of the well-founded warning of Eichhorn (*Allg. Bibl.* 524 [1794]), followed Beza and Bolton in Mt. 10 23 (*Com.* 295, 337 [1823]). The impossibility of the latter explanation led Fritzsche, who in general agreed with Paulus, to the view that Mt. 10 23 and other passages were later additions (*Com. in ev. Matth.* 320). The theory which assumed that Jesus habitually used an indefinite pronoun or a phrase like 'the man,' accompanied by a gesture indicating himself, was too artificial to command respect, and in the general reaction against the rationalistic school, the real achievements of these earlier scholars were completely forgotten.

17. Ideal man?

When Herder (*Chr. Schriften*, ii. [1796] 5 4) explained the term as designating the ideal humanity of Jesus, he gave a new form to the idea that it was intended to teach the human nature of the Christ. But in this modernisation the contrast with the divine nature of the Christ was lost, and an emphatically high conception was the result. Through Schleiermacher (*Einl.* 479 *ff.*) and Neander (*Leben Jesu*, 129 *ff.*) this view gained a wide recognition.

It was adopted among others by Böhme, Olshausen, Lutz, Reuss, and Luthardt, has more recently been defended by Westcott and Stanton, and influenced Weisse, Holtzmann, Beyschlag, Hase, Keim, Mangold, Usteri, and Brückner.

18. Coming man?

Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 2 53) could find in the phrase no allusion to an ideal of humanity, but regarded it as substantially synonymous with 'he that cometh,' ὁ ἐρχόμενος, containing no indication of character. Cremer (*Wörterbuch*[(5)], 846 *ff.*) similarly saw in it a reference to the man promised in the protevangel, Gen. 3 15.

19. Current Messianic title?

Already Scholten (*Specimen*, 1809) interpreted the term as a title of the Messiah, the heavenly king destined to reign as man over men. Strauss (*Leben Jesu*, 463 [1835]) expressed the opinion that the son of man was one of the current Messianic titles. V. Cölln (*Bibl. Th.* 2 16 [1836]) agreed with him. Ewald (*Gesch. Christus'*, 202 [1855]) pointed to Dan. and En. 37-71, which he regarded as the oldest part of the book, as evidence. Renan (*Vie de Jésus*, 131 *ff.* [1863]) maintained that in

1 Génébrord, Flaccus, Beza, Grotius.

1 Coccejus, Hess, Bolten, Paulus, Fritzsche.

certain schools it was a title of the Messiah as judge of the world and king of the age to come. Beyschlag (*Christologie*, 9 *ff.* [1866]) held that it was a Messianic title in Dan. 7 13 En. 46 2 *ff.* and all passages in the gospels, and that Jesus chose this particular title both to express his consciousness of being a man and his knowledge of the fact that he was the ideal, absolute, and heavenly man. Baldensperger (*Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*(2), 169 *ff.* [1892]) likewise affirmed that the phrase was used before the time of Jesus as a Messianic title and was adopted by him as such, not, however, before the episode at Cæsarea Philippi, the earlier passages having been displaced.

20. Expression of a peculiar Messianic consciousness?

That Jesus employed the term to express his own peculiar Messianic consciousness has been the conviction of many scholars. But there has been much difference of opinion as to his reason for selecting it, and in regard to its origin. While some investigators endeavoured to discover its meaning by an analysis of all passages, and by connecting the various predicates with the idea of man, others discerned in it only a designation of office without immediate connection with the root idea, and in the predicates saw synthetic judgments. The majority of critics found its origin in Dan. 7 13. Others, however, thought of Ezek., Ps. 8 or En. 46, while a few regarded it as an absolutely new creation of Jesus. One source was deemed sufficient by some students; by others the conception was looked upon as the result of various combinations. As to the motive for its employment, there were those who thought that it was chosen openly to proclaim a different Messianic title from that suggested by such titles as 'Son of David' and 'SON OF GOD' (*q.v.*). But many scholars urged that such a public announcement was improbable at least in the earlier part of Jesus' ministry, and that he is more likely to have used it as a riddle to be guessed at, half revealing, half concealing his notion of the Messiah and his own claims. The various theories were largely dependent upon different interpretations of passages in OT and the Pseudepigrapha, the priority ascribed to Mt. or Mk., and the tone of Mt. 8 20 compared with Mk. 2 10.

21. Emphasis on lowliness and human sympathy?

In commenting on Mt. 8 20, De Wette observed that to those who did not think of Dan. 7 13 the expression could only suggest 'this man,' whilst to those who had the Daniel passage in mind it would mean 'this insignificant man who, in spite of his humble condition, is destined to become that which the prophet has indicated.' In this pregnant utterance the thought of Paulus still shows its vitality; but it contains the germs of new theories.

Wilke (*Urevangelist*, 633 [1838]) inferred from Mt. 16 13 that 'son of man' cannot be identical with the Messiah. Baur (*ZWTh.* 1860, pp. 277 *ff.*) made an important contribution by showing that the passage where the term occurs in the fourth gospel cannot throw any light on its original meaning. His examination of the synoptics convinced him that the context never favoured the idea of an ideal humanity and that there was no reference to Dan. 7 13; and he therefore concluded that Jesus invented the term, at the same time to claim for himself a Messiahship without which he could not attain to a more universal recognition and a genuinely national work, and to keep aloof from the vulgar Messianic idea associated with the title 'son of God.' He would be, not a king coming in power and glory, but a man deeming nothing foreign to him that belongs to the lot of a human being, identifying himself with all human conditions, needs, and interests, in genuine human sympathy, and accepting all sufferings and sacrifices connected with his work in life. This has been called an 'emphatically low' estimate in distinction from that of Herder. It should be observed, however, that it comes much nearer to the old dogmatic position with its sharp contrast between the title of Christ's humiliation and that characteristic of his glory, as seen, *e.g.*, in Meyer (*Com.* 1832, to Mt. 8 20), and that it really sets forth the human worth of Jesus' personality more clearly than any mere abstraction like 'the ideal.' Colani (*Jésus Christ et les croyances Messianiques*, 74 *ff.* [1864]) held that the expression was unknown before Jesus because it was he who created it, that by it he designated himself as the poor child of Adam, and also as the object of a peculiar divine love, that no one called him by this name because it would have been little short of an insult, and that it disappeared because in the church the divinity became more important than the humanity of Jesus. Strauss was also won for the opinion of Baur and Colani; and Schenkel (*Bibel-lexikon*, 1872) presented a somewhat similar conception based on Ps. 8.

22. Modified Messianic title?[1]

Hilgenfeld, like Baur, regarded the term as indicating lowly external conditions and a humble disposition, but entered a protest against separating it from its source in Dan., and maintained its Messianic significance in all places, though reflecting the peculiar conception of Jesus (*ZWTh.* 1863, p. 327 *ff.*). Baur was led by this presentation to assume a later Danielic significance for the eschatological discourses (*NTTh.* 1864, p. 82).

Bernhard Weiss (*Bibl. Th. NT* 59 *ff.* [1868]) saw in the expression neither a current Messianic title nor a description of character, but a term having no intrinsic significance in Dan., chosen by Jesus to avoid misapprehension of his aims and yet to announce himself as the Messiah promised in Dan. The statements made concerning the Son of Man were consequently regarded by him as synthetic judgments, in the Kantian phraseology introduced in this connection by Biedermann (*Dogmatik*, 226 *f.*).

Mangold (*Th. Arb. d. rhein. PV* 1877, pp. 1 *ff.*) regarded the term as a Messianic title, chosen to emphasise the possibility of suffering and death as a man, and the coming exaltation as the true, ideal man. Usteri (*Th. Z. a. d. Schweiz*, 1886, pp. 1 *ff.*) strongly urged that the verbal meaning of the phrase was of no importance, as it was solely a title of office selected by Jesus in order to allude to the coming of the promised redemption to mankind. Essentially this view was held by Bruce (*Kingdom of God*, 172 [1890]), and Stevens (*Teaching of Jesus*, 91 *ff.* [1901]) emphasised the new content which Jesus is likely to have given to this Messianic designation.

23. Mystifying title?[2]

Rejecting Ewald's theory as to Enoch 46 *ff.*, Weisse looked upon the term as an original creation of Jesus to express his peculiar consciousness of being a human Son of God, and therefore having no familiar connotation to his hearers but presenting to them a riddle (*Ev. Gesch.* 1 325 [1838]; *Ev.-frage*, 22 *ff.* [1856]).

Weisse's philological explanation ('human son'; like אבי השמים, supposed Hebrew original of ὁ πατὴρ ὁ οὐράνιος, 'heavenly father') naturally met with no approval, and his confusion of the Synoptic with the Johannine use was wisely avoided by Ritschl. Sharing, however, with Weisse, the view that Mk. is earlier than Mt. and presents in a more trustworthy manner the course of Jesus' life, Ritschl was led to the conclusion that Jesus used the term to conceal rather than to reveal his Messianic claims, as Mk. records two instances of its use before the important episode at Cæsarea Philippi (*Th. Jahrb.* 1851, p. 514).

Holtzmann (*ZWTh.* 1865, pp. 212 *ff.*) pointed out the determining influence of the first occurrence in Mt. (8 20) upon those who maintained the priority of this gospel, held that in reality the passage suggests Messianic dignity rather than humility, and inferred from Mk. 2 10 the Messianic significance of the term to the mind of Jesus, but considered this to have been a secret until the visit to Cæsarea. Keim thought that Jesus gradually went beyond this mystifying title to such designations as 'the coming one,' 'the bridegroom,' in suggesting his Messianic claims (*Gesch. Jesu*, 2 376). Hase was of the opinion that Jesus chose this term first to conceal, and then at the proper time to manifest his Messiahship as the perfection of human nature (*Gesch. Jesu*, 412). According to Wendt (*Lehre Jesu*, 441 *ff.* [1890]), the use of this expression was not so much a riddle, as a problem provoking to thought and private judgment; for whilst the hearers by their transcendental conception of the Messiah were prevented from seeing in the Daniel phrase 'Son of man' a fit designation of so august a being, Jesus found it most suitable to express his conviction that in spite of human weakness and lowly conditions he was the Messiah. In Mt. 8 20 9 6 11 19 12 8 32 and parallels, Holsten (*ZWTh.* 1891, pp. 1 *ff.*) saw the evidence that Jesus used this term concerning himself before the scene at Cæsarea Philippi, and in Mt. 16 13 the proof that he employed it to designate himself as the Messiah.

[1] Hilgenfeld, B. Weiss, Mangold, Usteri, Bruce, Stevens.
[2] Weisse, Ritschl, Holtzmann, Keim, Hase, Holsten, Wendt, Paul, Dalman, Gunkel, Fiebig.

It seemed to Holsten probable that Jesus' Messianic consciousness grew out of his experience, suggesting to him that the chosen one on whom the unction of spirit rested was to pass through two forms of existence, one of humiliation, another of glory, even as the 'Son of man' in Dan. was brought from earth to heaven to be clothed with power. So profound a view, however, must have been a mystery to the disciples until it was revealed to them.

According to Paul (*Vorstellungen um Messias*, 42 [1895]), the mystery existed for Jesus himself as well as for his hearers, inasmuch as there was a time in the Galilæan period when he still doubtfully asked whether in reality he was the Son of man promised in Dan. Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 191 *ff.* [1898]) clearly recognised that 'the Son of man' was not a Messianic title in the time of Jesus, and that *bar-nāšā* was the phrase used by him that has been translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. This, however, he regarded as unknown in Galilæan Aramaic at that period in the sense of 'man.'

It would therefore naturally point to Dan. 7 13, a passage especially attractive to Jesus, because it ascribed the establishment of the kingdom of heaven to God alone. Dalman considered it improbable that Jesus employed the phrase before the episode at Cæsarea, some pericopes having been placed out of their chronological order. After that event his disciples regarded it as a declaration that he was the Son of man of Daniel's vision; to the people it was a riddle, the solution of which Jesus did not give until his appearance before the Sanhedrin, and then at the cost of his life; to himself it was a means of realising and teaching that the child of human parents, by nature weak, destined by God to be the ruler of the world, may before his investiture with Messianic power be obliged to suffer and die.

Accepting the view that *bar-nāšā* was used and meant simply 'man,' 'the man,' Gunkel (*ZWTh.* 1899, pp. 581 *ff.*, *Vierte Buch Ezra*, 347 [1900]) maintained that 'the man' was a secret title of the Messiah used in Apocalyptic circles, and originating in Babylonian mythology.

Like Gunkel, Fiebig (*Der Menschensohn*, 61 *ff.* [1901]) regarded 'the man' as a familiar designation of the Messiah; but as his philological examination had led to the conclusion that ברנשא was understood in Galilee at the time of Jesus as meaning also 'man,' he ingeniously argued that the phrase was intentionally used in an ambiguous manner, so that the hearers might believe that he (Jesus) was speaking of man in general, or of 'the man'—*i.e.*, the Messiah as a third person—whilst in reality he was speaking of himself.

24. Composite idea ?[1]

The conception of the phrase as a mystifying title into which Jesus poured the contents of his peculiar Messianic consciousness was naturally favourable to the introduction of various combinations; while some scholars were contented with a single OT passage as the basis for further development, others thought of several different ideas blending into a new conception.

Thus Weizsäcker conceived of a gradual revelation of Jesus' Messianic self-consciousness, first on the prophetic side suggested by Ezekiel, and then on the royal side intimated by Dan. (*JDTh.* 1859, p. 736 *ff.*, *Ev. Gesch.* 426 *ff.* [1864]). Hausrath found in the term a combination of the heavenly man in Dan., the man that is a little lower than the angels in Ps. 8, and the prophet in Ez. (*NT Zeitgesch.*(3), 1879, 1 480). Wittichen introduced, in addition, the Son of man in Enoch and the Servant of Yahwè in 2 Is. (*Die Idee des Menschen*, 137 *ff.* [1818]; Nösgen (*Gesch. Jesu*, 155 *ff.* [1891]) saw in the expression a combination of esoteric Messiahship suggested by Daniel, and a phase of existence through which the Messiah must pass with its predetermined humiliation and suffering. Bartlet (*Expos.* 1892, p. 427 *ff.*) also united the idea of the suffering servant with that of an ideal representative of humanity and the kingdom of God. Schnedermann (*Jesu Verkündigung*, 2, 1895, 206 *ff.*) combined Danielic Messiah, Ezekielic prophet, ideal man, and human suffering. Charles (*Book of Enoch*, 312 *ff.* [1893]) held that the true interpretation would be found if the conception in Enoch were taken for a starting-point, its enlargement and essential transformation in the usage of Jesus were noted, its subsequent reconciliation to the conception of the Servant of Yahwè were observed, and the occasional reminiscences of Dan. 7 were perceived. Stapfer (*Jésus Christ pendant son ministère*, 305 *ff.* [1897]) combines in the expression Ezekielic prophet and Danielic Messiah. In the judgment of Sanday (Hastings, *DB* 2 622 *f.*) the ideas of a representative of the human race, an ideal man, and a suffering servant of Yahwè are fused into the central idea of Messiahship. This position is also endorsed by Driver (*ib.* 4 582).

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1 Weizsäcker, Hausrath, Wittichen, Nösgen, Schnedermann, Bartlet, Charles, Stapfer, Sanday, Driver.

25. Prophetic title ?

Whilst Weizsäcker found in the customary designation of Ezekiel a means employed by Jesus for suggesting the prophetic character of his Messiahship, Vernes held that 'Son of man' actually was a current prophetic title assumed by Jesus to indicate that, like John the Baptist, he was a herald of the coming kingdom, and subsequently merged into the Danielic 'Son of man' by the Church (*Idées mess.* 178). This view has been carried out most consistently by Cary (*The Synoptic Gospels*, 360 *ff.* [1900]) who maintains that by this term Jesus intended to announce himself as a prophet sent to warn his people of the danger which threatened them if they did not turn from their evil ways.

26. Designation of Jesus' own ideal, future Messiahship, or indwelling genius ?

It was not unnatural that the thought should arise that the 'Son of man,' of whom Jesus is represented as having habitually spoken in the third person, was an ideal or spirit not identical with, though closely related to, his own immediate self.

Brückner (*JPTh.* 1886, p. 272) suggested that Jesus who, in his judgment, never used the term before the episode at Cæsarea, when predicting the return of the Son of man, thought not of his own personality, of the man Jesus, but rather of the ideals with which he had identified himself. A. Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 2 190 *ff.* [1897]) concluded from Mk. 2 10 28 and Mt. 25 that in the thought of Jesus the phrase designated something more than an individual son, though this individual be Jesus himself, that it was a personification of a principle transcendent above, and immanent in, all the persons making up the sum total of humanity, and only applied to Jesus in so far as he identified himself with this principle. According to Joh. Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*, 52 *ff.* [1892]; *Nachfolge Christi*, 33 *f.* [1875]), Jesus used the term to indicate his future position. When he should return upon the clouds, he would be the Son of man referred to by Daniel. In the sayings concerning the death of the Son of man, he taught objectively that the coming Messiah must suffer and die; in Mt. 11 19 16 13 Lk. 7 34 the title has been substituted for original 'I'; in Mk. 2 10 28 the philological explanation resumed by Lagarde, Rahlfs, and Wellhausen (see § 29) should be applied (cp also *Predigt Jesu*(2), 1900, pp. 160 *ff.*, 201 *ff.*, where the interpretation of some passages is slightly modified). In harmony with his exegesis of Dan. 7 13, Grill (*l.c.*, 57 *ff.*) comes to the conclusion that Jesus more or less distinctly conceived of himself as being dynamically identified with the highest principle of revelation, the angelic hypostasis introduced by Daniel, and that the original text read ἐγώ in Mk. 2 10 and ὁ ἄνθρωπος in Mk. 2 28.

27. Designation of 'kingdom of heaven' ?

When the interpretation of Daniel's 'Son of man' as a symbol of a coming ideal society had won its way to wide recognition, the suggestion lay near at hand that Jesus may have used it himself in the same sense.

Hoekstra maintained that Jesus indicated not himself by this term, but the new religious community to which the kingdom was to be given (*De benaming de zoon des Menschen*, 1866). Carpenter (*First Three Gospels*, 1890, p. 383 *ff.*) held that Jesus employed it as an emblem of the kingdom of righteousness, and that his followers, impressed with the conviction that he was the Messiah, understood it in a personal sense, and gave such a colouring to his reported utterances as accorded with this assumption. Drummond (*JTh.St.* 1901) thinks that Jesus may have regarded it as an expression for the ideal people of God, and for himself as head of this class, giving to it the same primarily collective, subsequently individual, sense that the Servant of Yahwè has.

28. Creation by the evangelists ?[1]

Whilst many scholars failed to make any distinction between the words actually uttered by Jesus, and the sayings ascribed to him by the evangelists, and some were content with indicating passages of doubtful authenticity, others felt the necessity for a more searching criticism. As a more correct estimate of the Fourth Gospel spread, the tendency developed in many circles to lean all the more heavily on the synoptics. It is largely the merit of Bruno Bauer and Volkmar to have applied the same measure to all the gospels, explaining each as a didactic work written for a definite purpose, and naturally reflecting the religious

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1 Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, Jacobsen, Pfleiderer, Martineau, Cone, Oort, Van Manen, Baljon, Brandt, Wrede.

thought of the author and the men among whom he lived. From this point of view B. Bauer reached the conclusion that Jesus never called himself 'Son of man' (*Kritik d. ev. Gesch.* 3 [1842] 1 *ff.*), and Volkmar was led to the view that it was an original creation of Mk.

But was really Mk. the originator of it? Colani (*Jésus Christ*, 140 [1864]) had seen that Mk. 13 6-32 (Mt. 24 4-38 Lk. 21 8-36) was 'a veritable Apocalypse lacking nothing essential to this species of composition.' According to Jacobsen this was the door through which the expression entered into the gospels, whilst it was still absent in the original form of Mk. (*Untersuchungen über die syn. Evv.* 64, [1883]; *Prot. Kirchenzeitung*, 1886, p. 563 *ff.*). Pfleiderer (*Urchrist.* 366, 387 [1887]) also inclined to look upon the word as of foreign Apocalyptic origin, not used by Jesus himself. Convinced that Jesus did not put forth any Messianic claims, Martineau explained the occasional use of the term by Jesus as F. C. Baur (§ 21) had done, but ascribed to the Evangelists the conception of it as a Messianic title (*Seat of Authority*, 335 *ff.* [1890]). Orello Cone (*New World*, 492 *ff.* [1893]) also looked upon the Apocalyptic passages as the channel through which 'Son of Man' as a Messianic title found its way into the gospel, though he still thought of Jesus as having used it to denote that he was 'the man who was pre-eminently endowed from on high.'

In H. L. Oort's dissertation (*De uitdrukking ὁ vl. τ. ἀ. in het NT*, 1893) the Messianic significance of the term in the Greek NT was strongly maintained; its origin was sought in Dan. and the later Apocalypses, whence it was taken by the evangelists, and no effort was made to trace any of the sayings back to Jesus. Van Manen (*Th. T*, 1893, p. 544; 1894, p. 177 *ff.*) discountenanced in principle any attempt to go behind the written records, and ascribed to the influence of Dan. and Enoch the introduction of the term as a Messianic title in the gospels; a view also adopted by Baljon (*Griekisch-Theologisch Woordenboek*, 2960). Brandt's position was fundamentally the same as Volkmar's; but he added the important suggestion that the identification of Jesus with Daniel's 'Son of man' would be most natural, if this Apocalyptic figure had been recently introduced (*Evangelische Geschichte*, 562 *ff.* [1893]). It was probably the Messianic interpretation, however, not Dan. 7 itself, as (following Lagarde) Brandt was inclined to think, that was of recent origin. Thus a deep chasm was found between the gospels and the actual words of Jesus, over which no man could pass with any degree of assurance. How completely this exclusive regard for the Greek gospels tended to crowd into the background the whole question concerning the Son of man, may be seen in the important discussion of the Messianic secret by Wrede (*Das Messiasgeheimnis* [1901]), in which it is scarcely touched upon, except that he expresses a doubt whether a play upon words can have been intended in Lk. 9 44, on the ground that the solemn title 'Son of Man' and not 'man' is contrasted with 'men.'

If this in itself perfectly legitimate literary criticism had the tendency of leading to a wholly negative result, or at best a *non liquet*, as regards the use of the title by Jesus, there was at least a possibility that this result was due to a serious defect in the method pursued—viz., the failure to examine the reported sayings in what must have been approximately their form in the vernacular of Jesus, if spoken by him. With the multiplicity of new and complicated problems claiming the attention of students of early Christian literature and the apparent necessity for a division of labour, it is not strange that even eminent NT scholars should have devoted indefatigable labours to what at best could be only translations of the words of Jesus without ever inquiring what the Aramaic sentences were that he actually uttered, whilst OT scholars to whom such a question would naturally occur hesitated to enter a field no longer familiar to them. The chief significance of Lagarde's and Wellhausen's contributions to the problem lies in the fact that it was again approached from the standpoint of Semitic philology. Positively, the gain was not great at first.

29. Fresh recourse to the Aramaic.

Uloth had only renewed the old explanation of the rationalistic school (*Godgeleerde bijdragen*, 1862, p. 467 *ff.*). Lagarde, like Uloth, saw that Jesus must have used *bar-nāšā* and thought his purpose was to indicate that he was not a Jew, nor the member of any nation, but a man (*Deutsche Schriften*, 226 [1878], *Ges. Abh.* 26). Wellhausen held that *bar-nāšā* should have been translated ὁ ἄνθρωπος, but found it exceedingly strange that Jesus should have said 'the man' instead of 'I,' though he rightly felt that it was not more peculiar than the currently accepted view that he said 'the Messiah' instead of 'I' (*Israelitische u. jüd. Geschichte*,[1] 312 [1894]). J. Weiss, following Rahlfs, wisely returned to Grotius's exegesis of Mk. 2 10 28; but the improbability of his eschatological explanation (see § 26) left the problem still unsolved.

What was needed was a search for the Aramaic original that should at the same time take account of the results of literary criticism secured by such scholars as Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, and Van Manen, as well as by a Baur, a Ritschl, and a Holsten, a keener analysis of the apocalyptic sources, and a thorough investigation of the Gnostic attitude to this title. It is to be regretted that Bruins, who acutely criticised Oort's failure to consider the Aramaic usage (*Th. T*, 1894, p. 646 *f.*), did not follow up his own suggestions. The scope of *De Christus naar de Ev.* (1896) possibly prevented a discussion.

30. Basis in generic use and later transformation.

Eerdmans first combined the general position of Van Manen and Oort with the assertion that in Mt. 12 8 32 16 13 Jesus used *bar-nāšā* in the sense of 'man.' He could not find in *bar-nāšā* a Messianic title, nor think that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah. Yet he considered it probable that on some occasions Jesus used the term concerning himself in emphatically declaring to those who would see in him something more than a man, that he was only a man as well as they. As to the origin of the Greek phrase as a Messianic title, he thought it possible that it arose through the peculiar form of the Greek translation; and the absence of this title everywhere in early Christian literature except where there was evidence of acquaintance with the gospels, he accounted for by assuming that it was everywhere a translation of an Aramaic original (*Th. T*, 1894, p. 153 *ff.*, 1895, p. 49 *ff.*).

The view that Jesus *never* called himself 'the Son of man,' indicates that he was either the Messiah, the ideal man, or a mere man; that, nevertheless, the development of this term into a Messianic title was in part due to his having spoken upon some occasions concerning the rights and privileges of 'man,' using the word *bar nāšā* in such a startling manner as to create, contrary to his intention, the impression among later interpreters that he had referred to himself, and that through the Greek translation of the Synoptic Apocalypse it found its way into the gospels, was first expressed by the present writer in a paper read before the Society for Biblical Literature and Exegesis in 1895, and published in *JBL* 15 3 *ff.* On independent grounds it was considered that only four sayings containing the phrase placed before the incident at Cæsarea can be judged genuine—viz., Mt. 8 20 9 6 12 8 32. A statement of universal validity to the effect that 'man must pass away, but he will rise again,' was supposed to have received later colouring in what were misunderstood as predictions of Jesus' death and resurrection after three days; and it was thought possible that in Mt. 26 64 Jesus spoke of the kingdom of heaven referring to Daniel's symbol.

Arnold Meyer (*Jesu Muttersprache*, 91 *ff.*, 140 *ff.* [1896]) briefly indicated his belief that in Mk. 2 10 28 Mt. 12 32 an original *bar-nāšā* meaning 'man' was used, that in Mt. 8 20 it stood for 'I,' and that in Mt. 11 19 it should be translated 'some one.' He deferred the discussion of the eschatological passages to a second part of his work which has not yet appeared. But from later utterances (*Die moderne Forschung über die Gesch. des Christentums*, 75 [1898] and *Th.Lit.Z.* 1898, col. 272) it may be inferred that in some places he thinks it possible that the 'coming of the Son of man' actually spoken of by Jesus was identical with the 'coming of the kingdom of heaven.' He also brought to light the forgotten labours of Génébrord and Bolten, and called fresh attention to the exegesis of Grotius.

Lietzmann (*Der Menschensohn* [1896]) first observed that there are no traces of the title outside of the

Gospels and Acts before Marcion, and surmised that it originated in Asia Minor between the death of Paul and the year 90 A.D. (On the latter point see § 43.) In regard to the use of *bar-nāšā* by Jesus, Lietzmann reached independent conclusions that approximated most closely to those of the present writer, from whom he differed chiefly in not being able to assume a basis in the language of Jesus for the subsequently modified sayings concerning his death and resurrection (see § 40), while he rejected Eerdmans' view that Jesus occasionally used it to denote himself. He was also disinclined to accept Meyer's contention that the occurrence of the phrase in some of the eschatological passages should be traced back to Jesus, without desiring, however, to pass a judgment in this matter beyond the general conclusion that Jesus did not call himself 'the Son of Man' (*Th. Arbeiten aus d. Rhein. Pred. Ver.* [1899]).

31. Defence of this theory.[1]

The theory stated above was accepted and defended by Wellhausen (*Gesch.*[3] 381 [1897]; *Skizzen*, 6 187 *ff.* [1899]). He thought it probable that Jesus once (Mk. 10 32-34) expressed apprehensions as to the outcome of his visit to Jerusalem; but, as the exact wording cannot be ascertained, he deemed it impossible to determine whether the term *bar-nāšā* was used. As the source was Dan. 7 13, he regarded it as possible that already the Aramaic term *bar-nāšā* had come to be understood in some circles as a designation of the Messiah.

Pfleiderer (*New World*, 444 *ff.* [1899]) also adopted the view, which was not far from his own earlier position. (On his ingenious theory concerning Lk. 22 36-38 see § 40.) Marti (*Das Buch Daniel*, 53 [1901]) indicated his acceptance. On the linguistic side, Bevan came to the defence against Dalman (*Critical Rev.* 1899, pp. 148 *ff.*), and Nöldeke added the weight of his approval (in Drummond, *l.c.*).

Adopting Wrede's position, Staerk (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1902, p. 297 *ff.*) sees in the mysterious name 'Son of Man' a creation of early Christian anti-Jewish polemics, having one root in some misunderstood λόγια such as Mk. 2 10 etc., and intended to veil the Messiahship of Jesus during his lifetime. Such a conscious intention he finds in the fact that men to whom *bar-nāšā* in the sense of 'man' must have been familiar slavishly translated it with ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

32. Partial agreement.

Holtzmann (*NTTh.*, 1897, pp. 246 *ff.*) finds it impossible, in view of the accumulating material and philological difficulties, to pronounce peremptorily against this theory, and is inclined to accept it so far as the pre-Cæsarean passages are concerned, while presenting as a still available alternative the view of Holsten. Fries (*Det fjärde evangeliet*, 87 *ff.* [1898]) reaches the conclusion that the term was used by Jesus only on rare occasions to avoid the personal pronoun, and not in a purely Messianic sense, while through En., where it only means 'man,' it was introduced as a Messianic title in the Synoptics (cp § 28).

It is scarcely probable that a new investigation of *pĕlōnī* (פלוני) or *'ōthō hā-'īš* (אותו האיש) as a substitute for Jesus in certain Talmudic writings would throw any light on our question, as Fries thinks; Eliezer no doubt said ישו in *Yōmā* 66*b*. The extensive reading of Fiebig (*Der Menschensohn*, 1901), including large parts of the Talmud not before examined in regard to this phrase, corroborated the opinions on which the theory rested. Fiebig recognised the essential accuracy of the observations made by the present writer (p. 59), and his criticism of Wellhausen was scarcely judicious. When the latter scholar affirmed that the Aramæans had no other word for the individual of the human species than *bar-nāšā*, he evidently did not mean to deny that words originally having another meaning, such as *gabrā* and *'nāšā*, in course of time came to be used also with that significance, as is clear from *Skizzen*, 6 196 n. (1899). The only word relevant to this discussion, however, is one that could have been translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and the only such word in Aramaic is *bar-nāšā*, since expressions like *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* (ברה דגברא), *b'reh dĕ-'nāšā* (ברה דאנשא), and *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā* (ברה דברנשא), manifestly originated as Christian translations of the Greek term; but *bar-nāšā* is the only Aramaic word that denotes the individual of the genus man and nothing else. As the material considered by Fiebig clearly indicates, and as this scholar himself unhesitatingly concludes, that Jesus employed the term *bar-nāšā* (ברנשא) and that this was naturally understood by his hearers to mean 'man' in general, his further assumption that Jesus meant by it himself as the Messiah appears somewhat hazardous. If Jesus was willing to have his hearers infer that he cherished such bold and original ideas as that man for whose sake the sabbath was made was also lord of the sabbath and that any man, not merely a priest by virtue of his office, has a right to pardon sin, why ascribe to himself as an *arrière pensée* the narrower and less logical conception that he alone as the Messiah was lord of the sabbath and had the right to pardon sin? If he at all entertained such a thought, it cannot have appeared to him unimportant, and it is difficult to see how he could have been willing to spread what in that case would have been a dangerously false impression by an ambiguous use of language. Oscar Holtzmann (*Leben Jesu*, 1 28 *ff.* [1901]) accepts the proposed exegesis of Mt. 8 20 Mk. 2 10 28 and Lk. 9 58, but thinks it probable that Jesus used the expression on many occasions to indicate his acquiescence in man's general lot, and to teach objectively concerning the Messiah which he believes himself to be.

[1] Wellhausen, Pfleiderer, Marti, Bevan, Nöldeke, Staerk.

33. Objections by different scholars.

Because of its far-reaching implications (see § 46), it was natural that the explanation stated above should meet with much opposition. Van Manen (*l.c.*) rightly protested against the tendency to assume a genuine utterance behind every saying attributed to Jesus in the synoptics, and to forget the peculiar character and manifestly late origin of these writings. But since even within the synoptics it is often possible to trace a growth from a simpler form to one unquestionably coloured by later thought, the investigator certainly has the right to assume that this development did not begin in our present gospels. By testing a certain word in an approximation to the Aramaic form it must have had if uttered by Jesus, an entirely different sense is not seldom suggested that may readily have been obscured by a natural mistake in translation, or an equally natural doctrinal bias. As to Mt. 16 13 *ff.*, van Manen is probably in the main right (see § 39), as well as in upholding the Messianic significance of the Greek term everywhere, and in rejecting the survival of Baur's position in Eerdmans. On Hilgenfeld's argument based upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews, see § 42. The fact that Dalman (*l.c.*) could find no other Aramaic term likely to have been used by Jesus than *bar-nāšā*, and recognised the improbability of this having been a Messianic title, is more significant than his contention that *bar-nāšā* in the sense of 'man' was a Syriac innovation and not likely to have been thus understood in Galilee in the time of Jesus.

Dalman may, indeed, have indicated a real tendency of Aramaic speech in Syria; but the remains of its various dialects are too scanty and late to determine whether the development was from an earlier *bar-nāšā* to a less accurate use of *gabrā* or *'nāšā* for 'man,' '*der Mensch*,' a view favoured by the general spread of Aramaic from Mesopotamia and N. Syria southwards, or from an earlier *gebar* or *'nāš* to a later *bar-'nāš*. But Bevan's point that the various uses of *'nāš* and *bar-'naš* which appear concurrently in Syriac are all found in one or another of the Palestinian dialects and that no Palestinian dialect employs any of these forms in a sense unknown in Syriac, is certainly well taken; and Wellhausen rightly feels that Dan. 7 13 is itself decisive (cp also Fiebig, and usage in *Ev. Hier.*, above § 4, iii.).

The authority of so accomplished a student of Palestinian Aramaic as Dalman naturally influenced other scholars. Baldensperger (*Th. Rundschau*, 1900, p. 201 *ff.*) expressed his satisfaction with the final defeat of the philological explanation, and hinted at undue philosophical prepossessions. Rush Rhees (*JBL* 17 96) also thought that the present writer was hampered by the prejudgment that Jesus cannot have made for himself at the outset any supernatural claims. This, however, was not the case, as the conviction that Jesus did not cherish a desire to become even a righteous king, a divinely appointed ruler of Israel and the nations, was not the starting-point but the rather unexpected result of a long series of investigations.
Klopper (*ZWTh.* 1899, p. 161 *ff.*) accepts the validity of Schmiedel's arguments (see § 34), and thinks that

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Jesus, already in the Galilæan period, claimed for himself a peculiar kind of Messiahship by the Danielic title. He deems it probable that Jesus looked upon his victory over Satan in Mt. 4 1 *ff.* as a realisation of the slaying of the beast in Dan. 7 11 26. It is difficult to see what ethical content could have been given to a figure which everybody understood to mean the establishment of the empire of the Jews that could not also have been given to the current Messianic ideal. Clemen (*TLZ*, 1899, col. 489) asks why *bar-nāšā* cannot have been a Messianic title at the time of Jesus as well as later. The answer is that there is no evidence whatever that *bar-nāšā* was ever used as a Messianic title. There is reason to believe that Jesus on some occasions used it in the sense it commonly and exclusively has in extant Aramaic literature. In these instances it has been wrongly translated in the Gk. Gospels by a title not yet drawn from Dan. when Rev., 4 Ezra, and the interpolations in En. 37-71 were written in the reign of Domitian.[1]

The most serious objection of Krop (*La pensée de Jésus*, 1897) is derived from the presence of the title in predictions of Jesus' death and resurrection. How was the title brought from the eschatological series into so different a setting? It may be answered that when once utterances concerning the Son of man had been placed upon the lips of Jesus, and the expression consequently understood as a self-designation, it may readily have been substituted for 'I,' as the vacillating tradition in many places indicates, and adopted in the creation of new oracles. It is probable, however, that a genuine utterance of Jesus was misunderstood and made the foundation of these logia (see § 40).

Gunkel's opposition (*l.c.*) comes from his strong conviction that 'the man' is a mythological figure.

As to the personality to whom Dan., Enoch, and 4 Ezra refer, he is no doubt right in assuming an ultimate Babylonian origin. The conflict between Marduk and Tiāmat became in Judaism one between Yahwè and the great chaos-monster. What was first ascribed to Yahwè himself was subsequently assigned to an angel. After the destruction of the beast, this celestial representative of Israel comes in Dan. 7 with the clouds to receive the world-empire. The development of the Messianic idea (cp Schmidt, *Son of Man*, chap. 6) led to a transfer of these functions to the Messiah. But that the heavenly king, described like other angels as having the appearance of a man, was known as 'the man,' lacks all plausibility. Designations suggesting character or function—such as 'the chosen one,' 'the just one,' 'the restorer,' 'the bridegroom,' 'the lamb'—are intelligible; 'the man on the clouds' would point to Dan. 7 13, and titles signifying this, like ענני (Trg. to 1 Ch. 3 24) and ברנפלי (*Sanh.* 96 *b*), were indeed formed, as Eerdmans has shown; but, neither in Babylonian mythology, nor in Jewish speculation, is it likely that an important personage was referred to merely as 'the man,' 'the human being.'

An objection is raised by Rose (*Rev. bibl.*, 1900, pp. 169 *ff.*): the close connection between the kingdom and the Son of man render it probable that Jesus, to whom the former idea was of such importance, also occupied himself with the latter. Two facts, however, are not sufficiently considered in this view. Intense speculations concerning the kingdom and the world to come are frequently found without any allusion to a Messiah, and this is readily accounted for by the hope centring on God himself as the sole deliverer of his people and judge of the world. When Drummond (*l.c.*) appeals to the independent tradition of Jn. and to the fact that 'the apostles must have known whether their Master spoke of himself in the way recorded in the gospels or not,' it is to be said that acquaintance with the synoptics on the part of the Fourth Evangelist can scarcely be doubted, that the peculiar use of the term in his gospel (see § 45) does not point to an independent tradition, and that the synoptic gospels were written too late to reflect, even on points more important than this, what the apostles must have known, as Drummond himself would no doubt admit. His weightiest objection is that the Church would have preferred to invent some higher title. But the impression left upon an ancient reader of Dan. 7 13 was not that of a frail mortal, but rather that of a resplendent celestial being; and the title was not invented, it grew. Driver (*l.c.*) recognises that all such considerations would have to yield, 'if it were philologically certain that "the son of man" *could* not have been an expression used by our Lord.' That *bar-nāšā* should not have been understood as 'man' in Galilee in the first century, although it was so used in the second, does not seem to him quite probable. He therefore goes to the opposite conclusion that *bar-nāšā* = 'man' may have been so exceedingly common that for emphasis Jesus was obliged to use the term *b'reh dě-nāšā*, meaning 'the Son of man.' But this Christian translation of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, intelligible only as a product of dogmatic necessity, would not have been understood as 'the Son of man' but as 'the son of the Man.' Realising the precariousness even of this assumption, he finally quotes with approval Sanday's opinion that Jesus may have introduced the term upon some occasion when he was addressing hi Aramaic-speaking fellow-men in—Greek! It is not easy to believe that this Son of man who went forth to seek and to save that which was lost presented to his Galilæan fishermen riddles concerning himself in a foreign tongue.

Even the suggestion of Jansen quoted by Weiss (*Predigt Jesu*,(2) 155) that Jesus used the Hebrew term *ben-ādām*, though less violent, lacks all probability. It is not apparent why he should have translated *bar-nāšā* into *ben-ādām*, which was not a Messianic title and could not possibly suggest Dan. 7 13.

The keenest criticism of the new interpretation has been made by Schmiedel (*Prot. Monatsh.*, 1898, pp. 252 *ff.* 291 *ff.*, 1901, pp. 333 *ff.*).

34. Schmiedel's criticism.

He is unquestionably right in laying down the principle that 'absolute credibility should be accorded to that which cannot have been invented by a tradition replete with veneration for Jesus because contradicting it, and most clearly in instances where, among the evangelists themselves, one or another has actually effected a transformation out of reverence for Jesus.' Strangely enough, this acute critic has failed to perceive that, if the interpretation based on the Aramaic is admitted, the passages in question furnish most valuable illustrations of his principle. Has a man the right to assure his fellow-man that his sins are pardoned? The Pharisees assert that God alone can pardon sin. Jesus affirms that man has the right to do so. This thought was too bold for the Church to grasp. She asked, 'Who is the man that can pardon sins?' and her answer was, 'the Christ.' It was no doubt because the translator, following the custom of the Alexandrian version, rendered the phrase literally ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου rather than in good idiomatic Greek ὁ ἄνθρωπος that the saying was preserved at all.

It is not necessary to assume that the question debated was originally connected with a case of healing, and quite irrelevant to ask whether Jesus thought that all men could exercise healing power, nor is it at all certain that Jesus would have answered such a question in the negative. Jesus declares that the sabbath was made for man's sake, therefore man is also lord of the sabbath, and the added remarks show that he regarded the whole cult as of less importance than the principle of love violated in the charge made against his disciples. But a view of the sabbath that put it wholly into the hands of man, was too radical for the Church. By the misleading, though probably unintentional, turn given to the expression in Greek, she gained the comforting assurance that the Christ was lord of the sabbath, and would, no doubt, lend his authority to any change made in his honour. The more in harmony with the growing veneration for Jesus this thought is, the more value must be attached to the earlier and so markedly different form revealed by a translation of the saying back into the original Aramaic.

In Mt. 8 20 Jesus used what sounds like a current epigram to indicate the vicissitudes of human life. He thought of man's lot, the Church instantly thought of his; and the greater the distance between her meditation upon the humiliation of her heavenly lord from the general outlook upon human life sug-

[1] On the argument for an earlier existence of the title drawn by Charles from Enoch 37-71 (*Hist. of Doctr. of Future Life*, 214 *f.* [1889]), see § 7.

gested by the Aramaic saying, the stronger is the presumption in favour of the latter. There is pardon, Jesus declares, for anything that is said against a man, but when the Holy Spirit that works his mighty deeds through a man is declared to be an evil spirit, how can there be forgiveness? While the Aramaic saying suggests as the thought of Jesus, that men should be willing to forgive whatever may be said against them, but that it is an infinitely more serious matter to call a manifestly good spirit possessing a man, Beelzebub; the Church found it far easier to think that Jesus has given the gracious assurance that he would pardon even blasphemy against himself, though he was the Messiah, possibly because his Messianic glory was veiled, but that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit could not be forgiven. When the prophet's death began to appear to him as the inevitable result of his career, he may have comforted his disciples with another word of universal application: 'man must pass away, but he will rise again.' Convinced by the testimony of those who had seen him in heavenly visions that he had risen from the dead, the Church was better prepared for the thought that he had predicted his own death and resurrection than that he had in simple confidence bound up his own destiny with that of humanity. In proportion as the Aramaic sayings thus disclosed differ from the Greek *logia*, presenting conceptions that do not, like the latter, ally themselves naturally with the developing ecclesiastical appreciation of Jesus, they become precious evidences, both of the historical character of Jesus and of the peculiar type of his teaching.

Schmiedel also argues the probability of an original Messianic reference in Mk. 2 28 from Jesus' attitude to the law. He thinks that Jesus may have been led to regard himself as the Messiah by the practical question that he as a reformer was forced to meet, whether the validity of the law might be set aside. 'The law was intended to remain forever. If it must be changed, an explicit authorisation by God was of course necessary. No prophet had possessed this. It was on the whole conceivable only in connection with the new order of the world, the coming of the Messianic age. Consequently, only one could be the divine messenger who would dare to announce it, the Messiah.' This ingenious line of reasoning rests on presuppositions that are scarcely tenable.

Jesus probably believed that Moses wrote the Pentateuch. Yet he found in the prophetic rolls the most pointed criticism of the cult. Prophets had in the name of God spoken against sacrifices, temples, sabbaths, and other ordinances of the law. He was manifestly much more influenced by the prophets than by the law. Whilst the question of the validity of the codes might seem one of life and death to a lawyer, it is altogether probable that other things seemed far more important to the carpenter of Nazareth. The Essenes did not regard it as necessary to wait for the Messiah to authorise a remarkably free attitude toward the temple service. Galilee was notorious for what were regarded in Jerusalem as laxer conceptions. The man of Nazareth who went forth from his carpenter's bench, as Amos of old from his sycamore trees, is not likely to have scrupled to follow the example of the prophets until he could persuade himself that he was, or was destined to become, the Messiah for whom some of his countrymen longed.

In distinction from Eerdmans, Schmidt, and Lietzmann, who had looked upon the Greek translators as the agents through whom the designation of 'man' became a Messianic title, Wellhausen thought it possible that already the Aramaic *bar-nāšā* was at one time used with this significance. It would indeed be interesting to know whether 'Son of man' was employed by the Aramaic-speaking Christians in the first century, and if so, what the form was. Unfortunately, there is no evidence on this point.

We do not know what term in the Hebrew gospel Jerome rendered *filius hominis*, nor the age of the pericope in which he found it. The *Ev. Hier.* may well be somewhat earlier. But its two terms *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* and *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā* are manifestly translations of ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, and only the absence of *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* is of importance as it may show that this Edessene theological term was not used by the Palestinian Christians. The latest interpolations in Enoch 37-71 are of doubtful age and provenience (see § 7). As to the fragments of a lost apocalypse preserved in the Synoptic gospels, there are too many signs of editorial activity in the first of the evangelists, or variants in different copies of the Greek text used, to permit a safe judgment particularly on the important point whether in the Aramaic original Mt. 24 30 and parallels contained the first mention of the coming Son of man. It is altogether possible that the usage in this Apocalypse was analogous to that in Enoch 46 and 4 Ezra 13, the man being first introduced and then referred to with a demonstrative pronoun that would naturally fall away in the Greek when the phrase was understood as a title.

If *bar-nāšā* had ever developed into a Messianic title among the Christians of Palestine, there *did* not seem to be any reason why they should have substituted for the term which they must then have supposed Jesus to use, such a phrase as *breh dĕ-gabrā*. Schmiedel's point that, if *bar-nāšā* could convey to some minds the idea that the Messiah was meant, there are no grounds, at least so far as the language is concerned, for disputing that it may have been so intended by Jesus and understood by his immediate disciples, appears to the present writer to be well taken. But it touches only an admission by Wellhausen, not necessitated by any unmistakable fact. If such a transformation had been effected in Jewish-Christian circles before the end of the first century, we should expect to find it in Rev. The absence of the title in this Christian apocalypse, where there were many natural occasions for using it, is far more significant than its non-occurrence in the epistolary literature where some such motive as Schmiedel has imagined may have been operative.

Until new evidence, or arguments not long ago refuted, shall be adduced in favour of the assumption that Jesus spoke Greek, it must be taken for granted that he addressed his hearers in the Galilæan dialect of the Aramaic.

35. Value of the philological argument.

When this is acknowledged, it follows of necessity that it is the duty of every scholar before pronouncing upon the authenticity of any saying attributed to Jesus to consider whether it may have been wrongly translated. In the performance of this duty two difficulties are met with: it is possible only to approximate to the original, and the literary material by which the Galilæan dialect is known apparently does not go back farther than to the second century A.D. On the other hand, the translation in this case is simplified by the fact that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου can only be the rendering of a form compounded with *bar* (בר), and further facilitated by the circumstance that of terms that may be considered, *b'reh dĕ-'nāšā*, *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* and *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā* must be eliminated. While all these are manifestly Christian renderings of the Greek term, *b'reh dĕ-nāšā* was apparently not used in Palestine, *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* cannot have been formed as an allusion to Dan. 7 13 and as an original Aramaic expression would put the emphasis on Joseph, and *b'reh dĕ-bar-nāšā* is ruled out by the same considerations. The only available term, then, is *bar-nāšā*.

The examination in detail of Aramaic usage undertaken during the last few years, valuable as it has been, was not necessary to reach this conclusion. But *bar-nāšā* means simply 'man,' the individual of the human species, and is the only Aramaic form that by its origin and usage has solely this connotation. Whilst the term occurs with greater frequency in the literary remains of some dialects, there is no reason to believe that it was lacking in any (though even this would not be strange), and it has the same sense wherever it is found. In Galilee it appears to have been used more commonly than in Samaria and Judæa. Although, in the absence of older literature, no actual occurrence of the term before the second century A.D. can be quoted, there is no known fact that even remotely indicates that it was not employed and understood to have the same meaning a few generations earlier.

The phrase translated ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, therefore, naturally conveyed the sense of 'man.' This is precisely the most appropriate meaning in the passages whose authenticity on other grounds is least subject to doubt. It is quite possible that in one or another of these sayings the indeterminate *bar 'nāš*, 'a man,' was originally used, or that the emphatic ending had already lost its force. It would then imply only a natural misapprehension, and no violence, if such an utterance as 'A man may pardon sins' should have been interpreted, 'Even a man—viz., this man,' or 'Though I am a man, I have the right to pardon sins'; and the question as to the authority involved may (so Wellhausen) have assisted in giving the impression that Jesus referred to himself. But from this understanding of the phrase to the conception that Jesus designated by it his Messiah-

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ship the distance is very great. A person speaking Aramaic might of course refer to a third person as 'The man,' if he had already introduced him. There seems to be no instance of this among the recorded sayings of Jesus. There is not the slightest evidence that 'the man' was a current Messianic title, and the natural impression upon a person to whom Aramaic was the vernacular, that a speaker employing the term *bar-nāšā* referred to man in general, any man, renders it exceedingly improbable that this phrase, without further qualification, can ever have been used as a designation of the Messiah. Since, in spite of this fact, *ὁ υἱ. τ. ἀ.* is sometimes put upon the lips of Jesus where the generic use is out of the question, the recourse to the Aramaic furnishes a most valuable criterion of genuineness.

36. Force of the Greek translation. But if *bar-nāšā* meant simply 'man,' why was it translated *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, and not *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*? The answer is to be found partly in the Greek version of the OT, and partly in the development of thought in Greek-speaking Christian circles.

The Hebrew *ben-ādām* was by 𝔊 as a rule rendered *υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* (*υἱὸς ἀνθρώπων* Job 16 21, *υἱὸς γηγενοῦς* many MSS Jer. 49 33), and so also *bar-ĕnāš* in Dan. 7 13 (Θ and 𝔊). The plural *b'nē ādām* is translated *υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων*, 1 S. 18 19 2 S. 7 14 Is. 52 14 Mic. 5 6 Prov. 8 4 31 Ps. 57 5 146 2, and *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, Joel 1 12 and frequently in Prov.; *b'nē hā-ādām* is translated *οἱ υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπων* in 1 K. 8 39, and *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* in Gen. 11 5 2 Ch. 6 30 Ps. 33 13 145 12. Of most importance is the usage in Ecclus., where the Hebrew has uniformly *b'nē hā-ādām* and this seems originally to have been rendered everywhere *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* (1 13 2 38 3 18 *f.* 21 8 11 9 3), *οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* occurring only sporadically in MSS as a correction and *υἱοὶ ἀνθρώπου* as an alternative reading in 3 21 (*HP* 147 149, Ald.). It is significant that Aquila also has *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* in 8 11 where his text has been preserved. To a Greek this could scarcely have conveyed any other idea than 'the sons of the man,' the man being some particular person previously mentioned. Aquila, as well as the translator of Ecclus., thought in Aramaic, had *b'nē 'nāšā* in mind, and used *ἄνθρωπος* as a collective after the fashion of *'nāšā*. In Dan. 5 21 *mibbĕnē enāšā* is simply rendered *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* (Θ). Instead of following this example and rendering *bar-nāšā* by *ὁ ἄνθρωπος*, the Christian translator adopted the more common custom observed in the Greek version and particularly what seems to have been its most recent form seen in Ecclus.

A Hellenistic Jew familiar with Aramaic would, therefore, be quite likely to divine behind *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* an original *bar-nāšā*, whilst a Greek, naturally inquiring who the *ἄνθρωπος* was, would be puzzled by the expression. If this conceivably caused a hesitancy in some minds to employ it, it certainly was to many an additional reason for its use. The air of mystery surrounding it made it peculiarly fitting as a secret intimation of Messiahship. It is manifest that the phrase is not a fresh translation of a Semitic original in every place where it occurs. Possibly this is not the case anywhere. It may have been employed in oral teaching and in earlier writings before any of our gospels were written, and adopted by the evangelists as an already current designation. The use of *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, not only in passages where the employment in the Greek Bible of *ἄνθρωπος* as if it were a collective like *'nāšā* rendered it possible to see through it a *bar-nāšā* in the ordinary sense of 'man,' but also where this would have been impossible, inevitably leads to the conclusion that it may be necessary to distinguish between passages having different claims to authenticity.

37. Need of literary criticism. The idea that we possess in the Synoptic gospels accurate transcripts of the words of Jesus is already abandoned when the 69 occurrences are reduced to 39, 40, or 42 by eliminating what are deemed unmistakable duplicates. For if the 22 passages (see § 12) thus duplicated are examined, a substantial agreement is indeed found, but not absolute identity, and the differences are sometimes such as cannot be accounted for by a more or less accurate rendering of an assumed Aramaic original.

In the case of the 17 passages found only in Mt. or Lk., some are obviously duplicates of sayings already recorded within these gospels, others have synoptic parallels in which the phrase does not occur, and others still are manifestly later glosses. While *à priori* there is no reason to question the possibility of a genuine utterance having been preserved only in one gospel, on examination the decidedly secondary character of all these seventeen instances becomes apparent.

Not only is Mt. 10 23 without a parallel in Lk. 12 11 *f.*, but the whole section Mt. 10 17-25 predicting the sufferings of the apostles reflects a time when the missionary activity of the Church was still confined to Israel. The allegorical interpretation of the parable of the tares, found only in Mt. 13 37-41, shows the strong feeling against Antinomianism in the early Church but also the wisdom with which some of her leaders left the punishment of heretics for the Messiah when he should appear. It is generally recognised that the Evangelist wrote this commentary. On Mt. 16 13, see § 39. In Mt. 16 28 the 'Son of Man' coming in his kingdom has probably taken the place of 'the kingdom of heaven,' as is suggested by Lk. 9 27, where 'the kingdom of God' is used, and Mk. 9 1, where it is expanded into 'the kingdom of God already come with power.' When Mt. 19 28 *f.* is compared with Lk. 18 29 and Mk. 10 29, it is clearly seen that each evangelist has modified the utterance or registered a peculiar tradition. While Lk. seems to be nearer the original, the omission of 'lands' is in harmony with his general attitude, and 'kingdom of God' is his synonym for the more idiomatic 'kingdom of heaven.' Instead of 'for the sake of the kingdom of heaven,' Mk. has 'for my sake and for the gospel's sake,' specifies the future blessings, and significantly adds 'with persecutions'; Mt. introduces the answer by *v.* 28 and has 'for my name's sake.' If 'the sign of the Son of man' in Mt. 24 30*a* had formed a part of the original apocalypse, it is likely to have been preserved by Mk. and Lk. (see § 41). The commentators have not yet discovered what the sign is. Was it a flame of fire (2 Thess. 1 8) or a cross? In either case, this additional feature would not be very old. On Mt. 25 31, see § 41. The statement of a fact (Mk. 14 1 *f.* Lk. 22 1 *f.*) has been changed into a prediction in Mt. 26 2. Instead of 'for the sake of the Son of man' in Lk. 6 22, Mt. 5 11 has 'for my sake,' but even this is a later addition. When Lk. 12 8 is compared with Mt. 10 32 it is apparent that *κἀγώ* in the latter place is more original than the title, but also that the whole verse is secondary. Lk. 17 20-22 is not in harmony with what follows, and Paul, Wernle, and Holtzmann have rightly pointed out the disenchantment of the Church expressed in 17 22. Jülicher (*Gleichnisreden Jesu*, 2 288) recognises that Lk. 18 8*b* is a late addition similarly expressing the painful disappointment as regards the parousia. The beautiful comment, Lk. 19 10, may be this evangelist's tribute to Jesus, or an interpolation in this place as in Mt. 18 11. The exhortation, Lk. 21 34-36, is undoubtedly, as Wernle (*Syn. Frage*, 17) observes, the work of Lk. himself. Holtzmann thinks that Lk. 22 48 is also a creation of the evangelist and calls attention to its rhetorical character (*HC*,(2) 1901, p. 414). In Mt. 26 50 the text is scarcely sound, and the account of Judas' treason is of doubtful historicity (see JUDAS ISCARIOT, §§ 7, 10). It is possible, however, that Lk. 22 48 goes back to an Aramaic original that conveyed the sense: 'Is it with a kiss that thou betrayest a man (*bar-nāšā*)?' And Mt. 26 50 may originally have had as a variant 'Why dost thou betray (*παρει* for *παραδιδως*) a friend?' Two men in dazzling raiment, evidently angels, remind the women in Lk. 27 7 that Jesus had predicted the death and resurrection of the son of man. Addresses by angels do not belong to history. How little Lk. cared for mere verbal accuracy is seen in the fact that the quotation made by the angel does not quite correspond to any prediction recorded.

A study of these passages shows with what freedom sayings of Jesus were certainly modified and apparently created.

If words occurring only in one gospel are naturally somewhat more open to suspicion than those found in two or three, it must be remembered, on the other hand, that the presumption in favour of genuineness does not necessarily increase by duplication, as it may only imply the copying of one evangelist by another or the use of a common source. The reliability of any saying must then ultimately depend upon the general trustworthiness of the document where it first appeared or the current of tradition it registered.

To assume, as many scholars do, that the evangelical tradition has been preserved in its purity in Mk. is to draw a very rash conclusion from the doubtful theory of Mk.'s priority. The fact that no passage containing the phrase is found in Mk. that is not also found in Mt., or Lk., or both, only shows that Mk. remained free from some of the later additions to the other synoptics. It often happens, however, that it is the text of higher age and greater prestige that because of its wider use is most enriched in that way. Thus our best Greek MS of Ecclus.

has the greatest number of interpolations, while far inferior MSS are relatively free from additions to the text (see Schmidt, 'Ecclesiasticus' in *Temple Bible*).

The evidence of later expansions of Mt., most clearly presented by Hilgenfeld, is constantly increasing, and new indications of similar accretions to the original Lk. already suggested by Marcion's gospel, are forthcoming. The assumption that Mk.'s conception of Jesus' attitude to the Messiahship was different from that of Mt. and Lk. and more historical can scarcely maintain itself after Wrede's criticism. As the prejudice in favour of Mk., based on a shorter text and a supposed correcter view of Jesus' career, is removed, and the different versions of each saying are compared and tested in their presumable Aramaic form, an impartial survey of the facts will show at once how far all the synoptics are from reflecting accurately the words of Jesus without losing touch altogether with the oldest tradition, and in what sense the earliest testimony as to the succession of these gospels, representing the order as Mt., Mk., and Lk., is to be accepted. It will then be seen that there are passages in Mt. and Lk., not found in Mk., that may go back to original sayings of Jesus; that the only passage found in Mk. and Lk., but not in Mt., cannot be regarded as authentic; that there is no genuine saying preserved in Lk. that is not also found in Mt.; that there are passages in Mk. as well as in Mt. and Lk. that are clearly of very late origin; and that there are passages in Mk. as well as in Mt. and Lk. in which the phrase may go back to an original *bar-nāšā* even after the episode at Cæsarea Philippi.

Among the eight passages found only in Mt. and Lk., Mt. 8 20 (Lk. 9 58), 11 19 (7 34), and 12 32*a* (12 10*a*) probably go back to original utterances of Jesus (see § 38); 12 40 (11 30) is an interpolation particularly clumsy in Mt.; 24 27 37 39 (17 24 26 30) belong to the synoptic apocalypse (see § 41), and 29 44 (12 46) is recognised by Jülicher (*l.c.* 2 142 *ff.*) as a later gloss. Among the five found in Mt. and Mk., Mt. 17 9 (9 8) refers to the vision on the mountain. In Jesus' lifetime, not even his most intimate disciples had had anything to relate concerning his luminous heavenly body. Did this necessarily exclude the possibility of a vision of this body before his death? Not to the minds of the evangelists, since they had accustomed themselves to the thought that Jesus had forbidden all such disclosures concerning himself before he should rise from the dead. This vision (ὅραμα) is thus an anticipation of the vision that spread the belief in his resurrection. The Elijah question, Mt. 17 10-13 (Mk. 9 11-13), consequently had no connection originally with what precedes; the text in Mk. is late and confused (so also Wernle, *l.c.*, 133), whilst that in Mt. is in good order and the conclusion may be a rendering of 'So must a man (ברנש) suffer by them,' referring to John the Baptist. Mt. 20 28 (Mk. 10 45) comments retrospectively on the exemplification in the life and death of Jesus of the principle he has just laid down. Lk. 22 27-30 is a later and less valuable interpretation that curiously misunderstands the thought that Jesus wished to convey. Mt. 26 24*b* (Mk. 14 21*b*) occurs in an interpolation which breaks the connection between 26 21*a* and 26 (14 18 and 22) with an account that has been placed by Lk. at the end (22 21-23) and even there is probably unhistorical. The occurrence of the phrase in Mt. 26 45 (Mk. 14 41), not found in Lk. where the connection is better, is no doubt to be explained by the place Judas gained in Christian legend (so Wellhausen). (On Mk. 8 31 [Lk. 9 22], see § 40.)

Among the eight passages found in all the Synoptics, Mt. 9 6 (Mk. 2 10 Lk. 5 24) and Mt. 12 8 (Mk. 2 28 Lk. 6 5) probably go back to original utterances. Mt. 16 27 (Mk. 8 38 Lk. 9 26) is clearly a later addition, further transformed by Mk. and Lk. Mt. 17 22 (Mk. 9 31 Lk. 9 44) and Mt. 20 18 (Mk. 10 33 Lk. 18 31) is a prediction of his death (see § 40). Mt. 27 30*b* (Mk. 13 26 Lk. 21 27) belongs to the Synoptic apocalypse (see § 41). Mt. 26 24*a* (Mk. 14 21*a* Lk. 22 22) belongs to the interpolation considered above. The absence of disciples witnessing the scene, the conflict with judicial practice, the absurdity of the false testimony, the failure to produce any statement that a Jewish court could have construed into blasphemy, and the contradictions and evident Christian colouring render it extremely difficult to believe in the historical character of the trial before the Sanhedrin. (Cp SYNEDRIUM.) In Mt. 26 64 Jesus answers the question whether he is the Messiah 'thou sayest it,' in Lk. 22 69 'ye say that I am.' The plain import is 'You say that I am the Messiah, but I have made no such statement.' It is significant that these two evangelists should have hesitated to put upon the lips of Jesus an affirmative answer even under oath. So strong was the tradition that Jesus did not in his lifetime claim to be the Messiah, so firm the conviction that he guarded his secret to the end. They felt justified only in ascribing to him a covert reference to the Messiah in the third person and with the secret name. Mk. (14 62) lacks some of the expressions in Mt. and Lk., but departs widely from the earlier tradition by making Jesus acknowledge his Messiahship. Cp the searching criticism of Brandt (*Ev. Gesch.* 53 *ff.*).

In view of this indispensable literary criticism, it is of no small importance that it is possible by turning the Greek *logia* into the vernacular of Jesus to obtain some sayings at once so different from the prevailing conceptions of the early Church and so bold and original as to raise the strongest presumption in favour of their genuineness.

38. Genuine sayings during Galilean period.

Such are, in the first place, Mt. 9 6 and 12 8 (and parallels), found in all the synoptics. In the former case the question is debated whether a man has a right to assure another man that his sins are pardoned. The Pharisees maintain that God alone can pardon sin. They probably regarded absolution in the name of God as a priestly function. There is no evidence that the Jews expected the Messiah to forgive sins, and no intimation that Jesus looked upon this as a privilege to be exercised only by himself. On the contrary, he enjoins his disciples to use this power (Mt. 18 18). Such a simple assurance of forgiveness, flowing from a living faith in a heavenly father's love, was to Jesus no sacerdotal act. Any man had a right to extend it.

In Mt. 12 8 the generic meaning is equally clear. The disciples having eaten corn as they passed through the field, are accused of breaking the sabbath. Jesus defends them by quoting the example of David, who ate of the shewbread, which, according to the law, he had no right to do, and gave his followers permission to do so. The point is not that David and his 'greater son' may take liberties with God's law which would be wrong for others, but clearly that so godly a man as David recognised that the sustenance of life was in God's eyes more important than the maintenance of the cult. Lest this should be misunderstood, he adds another argument. The law permits the priests to work on the sabbath, thus regarding the commanded cessation of labour as less important than the maintenance of divine worship. The thought is not that he and his had priestly rights, for they had none, and Jesus had no interest in the sacrificial cult, as the next statement shows. But even from the standpoint of the law there were things more important than the enjoined cessation of work. Man was not made for the sabbath, but the sabbath for man; therefore man is also lord of the sabbath. This conclusion alone is relevant to the argument. If it were necessary to prove that the Messiah might break the law or authorise his disciples to do so, how could so startling a proposition be established by the general consideration that the sabbath was made for man's sake? There is indeed no evidence that the Jews expected the Messiah to violate or abrogate the divinely given law. The very suggestion would probably have produced a shock. If Jesus really desired to convince his hearers that the Messiah had a right to dispense from obedience to the law and that he was the Messiah, he must have understood that what was needed for that purpose was a reference to a recognised Messianic passage ascribing such powers to the Messiah or a firmly-rooted tradition to this effect, and a straightforward presentation and vindication of his claims, all the more necessary if he did not wish his Messiahship to be taken in a political sense. Were it possible that the Aramaic word he used for 'Son of man' could have been interpreted as a Messianic title, the impression left on the Pharisees would still have been that he had defended law-breaking on the ground that the lower, the sabbath, must yield to the higher, man, and had made such a sweeping application of a general principle, true enough in certain circumstances, as would allow any man to set aside any ordinance of God.

'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heavens

have nests, but a man has nowhere to lay his head' (Mt. 8 20) may be a proverb quoted by Jesus or an epigram coined on the spot. In either case the scribe no doubt saw the hint quickly. Man's life is full of danger and uncertainty. Where will he reside to-morrow? Nature cares for the beasts; they are not driven from home and hearth for their convictions. The thought probably never occurred to the scribe that this Galilæan teacher had in the same breath announced himself as the Messiah, and complained that though he was so great a man he neither owned a house nor had a lodging-place.

The enemies of Jesus charged him with performing his cures by the aid of Beelzebub. In this he saw a blasphemy, because he felt that his success in curing the sick was due to a divine spirit that possessed him. Yet he was careful to distinguish between an attack upon a fellow-man and a denunciation of the spirit operating through him. Therefore he says, 'If any one speaks against a man, that may be pardoned, but he that speaks against the Holy Spirit can have no pardon' (Mt. 12 32). No person in the audience could have understood him to say: 'You may blaspheme the Messiah with impunity, but not the Holy Ghost,' The distinction is clearly between the divine spirit and the human instrumentality.

Wellhausen prefers the reading in Mk. 3 28 *f.* and assumes that a misunderstanding arose through the original reading in Lk. 12 10 which, on the basis of the absence of *λόγον* in Marcion, he translates into Aramaic and renders 'all that is said by man' (כל די אמיר לברנשא). This is an ingenious suggestion; but an omission on the part of Mk. seems more probable than such a misapprehension. For, whether the words were uttered by Jesus or not, they seem to have originated in some such reflection as we find in 1 S. 2 25.

In Mt. 11 19 Jesus may be rightly represented as having said 'John comes neither eating nor drinking and they say, He has a devil; a man comes who eats and drinks and they say, Behold a glutton and a wine-bibber.'

The account in Mt. 16 13-20 of Jesus' question to the disciples giving occasion for Peter's confession has manifestly suffered by later expansions.

39. The phrase not used at Cæsarea-philippi.

Such is the pontifical diploma presented to Peter in *vv.* 17-19. Such also the addition 'the Son of the living God' in *v.* 16. In *v.* 13 a second question has been preserved in Syr. Sin. Namely, 'Who is this Son of man?' added to the first, 'What do men say concerning me?' 'This' may perhaps be put to the account of the Syriac translator (so Schmiedel). But it is also possible that 'Who is this man (*bar-nāšā*)?' is a gloss already in the Aramaic, leading the later glossator to introduce by contrast the title of Christ's divinity. It is evident that the interpolator lived at a period when the supremacy of the Roman See was being established. At that time the term 'Son of man' would be understood to denote the human nature as distinct from the divine. Apart from these additions, Mt. seems to have preserved an earlier text than Mk. 8 27 *ff.* and Lk. 9 18 *ff.* Desirous to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven in Jerusalem also, Jesus apparently hesitated on the ground that it might be taken as a political movement. Hence, the question as to what men thought of him. If the answer was reassuring so far as the people were concerned, seeing that they looked upon him as a prophet and not as an aspirant to Messiahship, he had to reckon also with the attitude of his own disciples. When Peter, utterly misunderstanding the question as to their views, took the occasion to express his own hope, Jesus was obliged to 'command the disciples that they should not say to any man that he was the Messiah,' as it is emphatically put in Mt.

According to Mk. 8 31 (Lk. 9 22) Jesus announced his death and resurrection after three days immediately upon Peter's confession. Of this Mt. knows nothing. The first reference to the sufferings of the Son of man are found in Mt. 17 12 (Mk. 9 12),

40. Basis of predictions of death and resurrection.

But here it is probable that the original Aramaic conveyed the sense 'so must a man (*bar-'nāš*) suffer by them.' For 'the disciples understood that he spoke to them concerning John the Baptist,' *v.* 13. Later, this would naturally be misunderstood as a reference to himself. The original form of Mt. 20 28 (Mk. 10 45) may have been 'Man has not come (*sc.* into the world) to be served, but to serve.' When this was applied to Jesus, the dogma of the 'ransom' seems to have been added.

In *Clem. Hom.* 12 29 (ed. Schwegler) Peter quotes the following words of Jesus: *τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἐλθεῖν δεῖ, μακάριος δέ φησί, δι' οὗ ἔρχεται· ὁμοίως καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀνάγκη ἐλθεῖν, οὐαὶ δὲ δι' οὗ ἔρχεται.* The work in which this is found probably dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180); cp Hilgenfeld, *Clem. Recog. and Hom.*, 1848, p. 305 *ff.*, *ZWTh.*, 1869, p. 353, *Einl.* p. 42. The same saying is reported by Aphraates: 'good is sure to come and it is well with him through whom it comes; evil also must come, but woe to him through whom it comes' (5 1, ed. Graffin). Aphraates used Tatian's *Diatessaron.* The generic sense of *bar-nāšā* in each part of this section, naturally enough applied to Jesus and Judas in Mt. 26 24 Mk. 14 41 Lk. 22 22, was consequently still preserved in the middle of the second century.

Of the two passages found in all the synoptics, Mt. 17 22 (Mk. 9 31 Lk. 9 44) and Mt. 20 18 (Mk. 10 33 Lk. 18 31), the latter furnishes a more natural situation. That Jesus cannot have predicted in detail his death and resurrection after three days or on the third day, is evident to all critical students. But the difficulty of suppressing the political hopes of his followers and the prejudices and opposition he was sure to encounter in Jerusalem may well have filled his mind with forebodings of evil. He fell back, however, upon the conviction that the highest good, the kingdom of heaven, would come, and that it would be well with any man who assisted in its coming and suffered for its sake. He no doubt believed in a resurrection of the dead, although his idea seems to have been nearer the Essene than the Pharisaic conception. As Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had been raised out of death into an eternal life with God, so he expected to be raised, Mt. 22 23 *ff.* (Mk. 12 13 *ff.* Lk. 20 20 *ff.*). This hope he may have expressed by some such word as 'man must pass away but he will rise again.' Even this would be improbable, if Pfleiderer were right in assuming that Jesus cherished no doubts as to the outcome of his mission to Jerusalem.

Considering Lk. 22 36 as a genuine saying of Jesus, Pfleiderer (*New World*, 1899, p. 431 *ff.*) concludes that, as he ordered his disciples to buy swords, probably to defend themselves against hired assassins, he cannot have gone to Jerusalem with the 'purpose of dying there as a sacrifice for the sin of the world, but of contending and conquering.' It might be said that, if he advised his followers to arm themselves, the thought of danger and death must have been present with him. But it is exceedingly improbable that he ever gave any such counsel. If he had actually urged his followers to sell their very garments in order to purchase swords, without explaining his purpose, he must have contemplated a *coup d'état* and there would have been plenty of swords at his disposal, but there would have been a certain disingenuousness in his rebuke, Mt. 26 52, so thoroughly in harmony with the doctrine of non-resistance he had preached, since he was himself responsible for the presence of the sword and the notion that it would be an urgent necessity. The earlier tradition in Mt. and Mk. knows nothing of such a command given by Jesus; but it preserved the fact that one of the disciples had drawn a sword and cut off a man's ear. How was this sword to be accounted for? Jesus had ordered it. For what purpose? Lk. 22 27 gives the answer, 'This which is written must be accomplished in me, "And he was reckoned with the lawless."' Jesus, of course, did not go to Jerusalem in order to

die, but to proclaim the good news of the kingdom. Nevertheless he no doubt realised the dangers of the situation and only put his life into jeopardy because he deemed it necessary for the accomplishment of his work, sustained the while by the hope that the kingdom of heaven would come in the world and to himself a share in the resurrection from the dead.

In Mt. 24 4-36 'the Son of man' occurs five times; in Mk. 13 5-32 only once, and in Lk. 21 8-36 twice.

41. The Synoptic Apocalypse. Mt. 24 30*b* (Mk. 13 26 Lk. 21 27), which is alike in all the synoptics, has no doubt been drawn from the last apocalypse. Before it Mt. introduces the term twice—viz., in 24 27 which is also found in Lk. 17 24 and in 24 30*a* which has no parallel. The second occurrence in Lk. (21 36) is also without a duplicate; while Mt. 24 37 39 correspond to Lk. 17 26 30.

If the passage which the three gospels have in common was the first in the original apocalypse that referred to the Son of man, it may well be that it conveyed the meaning, 'they shall see a man coming on the clouds of heaven,' and he will, etc. If Mt. 24 27 actually preceded it, this sense would not be possible; but there is no certainty that the original has been reproduced exactly or in order. Until further discoveries shall have been made, it will remain most probable that 'the man' was first introduced as 'a man,' as in En. 46 and 4 Ezra 13. This apocalypse may not originally have been put upon the lips of Jesus. When its fragments once secured a place in the synoptic gospels, the influence upon the conception of the term 'Son of man' must have been profound. If even ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου to persons familiar with Aramaic might still have conveyed the sense of *bar-nāšā* (see § 36), the man coming with the clouds or appearing as a lightning flash was too plainly the celestial being described in Dan. 7 13 to be considered as referring to man in general. A new mode of thought was naturally given to familiar utterances. It was this heavenly man who had been without a home on earth, who had authority over the sabbath and the right to pardon sins, who had suffered at the hands of men and predicted his advent in glory and power. The title was substituted for the personal pronoun; old sayings were modified, new ones formed. Where Jesus had spoken of the kingdom of heaven whose coming he expected, the Church spoke of the Son of man for whose coming she eagerly looked. Among the new creations none is grander than the judgment scene in Mt. 25. Its chief significance lies not so much in the fact that the judge identifies himself with his brethren, or that the nations are judged by their treatment of the Christians, as in the fact that they are judged exclusively by moral tests: men's eternal welfare is determined by their unconscious goodness in dealing with their humblest fellow-men.

An indication of the date of the synoptic apocalypse in its Christian form may be found in the circumstance that it follows in Mt. immediately upon a passage that in all probability belonged to the Σοφία τοῦ θεοῦ, as Strauss has shown (*ZWTh.*, 1863, p. 84 *ff.*). This 'Wisdom of God' cannot have been written long before the end of the first century, as it contains an allusion to the murder of Zechariah b. Barachia during the siege of Jerusalem (cp Jos. *BJ* iv. 5 4 [§§ 335, 343]).

Jerome (*Vir. Ill.* 2) affirms that in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, which he had translated into

42. Gospel according to Hebrews. Greek and Latin, the statement was made that Jesus after his resurrection, 'took bread, blessed, brake, and gave it to James the Just, saying, "my brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of man (*filius hominis*) has risen from those that sleep."' Hilgenfeld (*ZWTh.*, 1899) thinks that the Aramaic phrase translated by Jerome was *b'reh dĕ-'nāšā*.

It would be interesting, in all these circumstances, to know what Aramaic term Jerome found in his gospel, and of utmost importance if it could be proved that the copy he saw in the library at Cæsarea was a faithful transcript of the Gospel written by Matthew. In its original form, the Gospel according to the Hebrews may indeed have been of very high age, and have served as a basis for the first Greek gospel. That it was nameless, as Handmann thinks (*Heb. Ev.*, 1888, p. 115), is not probable. The most natural supposition is that it was ascribed to Matthew. Whether such a tradition was correct, may be doubted. But, like all other gospels, it undoubtedly underwent many changes; and this particular pericope, at least in the form represented by Jerome, can scarcely have had a place in the first draft.

As *b'reh dĕ-'nāšā* apparently was not used by Palestinian Christians, *b'reh dĕ-gabrā* is more probable. But it may even be questioned whether Jerome wrote *filius hominis*, as Gregory of Tours quotes the words: 'Surge, Jacobe, comede, quia jam a mortuis resurrexi' (*Hist. Franc.* 1 21).

It is the merit of Lietzmann to have called attention to the fact that outside of the NT the phrase occurs for

43. Marcion's gospel. the first time in Marcion, and was used by different Gnostic schools. Marcion's gospel seems to have had this term in the same places as the canonical Lk., except that 7 29 35 11 30-32 18 8 31-34 were not found in his gospel.

From Marcion's acquaintance with it, Lietzmann draws the conclusion that it originated in Asia Minor before the year 90 A.D. It is not apparent why this year should have been chosen. Harnack's conjecture (*Chron.* 298 *ff.*) is based on an obscure and manifestly corrupt passage in Clement of Alexandria. Lipsius placed Marcion's birth at least twenty years later, and his arrival in Rome in 143/4 (*ZWTh.*, 1867, p. 75 *ff.*). Tertullian's statement that Marcion was the son of a bishop is scarcely more reliable than that of Megethius, that he was himself a bishop (cp Meyboom, *Marcion en de Marcionieten*, 34 *ff.*). But, apart from this, there is no evidence that Marcion as a child was familiar with the gospel he quoted in Rome in the time of Pius (cp also Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch.* 329 *f.*).

According to Irenæus (*Adv. hær.* i. 30 1-31 2) the Gnostics called the primeval light, the father of all

44. Use of term by Gnostics. things, Πρῶτος ἄνθρωπος (*primus homo*), and the first thought (ἔννοια) emanating from him Δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος (*secundus homo*), or υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου (*filius hominis*). This υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου was not, however, identical with the Christ who, in their opinion, was the offspring of 'the first man' and 'the second man' with 'the holy spirit,' while the man Jesus, son of Yaldabaoth and the Virgin Mary, was conceived of as the earthly tabernacle in which the Christ took up his abode. Hippolytus (*Philosophumena*, 5 6-11 10 9) reports that the Naasenes (נחש = serpent), or Phrygian Ophites, also worshipped the 'man' (ἄνθρωπος), and the 'Son of man' (υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου) as a unity of father and son, the father probably being designated as Adamas (אדם).

In the *Evangelium Mariæ*, a Gnostic work earlier than Irenæus, the highest being is called Πρωτάνθρωπος (cp K. Schmidt, *SBAW*, 1896, p. 843 *f.*), and in a somewhat later form of this Gnosis the 'Man of light,' Adamas, occurs (*id.* in *TU* 8 297 309 *ff.* 658); and the perfect and true man (*hominem perfectum et verum*) called Adamas, belongs to the circle of divine beings manifesting Barbelo, the father and the son, in the thought of the Barbelo-Gnostics (Iren. 1 29). When the 'Heavenly Dialogue,' quoted by Celsus in his 'True Word' (about 177 A.D.), declared that the Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) was mightier than a god (Origen, *Contr. Cels.* 8 15), this god was no doubt Yaldabaoth whom his mother, Sophia, had to rebuke by a reminder that above him were 'the father of all, the first man, and the man, "the son of man,"' according to Irenæus. Valentinus also gave the first place in the pleroma to the προὼν ἄνθρωπος (Clement, *Strom.* ii. 8 36), and Monoimos represented the divinity as man, and in so far as it is revealed, as 'Son of man' (see Grill, *l.c.*, 355).

The evident kinship between the Ophite system and the thought ascribed to Simon of Gitta, renders it not improbable that the founder of the movement already was familiar with these designations for the highest beings. His saying in regard to the divine manifestation as son in Judæa, as father in Samaria, and as holy spirit in the other nations (*Philos.* 6 19) is most readily understood in harmony with whatever else is known of his views, if it is assumed that he asserted the divinity of man on the basis of the acknowledged humanity of God, finding in Judaism, Samaritanism, and paganism,

in Jesus, himself, and Helena, manifestations of that divinely human life symbolised by the already extant figures of 'the man,' the 'Son of man,' and the feminine spirit in the pleroma.

That the Ophites existed before Christianity, their doctrine being a mixture of Egyptian and Jewish ideas, has been suggested by Baur (*Christliche Gnosis*, 194 *ff.* [1835]), by Lipsius, who preferred to think of Syrian rather than Egyptian influences as preponderating (*ZWTh.*, 1863, p. 718 *f.*), and by Lietzmann, who quotes Philaster, 1 1, as showing that they 'argued their heresies before the coming of Christ.' Lietzmann, however, is of the opinion that 'man' as a divine name can only have originated as a designation of the heavenly prototype of the Messiah appearing on earth, called even in early times 'the second man,' though the term is actually found only in late Rabbinic writings, and that the Christian Ophites continued to use these titles, naturally adopting *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* for *ὁ δεύτερος ἄνθρωπος*. But Grill is probably right in pointing out an Indian origin for this conception (*l.c.*, 348 *ff.*).

The Vedic Purusha—*i.e.*, 'man'—is a designation of the universe, the macrocosm being conceived after the analogy of the microcosm. A distinction is made, however, in *Rig Veda* 10 90 between Purusha as the absolute being, and Purusha as the firstborn, and for this derived primeval existence the term Nārāyana, 'the one like a man,' 'the son of man' is used (*Mahānarōyana-Upanishad*, 11). Gnostic speculation is altogether likely to have been affected by this idea.

It is possible, too, that there was a basis in the mythical lore of Syria. Adam is not improbably the name of a Semitic divinity [cp OBED-EDOM]. The familiar motive of a father, a son, and a mother-goddess having issue by the son (cp Stucken, *MVAG*, 1902, 446 *ff.*), reflecting as it does a very primitive form of domestic life, is certainly of mythical origin, and not the result of late philosophical speculation. The conception of the macrocosmic man and the celestial protoplast is earlier and more widespread than the significant names expressing it in Sanscrit sources, and rendered the introduction of similar terms easier. There seems to be no trace in Gnostic thought of the Jewish idea of the Messiah, and the Christ-idea has the appearance of being a later addition to a system already completed. The Gnostic 'Son of man' cannot be accounted for as growing out of the conception presented in the synoptics; rather is it possible that the Greek phrase, used in rendering the generic *barnāšā*, lent itself to an interpretation akin to the Gnostic thought, seeing in Jesus an incarnation of a celestial 'Son of man.'

Recent criticism of the Fourth Gospel has had a tendency to emphasise again its relations to Gnosticism.

45. Use in Fourth Gospel.

While the unhistorical character of the Gospel, its impregnation with Alexandrian, and particularly Philonic, thought, and its date toward the middle of the second century, have been rendered practically certain by the labours of many scholars, from Bretschneider to Holtzmann and the Révilles (see JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE), questions concerning earlier and later strata within the gospel, and the attitude of author or redactor to Gnostic thought, have assumed fresh importance during the last few years. How profoundly investigation on these points may affect the interpretation of the 'Son of man' in Jn. is seen in the works of Fries, Kreyenbühl, and Grill. Following the expansion-theory of Schweizer, to some extent adopted by Bousset and Harnack, in the more radical form given to it by Delff, rather than the source-theory of Weisse, Freytag, and Wendt, Fries (*Det fjärde evangeliet*, 1898; *En koptiske evangelium*, 1900) has independently elaborated a view according to which an earlier gospel by the presbyter John has been expanded by Cerinthus with interpolations, partly taken from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, partly consisting of his own philosophical speculations on the basis of the Philonian logos-doctrine. This theory leads him to consider 1 51 3 13 *f.* 5 27 53 62 8 28 and 13 31 as interpolations. Only 12 23 34 he thinks it necessary to assign to the original gospel, but regards these as evidence that Jesus himself occasionally used the term. Söderblom has indicated his general agreement with this position (*Jesu Bergspredikan*, 40 [1899]).

So much is sacrificed to Cerinthus, that 12 23 34 might as well have been added. For 12 23 is practically identical with 13 31, and the statement offending the people in 12 34, that 'the son of man must be lifted up,' is found not in 12 32 where Jesus says, 'If I am lifted up,' but in 3 14 which is regarded as an interpolation. So far as the 'Son of man' passages are concerned, they must therefore, even on this view, be put to the account of a Gnostic philosopher, familiar with Philo's speculation, since the similarity of 6 27 to the Gospel according to the Hebrews does not extend to this phrase. The significant thing is that the parts which must be considered as most characteristic of the gospel are thus given by Fries to a Gnostic. Fries may be right in pointing out a probable use of a Greek translation of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. That the author to whom we owe the gospel in substantially its present form, barring some transpositions indicated by Spitta and Bacon, and the appendix, used other sources than the synoptics is not improbable. But the freedom with which Mt. 26 64 has been modified in 1 51, and the passion-sayings have been transformed into predictions of glorification in 3 14 8 28 12 23 and 13 34, suggests the extreme difficulty of ascertaining the exact language and historical worth of any such sources through the *chiaroscuro* of his thought.

If Fries fell back upon the opinion of the ancient Alogi that Cerinthus had had something to do with this gospel, Kreyenbühl (*Das Evangelium der Wahrheit*, 1900) has maintained that the present gospel is the work of Menander of Kapparetæa, the disciple of Simon, and contemporary of Ignatius, in a work equally marked by learning, critical acumen, and sympathetic insight. In accordance with this view he holds that 'Son of man' in Jn. is intended to be understood not as an exclusive self-designation of Jesus, but rather as a term applying to 'man,' 'any man,' *jeder Christenmensch*, Menander speaking out of his Christian consciousness of being a saviour sent by the aeons into the world (*l.c.* 437 *ff.*, cp Irenæus, *Adv. hær.* i. 23 5). It is difficult for the present writer to believe that the slender foundation in Justin and Irenæus will bear the weight of so heavy a structure.

Menander may indeed have conceived of himself as having come into the world to redeem men from ignorance, and it is barely possible that he regarded himself as a manifestation of the celestial man. But the natural impression is certainly that in Jn. Jesus is represented as speaking solely of himself when he uses the term 'Son of man'; and no recourse to the vernacular of Jesus does here, as in the case of the synoptics, suggest a different and universal significance. Particularly important is 6 53, where it seems just as impossible that Menander could have spoken of the appropriation of his own flesh and blood, or of the flesh and blood of man in general, as that Jesus should have used such words. Here the reference is evidently to the Eucharist, and the Son of man is Jesus whose body and blood the Church regarded itself as appropriating in the sacrament, and whose life-giving words the author deemed of supreme value.

The interpretation of Jn. 6 35 from the view-point of the author's symbolical idealism by J. Réville (*Le quatrième évangile*, 178 *ff.* [1901]) is more satisfactory than the present writer's assumption of a strong opposition to sacramentalism (*JBL*, 1892, p. 20). It may be justifiable to infer that in some circles, 'to eat the flesh and to drink the blood of the Son of Man' had developed into a liturgical formula, and this would show how little Christians hesitated to use this supposed self-designation of Jesus. It is the merit of Kreyenbühl to have greatly strengthened the impression that this gospel contains a certain type of Gnostic thought. In view of the fact that practically all the OT, tl Apocrypha, and the Pseudepigrapha are either anonymous or pseudonymous writings, it is time that the eager desire to fasten the authority of the Fourth Gospel upon some person mentioned in Early Christian Literature should be put at rest. Grill (*l.c.*) rightly

contents himself with tracing the gospel idea of the incarnation (that does not go back to Philo) through Gnosticism to its source in Indian speculation, and he interprets the phrase as designating the celestial 'Son of man' who has become a 'man.'

Wendt is probably right in regarding ἀνθρώπου after υἱὸς in 5 27 as a later addition (*Das Johannesevangelium*, 121 *f.* [1900]). In 3 13 the words ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ should not be removed from the text on the ground of their absence in BSL, but emended into ὁ ὢν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, as Sin. Syr. has *men šĕmaya*; and in 9 35, not only BDS but also Sin. Syr. and Eth. have 'Son of man.' In 12 34 the 'Son of man' is not merely an equivalent of the Messiah (so *JBL*, 15 39). The assumption is that Jesus claims to be the Messiah; but the reference to a removal from earth renders it possible to doubt whether the mysterious title 'Son of man' does not have a different meaning.

46. Effect on question of Jesus' Messiahship.

When it is recognised that ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου is the translation of an Aramaic *bar-nāšā*, that this term cannot, on philological grounds, have been used as a self-designation since it naturally conveyed only the idea of 'man' in general, and that this generic use is most suitable in all instances where there is reason to suppose that a genuine utterance is found, the opinion that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah loses its strongest support. There are indeed passages in which the underlying assumption seems to be that Jesus claimed for himself the Messiahship without using the name. Keim (*Jesu von Nazara*, 2 376) enumerates as such Mt. 9 15 11 3 13 12 3 41 *f.* 13 17; Beer regards Mt. 9 15 as decisive ('Enoch' in Kautzsch, *Pseudepigrapha*, 232); Wendt (*l.c.*, 178 *ff.*) instances Mt. 11 25 *ff.* Mk. 11 27 *ff.* 12 35 *ff.* But in Mt. 9 14 *ff.* the justification of fasting by the departure of the bridegroom, and of the non-fasting in Jesus' lifetime (cp Mt. 11 18), by the presence of the bridegroom, is as clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu* (Volkmar) as the words concerning the garments and the wineskins are unmistakably genuine (see Holtzmann, *Synoptiker*,(3) 55). In Mt. 11 3 Jesus is asked by John the Baptist, through his disciples, whether he is the coming one. Jesus not only does not answer the question, but deliberately turns the attention away from himself to his work, described in language borrowed from Is. 29 18 *f.* 35 5 6, and culminating in the proclamation of good tidings to the poor. It is the view men have of the kingdom of heaven that concerns him; on this point Jesus considered John's conceptions to be as defective as those of Moses and the prophets (Mt. 11 12 *f.*).[1] The 'sign of Jonah' is the preaching of repentance to the Ninevites; but Jesus felt that his proclamation of the kingdom of heaven was of more importance than the announcement of judgment by the unwilling prophet (Mt. 12 41 *f.*). If Mt. 13 17 is genuine, it expresses Jesus' conviction that the kingdom of heaven, prophesied of old, is coming, and his congratulation of his disciples for discerning its advent. But this does not harmonise with the lack of perception on their part, of which he elsewhere has to complain.[2] The parable of the vineyard (Mk. 12 1 *ff.*) has been so thoroughly changed, under the hands of the evangelists (see Jülicher, *l.c.*, ii. 2 386 405 *f.*), that it is quite impossible to ascertain what the original utterance was in 12 35 *ff.*

If Mt. 22 41 *ff.* (Mk. 12 35 *ff.*) is genuine, it is either an academic question concerning the Scriptural basis for the current assumption that the coming Messiah is to be a descendant of David, or a serious Scriptural vindication by Jesus of his claims to be the Messiah although he is not of Davidic descent. His general method of teaching renders it exceedingly improbable that he should have engaged in such a discussion simply to confute Pharisaic exegesis without anything of practical importance depending on the decision; but if he really attached value to their accepting him as the Messiah without the demanded legitimisation, his reticence on the essential point whether he was the Messiah becomes wholly incomprehensible. It seems evident that this pericope is a defence of Jesus' Messiahship, made by his disciples against Jewish attacks upon it on the ground that he was not a son of David—a defence made at a time when no one had yet thought of constructing the pedigrees now found in Mt. and Lk., both of which are very late. The critical estimate of these passages has not been influenced by the discussion of the term 'Son of man,' and in almost all instances has been reached by scholars who believe on the basis of this title that Jesus regarded himself as the Messiah.

47. Value of the different theories.

Although at first sight the result of recent investigations may seem to be wholly negative and to render valueless the long labours that have been expended upon the term, a closer examination will show that each new theory has tended to bring to view some aspect of the truth, and that the hypothesis that appears to explain satisfactorily most of the facts yields the richest returns for our knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus. When Jesus declared that man is lord of the sabbath and has the authority to pardon sin, he no doubt thought of man as he ought to be as a child of the heavenly father; and thus there was in his mind an element of that ideal humanity which Herder emphasised. That he did not look upon himself as the absolutely perfect man only enhances his moral greatness. Other genuine utterances suggest that humble sense of fellowship with man and acceptance of man's lot which Baur rightly felt. Those who explained the term as a Messianic title were right in so far as the Greek gospels are concerned. But a correct feeling also led many scholars to the opinion that Jesus cannot have through this term accepted as his own the current Messianic ideal. That it served to hide the secret of his Messiahship was also true; only it was not Jesus himself, but his disciples, who thus used it. Similarly, the term is likely to have suggested to early Christians a conception in which many heterogeneous elements were blended. The gradual elimination of the Fourth Gospel, the synoptic apocalypse, the manifestly secondary passages containing the phrase, as the literary character of the gospels became more truly appreciated, was of utmost importance. Only on the basis of such careful criticism could the resort to the vernacular be of any value.

While no process of criticism can restore the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus, an approximation may be possible. For the work of retranslation knowledge of the linguistic material is necessary, and also philological insight. The attempts to explain the use of the term in passages that are rejected have been of much value, since they are utterances of early Christians whose thought, intrinsically important, has exercised a paramount influence in the world. In their interpretation it is both legitimate and necessary to seek for light in the mythical and legendary lore of the epoch. The more marked the difference between the thoughts revealed in the Aramaic translations of the Greek sayings, the more difficult is it to explain them by the conceptions known to prevail among the Greek gospel-writers; the more original and valuable the obtained utterances, the stronger is also the presumption that they come from a great personality whose historical existence thereby becomes assured and whose tremendous influence can be appreciated. If he ceases to be what he so earnestly enjoined upon his disciples not to say that he was, a king to be ministered unto, he becomes more truly than ever what he would be, a son of man ministering to the sons of men.

48. Bibliography.

The most important literature before the nineteenth century is indicated in the works of Scholten, Appel, and A. Meyer. The term is discussed in every *Life of* Jesus, New Testament Theology, and Bible Dictionary. All important contributions in recent times have been referred to in the course of this article.

N. S.

[1] On Mt. 12 3, see § 38.

[2] On Mt. 11 25 *ff.*, see SON OF GOD, § 13.

SONS OF THE PROPHETS. See PROPHET.

SOOTHSAYER (קֹסֵם, מְעוֹנֵן, etc., ΜΑΝΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ). See DIVINATION, § 2 [1 *f*. 4], etc., and cp MAGIC, § 3.

SOP (ψωΜΙΟΝ), Jn. 13 26 *ff*., a fragment or morsel; cp ψωΜΟC, 𝔊, in Judg. 19 5 (𝔊^AL^ ΚΛΑCΜΑ Ruth 2 14 [for פַּת]). See MEALS, § 10.

SOPATER (CωΠΑΤΡΟC), a man of BERŒA, who accompanied Paul (for part of the way at least) on his last recorded journey to Jerusalem, Acts 20 4. The addition Πύρρου (son of Pyrrhus RV, ℵABD) is omitted by TR. The mention of the father's name is unusual, although it may possibly have been inserted to distinguish him from Sosipater (Rom. 16 21), with whom, however, he should probably be identified. See SOSIPATER.

SOPHERETH (ΑCΕΦΗΡΑΘ [B], ΑCΕΦΟΡ· [A], ΑCωΦΕΡΕΘ [L]), Ezra 2 55 AV, RV HASSOPHERETH [*q.v.*].

SORCERY, SORCERER, SORCERESS. See MAGIC, § 3.

SOREK, THE VALLEY OF (נַחַל שׂוֹרֵק [with שׂ], *i.e.*, 'wādy of the sōreḳ vine' [see VINE]), the place where Samson fell in love with the Philistine woman Delilah (Judg. 16 4: ΕΝ ΑΛCωΡΗΧ [B], ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΧΕΙΜΑΡΡΟΥ CωΡΗΧ [A], . . . -ΗΚ [L]). It is called by Jer. (*OS* 153 6, cp 297 76) *cafarsorec*; he places it in the region of Eleutheropolis near Saraa—*i.e.*, ZORAH [*q.v.*]. This points to the mod. *Sūrīk*, ⅔ hr. W. from Zorah, on the N. side of the large and fertile *Wādy Ṣurār*. Cp, however, ZORAH.

SORES (CωΡΗC [A], -ΡΕΙC [L], ΕωΒΗC [B], Josh. 15 59, 𝔊). See SEIR, 2.

SORREL (שָׂרֹק), Zech. 1 8 RV, AV 'speckled.' See COLOURS, § 12.

SOSIPATER (CωCΙΠΑΤΡΟC). 1. A general under Judas the Maccabee, who fought against Timotheus at Carnion, 2 Macc. 12 19-24.

2. One of the 'kinsmen' of Paul who unites with him in saluting the Christians of Rome, Rom. 16 21. He seems, therefore, to have been well known to them. In the Pseudo-Dorotheus he is a bishop of Iconium. He is probably to be identified with SOPATER [*q.v.*] of Berœa.

SOSTHENES (CωCΘΕΝΗC). 1. 'Ruler of the synagogue' (ἀρχισυνάγωγος, see SYNAGOGUE, § 9) at Corinth when Paul was in that city on his second journey, the first into Greece (Acts 18 17). After the failure of the Jews' concerted action against Paul before Gallio (see GALLIO, § 2)—in which, perhaps, Sosthenes had taken a leading part—we are told that 'all' (πάντες, so BℵA and others), or 'all the Greeks' (πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες: so DdEHLPM, etc.), certainly not 'all the Jews' (πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι or πάντες οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, as some authorities have; see Ti., Blass, Hilgenfeld) laid hold on Sosthenes and beat him before the judgment-seat.

It is not necessary to suppose, as many do, that Sosthenes was the successor of Crispus, the 'ruler of the synagogue,' baptized by Paul at Corinth (Acts 18 8; see CRISPUS), nor yet to assume, with others, that Lk. is confusing the two persons. Both may concurrently have borne the title of 'ruler of the synagogue' (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), and have held the office denoted by it, just as cases in which there were more than one chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) can be cited (cp ANNAS and CAIAPHAS). This Sosthenes has been identified by many since Theodoret, but without reason, with 'the brother' mentioned in 1 Cor. 1 1 (see no. 2).

2. Sosthenes 'the brother' appears in 1 Cor. 1 1 as having a share in the preparation of 1 Cor. To prove that the part he took was that of amanuensis merely, appeal is usually made to 1 Cor. 16 21; but those who argue thus overlook the fact that Tertius, who is supposed to have written the Epistle to the Romans, is not mentioned until the end of that epistle, and then expressly as the apostle's secretary (Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν, Rom. 16 22). Moreover, no one has ever thought of taking 'Timothy the brother' in 2 Cor. 1 1 Col. 1 1 (cp Phil. 1 1), 'all the brethren which are with me [Paul]' in Gal. 1 2, 'Silvanus and Timotheus' in 1 Thess. 1 1 2 Thess. 1 1 as having been the apostle's secretaries in attendance. The simple fact is that the names belong to the form usually adopted for the Pauline epistle; one or more persons are mentioned besides the apostle as writing it, their function being that of attesting the truth set forth and defended by the apostle (2 Cor. 13, cp Dt. 19 15). From time to time we are reminded of their presence by the use of the plural (first person), but quite as often the apostle uses the singular. 'The brother' Sosthenes is otherwise unknown. He is enumerated among the seventy in Eusebius (*HE* i. 12 1) and elsewhere (see Lips. *Apok. Ap.-gesch.* 1 201 203, 3 413, E. 3. W. C. v. M.

SOSTRATUS (CωCΤΡΑΤΟC [A], COC. [V]; the name is also borne by a priest of Aphrodite in Paphos; cp Schürer, *GVI* 1 514 *vv.*), governor of the citadel in Jerusalem (ΕΠΑΡΧΟC ΤΗC ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΕωC) temp. Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 4 27 [28] 29). The post would, doubtless, be important (cp Benz. *HA* 47; JERUSALEM, § 27).

ἔπαρχος, used in 𝔊 for פֶּחָה (see GOVERNOR, 1), corresponds to the Roman *præfectus*. From it is borrowed the Nab. הפרכא, the precise nuance of which is not quite certain (*CIS* 2, nos. 173, 207, 214).

SOTAI (סֹוטַי, meaning? CωΤΑΙ [L]). The B'ne Sotai, a group or family (see SOLOMON'S SERVANTS) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii., § 9); Ezra 2 55 (σωτει [B], σωται [A]) = Neh. 7 57 (σουτει [BA], -τιη [ℵ*vid.], -τιει [ℵc.a vid.]) = 1 Esd. 5 33 (σωται [L], EVom. after 𝔊BA).

SOUL (נֶפֶשׁ, ΨΥΧΗ; common to all the Sem. languages; but Ass. *napištu* generally means 'life,' more rarely 'soul'). Properly 'breath'; but this sense seems to have gone out in Hebrew. The usual sense is the soul or individual life (so very often, see, *e.g.*, Ps. 66 9 Is. 53 12) as distinguished from the 'flesh' or 'body' (Dt. 12 23 Ps. 31 10). By a natural transition *nép̄heš* also means 'a living being,' especially in the phrase *nép̄heš ḥayyāh* (נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה), lit. 'a living soul,' used of man in J (Gen. 2 7) and of animals in P (Gen. 1 20 24 30 9 12 15 *f.* all P; 2 19, redactional insertion in J); cp 1 Cor. 15 45. For further developments, see ESCHATOLOGY, §§ 12-19, and for the connection of 'soul' and 'heart' cp HEART.

None of the three passages cited in Ges.-Buhl for the sense 'breath' will stand examination, as has been shown by Briggs, 'The use of נפש in the OT' [a critical and exhaustive classification of passages], *JBL* 16 [1897] 17-30. These passages are:—(*a*) Prov. 27 9. Here Briggs gives *népheš* the sense of *lēbāb*, 'heart'; but it is better to read וּמֶתֶק עֵצָה מַרְפֵּא לְנָפֶשׁ, 'so the sweetness of counsel is healing to the soul' (Toy also ומחק עצה). (*b*) Job 41 13 where נפש, 'breath' (?), is ascribed to Leviathan. But Job is a late book; a reversion to an archaic sense is not probable here. So Briggs, who renders 'his passion, or fury, kindleth coals.' The parallel expressions, however, point to the reading נִשְׁמָתוֹ, 'his breath.' (*c*) Is. 3 20, בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, RV 'perfume-boxes' (see PERFUME). Briggs proposes 'boxes of desire,' or 'smelling boxes.' Paul Haupt (*SBOT*, 'Isa.' [Heb.] 82) has suspected a connection with Ass. *pašāšu*, 'to anoint oneself.' This suggests בָּתֵּי נִפְשֶׁשֶׁת, 'boxes of ointment' (Ass. *napšaštu*, 'ointment'). But still better would perhaps be בָּתֵּי שֶׁמֶן (מ and פ confounded). T. K. C.

SOUTH, SOUTH WIND. See EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF THE, and WINDS. For **Chambers of the South**, see STARS, § 3 *e*; and for **The South** as a geographical expression (1 S. 30 14 1 Macc. 5 65), see JUDÆA, NEGEB, PALESTINE.

SOW (ΥC), 2 Pet. 2 22; see SWINE.

SOWER, SOWING. See AGRICULTURE, § 6. On the Parable of the Sower, see GOSPELS, § 19.

SPAIN (CΠΑΝΙΑ [AℵV Ti. WH], 1 Macc. 8 3 Rom. 15 24 28). Carthaginian Spain became Roman at the close of the Second Punic War (201 B.C.); but the

Roman power was not fully consolidated over the entire Iberian peninsula until nearly two centuries later (by Marcus Agrippa the friend and minister of Augustus). There is no reason to suppose that the apostle Paul ever carried out the intention of visiting Spain expressed in Rom. $15_{24\ 28}$, and the evidence that the country was evangelised by the apostle James the Less (see JAMES, § 1) is too late and legendary to be of any value. Cp GEOGRAPHY, § 25 *f.*; TARSHISH, § 2.

SPAN (זֶרֶת; ϲπιθαμη). See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. In Lam. 2_{20}, AV gives the pathetic phrase 'children of a span long' for עֹלֲלֵי טִפֻּחִים; RV, however, has 'the children that are dandled in the hands' (cp *v.* 22). Budde, 'Hätschel-kinder.'

SPARROW. The word *ṣippōr*, צִפּוֹר, of frequent occurrence in OT, is, with only two exceptions (Ps. 84_4[3] 102_8[7], ϲτρογθιον) rendered 'bird,' 'fowl' in EV. Nor does the exceptional translation 'sparrow' imply that any particular species was intended. The word probably meant any small Passerine bird, a group which is unusually abundant in Palestine. It is interesting to note that the common house-sparrow, *Passer domesticus*, is common in Palestine, but in a smaller and brighter variety; three other species of Passer are also enumerated. Canon Tristram identifies the sparrow of Ps. 102_7 as the *Monticola cyanus* or Blue Thrush, from its habit of sitting solitarily, or sometimes in pairs, on projecting ledges or some other conspicuous perch, uttering from time to time a plaintive and monotonous song. The 'sparrow' is not included in the list of unclean birds; and it seems probable that at any rate in NT times (Mt. $10_{29\ 31}$ Lk. 12_6, *στρουθίον*) they were eaten, as is commonly the case in Mediterranean countries to this day. See BIRD, FOWL, § 1. A. E. S.

SPARTA (ϲπαρτη [ℵV], -τια [A], 1 Macc. 14_{16}; **SPARTANS**, ϲπαρτιαται, 1 Macc. 12_2 *f.* 14_{20} *f.* 15_{23}; λακεδαιμονιοι, AV 'Lacedemonians,' RV '-dæm.,' 2 Macc. 5_9).

The greatness of Sparta was long past when she came into connection with the Jewish people. The final suppression of the liberties of Greece by the Romans was in part due to her obstinate refusal to enter the Achæan League (149 B.C.). On the destruction of Corinth and dissolution of that league, Sparta gained a favourable position so far as retaining her autonomy went, but a number of the Laconian towns dependent upon her were granted autonomy by the Romans (Strabo, 366; Livy, 34_{29}). Sparta at this period held the rank of a *civitas fœderata et libera* (Str. 365), being self-governing and not liable to tribute or to the jurisdiction of a Roman governor. Sparta and the Spartans are mentioned together in connection with a correspondence which passed between them and the Jews in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. 12_6). About 144 B.C. Jonathan, then leader of the Jews, wishing to make alliances to strengthen his position, sent Numenius and Antipater with letters to Rome, Sparta, and elsewhere (1 Macc. 12_1 *ff.*, cp DISPERSION, § 13). In his letter to the Spartans he lays great stress on a former letter from their king Areus to the Jewish high priest Onias, and on the desirability of renewing the brotherhood which had then existed. The letter of Areus is quoted to the effect that it had been found in writing that the Spartans and Jews were of the same stock, that is to say, of Abraham, and that therefore their interests were identical (12_{20-23}). Shortly afterwards Jonathan died, and the tidings of his death caused great grief in Sparta (14_{16}), but on Simon's assuming the priesthood, the rulers (*i.e.*, the Ephors) of the Spartans wrote to him wishing to renew the friendship which they had confirmed with Judas and Jonathan his brethren (14_{17} *f.*).

The name of the Spartan king is given as ARIUS.[1]

So RV, but AV AREUS (1 Macc. 12_{20}, *αρης*); which should also be read in *v.* 7 (with Vg. and Jos. [*ἄρειος*]) for AV DARIUS; and again in *v.* 19, for AV ONIARES (*ονια[α]ρης* [ℵV], *-νειαρ.* [A vid.]), which has arisen from the combination of *ονειᾳ* ('to Onias'), the last word in *v.* 19, with *ἄρης* (Arius), the first in *v.* 20.

Although there were two Spartan kings named Arius, there is little doubt that Arius I. (309-265 B.C.), the successor of Cleomenes, is the one here referred to, and that the high priest is Onias I.[1] It has been suggested with great probability that this letter was written in 302 B.C. when the Spartans may have wished to hinder Demetrius Poliorcetes, who was then warring with Cassander. That treaties may have existed between Semitic and other peoples at that time is shown by the league between the Athenians and the Sidonians before the time of Alexander the Great, to which reference is made in *CIG*, no. 87 (Schürer in Riehm's *HWB* 2_{1536a}).

The authenticity of the letters in 1 Macc. has been much disputed. The letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (1 Macc. 12_6 *ff.*) scarcely reads like a diplomatic document, and betrays the religious spirit of a later age; though it must be admitted that it is impossible to build too much upon the wording since the letters are translations of translations.

There is no reason, however, to doubt the fact of diplomatic relations with Sparta having been set on foot by Jonathan. For Sparta was too obscure at the time to have suggested itself to a forger eager to magnify his hero by inventions of the kind. Again the incident leads to no result in the sequel; the reverse would have tended to throw doubt upon the entire episode.

As given both by Josephus and the author of 1 Macc. the two letters of the Spartans seem fragmentary and wanting in definite suggestion. They have the air of diplomatic forgeries. Especially is it noticeable that whereas Jonathan describes the Spartan overtures as a declaration of 'confederacy and friendship' (1 Macc. 12_8) there is no such declaration in proper diplomatic terms in the appended document. Yet the ability to point to actual alliance in the past would have been the natural and most powerful recommendation of his proposals.

A point upon which too much stress has been laid is the relationship between the Spartans and Jews. Areus mentions that it was written down that they were 'brethren and of the stock of Abraham.' The unlucky JASON (*q.v.*, 2) fled to the Lacedemonians (*λακεδαιμόνιοι*) for shelter because they were his 'near of kin' (*διὰ τὴν συγγενίαν*, 2 Macc. 5_9), and Herod made a favourite of a certain Spartan 'on account of his country' (Jos. *BJ* i. 26_1). There seems to be no good ground for regarding the 'Sparta' of these letters as a corruption of the Asiatic name Saparda (see SEPHARAD); and it is equally hazardous with Hitzig (*Gesch.* 347) to identify it with the Lycian town Patara. It is conceivable that the old historians connected the Pelasgians with the Spartans, and derived the former from Peleg the son of Eber; but the relationship insisted on finds a parallel in the case of the people of Pergamos, who, in making an alliance with the Jews, pointed back to similar relations between their ancestors and Abraham[2] (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10_{22}). The old historians and genealogists were ever ready to account for existing confederacies and alliances as resting on some ancient bond of kinship, and numerous analogies may be found amongst classical writers; cp GENEALOGIES i., § 3 [3], col. 1660.

See H. J. E. Palmer, *de epistolarum quas Spartani atque Judaei invicem sibi misisse dicuntur veritate*, Darmst. 1828; Schürer, 1_{186}; Ew. *Gesch.* 4_{317}. S. A. C.—W. J. W.

SPEAR. The words are:—

1. חֲנִית, *ḥănīth*. See below (§ 2) and cp JAVELIN, 2.
2. רֹמַח, *rōmaḥ*. See below (§ 3).
3. כִּידוֹן, *kīdōn*. See JAVELIN, 1.

[1] Possibly a more correct form of the name would be *ἄρευς* as in Gk. writers, cp also *CIA* 2_1, no. 332.

[1] Cp ONIAS, § 3. Not Onias II. and Areus II. (Ew. *Gesch.* 4_{317}), for they can hardly have been contemporaneous, and moreover Areus II. died young, about 257 B.C. (Paus. iii. 6_6); still less can it be Onias III. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4_{10}). A certain Areus is mentioned about 184 B.C. as a prominent Spartan (Pol. 22_1 23_4).

[2] Cp a note in Steph. Byz., *s.v.*, *ἰουδαία*, 'derived *ἀπὸ ἰουδαίου Σπαρτῶν ἑνὸς ἐκ Θήβης*'; see Schürer, *l.c.*

4. קַיִן, *ḳáyin* (2 S. 21 16†). The text, however, is doubtful. See ISHBI-BENOB.

5. צִלְצַל, *ṣilṣal* (Job 40 31†; 'fish spear'). See FISH, § 3, 1.

On the 'spearmen' of Ps. 68 30 see CROCODILE. For the δεξιολάβοι of Acts 23 23 we ought probably to read with A δεξιοβόλοι; cp the ἐκηβόλοι of Jos. *BJ* ii. 17 5, σφενδονῆται and λιθοβόλοι of iii. 7 18, and σφενδονῆται of iv. 1 3. Cp WAR.

1. Construction.

The spear was a favourite weapon of offence amongst ancient nations, as it has always been amongst other peoples at an early stage of development; it was easy to make and could be used with great effect. It varied chiefly in its size, weight, and length; this will be seen from the illustrations in Erman (*Life in Anc. Eg.*), Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.*), and Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*), though too much reliance must not be placed on the representations of spears in 'works of art' (cp the remarks of Cecil Torr, *Ancient Ships*, 8). It consisted, as a rule, of a wooden staff with a sharp head of flint or metal. It may be that the early Israelites, as a writer in Kitto (*Bibl. Cyclop.*) suggests, like other primitive peoples, made use of the horn of some animal, 'straightened in water, and sheathed upon a thorn-wood staff.' We know with what effect animals themselves use these horns (Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, 501 *ff.* [1890]). 'When sharpened this instrument would penetrate the hide of a bull, and, according to Strabo, even of an elephant; it was light, very difficult to break,' and 'resisted the blow of a battle-axe' (Kitto). Later, brass (see COPPER) or IRON (*q.v.*) was used. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, 301 [1853]) found at Nimrūd the heads of spears, 'which being chiefly of iron fell to pieces almost as soon as exposed to the air.' In Gen. Louis Palma Di Cesnola's *Cyprus* (1877), plates xxxvi. and xl. (after p. 392), are given gems from Curium in the Phœnician (xxxvi.) and the Greek (xl.) style, on which warriors are represented armed with round shields (see SHIELD), and spears which look like sharp-pointed stakes; cp the long spears on the Sarcophagus from Golgoi (pl. x., opposite p. 110). On the other hand, on the silver patera found at Amathus (pl. xix., opposite p. 276) a regular spear-head seems to be represented.

2. The ḥănīth.

Layard (*Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 343) says, 'the spear of the Assyrian footman was short, scarcely exceeding the height of a man; that of the horseman appears to have been considerably longer. . . . The shaft was probably of some strong wood, and did not consist of a reed, like that of the modern Arab lance.' It would seem to have been a stout weapon, since warriors used it to force stones out of the wall of a besieged city (see p. 372). The Egyptian soldiers of the eighteenth Theban dynasty carried 'pikes about 5 ft. long, with broad bronze or copper points' (Maspero, *Struggle*, 213); the spear was not so common. The Assyrian pikemen of a later date were armed with equally heavy weapons (*ibid.*, 627 *f.*). The Hebrew *ḥănīth* (חנית) seems to have been a large weapon. It was used by great warriors (2 S. 2 23, etc.); and it is the weapon put into the hands of 'giants' (2 S. 23 21, etc.). Goliath is said to have carried a spear 'like a weaver's beam (1 S. 17 7), its head weighing 600 shekels' (for the idea of 'giants' see ANAKIM). Saul is said to have hurled his *ḥănīth* at David (1 S. 19 9 *f.*). From such indications in the OT we may suppose that the *ḥănīth* had some resemblance to the Egyptian and the Assyrian pike.

3. The rômaḥ.

A lighter, and no doubt much older, weapon of the kind was also in use among the Egyptians and the Assyrians, and is still found among the Bedouins and other primitive peoples. This is called in Arabic *rumḥ*, and we can hardly be wrong in identifying it with the Hebrew *rômaḥ* (רֹמַח, see Nu. 25 7, etc.; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 221 228; Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 482), which, however, was no doubt often shorter. 'The beam, made of a light reed of the rivers of Mesopotamia, is nearly two of their short horse-lengths; they charge them above their heads' (Doughty, 1 334). The Arab keeps this spear continually at his side. When he prepares to encamp the sheikh strikes his spear in the ground. When the camp is broken up 'the spear is the last thing taken from the ground' (Warburton, *The Crescent and the Cross*, chap. 25). For other spear-like weapons ('dart,' etc.) see WEAPONS, § 2. Cp SIEGE, WAR. M. A. C.

SPECKLED. For (1) *nāḳōd* (נָקֹד), Gen. 30 32 *ff.*, and (2) *ṣābūă'* (צָבוּעַ), Jer. 12 9, see COLOURS, § 12; and for (3) *sārōḳ* (שָׂרֹק), Zech. 1 8, see *ib.*, § 10.

SPELT is the RV rendering of *kussĕmeth*, כֻּסֶּמֶת (Ex. 9 32 Is. 28 25 Ezek. 4 9†), for which AV has twice 'rie' and once 'fitches.' See FITCHES.

[It is possible that כֻּסֶּמֶת, 'spelt,' occurs also in 1 S. 2 36, where it is said that destitute priests will sue to be put into a priest's office לַאֲגוֹרַת כֶּסֶף וְכִכַּר לָחֶם, *i.e.*, according to tradition, 'for a piece of silver and a loaf of bread.' But the rendering 'piece' presupposes a connection of אג׳ and גֵּרָה, *gērāh* (see WEIGHTS), which is purely arbitrary. Following Del. *Prol.* 149, BDB and Ges.-Bu. take אג׳ to be an abstract noun, meaning 'payment,' cp Ass. *agāru*, 'to hire.' But this root does not appear to be known in Hebrew, nor is an abstract noun probable in this passage. Probably the text is corrupt, and we should read לְעֹמֶר כֻּסֶּמֶת, 'for an omer of spelt.' 𝔊B is without the following words וככר לחם[1]; possibly these were added *after* the corruption of לעמר כסמת, on account of the concluding mention of 'a morsel of bread.' For a bolder expedient see *Crit. Bib.*—T. K. C.]

SPICE (*i.e.*, Lat. *species*, OFrench *espice*, hence *épice*; cp זַן, 2 Ch. 16 14, all species [of spices]: Vg. *unguentis meretriciis* [זונה]), though now specifically employed to denote 'a class of aromatic vegetable condiments used for the seasoning of food, commonly in a pulverised state,' was, in the seventeenth century, applicable to a much wider variety of 'species'; in AV it happens to be applied (unless, perhaps in Cant. 8 2, where 'spiced' wine is alluded to)[2] never to condiments but only to aromatic odours. It represents :—

1. *bĕšem*, בֶּשֶׂם (Ex. 30 23†), or *bôśem*, בֹּשֶׂם (often), plur. בְּשָׂמִים, 2 Ch. 16 14, etc. That this word must sometimes at least have a general sense is shown by the expressions קִנְּמָן־בֶּשֶׂם (Ex. 30 23; see CINNAMON), קְנֵה־בֹשֶׂם (*ib.*, see CALAMUS) and רֹאשׁ כָּל־בֹּשֶׂם (Ezek. 27 22). On the specific sense, see BALSAM.

2. *sammīm*, סַמִּים (Ex. 30 34: EV SWEET SPICES; Ex. 25 6 30 7 31 11 35 8 15 28 39 38 40 27 [only AV] Lev. 4 7 16 12 Nu. 4 16 2 Ch. 2 4 [3] [only AV] 13 11; EV SWEET INCENSE) or *ḳĕṭōreth sammīm*, קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים (Ex. 37 29†; EV INCENSE OF SWEET SPICES and RV in 40 27 2 Ch. 2 4 [3]).

The word *sammīm* is a general expression for fragrant material in the form of powder, akin to Ar. *šamma*, 'to smell,' as well as *samm*, *simm*, or *summ*, 'poison,' and to Aram. *sammā*, 'a medicament.' The exact history of this group of words is obscure, but probably the oldest form of root is represented by Ar. *šamma* = Aram. *sam*; and Ar. *samm* and Heb. סמים may both be loan words from Aramaic (cp Fränkel, 262). On the other hand, the oldest *meaning* is perhaps that of the Hebrew word and of Ar. *šamm*, viz., 'fragrance'; the notions of poison (in Syr. *sammā dhĕ-mawtā*) and of medical efficacy may well be derived from this. In post-biblical Hebrew, and sometimes in Syr., the word was used with a further extension of meaning—viz., for colouring matter.

The use of the word in OT is, as a general term, for the sacred incense compounded of stacte, onycha, galbanum (galbanum of *sammīm*), and frankincense (see INCENSE).

3. *nĕkō'th*, נְכֹאת (Gen. 37 25; EV **Spicery**; RVmg.

1 Compare, however, 𝔊AL; the latter text has the curious expression ἄρτον κυρίου (see *Crit. Bib.*).

2 In Ezek. 24 10 the verb results from a mistranslation, 'spice it well'; RV 'make thick the broth.'

gum tragacanth or storax ; θυμιάματα ; *aromata ;* Gen. 43$_{11}$; AV spices, RV spicery ; θυμίαμα, *storax*). See STORAX.

4. *rĕḳaḥ*, רֶקַח, Cant. 8$_{2}$ (apparently not specific). See PERFUME, PERFUMERS.

5. ἀρώματα, Mk. 16$_{1}$, etc. See PERFUME.

6. ἄμωμον, Rev. 18$_{13}$ RV. See AMOMUM. N. M.

SPICE-MERCHANTS (הָרֹכְלִים, with art. ; ΤΩΝ ЄΜΠΟΡΩΝ), but RV 'merchants,' are mentioned in connection with Solomon's commercial profits (1 K. 10$_{15}$), if we should not rather read 'Jerahmeelites.' See SOLOMON, § 7, and cp PERFUMERS. T. K. C.

SPIDER. 1. *śĕmāmīth*, שְׂמָמִית ; Prov. 30$_{28}$† ; RV LIZARD [*q.v.*, 7].

2. *ʿakkābīš*, עַכָּבִישׁ (ἀράχνη, *aranea*). Under this name the spider is mentioned in MT only twice—viz., in Is. 59$_{5}$, where the devices of the wicked are likened to a spider's web, and in Job 8$_{14}$, where the confidence of the godless is compared to a 'spider's house.' There are several other passages, however, in which, through an easy textual error, the spider has been supplanted by the moth. Thus in Job 4$_{19}$, 'which are crushed before the moth' (לִפְנֵי עָשׁ) should rather be 'which are crushed even as the spider'[1] (לְפִי עַכָּבִישׁ) ; Mohammed, too, compares idolaters to spiders (Koran, Sur. 29$_{40}$). In Hos. 8$_{6}$ the 'calf of Samaria' is also probably compared to a spider's web,[2] and in Ps. 39$_{12}$ [$_{11}$] 90$_{9}$ (𝔊 ὡς ἀράχνη[ν] in both passages) the same figure seems to be employed to symbolise the frailty of human life, according to probable emendations of these two corrupt passages.[3] Textual criticism also reinstates the spider in a fine description of the fate of the wicked (see MOTH), where 'moth' should probably be 'spider' (Job 27$_{18}$ ‖ 8$_{14}$; but in 𝔊 of 27$_{18}$ ἀράχνη seems to stand for סֻכָּה). Not improbably, too, 'the poison of asps' in Ps. 140$_{3}$ should rather be 'the poison of spiders' (so Grätz, Merx, after Tg.). In Is. 59$_{5}$ 'spiders' and 'vipers' are parallel, with an allusion to a belief in their poisonousness. See ASP. 𝔊, according to Grabe, followed by H and P read 'spider' (ἀράχνη, but the text [BAQ] has ταραχή) in Hos. 5$_{12}$, where MT has 'moth.' T. K. C.

SPIES (מְרַגְּלִים, √רָגַל, *rāgal*, 'to busy oneself with walking about' ; cp רֹכֵל, 'merchant,' but MH רְכִילוּת, 'calumny,' and רגל, Ps. 15$_{3}$ 'backbite' ; κατάσκοποι, Gen. 42$_{9}$, etc., Josh. 2$_{1}$ 6$_{23}$ 1 S. 26$_{4}$ 2 S. 15$_{10}$; and virtually תָּרִים Nu. 14$_{6}$ κατασκεψαμένων, but Aq. Sym. κατασκόπων ; אֲתָרִים Nu. 21$_{1}$ AV RVmg., Aq. Sym. τῶν κατασκ., but see *ad fin.*).

For the **Way of the Spies** (דֶּרֶךְ הָאֲתָרִים), Nu. 21$_{1}$ AV, see below, § 2, end, and cp ATHARIM, KADESH, § 3. Cp תור, 'spy out,' Nu. 13$_{2}$ $_{16}$ *f.* etc., and יְתוּר, 'range [of spying?]' Job 39$_{8}$. The equation רגל=רכל (1 above) finds an analogy in the use of תָּרִים as 'merchants,' 1 K. 10$_{15}$ (but see MERCHANT, SOLOMON, § 7).

The practice of obtaining information by means of spies as a preliminary to warlike movements was well-known to the Hebrews. Two notable cases are the mission of twelve (?) spies by Moses to explore the region which the Israelites were about to invade, and the mission of two spies by Joshua 'to view the land, namely, Jericho' (see JERICHO, § 3). It is the former episode which concerns us here. Our chief traditional authority for it is in Nu. 13 *f.* (JEP), but it is also related in an allusive way in Dt. 1$_{22}$ *ff.*, where the writer is presumably dependent throughout on the narrative of JE ; there is at any rate no evidence that he made use of P. It may be convenient to lay before the reader the variations between

1. Traditions.

the accounts which the redactor has welded together, as well as he could, in Nu. 13 *f.* ; it will not only show the reader the state of the traditional evidence for the mission of the spies but will illustrate the section on Nu. 13 *f.* in NUMBERS [BOOK], § 3 ; cp also Driver, *Intr.*(6) 63.

	P		JE
13 3,	start from wilderness of Paran (P).	13 26,	start from Kadesh (redactional, but from JE).
21,	they explore the land from the wilderness of Zin to Rehob, to the district of Hamath (P).	22 *f.*	they go as far as Hebron (J), or the valley of Eshcol (E).
32,	they describe the land as one that 'devours its inhabitants' (P).	27 *f.*	'the land is very fruitful, but the inhabitants can well defend themselves' (J).
14 6,	Joshua and Caleb oppose the mutinous Israelites (P).	30,	Caleb stills the murmurers (J).
38,	Joshua and Caleb (*v.* 30, Caleb and Joshua) are excepted from the general doom (P).	14 24,	Caleb may enter the land (J).

It is usual to give the preference to the statements of J and E (an analysis of JE cannot remain unattempted, even though [cp NUMBERS, § 3] the result may be incomplete). It was from Kadesh, then, that Moses sent spies into Canaan (cp 32$_{8}$ R_{D} ; cp NUMBERS, § 8), one from each tribe, and the region to be explored was the Negeb and the mountain-district (*i.e.*, as most understand, that of Judah). The spies did in fact reach Hebron (in the 'hill-country' of Judah, Josh. 20$_{7}$ 21$_{11}$), where they found Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai. On their return, they gave a very favourable report of the land, and supported this by a huge cluster of grapes from Eshcol ; but a further statement respecting the Nephilim, the sons of Anak, who dwelt at Hebron, made the people despond, and even venture to express a wish to choose another leader and go back to מצרים. Caleb alone is excepted from the doom which Yahwè fails not to pronounce on the rebellious people. The punishment of the guilty is thus expressed in Nu. 14$_{33}$ (assigned to J by Dillm.).[1] 'Your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, will I bring in . . . But as for you, your carcases shall fall in this wilderness. And your children shall be shepherds במדבר ארבעים שנה, and shall bear (the consequences of) your infidelity, until your carcases be consumed in the wilderness.'

Looking at the differences tabulated above we shall see that the first is quite unimportant, since the wilderness of Paran in the wider sense may have contained Kadesh-barnea (see PARAN). The third is of some interest, because (Wellh. *Prol.*(3) 370) Nu. 13$_{32}$ (P) may reflect the melancholy feelings of post-exilic Jews, who could only by faith describe their country as a delectable land (ארץ חמדה, Ps. 106$_{24}$). The fourth and fifth are important because they show that one at least of the early narratives did not include Joshua among the spies. According to E. Meyer (who allows very little of the material in chap. 13 *f.* to J), the earliest narrative stated that Caleb (*possibly* with other spies) was sent into the Negeb—to Hebron, and said on his return that the people was strong and the cities fortified, Amalek dwelling in the Negeb, etc., and that giants too were to be seen there. The despondency of the Israelites disappears, and with it the divine sentence of forty years' wanderings. According to Meyer the object of the story of the spies was simply to account for the settling of Caleb in Hebron. 'Caleb of course receives Hebron because he acted as spy, not because he remained stedfast.' E, however, looks at things with a 'theological' interest, and alters the story for edification, while P calculates from Josh. 24$_{29}$ that Joshua too

2. Criticism.

[1] פי and פני are elsewhere, too, confounded.

[2] כי שבבים should be קורי עכביש (Ruben, *Critical Remarks*, on Hos, *l.c.*) ; cp Vg. *in aranearum telas.*

[3] See Che. *Psalms*,(2) and cp LOCUST, OWL.

[1] Both Dillm. and We. deny that *v.* 33 belongs to P, and hold that the 'forty years' (ארבעים שנה) are a fixed point in tradition. We., however, assigns 14$_{30-34}$ to a special source, distinct from JE.

must have been born in Egypt, and therefore includes him among the spies, and makes him, like Caleb, faithful among the faithless ('Kritik der Berichte,' etc., *ZATW* 1 139 *ff.* [1881]).

One of the most doubtful points in Meyer's theory is the definition of the object of the story. Was Caleb really the only spy, and the only clan-leader who had land assigned to him in the Negeb? It is also by no means certain that the threat of the forty years' wandering formed part of the original tradition. It is suggested elsewhere (MOSES, § 11, end) that in Nu. 14 33 (as well as in other passages) במדבר ארבעים שנה is most probably due partly to corruption, partly to editorial manipulation, and that the original text had simply במדבר ערבים 'in the desert of the Arabians.'

Possibly, too, in Nu. 13 25 (P) the statement that the spies returned מקץ ארבעים יום arose through a misreading of מכוש ערבים ('from the Arabian Cush');[1] and it is in the highest degree probable that מצרים in Nu. 13 22 14 2-4 should be read Miṣrim, *i.e.* the N. Arabian Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

Nor are these the only names which have to be scrutinised. Important as it is to put a rational sense on the traditional stories in their later form, it can hardly be less urgent to find out how the stories originally ran, and what they originally meant. It has been pointed out elsewhere (NEGEB, § 7) that it is the Negeb and the Negeb alone that is referred to as the region explored by the spies. חברון (Hebron) has arisen out of רחבות[2] (Rehoboth), and the mountain-district in 13 17 is 'mount Jerahmeel.'[3] In *v.* 28 ענק should probably be עמלק, and we thus see that *v.* 29[4] is partly a gloss on בני עמלק (so read) in *v.* 28 (see NEPHILIM, § 3, i.).

The second apparent difference in the above table still remains. Did the spies, according to P, or at least P's authority, really survey 'the whole land throughout its entire length from the wilderness of Zin (cp Nu. 21 1 33 36) to Rehob' (either the place of that name in the territory of Asher, Josh. 19 28, or Beth-rehob, near the town of Dan, Judg. 18 28[5])? This no doubt is the general view. Another theory, however, is much more probable. If not P himself, yet almost certainly P's authority, meant, not any northern Rehob, but Rehob or Rehoboth in the Negeb, while חמת (Hamath) is in many OT passages most probably a southern Hamath, or more strictly a southern Maacath (see MAACAH, end). This accords with the view (see above) that in Nu. 13 25 the original text had, 'And they returned from spying out the land, from Cush of Arabia.'

Thus the difference between JE and P in the story of the spies is much less serious than has been supposed. The only important variation is the combination of Caleb with Joshua—himself perhaps originally a Jerahmeelite hero (cp JOSHUA).

We have no space here to consider the names of the spies according to P (Nu. 13 4-15). It is quite possible that all, or nearly all, the names are characteristically Negeb names. But this is unimportant compared with the right comprehension of the rest of the composite narrative. Let it be added, however, that דרך האתרים (Nu. 21 1) is not (as even Knobel supposed) for דרך הַתָּרִים (AV 'by the way of the spies') but is probably a corruption of דרך הרמתים (cp Ramathaim-zophim), unless we prefer to trace it to עיר התמרים (KADESH, 1, § 3). In either case, the name appears to be an early popular corruption of ירחמאל.

Winckler's theory (*GI* 2 40 *f.*) is ingenious, but cannot here be discussed. T. K. C.

SPIKENARD (נֵרְדְּ; ΝΑΡΔΟϹ, Cant. 1 12 4 14; and נְרָדִים, ΝΑΡΔΟΙ, Cant. 4 13; also ΝΑΡΔΟϹ ΠΙϹΤΙΚΗ,

[1] Notice the name Sheshai (on which see note 2) in Num. 13 22. If we emend as above, the יום of MT will have grown out of a dittographed ים. For קץ from כש cp *Crit. Bib.* on Ezek. 7 6.

[2] Note that Ahiman represents Jerahmeel; Sheshai comes from Cushi (cp note 1); for Ṭalmai compare Ṭelem and Talmon (which can be shown to be Negeb names). 'Zoan in Egypt' should be 'Zoan (or Zoar?) in Miṣrim.'

[3] As Dillm. points out, 'go up into the Negeb' probably comes from J, and 'go up into the mountains' from E. But if so, is it not natural to take נגב and ההר as practically synonymous?

[4] The other ethnics are probably רחבתי (Rehobothite), ישמעאלי Ishmaelite), אמרי (Amorite), קנזי (Kennizzite).

[5] Wade, *Old Testament History* (1901), 120.

Mk. 14 3 Jn. 12 3†).[1] i. The Hebrew word, *nērd*, which is derived from Sanskrit, has passed into Greek and other European languages: see the references to nard in classical writers collected by Naber (*Mnemosyne*, 1902, pp. 1-15); according to Lagarde (*Mitt.* 2 25) Pers. *nal* is an equivalent form.[2] A connection with Ar. *rand*, is very doubtful (see Mordtmann and Müller, *Sab. Denk.* 82). The Aramaic and Arabic names *šebelthā* and *sunbul* (more fully *sunbul hindī*, 'Indian spike'), like our own '*spikenard*,' have reference to the 'spike'-like appearance of the plant from which the perfume is derived. Accounts of the true or Indian nard, as well as of inferior sorts, are given by Theophrastus (*De Odor.* 42 *ff.*), Dioscorides (1 75), and Pliny (*HN* 12 26 *f.* 13 2). Its botanical source in India was investigated by Sir W. Jones (*As. Res.* 2 405-417),[3] and was ascertained independently by Wallich and Royle to be the plant called *Nardostachys Jatamansi* DC, of the order *Valerianaceæ*. The drug consists of the rhizome surmounted by the fibrous remains of the leaves. It occurs throughout the alpine Himalaya from Kumaon to Sikkim.

The meaning of the adjective πιστική (Mk. 14 3 Jn. 12 3† is very uncertain. Five explanations have been offered: (1) that it means 'liquid,' from πίνω; (2) that it means 'genuine,' from πίστις; (3) that it means 'powdered,' from πτίσσειν; (4) that it is a local name; (5) that it = πιστάκης; (6) that it = Lat. *spicita*. There is difficulty in accepting any of these explanations; and it is possible that the word may have quite another origin, as Dymock (*Pharmacogr. Ind.* 2 233) gives *Pisitá* as a Sanskrit name for the spikenard plant (cp W. Houghton, *PSBA*, 1888, 3 144-6. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

ii. 1. In Æschyl. *Prom.* 481 (Lob. ῥημ. 131) πιστός means 'drinkable' (so K. F. A. Fritzsche on Mark, following Casaubon), but the word is only so used for the sake of a pun; otherwise ποτός and πόσιμος, but never πιστικός. It is true that πίστρα (-ον), πιστήρ are found from the same stem πι-, and that according to Athenæus (689 c) and others, oil of nard, mixed with wine, was, as a matter of fact, taken as a beverage; but in Mk. and Jn. the nard is used as ointment, so that, if πιστικός is only added with the meaning 'liquid,' the explanation would be superfluous.

Naber (as above) points out, on the other hand, that Clem. Alex. (*Pæd.* 2 8, § 64, p. 207 ed. Potter) distinguishes between *μύρα ὑγρά* and *μύρα ξηρά*, and Basil (Hom. in Ps. 44 9, ed. Garnier, 1 166 *l*, also in Stephanus, *sub* στακτός, 7 650 *f.*) between two preparations of ointment, the one fluid (ῥυτόν) called στακτή (= 'dropped,' stillata, stillatitia), and the other thicker or more viscous (παχύτερον), called σμύρνα. The expression in Athenæus also (2 25, p. 46 A: ἐκκλίνειν δεῖ τὰ πάχη τῶν μύρων), he thinks, has reference to this. Naber therefore conjectures that there stood originally in Mk. and Jn. a word (of which no traces can be met elsewhere) σπειστικός (= 'capable of being poured,' 'liquid,' from σπένδω). By itacism it could also have been written σπιστικός, in which form its strangeness made it unintelligible, and thus it finally became corrupted into πιστικός.

[1] Vg. has *nardi spicati* in Mk. and *nardi pistici* (so usually Ital.) in Jn.

[2] Meissner has pointed out a Babylonian plant-name *larder*. This, according to Hommel (*PSBA* 21 136 [1899]), the Babylonians borrowed from an Iranian form *nard* (neo-Pers. *lāl*); the Indians have for *nard* the later form *naṭa* and *nala(da)*.

[3] 'A *Bráhman* of eminent learning gave me a parcel of the same sort, and told me that it was used in their sacrifices; that, when fresh, it was exquisitely sweet, and added much to the scent of rich essences, in which it was a principal ingredient; that the merchants brought it from the mountainous country to the NE. of Bengal; that it was the entire plant, not a part of it, and received its Sanscrit names from its resemblance to locks of hair; as it is called *Spikenard*, I suppose, from its resemblance to a spike, when it is dried, and not from the configuration of its flowers, which the Greeks, probably, never examined. The Persian author describes the whole plant as resembling the tail of an ermine; and the *Jatámánsi*, which is manifestly the Spikenard of our druggists, has precisely that form, consisting of withered stalks and ribs of leaves, cohering in a bundle of yellowish brown capillary fibres, and constituting a spike about the size of a small finger' (*op. cit.*, 409 *f.*).

2. The adjective πιστικός occurs with the meaning 'convincing' and also 'having the power of persuading' (Plato, *Gorg.* 455 A; Diog. Laert. 4 37; Dion. Hal., ed. Reiske, 5 631; Theophrast. *in Aristot. opera metaph.*, ed. Sylburg 253, ed. Brandis, 309), though in almost every instance of its occurrence the variant πειστικός is preferred (Bekker and Stallbaum on Plato; Lob. on Soph. *Aj.* 151); in later times it means, when used of persons, 'faithful,' 'reliable' (Lücke on Jn. 12 3, Index to Cedrenus). If, therefore, we adopt the translation 'genuine' (Meyer on Mk.)—and such a meaning is conceivable—we must suppose that the word is used rather freely, just as in commercial language, for instance, attributes which more often apply only to persons are not infrequently used of goods. Pliny (*HN* xii. 26, § 43) mentions that in commerce nard was apt to be adulterated by admixture of pseudonardus, a plant resembling it.

3. Lob., *par.* 31, supports Scaliger's derivation from πτίσσειν, 'to pound' (K. F. A. Fritzsche on Mk. 595), τ after π being sometimes dropped out for the sake of euphony (cp *e.g.*, π(τ)έρνιξ, and Lat. *pi(n)so* = πτίσσω, *perna* = πτέρνη). But how, it may be asked, could powdered nard be suitable for anointing?

4. If it is a local name it has been suggested that it stands either for Ὀπιστικός (from Opis not far from Babylon) or for Ψιττακικός (from Psittake on the Tigris). Still more likely would be Πίστα, an abbreviation—according to the Scholion on Æschyl. *Pers.* 2—of a Persian town Πίστειρα; but we cannot be sure that this notice (which according to Stephanus refers to a Thracian town) is trustworthy.

5. E. N. Bennett (*Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 319) sees in the word an allusion to the *Pistacia Terebinthus*, the resin of which, together with other sweet scents (*e.g.*, βάλσαμον, cp BALM, INCENSE), was mixed with the oil of nard. Dioscorides says (*Mat. Med.* 1 91) of the πιστάκη; γεννᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ Συρίᾳ καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, its resin is εὐώδης, προέχει δὲ πασῶν τῶν ῥητινῶν (he describes nard in 1 6 *f.*). Bennett, therefore, thinks that νάρδος πιστάκης is intended. According to Hdn. ii. 428 24, and Stephanus, τὰ ψιττάκια would be another form of τὰ πιστάκια, the fruit of the πιστάκη, which Hdn. (i. 315 16) derives from the town Ψιττάκη.

6. Nestle (*ZNTW*, 1902, pp. 169-171) explains πιστικός from the Latin name *nardus spicata*: the participle *spicatus* could become in vulgar Latin *spicitus*, just as *probatus* became *probitus* and *vocatus vocitus* (Rönsch, *Itala u. Vulgata*, p. 296, cp 283 [1869, (2) 1875], and, more fully, *Collectanea philologica*, 221-223 [1891] = *ZWT*, 1877, pp. 409-412); next *spicitus* was transformed into πιστικός. The supposition however is not easy; for as late as the second half of the second Christian century we find Galen taking the word over into Greek in the form σπίκατα.

The 'nardus spicata' of (Ital. and) Vg. is intelligible when we remember that the nard-plant—which indeed is called ναρδόσταχυς, spica nardi—resembled in shape an ear of corn.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D., i.; P. W. S., ii.

SPINNING. See LINEN, WEAVING.

SPIRIT (רוּחַ, *rūăḥ*, fem. about seventy-three, masc. about thirty-two times: in 𝔊 ΠΝΕΥΜΑ, ΑΝΕΜΟϹ, ΠΝΟΗ, ϹΤΟΜΑ, ΛΟΓΟϹ, ΦΘΕΓΜΑ, ΨΥΧΗ, ΚΑΡΔΙΑ, ΘΥΜΟϹ, ΝΟΥϹ, ΟΡΓΗ, ΟΔΥΝΗ, ΦΡΟΝΗϹΙϹ, ΒΟΗΘΕΙΑ, ΦΩϹ, ΜΕΡΟϹ), originally 'wind,' and so the point of the compass from which the wind blows. In poetry, which no doubt represents ancient usage, the storm wind is the breath of Yahwè's mouth or nostrils (*e.g.*, Ex. 15 8 10 Ps. 18 16 [15]), and since the commotion of nature is a sign of his displeasure, the *rūăḥ* of Yahwè becomes synonymous with his wrath (Is. 4 4 59 19 Zech. 6 8 Job 4 9 15 30). The *rūăḥ* or spirit of a man is his disposition, his mental state; he may be 'depressed in spirit,' 'of a proud spirit,' 'of a patient spirit' (Prov. 16 18 *f.* Eccles. 7 8). It is natural to compare the wind, invisible itself but visible in its effects, with the mental disposition displaying itself in mien and action. Just in the same way Aeschylus, describing the changed mind of Agamemnon says that he 'blew an impious veering gale of mind' (φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῆ τροπαίαν, *Ag.* 217).

1. Meaning.

In a very early passage, Gen. 6 3, *rūăḥ* denotes the divine substance or nature, not necessarily immaterial, but far removed from the weakness of mortal flesh. By intermarriage of the 'sons of God' or angels with women, a portion of this divine spirit has passed to their descendants, and therefore Yahwè declares, 'My spirit shall not continue (?) for ever in man, since he is only flesh,' and shortens the span of human life to 120 years.[1] But though the spirit or invisible power of God was not proper to man, it descended upon the heroes of Israel and endowed them with superhuman energy. It fell on Othniel (Judg. 3 10); on Jephthah (11 29); on Samson (14 6 19 15 14). The phenomenon has no ethical import. Samson shows that the spirit of Yahwè has descended on him by rending a lion as if it were a kid. Similarly the divine spirit produces prophetic frenzy (1 S. 10 6 10 19 20 23), such, *e.g.*, that Saul strips off his clothes and lies a day and a night naked. The spirit might transport a prophet miraculously (2 K. 2 16). Sometimes Yahwè sent a lying spirit on his prophets (1 K. 22 22) or the spirit of strife into a city (Judg. 9 23), or a spirit of melancholy madness (1 S. 16 14, etc.).

Far higher is the use of *rūăḥ* in the literary prophets. To Isaiah, Yahwè (Is. 31 3) is 'spirit' because he is the spiritual principle in the history of the world and as such invisible. Moreover, the spirit of prophecy is an abiding gift. To ignore the prophet's counsel is to set at nought God's spirit which speaks through him (Is. 30 1). In the same sense Hosea had spoken (9 7) of the prophet as 'a man of the spirit.' But before Ezekiel references to 'the spirit' as in the prophets only occur in Is. 30 1 Hos. 9 7 and perhaps Mic. 3 8. A prophet so deeply spiritual as Jeremiah avoids the term 'spirit' altogether; it had been associated too long with frenzy and marvel.

2. Later nuances.

The following are the chief points in the exilic and post-exilic conception of spirit. It is an official charisma, speaking, *e.g.*, habitually in David (2 S. 23 2) and fitting the Messiah for the discharge of his duties (Is. 11 2), conferring wisdom on judges and martial vigour on warriors (Is. 28 6). It is characteristic of P that he attributes it only to Joshua, who receives it in increased measure by the imposition of Moses' hands (Nu. 27 18 *f.* Dt. 34 9). It is to dwell in the midst of the people as a 'new spirit' (Ezek. 36 26 8 *f.*), and to be poured out from on high on land and people (Is. 32 15). The fulfilment of this promise is assumed in Ps. 51 11 [13] 143 10; cp Neh. 9 20. Twice[1] it is called the holy spirit, Ps. 51 11 [13] and Is. 63 10, in which latter passage it is personified (cp Eph. 4 30), and twice 'the good spirit' (Neh. 9 20 Ps. 143 10). It is a cosmic power, producing order (Gen. 1 2) and fertility (Is. 32 15). It is the principle of all-pervading energy (Is. 34 16) and omnipresence (Ps. 139 7). It is the νοῦς or intelligence of Yahwè (Is. 40 13), not as in earlier writers his essence. Finally, in a very late passage, it is the breath of life which God imparts, and which at death returns to him (Eccles. 12 7; cp Job 27 3 33 4 34 14 *f.* Ps. 104 29 *f.*). Cp FLESH. W. E. A.

3. Contrasted with σάρξ.

In discussing the NT use of πνεῦμα, the question is complicated by the employment of other words, especially of *psyche*, ψυχή, soul, to denote the interior part of man, whereas σάρξ, flesh, is the single word to denote the material part. As a general thing both words are used with reference to the contrast between the spiritual and the material part, and both words are ennobled by this contrast. When Jesus speaks of the value of the soul (ψυχή: Mt. 16 26), and contrasts it with the comparative unimportance of the body (Mt. 10 28), and Paul advises the delivering over of the flesh to destruction, in order that the spirit (πνεῦμα) may be saved (1 Cor. 5 5), they are both evidently using different words for the same thing. And apart from the Pauline epistles and two passages in the epistles of James and Jude respectively (Ja. 3 15 Jude 19), these words are used in the same way to express the contrast between the spiritual part of man and material things, but are not contrasted with each other. But Paul found it necessary to express this contrast not only in terms of the spiritual and the material, but also of the spiritual and the natural (1 Cor. 2 14), and for this purpose he uses the elsewhere synonymous words, *pneuma* and *psyche*.

The *psyche* is the vital or spiritual part of the natural

[1] On this passage cp NEPHILIM, § 1.

[1] [Not counting Wisd. 9 17, cp 7 22, where wisdom (in the enlarged sense natural to an orthodox but Hellenised Jew) is traced to 'thy holy spirit.']

SPIRIT

man, and the *pneuma* is the new part brought into activity when the supernatural man begins his career with the entrance of the divine *pneuma*. Paul does not state this expressly; but it appears from his introduction of the human co-incidently with the divine *pneuma* (cp Rom. 8 10 16 with the rest of the passage 1-27. And see 1 Cor. 6 17 19, cp 14-17 with rest of passage). It is evident from the passage in 1 Cor. that *pneuma* is not to be identified with *nous*, the intelligence, in Rom. 7 23, where it is used interchangeably with the 'inner man,' which rebels against the sin of the outer man. That faculty, the spirit, is the organ evidently of the Holy Spirit, and does not appear in the apostle's account of the situation until the entrance of the Holy Spirit which removes the disability discussed in our passage, Rom. 8 1-9, cp *v.* 10 16. The faculty which ineffectually rebels against sin in the natural man is the mind. It is very much as if the apostle had said that when he sinned even in the natural man, he knew better, and his intelligence rebelled against it, but ineffectually, because the very organs of action were the seat of sin. But the inner man after the coming of the Spirit is spirit, which is freed from the bondage of the flesh.

4. Pauline usage.

We must not think, however, of the human spirit as the essential factor in the new man according to Paul. The essential factor is the Divine Spirit, who effects deliverance for the man not by creating or awakening a new faculty in him, but by coming himself to dwell in him. That is the reason why it is the Holy Spirit, not the human spirit, that is constantly brought into contrast with the flesh in Paul. This has led to the statement that the apostle does not speak of a human spirit. But the use, while infrequent, is sufficiently distinct. The human spirit is evidently the part in which, and upon which, the Holy Spirit works, and through which it controls the man, but which has no office except in connection with the Divine Spirit. Without the Divine Spirit it is like ears in a soundless world. The real agent in substituting holiness instead of sin in man is God, not man. What is this Divine Spirit? The answer is not always the same. In the earlier Jewish literature, it is an emanation from the One God through which he performs various offices—*e.g.*, creation—but especially that of inspiring in man the knowledge and skill needed for his work. In general we may say, that whenever God is represented as a diffused presence, he is represented as working through the spirit. And in no pre-Pauline writings is there any indication that the impersonal use is departed from. But in Paul, and Jn. especially, there is the beginning of the later doctrine of the Spirit as a distinct entity, quasi-personal, in God. He is to God what the spirit is in man (1 Cor. 2 10 *f.*); but in God this is objectified, represented as a distinct personality (Rom. 8 27 Gal. 3 5 Jn. 14 26 16 13).

5. The Divine Spirit.

There is a distinct difference, however, between the Pauline and the Johannine theology in the doctrine of the Spirit. In both, he is the principle of immanence in God, the one through whom God dwells in men, conveying to them the truth, not in the external way by which men communicate with each other, and which has no power of enforcement or persuasion sufficient to beget in men the spirit of holiness, but internally and with regenerative power. And in both especially he conveys to men the grace of which Christ is the author. But in Paul, he is the principle not only of immanence, but of incarnation. In Jn. it is the Logos, the Word of God, who is incarnate in Christ. The thought is borrowed from the Alexandrian philosophy, which represents God as creating various natural products out of the ideas of the same in his mind. These ideas are endowed with life and creative power, so that God creates not only out of them, but through them. Besides these individual ideas, there is the collective idea of the universe as a whole, the Logos, or Word, which is also vested with a life and quasi-personality of its own. The incarnation of this in the Son of God is thus only the final form of the incarnation which is the generative idea of the Logos. The Spirit, on the other hand, is in Jn. the principle of immanence. If we go back to the philosophy from which the Logos idea is derived, the Logos is the thought of God, distinctly a principle of incarnation. But the Pneuma is the Spirit in which the thought is generated, and this is as obviously a principle of immanence. All this is distinctly different from Paul's thought. He has no Logos doctrine, which is a thought derived from Alexandrianism, and Paul is not an Alexandrian. He declares himself a zealous Pharisee, and opposed to any attempt to translate religion into the terms of philosophy (Gal. 1 14 1 Cor. 1 17-31). But Pharisaism and Alexandrianism are at opposite poles of thought, and Alexandrianism is an attempt to philosophise religion. And yet Paul teaches the pre-existence of Jesus and his sharing in the work of creation (Phil. 2 5-11 1 Cor. 8 6). What then is the principle of incarnation in Christ? It cannot be God himself, as Paul distinguishes between God and the Lord Jesus Christ. On the other hand, whilst there is only one passage which has the appearance of distinguishing Christ from the Spirit (2 Cor. 13 14), there are many passages which seem to identify them. In the first place, the indwelling of Christ, his mystical union with the believer, is exchanged frequently for an indwelling of the Spirit. Then the Spirit is called the Spirit of Christ, and Jesus' divine Sonship is attributed to the Holy Spirit. He is the Son of God on that side of his being, as he is Son of David on the side of the flesh (Rom. 1 3 *f.*). And finally it is distinctly said that the Lord is the Spirit (2 Cor. 3 17 *f.*).

6. Pauline and Johannine usage contrasted.

Now, it is not as if this was unexpected. If Jesus was in any way pre-existent, and that pre-existence antedated creation, and he had a share in creation, then he is in some way an incarnation of the Divine. And in the Jewish theology the only Divine principle remaining, after eliminating God himself as expressly excluded, and the Alexandrian Logos as ruled out by Paul's opposition to Alexandrianism, is the Spirit of God. In Paul, therefore, the incarnation is of the Holy Spirit. E. P. G.

7. Literature.

The OT Theologies of Schultz and Smend, and the NT Theologies of B. Weiss and Holtzmann; König, *Offenbarungsbegriff des AT* 1 87-210; Giesebrecht, *Berufsbegabung der ATlichen Propheten*, 123 *ff.*; H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch* (1878); A. Westphal, *Chair et esprit* (Toulouse, 1885); Lüdemann, *Die Anthropologie des Ap. Paulus* (1872); Pfleiderer, *Paulinism* (ET, 2 vols.); Cremer, *PRE*,(3) art. 'Geist'; Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heil. Geistes* (1888), 5-62; J. Koeberle, *Natur u. Geist, nach der Auffassung des AT* (1900); F. C. Porter, 'The Yeçer Hara, a Study in the Jewish Doctrine of Sin,' *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (New York, 1901), where note criticism of Pfleiderer's interpretation of Paul's conception of spirit and flesh. See also SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

W. E. A., § 1 *f.*; E. P. G., §§ 3-6.

SPIRITUAL GIFTS

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1. Definition.

'Spiritual Gifts' is a comprehensive name for all those extraordinary and often directly miraculous powers of which we learn, chiefly from 1 Cor. 12 4-11 28-30 Rom. 12 3-8, that they were possessed by many Christians of the apostolic age, and, according to Paul, had their origin in a specific operation of the Holy Spirit, which has for its object the profit of the church.

When in 1 Cor. 12 6 the 'workings' (ἐνεργήματα) are assigned to God, or in *v.* 5 the 'ministrations' (διακονίαι) brought into connection with Christ, we are not to see in this any real departure from the regular attribution of the spiritual gifts to the Holy Ghost. The phrase in *v.* 5—'diversities of ministrations but the same Lord,' is simply another expression of the purpose for which the gifts are given—the common good of the church; for he who serves the church serves Christ who is the Lord of the church, or, according to another way of putting it, who is the soul of the church which is his body (12 12 *f.*). The phrase in *v.* 6 on the other hand—'diversities of workings but the same God'—is appropriate in so far as by the 'workings' in question we are to understand according to *v.* 10 'workings of powers,' or of miracles (ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων), of which one most readily thinks of God as the author. They are nevertheless attributed precisely in the next verse (*v.* 11) to the Holy Spirit, a conclusive proof that no real distinction ought to be drawn here between him and God as the author of these workings.

2. Literal meaning of χάρισμα.

The word *charisma* in this connection is plainly used in a narrow technical sense. (*a*) That the thought of the grace of God as being the source from which the bestowal of a *charisma* comes is still very vividly realised is shown by Rom. 12 6: 'having gifts (charisms), differing according to the grace that was given to us' (ἔχοντες χαρίσματα κατὰ τὴν χάριν τὴν δοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν διάφορα).

In the only NT passage where *charisma* (χάρισμα) is coupled with the adjective 'spiritual' (πνευματικόν), the technical sense is, as it happens, absent; in Rom. 1 11 it does not mean any special aptitude possessed by Paul, but a gift (in the way of instruction, encouragement, consolation, or the like) which he hopes to be able to confer upon the Romans in the course of his visit, even if 'spiritual' (πνευματικόν) expresses the thought that he himself in turn has received it from the Holy Ghost. Still further removed from the specified meaning of the word *charisma* as given above, though again with a passive application (gift that is conferred), are the applications of it which we find in Rom. 6 23 (eternal life the *charisma*, not of the Holy Ghost but of God), in 11 29 (the charismata of God = the favours bestowed by God upon his people Israel as enumerated in 9 4 *f.*), in 2 Cor. 1 11 (without τοῦ Θεοῦ: the charisma of Paul's deliverance from deadly danger); so also in Rom. 5 15 *f.* where the justification of sinful man is the charisma of God and Christ. The word denotes the whole aggregate of God's benevolent operation in the universe in the single passage outside of the NT, and the Church Fathers in which it is known to occur (Philo, *Legis allegor.* 3 24 end, 1 103 ed. Mangey: 'All things in the universe, and the universe itself, are the donation and benefaction and *gift* of God' (δωρεὰ καὶ εὐεργεσία καὶ χάρισμα Θεοῦ τὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κόσμος ἐστίν).

(*b*) Very sharply distinguished from these uses is the technical sense in which the word is employed, whether in the pl. (Rom. 12 6 1 Cor. 12 4 31; and, with the addition of 'healings' [*ἰαμάτων*], 12 9 28 30), or in the sing. with a negative (1 7: 'so that ye come behind in no charisma'), or in a distributive sense (1 Pet. 4 10: 'according as each has received a charisma'; cp 1 Cor. 7 7: 'each man hath his own charisma from God'). In just the same way, in the technical sense, the distributive singular of 'grace' (*χάρις*) stands in connection with the plural 'gifts' (*δόματα*), in Eph. 4 7 *f.*: 'unto each one of us was the grace given according to the measure of the gift (*δωρεᾶς*) of Christ. Wherefore he saith . . . He gave gifts (*δόματα*) unto men.' Not till we reach the Pastoral Epistles do we find the sing. charism (*χάρισμα*), used comprehensively to denote all the aptitudes which Timothy, as a bearer of ecclesiastical office, possesses, or ought to possess: 'neglect not the charism that is in thee' (1 Tim. 4 14); 'I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the charism of God which is in thee' (2 Tim. 1 6).

(*c*) For us the technical meaning of the word is first met with in Paul. At the same time, we may at least be certain that Paul did not invent it when he was composing his epistles: for he employs it in his writings without any explanation, as referring to a matter quite well known. There remains a possibility that he may have coined the expression, in the course of his observations of the extraordinary endowments intended by it, while engaged in his missionary labours. We may well venture upon such a conjecture, seeing that the idea of grace (*charis*) is so specially prominent with Paul. Yet the expression can also have sprung into existence in the Christian churches without the agency of Paul.

3. Delimitation of field.

No one of the three leading passages relating to spiritual gifts in the writings of Paul, as given above (§ 1), can claim to be a complete account, and it therefore remains uncertain whether even all three together make mention of everything which Paul reckoned to this category. (*a*) Nevertheless the attempt must be made, with the help of these three principal passages and other subsidiary ones, to form to ourselves some conception of the range of the phenomenon in question.

'Prophecy' (προφητεία) is the only charism that is actually named in all three passages; but in effect so also is 'teaching' (διδασκαλία), if we permit ourselves to regard the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας), and the 'word of knowledge' (λ. γνώσεως), of 1 Cor. 12 8 taken together as identical with 'teaching,'—a view which is favoured by 14 26 ('teaching' [διδαχή], co-ordinated with 'revelation, tongue, interpretation' [ἀποκάλυψις, γλῶσσα, ἑρμηνεία]), whilst in 14 6 'knowledge [γνῶσις] also is found co-ordinated with 'teaching' (διδαχή) as well as 'tongues, revelation, prophecy' (γλῶσσαι, ἀποκάλυψις, προφητεία), so that only the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας) seems to be left as synonym for 'teaching' (διδαχή). In both the leading passages in 1 Cor. 'gifts of healings' (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων), 'powers' or 'miracles' (δυνάμεις), and 'diversities of tongues' (γένη γλωσσῶν), occur in addition to the other concepts already mentioned. Rom. has with the first passage in 1 Cor. (12 5) nothing but 'ministry' (διακονία) in common, but in that first passage, as well as in 1 Cor. 16 15, this word seems to have a more extended application than in Rom. 12 7; with the second passage in 1 Cor. (12 28-30) Rom. has in substance but one concept in common—on the assumption, that is to say, that we may identify the προϊστάμενος ('he that ruleth') with him who has the gift of 'government' (κυβέρνησις). Peculiar to the first passage in 1 Cor. (12 4-11) are 'faith, discerning of spirits' (πίστις, διάκρισις πνευμάτων), and 'interpretation of tongues' (ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν); to the second (12 28-30) the concepts 'apostle' (ἀπόστολος), and 'helps' (ἀντιλήμψεις); and to Rom. 'admonishing' (παρακαλῶν), 'giving' (μεταδιδούς), and 'showing mercy' (ἐλεῶν).

(*b*) Eph. 4 11 and Justin, *Dial.* 39, can be adduced only as secondary authorities, so long as it is with the apostolic age that we are dealing.

Eph. (on its date see col. 3120, n. 3) noticeably enumerates offices only, not charisms. Of these Paul had already named the 'apostles,' 'prophets,' and 'teachers,' and also the 'pastors' (ποιμένες), if these are to be taken as equivalent to the 'rulers' (προϊστάμενοι) of Rom. 12 8. Peculiar to Eph. are the 'evangelists' (εὐαγγελισταί), on whom see MINISTRY, § 39 *a*, *b*. Of the gifts enumerated by Paul Justin has only 'healing' (ἴασις), and 'teaching' (διδασκαλία). What he designates 'understanding' (σύνεσις), may safely be identified with 'wisdom' (σοφία), and his 'strength' (ἰσχύς) perhaps with 'power' (δύναμις), as he attributes 'strength' (ἰσχύς) to Moses (*Dial.* 87). The new elements in his list are 'counsel' (βουλή), 'foreknowledge' (πρόγνωσις), which answers only in a very limited degree to the 'prophecy' (προφητεία) of Paul, and 'fear of God' (φόβος Θεοῦ). Four of his seven concepts—'understanding' (σύνεσις), 'counsel' (βουλή), 'strength' (ἰσχύς), and 'fear of God' (φόβος Θεοῦ)—

Justin has taken direct from Is. 11 2 *f.* 𝔊, where, according to his interpretation (*Dial.* 87), are enumerated the seven powers of the Holy Spirit which were all of them to rest upon Jesus from his baptism onwards, whilst the saints of the OT and Christians never receive more than one or a few of them. In Is. we find, besides the four words already given, 'wisdom' (σοφία), 'knowledge' (γνῶσις), and 'piety' (εὐσέβεια). It is plainly with reference to knowledge (γνῶσις), that Justin speaks of foreknowledge (πρόγνωσις), for he lays stress upon the argument that in his time 'prophetic charisms' (προφητικὰ χαρίσματα) are still found among Christians, and that thus the OT gift of prophecy—by which he understands merely prediction of future events—has passed over to the followers of Christ (*Dial.* 82, begin.).

(*c*) It will be noticed that in all the enumerations almost no reference whatever is made to the virtues that are looked for in every Christian. Even 'ministry' (διακονία), 'giving' (μεταδιδόναι), 'showing mercy' (ἐλεᾶν), are enumerated only on the assumption that they have risen to a pitch that is not attainable by every Christian. The extraordinary character, rising in many cases to the level of the miraculous, which has been noted in § 1 as the first criterion of charisms in the technical sense, is thus preserved. All the less have we any occasion to lay stress on the 'fear of God,' which Justin has merely taken from Isaiah, or to extend in an analogous way the limits of our category in the direction in which this would be permissible, if one elected to pay heed only to the second criterion (see § 1)—that they are attributed to the agency of the Holy Spirit—and, further, to take it as one's guiding principle that according to Paul the whole new life of the Christian, with all its virtues, is a work of the Holy Spirit (Gal. 5 22 *f.*: love, joy, peace, etc.). It would therefore be a mistake to accept the limits for our present concept, as these are laid down by Weinel (below, § 21), who in fact writes not about the 'gifts,' but about the operations, of the Spirit. To these of course belongs the ethically good state of the will, treated of by Weinel (149-161), with all its effects; it does not belong to the order of charisms.

(*d*) There is still another element included by Weinel which we for our part must exclude. The receiving of revelations—apart from the subsequent reporting of them—or the power to endure martyrdom (or even ascetic privations) may be traced back to the Holy Spirit, and may also possess the note of the extraordinary in a very high degree, yet they ought not to be reckoned to the number of the charisms because they lack the third criterion—that of utility for the life of the church.

This criterion must have had very great importance in Paul's view; for not only does he in 1 Cor. 12 7 14 2-33 make it the chief goal of his entire discussion of the charisms (although he has been led to the mention of them, not by this thought but by that of the unity of the Holy Spirit), but also in Rom. 12 6-8 the same goal is set before him, although the occasion is in like manner different, namely, the thought of the unity of the church notwithstanding the diversity of its members. One is not entitled to suppose that the profit of the church is only an application of the charisms which Paul would like to see made, not a constitutive element in the concept itself. So far from that being the case, this criterion is for the apostle so important, that he would refuse to reckon to the number of charisms in the technical sense of which we are now speaking, any phenomenon which yielded no advantage for the community at large.

(*e*) For this reason we must hesitate before including in the category in question one manifestation which Paul himself expressly designates by the name of *charisma*. In 1 Cor. 7 6 *f.* he wishes that all were unmarried as he himself is, but does not set this up as a positive command, 'because each man hath his own gift from God, one after this manner and another after that.'

It would be a mistake to believe that Paul here intends to contrast a *charisma* of marriage with a χάρισμα ἐγκρατείας (as, following 7 9, we may designate the other side of the comparison); for in this whole section he regards marriage, and the intercourse of the sexes in marriage, not as a good in itself, but only as a preservative against evil (7 2 5 9). Rather must we take as the antithesis to the χάρισμα ἐγκρατείας some one or other of the charisms enumerated in chap. 12. Paul, however, would hardly have arrived at such a co-ordination if for his own personal calling the unmarried condition had not carried with it a direct and obvious utility for the churches under his care—that, namely, of leaving him freer for the preaching of the gospel and pecuniarily less dependent on the churches, in which freedom and independence he discerned a great advantage for the exercise of his office, and specially for the assertion and establishment of his authority (1 Cor. 7 32 *f.* 9 12 *b* 15-18 2 Cor. 11 7-12). When, therefore, he speaks of the unmarried condition as a charism, he will, broadly speaking, be thinking of himself and of those in a like position with himself. Otherwise we should have expected him to class as charisms also other forms of asceticism, such as abstinence from certain kinds of food, or voluntary poverty; but this he never does.

After defining the field our next task must be a classification of the charisms of so very various kinds.

4. Classification. (*a*) It might seem as if Paul himself had undertaken it when, in the first of the three leading passages (1 Cor. 12 4-6), before going into details, he sets up these three great categories—'charisms' (χαρίσματα), 'ministries' (διακονίαι), and 'works' (ἐνεργήματα).

If, however, we decide to take these verses as setting forth a strict arrangement, we shall have to believe that in the detailed enumeration in *vv.* 7-11, where each charism is traced back to the Holy Spirit, only the first of the three great categories has been specifically dealt with, since the second and third of these—'ministries' (διακονίαι), and 'works' (ἐνεργήματα)—are brought into connection not with the Holy Spirit but with Christ, or God. This again, however, would not be in accordance with *v.* 10, where 'works' ['of powers'] (ἐνεργήματα [δυνάμεων]), are included in this detailed list; and in Rom. 12 7 the 'ministries' (διακονίαι) belong to the charisms (χαρίσματα). Thus 'charism,' 'ministry,' and 'work' (χάρισμα, διακονία, and ἐνέργημα), are only three different names for all, or at least many of these gifts, and they are chosen with conscious reference to the three modes of divine revelation. The most comprehensive would seem to be, according to *v.* 6, 'work' (ἐνέργημα), (God worketh all things in all); according to Rom. 12 6 'charism' (χάρισμα); in 1 Cor. 16 15 'ministry' (διακονία) is used also in a very comprehensive sense.

(*b*) Within the detailed enumeration made in 1 Cor. 12 8-10 a classification might seem to be hinted at by Paul himself, when he uses 'other' (ἄλλῳ) six times and 'different' (ἑτέρῳ) twice; for 'different' (ἕτερος) may mean 'of another kind,' whilst 'other' (ἄλλος) signifies merely 'not identical.'

In that case, however, we should have to subsume under the fixed confidence or 'faith' (πίστις, *v.* 9), which is introduced by the first 'different' (ἑτέρῳ), not merely the gift of healing and the power of working miracles (which would be suitable enough), but also 'prophecy' and 'discerning of spirits' (which would not suit at all). 'Other' and 'different' are thus used only for the sake of variety, not with the intention of expressing a difference.

(*c*) Any attempt to find a suggested classification in the omission of the particle 'and' (δέ) in many instances also breaks down.

In *v.* 10 the second and third δέ are put in brackets by WH. If in these two cases the particle is taken as genuine, then each 'other' (ἄλλῳ) is accompanied by δέ, and 'different' (ἑτέρῳ) in both cases is without it; the classification would then be the same as under (*b*). If both are deleted, 'discerning of spirits' as one principal division would be separated from 'prophecy' as another principal division, although unquestionably the two are not more widely separated than 'interpretation of tongues' from 'kinds of tongues' (14 29). Thus we should have to reject the first of the two δέ and retain the second (so Bern. Weiss.). For this, however, the authorities give not the slightest warrant, for in both cases the evidence is almost exactly the same for the retention and also, on the other hand, the same for the deletion.

(*d*) Thus all that remains for us is to attempt some sort of classification from the nature of the case. The points that seem clearest are these: (1) to the 'works of powers' (ἐνεργήματα δυνάμεων) of 1 Cor. 12 10 28 belong the 'charisms of healing' (χαρίσματα ἰαμάτων) of *vv.* 9 28 which were invariably regarded as miraculous, and the 'faith' (πίστις) of *v.* 9 since, in 13 2, it is spoken of as able to remove mountains. (2) To the 'ministry' (διακονία) of Rom. 12 7 belong certainly the 'givings' (μεταδιδόναι) and 'showing mercy' (ἐλεᾶν) of 12 8, and the 'helps' (ἀντιλήμψεις) of 1 Cor. 12 28. This, if we take διακονία in a narrow sense. In a wider sense of the word there is a 'ministry of the word' (διακονία τοῦ λόγου, Acts 6 4), and in the sense in which the word appears to be used in 1 Cor. 16 15 other gifts also might easily be included under it, as Stephanas had rendered useful service in the guidance of the church at Corinth as well. Yet (3) it is better to regard the governments' (κυβερνήσεις) of 1 Cor. 12 28 as forming an inde-

pendent main division, to which of course the 'governor' (προϊστάμενος) of Rom. 12 8 will belong. Most amply subdivided (4) is the gift of the 'word'; 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας), 'of knowledge' (λόγος γνώσεως), the first of them (or both of them) = 'teaching' (διδασκαλία), or, if it is the product of the charism that is thought of, = 'doctrine' (διδαχή); see § 3 *a*. Then there is also the 'admonish' (παρακαλεῖν) of Rom. 12 8; but also very specially 'prophecy' (προφητεία) together with 'discerning of spirits' (διάκρισις πνευμάτων) and the 'kinds of tongues' (γένη γλωσσῶν) with 'interpretation of tongues' (ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν). An apostle (1 Cor. 12 28) combines the gift of the word with that of direction and of miracle-working (2 Cor. 12 12).

The first three classes call for but little remark by way of explanation. It has elsewhere been shown from the sources (see GOSPELS, § 144; cp also below, § 16) how widespread, down to the end of the second century, was the belief that many Christians possessed the power of working miracles, and very specially that of driving out evil spirits. It is specially important to observe that the same power is not denied of those who are not Christians, but only attributed in their case to the agency of demons. This goes to show that some kernel of actual fact in the alleged occurrences is undeniable.

5. Charisms apart from that of the word.

We may seek to explain these from natural causes, a method of explanation that presents no particular difficulty, least of all in cases of casting-out of devils—*i.e.*, healings of mental disease, which, however, often enough will have been only temporary in their effect. We may further take it that the faith which saw miracles in those really unmiraculous events will, without discrimination, have attributed to those who produced them performances also of such a nature as would really have been irreconcilable with the laws of nature. The collection to be found in Weinel (109-127) shows, however, that the Christian writers, apart from quite summary accounts, refer, with regard to the first and second centuries, almost exclusively only to exorcisms, and attribute miracles of the more pronounced sort to heathen sorcerers and to the gnostics (who, in holy horror, are put on the same level with the sorcerers). Exceptions are the legendary works in which such magical arts, as practised by Simon Magus, are imitated by Peter or by Peter and Paul with a view to outdoing them (see SIMON PETER, § 33 *f.*), or apocryphal Acts of Apostles, partly of gnostic origin, the spirit of which is illustrated by some examples in JOHN, SON OF ZEBEDEE, § 8 *f.*, and in SIMON PETER, § 46.

On 'ministry' (διακονία), see DEACON, § 3; on 'government' (κυβέρνησις) and its development, see MINISTRY, § 9, and subsequent sections.

The various forms of the fourth class, on the other hand, demand careful and detailed investigation. Let us begin with the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας) and 'word of knowledge' (λόγος γνώσεως) in 1 Cor. 12 8. It is obvious from the first that the two are very closely related; for in 2 7-16 'know' (γινώσκειν) figures as the verb to which the substantive 'wisdom' (σοφία) corresponds. If, notwithstanding, the two must be regarded as characteristically distinct in our leading passage, the difference accordingly is hardly to be sought in their differing contents, but rather in the way in which the human spirit appropriates the same material which is brought before it by each. Now, according to 2 Cor. 4 6 (cp 2 14), *gnōsis* appears to be applied to the knowledge of what is perceived in an ecstatic condition; for Paul who had never known Jesus upon earth can only have seen, in the face of Christ, the splendour of God (δόξα is nothing abstract; cp 2 Cor. 3 7 Lk. 2 9 Acts 7 55 1 Tim. 6 16 Rev. 21 23 *f.*), in a vision. If, now, *gnōsis* appropriates to itself the impression thus received and casts it into the form of thought, it follows from this manner of origination that the mental product will possess the character of what, in the philosophical theory of knowledge, is called intuition. It will thus have the note of immediacy as distinguished from that which has been reached by the discursive method. For the explanation of what is meant by 'wisdom' (σοφία) no such direct hint is given us by Paul. Apart from passages where the word is used in an unfavourable sense, it always indicates with him the content, not the manner, of the knowledge. This circumstance, however, cannot alter anything in the fact that in our leading passage it is parallel with *gnōsis*, and here, accordingly, like the other, must mean a manner of knowing. There is nothing to indicate that the practical, as distinguished from the theoretical, is meant. On the other hand, the wisdom of the world, which is the opposite of that here intended, exhibits pretty clearly the feature which would offer a clear contrast with *gnosis* as explained above; it results from intelligent consideration of things. A wisdom which figures as gift of the Holy Spirit must naturally be the consequence of the inspiration of that spirit; but nevertheless it can in its style and manner display the note of discursive thought and reflection quite as clearly as gnosis can display that of vision and intuition.

6. 'Wisdom' and 'knowledge'; 'exhorting.'

Holsten seeks to bring out the contrast in the following way; in Paul we have to look more for gnosis in so far as he visualised the fundamental conceptions of his entire doctrine on the basis of that image of the ascended Jesus which he saw in his vision near Damascus; 'wisdom' (σοφία) we find more in Apollos. If this is correct, the so-called pneumatic interpretation of the OT which believes itself able to arrive at the hidden sense, would rather fall to the side of 'wisdom' (σοφία), including the form in which it is employed by Paul in, for example, such passages as 1 Cor. 9 9 *f.* 10 4 14 21 *f.* 2 Cor. 3 13-16 Gal. 4 21-31. According to the Epistle of Barnabas, it is true (10 2 9 *f.*), it appears to be called gnosis. Yet here a vacillation of expression is easily possible. It must be added, further, that gnosis in Paul, where it relates to the region of practice (1 Cor. 8 1 7 10 *f.* and doubtless also 2 Cor. 6 6), is a much simpler notion. It is easily conceivable that the application of the word to this region may have had a different course of development from that which it had when regarded as a spiritual gift.

The 'admonish' (παρακαλεῖν) of Rom. 12 8 belongs entirely to the practical side. Primarily it means not to comfort but to exhort. Consolation, however, is not excluded; for the literal meaning is to speak to a person. It is presupposed that people are in need, not so much of instruction as of the effort made, whether gently or more strenuously, always in a friendly and tactful manner, to bring them, by spoken word, to a better disposition of will or a better frame of spirit.

We should completely misunderstand 'prophecy' should we suppose its essence to lie in prediction of the future. This is not wholly excluded; but it can have had only a very modest part as compared with more important elements in the idea. These elements are found in 1 Cor. 14.

7. Prophecy.

(*a*) According to 14 3 prophecy produces 'edification,' 'comfort,' and 'consolation'; according to *v.* 24 *f.* it can penetrate so deeply as to lay bare the secrets of the hearts of strangers and constrain them to confess that the spirit of God speaking in the prophet has rightly disclosed what was passing within them. Accordingly, prophecy would seem to be distinguished from the 'word of wisdom' (λόγος σοφίας) and the 'word of knowledge' (λόγος γνώσεως) in this, that it is preaching of a purely practical kind, often not unlike the addresses at a revival meeting. Yet, according to *vv.* 31 and 19, the hearers also learn (μανθάνειν) and are instructed (κατηχεῖσθαι) by it. Theoretical elements, therefore, cannot be wholly absent; the real distinction as compared with 'wisdom' (σοφία) and 'knowledge' (γνῶσις) has not yet emerged.

(*b*) What is more important to observe is that, according to *v.* 30, it is by a 'revelation' that the prophet is led to speak. This feature is in fact so characteristic that in the enumeration in *v.* 26 we actually find 'revelation' (ἀποκάλυψις) where, alongside of 'teaching, tongue, and interpretation of tongues' (διδαχή, γλῶσσα, and ἑρμηνεία γλωσσῶν) we should have expected to find 'prophecy' (προφητεία). In *v.* 6 also, the two pairs are clearly so distributed that the first member of the one ('revelation') is, if not similar to, at least analogous to, the first member of the other ('prophecy') just as are the second members of the two pairs (γνῶσις and διδαχή). Here accordingly is seen what is the really essential distinction between prophecy on the one hand,

and wisdom and knowledge on the other; it lies in the suddenness and immediacy of the revelation from which prophecy proceeds. For we must assume that a prophet spoke from the basis of such a revelation even in those cases where he had received it, not as we find in *v.* 30, while the meeting was actually going on, but some time previously—at home, let us suppose.

(*c*) On the other hand, prophecy has to be distinguished equally clearly from the 'speaking with tongues' with which it stands in such close parallelism. Whilst that which is spoken in tongue-speech remains unintelligible until it has been interpreted, the 'prophet' can be understood by any one (*vv.* 3 *f.*) because, during the time of his speaking, he is guided by his 'understanding' (*νοῦς*; *v.* 14). Therefore, also, it is said of prophecy (*v.* 32) that 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets,' whilst those who speak with tongues are at the moment in the ecstatic condition.

(*d*) Taking all these considerations together, we find that the prophecy spoken of by Paul is entirely similar to the discourse of the OT prophets. In the OT also the contents of prophetic discourse are for the most part of a practical character, yet also informing; the origin is sought in a sudden revelation; the manner of speech of the OT prophets is quite intelligible. This holds good of the prophetic discourse so long as it has not, as in the Book of Daniel, or even in Zechariah or Joel, passed over into the apocalyptic style, but simply as we find it in the genuine writings of the older prophets, not as it is described by such authors as Philo and Justin for whom the OT prophets are men who speak in a completely ecstatical condition and are mere foretellers of the future. Perhaps we might even go a step farther and conjecture that the manner in which the 'prophets' of the apostolic age were conscious of receiving their revelations resembled that of the OT prophets who say, 'The Lord spake to me,' and that the contents of such a revelation, as in the OT, had reference for the most part to some concrete detail. From what has been said it will be seen that on the whole the most suitable rendering of 'prophecy' will be 'inspired address' or 'inspired preaching.' On the later stages of Christian prophecy see MINISTRY, § 38 [also PROPHETIC LITERATURE, §§ 30-33]; on 'discerning of spirits' (*διάκρισις πνευμάτων*), see below, § 18.

The discussion of the question of speaking with tongues has been brought into the state of confusion in which we

8. Speaking with tongues: the phenomenon itself.

find it by the circumstance that investigators were determined to take Acts 2 1-13 as their starting-point, and to find the truth of that narrative confirmed in all circumstances, in other words, supported by Paul. The student, however, who is not prepared to give up the genuineness of the principal Pauline Epistles (as to which cp GALATIANS, §§ 1-9) is in duty stringently bound to consider the account of Paul as the primary one, and discuss it without even a side glance at Acts, and to reject as unhistorical everything in Acts which does not agree with this account. Nor will it be permissible to urge that Paul's information may have been defective; for he himself spoke with tongues more than they all (1 Cor. 14 18).

(*a*) The speaking with tongues was unintelligible (1 Cor. 14 2 9 11 16) and therefore of no use to the church, unless an interpretation followed (*vv.* 6 9 17). Paul goes so far as to say (*v.* 22) that in a mixed assemblage of Christians and non-Christians it has any purpose at all only for the non-Christians—namely, to be to them a sign which, in the context, can only be taken as meaning a mark of displeasure. True, along with this he concedes that the speaking with tongues has a value for the speaker himself, for his edification, namely, because it is a speaking on behalf of God (*vv.* 2 4 17 28). From the latter circumstance, and particularly from *v.* 2 ('no man understandeth'), has been drawn the conclusion that the speaking with tongues was in quite low tones. Against this, however, has to be set the comparison of tongue-speech with musical instruments which give out loud tones, if not individually distinguishable, and with a foreign language which is heard but has not been learned (*vv.* 7-11), as also the statement that a stranger must regard the tongue-speaker as one out of his mind (*v.* 23).

(*b*) The explanation of the unintelligibility of such speeches must accordingly be sought in this, that intelligent thought (*νοῦς*) had no part in their production (*v.* 14). For 'unfruitful' (*ἄκαρπος*) in this connection must mean not 'receiving no fruit' but 'yielding no fruit.' Now, the antithesis to ('speaking' *λαλεῖν*, or 'praying' *προσεύχεσθαι*, or 'singing' *ψάλλειν*, etc.) 'with the understanding' (*τῷ νοΐ*) in *vv.* 15 *f.* is 'with the spirit' (*τῷ πνεύματι*), but in *v.* 19 it is 'in a tongue' (*ἐν γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν*). 'To be in the spirit' (*ἐν πνεύματι εἶναι*), however, is in Rev. 1 10 4 2 17 3 21 10 the *terminus technicus* for the ecstatic state.

Hence the meaning must be that not all tongue-speakers were in a position to be able afterwards to explain their utterances (*vv.* 13 28), and that it is only of the prophets that Paul says that the spirits speaking through them are well known to be subject to the will of the prophets and could therefore, when a new speaker came forward, be silent (*v.* 32)—although for his own part Paul enjoins silence (*v.* 28) also on the speakers with tongues (on occasions when no interpreter is present). How ecstasy was regarded is well described by Philo (1 510 *f.* ed. Mangey); only, he supposes he is describing the condition of the OT prophets (in the widest sense of the word so as to include all the OT saints) when he says: '[he is] a sounding instrument of God, invisibly struck and played upon by him . . . The understanding that is in us goes abroad when the divine spirit arrives, and returns home again when the spirit departs; for it is not right that mortal and immortal should dwell together' (*ὄργανον θεοῦ ἐστιν ἠχοῦν, κρουόμενον καὶ πληττόμενον ἀοράτως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ . . . ἐξοικίζεται ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ νοῦς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ἄφιξιν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν μετανάστασιν αὐτοῦ πάλιν εἰσοικίζεται· θέμις γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι θνητὸν ἀθανάτῳ συνοικῆσαι*).

(*c*) What the listeners actually heard Paul does not tell, because it was perfectly well known to his readers. For us this is unfortunate, since on this point, perhaps the most important of all, we are thus thrown back upon conjecture, and many are only too readily inclined to support their conjectures by reference to Acts 2 1-13. If, as we ought, we hold strictly by 1 Cor., we learn from 14 14-17 to distinguish between a 'praying' (*προσεύχεσθαι*) and a 'singing of psalms' (*ψάλλειν*), whilst the 'blessing' (*εὐλογεῖν*), since it occurs in a confirmatory clause, is doubtless to be identified with the latter or with both, as also 'giving thanks' (*εὐχαριστεῖν*) with 'blessing' (*εὐλογεῖν*). But what are we to say as to the nature of these prayers, songs of praise (and thanksgivings)? They were unintelligible, and were spoken in the state of ecstasy; from this we must conclude that they consisted either of quite disjointed sounds, cries, sighs, and the like, or, if of actual words or short sentences, at all events not of connected ones. A Christian listener, who naturally did not, like the stranger in *v.* 23, regard the speaker as insane, must yet have had the impression that he was speaking in a dreamlike state.

(*d*) We may, further, adduce analogies from earlier and later times. Whilst the prophets of the best OT period are clearly distinguished from the speakers with tongues by the complete intelligibility of their utterances, the oldest stages of prophecy manifest a strongly ecstatic character. Cp for example 1 S. 10 5-12 19 20-24. These prophets, capable of being brought by music and sensory stimuli, to dancing and frenzy, stand for their part in turn quite on the same plane with the pagan oracle-givers (*μάντεις*). In this connection we can appropriately adduce the description of such persons (*μάντεις*) in Plato (*Tim.*, 71 *e*-72 *b*, *Ion*, 534 *b*-*d*), according to which they need an interpreter; only, this interpreter here bears the name of prophet. Within Christianity, Montanistic prophecy shares fully the ecstatic character of the primitive Christian tongue-speech. Of Montanus, for example, Epiphanius (*Hær.* 48 4, begin.) has preserved an utterance in which he

says in the name of God: 'behold the man is as a lyre and I play over him like a plectron; the man sleeps and I wake; behold, it is the Lord who takes away the hearts of men, and gives to men a [another] heart:' (*ἰδοὺ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα κἀγὼ ἐφίπταμαι ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον· ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται κἀγὼ γρηγορῶ. ἰδοὺ κύριός ἐστιν ὁ ἐξιστάνων καρδίας ἀνθρώπων καὶ διδοὺς καρδίαν ἀνθρώποις*). From recent times we may cite the inspired persons of the Wetterau and elsewhere (1714-1749); also the second stage of Jansenism from 1713 onwards, the Irvingites, the 'preaching sickness' and 'reading sickness' in Sweden, 1841-1854 (see RESURRECTION, § 36 *e*), many cases of somnambulism, also the Quakers, and especially and above all the Camisards in the Cevennes[1] (1686-1707); not, however, the Jumpers and Shakers.

(*e*) The 'kinds of tongues' (*γένη γλωσσῶν*) of Paul points emphatically to a manifoldness of tongue-speech with regard to which we are hardly able to form any concrete idea. In the 'praying' (*προσεύχεσθαι*), 'singing' (*ψάλλειν*), 'blessing' (*εὐλογεῖν*), of 1 Cor. 14_{14-17} we have up to the present point become acquainted with two (or three) different kinds of contents of tongue-speech; but that by no means exhausts the subject. We may perhaps think in addition of such contents as: communication of a vision received, threatening of judgment, personal confession, and the like. On the other hand the expression 'kinds' (*γένη*) can also be taken perhaps as intended to denote differences in the form of the speeches according as they were composed of complete but reciprocally disconnected sentences, of disconnected words, or of single sounds or syllables; whether they betokened joy or sorrow, delight or terror, and so forth.

Proceeding now, on the basis of the preceding paragraphs, to a consideration of what is meant by the expression 'speaking with tongues,' the first thing to be remarked is that in the present connection Acts 2_{1-13} must be set aside not provisionally, but definitively. Nothing is more certain than that 'tongues' (*γλῶσσαι*) in the case before us must not be translated 'languages.'

9. Tongues not foreign languages.

(*a*) Were the case otherwise the expression '(to speak) in a tongue' (*γλώσσῃ* [*λαλεῖν*]) would be quite impossible, although in point of fact it occurs not only in the mention of a single speaker (1 Cor. $14_{2\ 4\ 13}$ *f.* $_{19\ 26}$ *f.*)—where it might be argued that each individual speaks only in one language that is foreign to him—but also in *v.* 9 where more than one speaker is in question.

(*b*) Where unquestionably the languages of foreign peoples are being spoken of (*v.* 10 *f.*) Paul as it happens precisely refrains from using 'tongues' (*γλῶσσαι*); the word he employs is 'voices' (*φωναί*), an unmistakable proof that in this connection 'tongues' (*γλῶσσαι*) is reserved for a different concept, and with these 'voices' (*φωναί*) the speaking with tongues is only compared, whilst on the other assumption the two would be identical.

(*c*) Paul concedes that the speaking with tongues is fitted for the private edification of the speaker, and therefore recommends that this gift should be exercised in solitude (*vv.* 4 18 28). But that speaking in foreign languages should have this result would be indeed wonderful.

(*d*) The interpretation of tongue-speech would not have any miraculous character at all, and therefore have no claim to be considered a charism, if it rested upon acquaintance on the part of the interpreter with

[1] Cp Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie*, 115-136 (1850); Goebel, *Ztschr. für hist. Theol.* 1854, pp. 267-322, 377-438; 1855, pp. 94-160, 327-425; *Evang. Kirchen-Ztg.* 1837, No. 54-56, 61 *f.*; Hohl, *Bruchstücke aus . . . Irving*, 1839; Oliphant, *Life of Irving*, 1862; Joh. Nic. Köhler, *het Irvingisme*, 1876 (contains examples of tongue-speeches actually delivered); Reich, *St.Kr.* 1849, pp. 193-242; Fabri, *Die neusten Erweckungen in America, Irland*, etc. (1860); Id., *Die Erweckungen auf deutschem Boden*, 1861; Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychologie*,(1) 316-320 = (2) 364-368 (1861); Kerner, *Die Seherin von Prevorst*, 1829 and often.

the foreign language in question. If, however, we are to suppose that the interpreter understands the language in question just as little as the speaker, the interpretation would be a miracle of precisely the same order as the tongue-speech itself, and it would be incomprehensible how in *v.* 28 Paul could have supposed the case that before the beginning of a tongue-speech the speaker could know that no interpreter for it was present at the meeting. For the gift of interpretation on such a presupposition as that under discussion could nevertheless be quite suddenly bestowed on someone immediately after the tongue-speech had been made.

(*e*) That no one in the meeting, apart from subsequent interpretation, understands tongue-speech (*v.* 2) would not hold good of those listeners who understood in a natural way the foreign language, the temporary use of which had been bestowed upon the tongue-speaker in a supernatural way.

(*f*) The antithesis between '(speaking) with a tongue' (*γλώσσῃ* [*λαλεῖν*]) could not be 'with the understanding' (*νοΐ*: so *v.* 15) or 'by way of revelation,' 'of knowledge,' 'of prophecy,' 'of teaching' (*ἐν ἀποκαλύψει, ἐν γνώσει, ἐν προφητείᾳ, ἐν διδαχῇ*: so *v.* 6), but must run: 'to speak in one's mother's tongue.' Of this we find nowhere the faintest trace.

(*g*) Finally, the main characteristic feature of tongue-speech—ecstasy—would be completely inexplicable. Wherefore this, if the whole matter is simply to speak in a foreign language which one has never learned? After all, ecstasy is a psychological condition which must have its psychological explanation. But if this kind of speaking can really bring ecstasy with it, why can it alone do so? One might say: the substance of these speeches was so exceedingly joyful that it transported the speaker to an ecstasy. But why not also the substance of many speeches held in one's mother-tongue? We should therefore have to say: on each occasion when a communication was received that cheered to ecstasy, the speaker was endowed in a supernatural way with the ability to speak in a foreign language. In that case, however, the counter question, Why not in his mother-tongue? would be difficult to put to silence.

(*h*) The latest defender of the view that foreign languages are intended, Arthur Wright (see below, § 21), does so in fact quite differently.

He points to 'the little prophets of the Cevennes' (1686-1701), children of three years and upwards, who, according to Heath (*Contemp. Rev.*, Jan. 1886), preached sermons not only in their mother-tongue, but also in good French, often for three-quarters of an hour. 'There was nothing hysterical or wildly excited about their manner, only they were insensible to pain and could not be induced to stop.' The explanation given is that they were merely repeating sermons which they had previously heard delivered by grown-up preachers; their memory was abnormally stimulated by the excitement of the persecutions. In like manner, according to Wright, the primitive Christian tongue-speakers in each case were simply repeating discourses which previously—of course without understanding them—they had heard with excited attention, especially in Jerusalem, where at one of the great feasts, for example, a multitude of unknown languages could be heard. He lays stress upon the argument that 'they who spake with tongues are never said to have given utterance to distinctly Christian teaching' and goes on to say: 'Accustomed to the higher tone of St. Paul and his evangelists the Corinthians found little profit in these Rabbinic exhortations.' He thus draws his entire view as to the contents of all the tongue-speeches from Acts 2_{11} ('speaking the mighty works of God'), instead of the notorious overvaluation of tongue-speech in Corinth asserts the opposite, and moreover seems seriously to believe that all the Corinthian Christians, bond and free alike, who spoke with tongues had previously at one period or another been in Jerusalem, and there had excitement and anguish of so enduring a character that their memory could be stimulated with regard to them in this abnormal way: and this too for discourses of which they could not by any means have had the same impression as the Camisard children just spoken of, that all salvation lay in them, for they did not turn to Judaism; at least this is not affirmed by Wright. He is equally silent as to what it was that brought on the ecstatic state at the repetition of discourses formerly heard. He speaks of the whole as 'a miracle, not of power, but of providence'; the latter he sees in 'the choice of time, the preparation of the speakers beforehand, the selection of suitable words, the

restriction of the gifts to particular persons.' Finally, he nevertheless finds himself compelled to add to his words quoted above, the following, as an explanation of the ecstasy: 'the exciting cause may finally have been not merely mental tension, but the direct impulse of the Holy Ghost.' The interpretation of the tongue-speeches on the other hand he accounts for by 'a knowledge of the language'; where, however, it is the tongue-speaker who is himself the interpreter, this explanation will not serve: for the speaker 'had no recollection of what he had said.' In such a case, then, 'interpretation' must mean 'any utterance made in the vernacular during the state of ecstasy.' Wright has been led to put forward his hypothesis 'from a sense of the very serious danger of calling in question the historical truth of the Acts of the Apostles.' With the purpose of obviating this danger he does as great violence to the language of Paul as any of his predecessors.

10. Acts 2 1-13 and Mk. 16 17.

What is excluded by the words of Paul is exactly what is meant in Acts 2 1-13: the 120 of 1 15 spoke in the languages of the Parthians, Medes, etc.

(*a*) The expedients that have been resorted to are innumerable: the friendly address produced in the foreigners only a homelike feeling; or they interpreted the disconnected sounds of the actual tongue-speaking described in 1 Cor. in each case as utterances of their own language; or the 120 spoke a single language, a new one miraculously intelligible to all, whether that of Paradise or the future language of heaven; or they spoke not Aramaic but Hebrew, and in this the foreigners, who all of them were Jews or Proselytes, recognised the language of worship to which they were accustomed at home; or the 120 spoke only a few languages, not wholly unknown to them but only unfamiliar, such as Arabic, colloquial Greek, colloquial Latin; or those who spoke were not by any means only the 120 but all the foreigners who were present with them. This and all the like is strictly excluded by the thrice repeated statement (*vv.* 6 8 11) that every man of the foreigners heard the 120 speaking in his own mother-tongue.

(*b*) The only theory still left open would seem to be that of a miracle of hearing instead of a miracle of speaking. Yet neither does such a supposition hit the meaning of the author; for according to what he says the foreign languages were not only heard but also spoken. The words of *v.* 4: 'they began to speak with other tongues' (*ἑτέραις γλώσσαις*), receive their interpretation precisely in the statement 'we hear them speak in our mother-tongue' (*ταῖς ἡμετέραις γλώσσαις*, *v.* 11; 'each in his mother-speech,' *ἕκαστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ*, *vv.* 6 8).

It is possible to suppose a miracle of hearing, therefore, only in the sense of ascribing to the author a confusion of such a miracle with one of speech. But why should it have been precisely a miracle of hearing? If it occurred in the ears or rather in the minds of the hearers, there is no answer to the question wherefore it was that the Holy Spirit exercised his miraculous influence precisely in this quarter, whilst it is not only said (*v.* 4), but is also appropriate to the situation, that it was on the speakers that he wrought. According to others the miracle, in becoming a miracle of hearing, happened during the transmission from the mouth of the speaker to the ear of the hearer. The Holy Spirit 'interpreted the words during their passage through the air, so as to present them to the ears of the numerous listeners, to each in his native tongue.' Here one can only ask in increased surprise why it is precisely the Holy Ghost that is named as the author of a miracle which is accomplished in no human being but in a dead object.

(*c*) Another question: Wherefore the 'tongues as of fire' (*γλῶσσαι ὡσεὶ πυρός*) in *v.* 3? In this view that a miracle of hearing is intended, they are left wholly out of account. Other interpreters have, in view of what is said of the tongues, supposed that according to Acts the miracle was one wrought on the organs of speech.

Since 'tongue' in *v.* 3 denotes the organ of speech this seemed to be the case also in *v.* 4; the meaning would therefore be: they received in their mouths new tongues and therewith spoke a new speech. Here, however, not only does one miss all possibility of conceiving the nature of what happened, so that one is compelled to describe the suggestion of it as simply fantastical; the idea further is not in the least indicated by the words. The 'tongues as of fire' of *v.* 3 have nothing to do with the 'other tongues' of *v.* 4; for the tongues of fire do not enter the mouth but rest upon the head. Such remains the meaning even if the reading 'rested' (*ἐκάθισεν*: sing.) is adopted; for here the subject can only be 'fire,' the only other subject which is grammatically possible, the 'sound' (*ἦχος*) of *v.* 2 being excluded by the nature of the case. Perhaps the pl. (*ἐκάθισαν*) is nevertheless to be read, as in ℵ*D sah. cop. pesh.

(*d*) These tongues of fire, however, remain out of account also in the interpretation that a miracle of speech is intended in so far as that interpretation has been set forth under (*a*). Since, however, they cannot by any means be regarded as of subordinate importance they urgently call for some explanation. This has in part been given already (see MINISTRY, § 21 *c*). The event of Pentecost is there represented as a parallel to the giving of the Law on Sinai. To this parallel belongs also the loud noise from heaven with which the scene is opened in *v.* 2. In virtue of this very circumstance, however, the narrative lies gravely open to the suspicion that it rests not upon observation of fact but upon the activity of the imagination.

(*e*) In what is said about the audience the text has suffered greatly. 'Both Jews and proselytes' (*Ἰουδαῖοί τε καὶ προσήλυτοι*) in *v.* 11 is impossible as a clause in the enumeration; it has sense only if taken as in apposition to all the other clauses together, so that what is meant is: 'and in fact of every nation, born Jews and also proselytes.' Thus it had its place originally either after 'Arabs' (*Ἄραβες*), or on the margin as a gloss, but a correct one. In order that foreigners should be hearing their mother-tongue it is not in point of fact enough that born Jews should be represented as present from foreign countries; proselytes also must be there, to whom the foreign language was really a mother-tongue in the full and proper sense of the word.

(*f*) Against this, however, there is what we find in *v.* 5, where all the hearers are called 'Jews dwelling in Jerusalem' (*εἰς Ἰερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι*). 'Jews' in fact is wanting in ℵ; but even so it is improbable that all these strangers in Jerusalem had their residence (*κατοικοῦντες*) there; it would be much easier to suppose that they were there only as visitors at the feast. The circumstance also that 'dwelling' (*κατοικοῦντες*) in C pesh. cop. comes before instead of after 'in Jerusalem,' and 'Jews' in E before instead of after 'dwelling' can be held as indicating that both words were originally a gloss, and in this case a wrong one. If so it would have to be attributed to the desire to produce harmony with *v.* 14: 'Jews and dwellers at Jerusalem' (*ἄνδρες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ἰερουσαλήμ*). Yet see below, *i*, end.

(*g*) For the same reason 'sojourners' (*οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες*) before 'Romans' (*Ῥωμαῖοι*) in *v.* 10 is open to the suspicion of being a gloss if it means Roman citizens who were settled in Jerusalem. Should it be intended, however, merely to indicate that they were there on a passing visit, the expression will fitly apply not only to Romans but also equally well to all other nationalities, and therefore would have had its right place before 'Parthians' (*Πάρθοι*: *v.* 9). That Roman citizens who were settled in Rome (not in the province) should be intended is excluded by the article, for this would affirm that they had come for the feast to Jerusalem in a body.

(*h*) Finally, 'Judæa' (*Ἰουδαίαν*) in *v.* 9 between 'Mesopotamia' and 'Cappadocia' is very surprising [cp GEOGRAPHY, § 26, end]. That Jews understood the speakers really did not need to be said. Already in Tertullian and (once) in Augustine we read Armenia; in Jerome Syria. Others have conjectured Idumæa, India, Ionia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Lydia, and even the N. Syrian kingdom of Yaudi with which we are acquainted from the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser [cp UZZIAH, § 7].

(*i*) In other passages (10 46, 19 6) Acts mentions tongue-speech without the idea of a speaking in foreign languages and without the addition of 'other' (*ἑτέραις*) to 'tongues' (*γλώσσαις*), so that there is no reason for doubting that the same thing is intended as that which we find in Paul. Now, this cannot by any means lead to our finding ourselves compelled, at the cost of whatever violence to the words, to find the same view of the matter also in Acts 2; but it does doubtless tend to raise the question whether perhaps Acts 2 also may not depend on an underlying source which spoke of tongue-speech as fittingly as did those which have been used in 10 46 19 6. The same idea is suggested also by the remark of Peter in 10 47 that Cornelius and his house 'have received the Holy Ghost as well as we' (cp 11 15, 17). Further it has long ago been remarked that the reproach of drunkenness in 2 13, if the languages of foreign nations were what was being heard, would by no means have been appropriate, and that the speech of Peter in 2 14-36 has no relation to hearers from foreign parts or to any miracle of this description, but explains the event by the prophecy in Joel (3 1-5) as to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit with prophetic speeches,

visions, and dreams (2 16-18). Of the various attempts at separation of sources (see ACTS, § 11) the simplest and therefore the most probable is that which holds the source to have contained *v.* 4 (without 'other,' *ἑτέραις*) followed immediately by *vv.* 12*f.*; in fact the conjecture has been hazarded that 4 31 presents only another account of the same event.

It would also be conceivable that a fragment of the source is preserved likewise in the words 'Jews dwelling in Jerusalem' (*εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ κατοικοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι*) in 2 5. The source in that case will have mentioned not foreigners but only men of Jerusalem as witnesses of the occurrence, and it would justly become a question whether the event occurred at Pentecost (see MINISTRY, § 21 *c*, *d*). Yet by its whole structure the sentence is fitted to describe a speech-wonder. Should 'Jews dwelling' then not be a gloss (see above, *f*), we should have to suppose that the redactor had very unskilfully retained these words from his source.

(*k*) The occasion for bringing in the idea of the giving of the law at Sinai, and thereby completely altering the character of the narrative, can perhaps be looked for in the increasing importance which gradually had come to be attached to the event of Pentecost as marking the presumed moment of foundation of the church (against this see MINISTRY, § 21, *b*, *d*). Yet subsidiary circumstances can also have contributed to the same result. One such can be sought for in the passage of Joel cited in Acts 2 19 in so far as it speaks of 'wonders in the heavens above and signs on the earth beneath,' and of 'fire,' even if this be associated there with 'blood' and 'vapour of smoke.' A still more obvious suggestion is that the occasion may have been furnished by a misunderstanding of 1 Cor. 14 21 for which Paul himself is responsible.

In 1 Cor. 14 21 Paul cites Is. 28 11 *f.* as evidence of the unintelligibility and uselessness of tongue-speeches without observing that in Isaiah in the case of the Assyrians by whom God is about to speak to the people of Israel it is not the language spoken by them that matters but only the sword by which they are to destroy Israel. Paul, moreover, contrary alike to MT and the LXX, makes of the whole a divine utterance, and introduces the words 'saith the Lord' (*λέγει κύριος*) at the end, changes the preterite of the last verb ('they would not hear') into a future, and adds, 'not even thus' (*οὐδ' οὕτως*). By this means and by the freely chosen composite verb 'will they give heed' (*εἰσακούσονται*) he has correctly reproduced one solitary feature of MT and the LXX. In the interests of his parallel with tongue-speech what he ought to have taken from the OT passage was: 'one will not be able to understand the men of foreign speech.' Paul, however, actually says—quite unsuitably for the purpose he has in hand—in real if not in verbal agreement with Isaiah ('they would not hear'): 'one will not give heed to them.' Yet it is very intelligible that a superficial reader could draw from the entire citation in Paul nothing further than that the speakers with tongues had spoken in the languages of foreign peoples.

(*l*) As Mk. 16 9-20 is entirely derived from the NT literature, including Acts (see RESURRECTION-NARRATIVES, § 8 *b*, *c*), there need be no hesitating in interpreting the 'they shall speak with new tongues' (*γλώσσαις λαλήσουσιν καιναῖς*) of *v.* 17 simply as meaning 'they shall speak in languages' previously unknown to the speakers, 'new' (*καιναῖς*) thus being substituted for greater clearness for the 'other' (*ἑτέραις*) of Acts 2 4. It is quite improbable that an independent tradition lies before us here.

Interesting but not indispensable is the conjecture of Michelsen (*Het Evangelie naar Marcus*, 29) by which 'new' is made to disappear. WH has before 'will lift up serpents' (*ὄφεις ἀροῦσιν*) in brackets the additional words 'and in their hands' (*καὶ ἐν ταῖς χερσίν*). Out of this 'and in their' (*καὶ ἐν ταῖς*) or rather out of the contracted form (*κἀν ταῖς*) arose 'new' (*καιναῖς*) and then 'hands' (*χερσίν*) fell away. Instead of 'in' (*ἐν*), Michelsen further conjectures that the original text read 'if' (*ἐὰν*), and writes 'lift' (*ἄρωσιν*): 'and if they lift up serpents with their hands' (*κἂν ταῖς χερσὶν ὄφεις ἄρωσιν κἂν θανάσιμόν τι πίωσιν οὐ μὴ αὐτοὺς βλάψῃ*).

Returning once more to 1 Cor. 14, the next interpretation of 'tongues' (*γλῶσσαι*) that invites our consideration

11. 'Tongues' not = 'archaic expressions.'

is the old Greek one, according to which are meant archaic expressions no longer understood among the people, or, strange and unusual locutions generally, including new coinages. On this head see especially Bleek (below, § 21), and Heinrici in his own commentary and in Meyer's.

(*a*) On this interpretation, however, 'kinds of tongues' (*γένη γλωσσῶν*) can hardly be distinguished. (*b*) The sing. 'speak in a tongue' (*γλώσσῃ λαλεῖν*) or 'pray in a tongue' (*γλώσσῃ προσεύχεσθαι*) can in this view, as Heinrici himself says, mean no more than the utterance of a shout of praise or the heaving of a sigh. In that case the question arises as to how a complete prayer of such a kind as to require an interpreter can be produced (14 14) and why Paul should be indisposed to allow more than two or three such 'speeches' (*v.* 27), each of which would occupy a minute. (*c*) Even a stringing together of such expressions, for which, according to Heinrici, the plural 'speak with tongues' (*γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*) is employed, can have resulted in no speeches of such length as to render regulations necessary for their restriction in this respect; on the other hand Paul gives not the slightest hint at discourses in which such 'tongues' were a characteristic feature, but which on the whole consisted of intelligible words and therefore could extend to considerable length. Heinrici infers discourses of this kind only from *v.* 19. The statement here made, however, would be quite ineffective if its meaning was: I had rather deliver five discourses with my understanding than ten thousand discourses in which archaic expressions occur. It becomes effective only if the meaning is (as in EV): 'I had rather speak five *words* . . . than ten thousand *words*.' (*d*) Why the Spirit should have inspired precisely expressions of this sort, and how the employment of them could have served for private edification (*vv.* 4 18 *f.* 28) remains wholly obscure. (*e*) For interpretation of this kind of 'speech' what is needed is not the gift of the Holy Spirit, but philological knowledge. (*f*) But above all we must ask, How is to be explained the ecstasy that accompanies the use of such out-of-the-way expressions? In short, whilst the interpretation of 'tongues' as meaning speeches in foreign languages still allowed the supernatural character of the occurrence to remain, that which takes them to mean mere rare expressions is simply a means of eliminating that character along with the ecstasy. Heinrici says (in Meyer: 1 *Cor.*[7] 362 = [8] 378) expressly that the outsiders alluded to in 14 23 could have taken the speakers with tongues to be men possessed, because they confounded their condition with that of the Pythia and others who really spoke in ecstasy.

Beyschlag (below, § 21) accepts the speaking in ecstasy, and in fact actually proposes to explain the ex-

12. Tongues not metaphorical.

pression 'speaking with tongues' by means of it, referring for the expression (though not for the thing) to Acts 2 3. He holds that the tongues of fire are an echo of the fact that the tongues of speakers were actually moved with fiery eloquence. This figurative way of speaking about a tongue of fire is the origin of the name (*γλῶσσα*). The pl. 'tongues' is to be explained, he thinks, even in cases where a single speaker is in question, by the circumstance that such a tongue of fire was regarded as having been bestowed anew on each occasion of its exercise. The oldest expression accordingly was (he thinks) 'to speak with other (or new) tongues' (*ἑτέραις* [or *καιναῖς*] *γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*); the simpler 'speak with tongues' (*γλώσσαις λαλεῖν*) is merely an abbreviation of this. In abbreviation, however, it has to be replied, it is not usual to drop precisely the most important part of the expression; the correct abbreviation must have been 'to speak with other (or new)' (*ἑτέραις* [or *καιναῖς*] *λαλεῖν*). The impossibility of this whole view of Beyschlag's is clearly exhibited, however, in 1 Cor. 14 26. Along with a psalm, a teaching, a revelation, and interpretation, a tongue of fire cannot fittingly be enumerated as a thing which one who takes part in a religious meeting *has*; for in the connection 'has' (*ἔχει*) means 'has to contribute.' In more points than one Beyschlag nevertheless comes very near the truth.

Above all, Beyschlag has rightly recognised that the

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literal sense—the bodily member within the mouth—is to be taken as the fundamental meaning of 'tongue.'

13. The tongue as a bodily member.

(*a*) The decisive passage for this is 1 Cor. 14 9. In connection with *v.* 7 *f.* the sense must be: as the sound of pipe, harp, and trumpet cannot be rightly understood if they give out no clear sound, so also what is spoken by you cannot be understood if you give forth no clear speech with your tongue.

This is the exact logical course of the comparison: to the musical instruments which give forth either a clear or an unclear sound, corresponds as instrument of speech the member in the mouth. If here by 'tongue' were meant the particular manner of speech that is known as 'speaking with tongues,' the case that an unintelligible speech is given could not for a moment be suggested as merely a possible case; for according to Paul this happens in all circumstances. Nor, again, have we here a new example, parallel to that of the musical instruments, but one drawn from what is observed in ordinary human speech. We do not reach this till we come to *v.* 10 *f.*; and as the application of that example to the Corinthian speakers with tongues is made in *v.* 12 by the expression 'so also you' (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), in like manner we must regard the same expression in *v.* 9 as introducing an application of the preceding illustrations drawn from the musical instruments to the same persons. 'Tongue' here thus signifies in actual fact the tongue of the Corinthian speakers, yet neither as producing the so-called tongue-speeches nor yet as producing ordinary human speech, but simply in so far as it is capable of giving forth alike the (always unintelligible) tongue-speech, and also a kind of speech parallel to this, still intelligible, in the church meetings—such speech as prophecy, for example.

(*b*) Here then we have the origin of the expression 'speak with a tongue.' If all discourse is effected by means of the human tongue and yet only this particular kind of speech is named from it, the idea can only be this, that in the case in question the part it plays is particularly strong, or even, so far as may be, exclusive. In excellent agreement with this is the use of the opposite expression 'speak with the understanding' (τῷ νοΐ λαλεῖν). In intelligible speech the 'understanding' (νοῦς) has a part, indeed so prominent a part that it alone calls for mention; in the contrasted case it is not engaged, and thus it might seem as if it were the tongue alone that produced the speech.

Needless to say, the belief was that in 'speaking with tongues' the tongue was set in motion by the Holy Ghost (*vv.* 2, 15), just as in intelligible speech it was set in motion by the 'understanding' (νοῦς); but '(to speak) with the spirit' (πνεύματι [λαλεῖν]) was not an appropriate verbal expression for this, because it would have applied equally well to prophecy, wisdom-speech, knowledge-speech, and so forth. It is also quite fitting that the designation of so characteristic a matter should be chosen with express reference to the impression which it produced upon the senses, and in this case it really appeared as if the tongue alone were speaking. True, that the lips, teeth, palate, etc., are also engaged. But a designation that is to be in daily use needs to be short, and here it was enough to name the most important organ; and that the tongue is in popular belief the most important organ of speech is evident.

(*c*) This explanation nevertheless leaves something still to be desired. The plural 'speak with tongues' (γλώσσαις λαλεῖν) is accounted for by it only in cases where it is used with reference to more speakers than one (12 30 14 5*a* 22 *f.* 39); and thus not in 14 6 (and *v.* 18 according to WH), nor yet in *v.* 5*b* 12 10, although here the singular, used of the person speaking, has a collective sense. Where only one speaker is in question, the attempt has been made to explain the plural (γλώσσαις) as arising from the idea that in passing from one manner of speech to another the 'tongue' is in some degree changed; but such an idea is much too fantastic to have arisen in popular speech, which nevertheless we must certainly assume to have been the case with all such expressions as this. And what of cases in which 'tongues' stands alone, without a verb (12 10 28 13 8 14 22)?

All the conditions are satisfied only by one assumption: 'tongue' (γλῶσσα, apart from 14 9) must be rendered 'tongue-speech,'—*i.e.*, speech which, in the manner described in § 13*b*, seems to be produced by the tongue alone. This is by no means a departure from the

14. Tongue = tongue-speech.

literal sense; rather is it simply an instance of the same transition from the instrument to its product which is exemplified in ordinary Greek when 'tongue' (γλῶσσα) is used in the sense of 'language.' It is necessary to assume that this transition was effected anew in the primitive Christian usage in a narrower sphere, for the reason that all other explanations have been shown to be unworkable. If 'tongue' could mean the language of a foreign nation, or an archaic individual expression, 14 26 would at least be intelligible; as these meanings are unpracticable we should have to render: 'when ye come together, each one hath a psalm, hath a teaching, hath a revelation, hath a (human) tongue (in his mouth), hath an interpretation'—which clearly is meaningless. 'Tongue' must necessarily be something of the same order as the other things enumerated; and thus a definite kind of discourse which is capable of being delivered in a religious meeting.

So also *v.* 6: 'if I come unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, unless I speak to you [we must supply: at the same time] either by way of revelation, or of knowledge,' and so forth. Similarly too 13 8: 'whether there be prophecies . . . whether there be tongues . . . whether there be knowledge, it shall be done away.' Indeed, in the plural 'tongues' we now recognise everywhere the different 'kinds of tongues' (γένη γλωσσῶν).

In accordance with the attribution of tongue-speech to the operation of the Holy Ghost, the interpretation of it also is regarded as a spiritual gift.

15. Interpretation of tongue-speeches.

(*a*) It is in the first place to be remarked that the tongue-speaker himself, as well as another, can possess this gift. The first is established by 14 13, the second by the co-ordination in 12 10 14 26; for as not every one is capable of giving all the kinds of discourse there enumerated, the meaning must be: 'when ye come together each one hath *either* a psalm *or* a teaching . . . *or* a tongue-speech *or* an interpretation.'

In this sense then, we must interpret *v.* 27 *f.* also. 'If any man speaketh in a tongue, let it be by two, or at the most three . . . and let one interpret.' If this interpreter is one of the tongue-speakers, who expounds his own tongue-speech, then what immediately follows will mean: 'but if he is not an interpreter' (ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ᾖ διερμηνευτής); and this seems to be absolutely necessary, since the sentence closes with 'let *him* keep silence' (σιγάτω), whilst if all the tongue-speakers whose speech had no interpreter at hand had to keep silence, the expression ought to have run: 'let *them* keep silence' (σιγάτωσαν). In that case, however, Paul would on the one hand be enjoining that of the two, or three, tongue-speeches delivered, one, or two, should remain uninterpreted, which is directly contrary to the principle laid down by him in *vv.* 2-11 16-19 22 *f.* 26—and on the other hand he would be excluding interpretation by some other person than the speaker, whilst yet such interpretation is, according to 12 10 14 26, a spiritual gift. Thus we must, after all, suppose that Paul, in a somewhat careless way, thought of 'the person concerned' as the subject of the singular 'keep silence' (σιγάτω)[1] and that we ought to render (with EV): 'if there be no interpreter.' This too is inexactly said: 'let [only] one interpret' (εἷς διερμηνευέτω). What Paul had in his mind perhaps was: 'let one at least interpret.' The continuation 'but if there be no interpreter' fits this well.

If this view be correct, we learn from the passage before us that those persons in the church who were in a position to interpret tongue-speeches were generally known and thus exercised this function with some regularity. The possibility was not excluded, indeed, that some one on some occasion might give an interpretation who had not previously done so. Clearly, however, Paul is not disposed to rely upon the uncertain, and therefore he prescribes that if an interpretation is not assured (such doubtless will be the intention of his words) the tongue-speech is to be from the outset suppressed.

(*b*) What, next, were the means by which an individual other than the tongue-speaker became able to understand the tongue-speech? If this faculty was a purely supernatural one, our question has no point; but the case was assuredly otherwise. With what degree of precision the interpreter was able to elucidate

1 Similarly, 'the persons concerned' is to be supplied as the subject of the plurals γαμείτωσαν (1 Cor. 7 36) and παρελάβοσαν (2 Thess. 3 6) as WHmg. and Tischendorf read.

the sense of a tongue-speech we cannot tell. The more one was disposed to rest satisfied with general renderings, the easier was it to supply them. The tone of the voice, the gestures, the recurrence of particular words or sounds certainly offered clues.[1] Further help was gained from observation of the habits of the tongue-speakers. We can hardly imagine otherwise than that their speeches readily assumed a stereotyped character. If, however, at any time a tongue-speaker brought forth something unaccustomed, a knowledge of what experiences he had recently been having would certainly not be useless towards an understanding of his speech.

(*c*) It must be expressly noted that the things enumerated in 14 6 along with tongue-speech—revelation, knowledge, prophesying, teaching—do not constitute the interpretation of tongue-speech in some such sense that the meaning will be 'when I come unto you speaking with tongues what shall I profit you if I do not forthwith interpret these tongue-speeches in the form of revelation' etc. This misunderstanding is from the outset precluded by this, that in *v.* 26 'interpretation' stands in co-ordination alike with 'revelation,' etc., and with 'tongue.' On the other hand, it is possible that interpretation of tongue-speech is intended in *v.* 15: 'I will pray with the Spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also,' that is to say while I repeat in intelligible language the substance of the prayer I have originally uttered in ecstasy. This view is recommended by the fact that, immediately before (*v.* 13), the tongue-speaker is admonished to aim at being able to interpret his own tongue-speeches.

On the subject of the diffusion of the tongue-charism our information is very defective. (*a*) We are not aware that tongue-speech (and the allied charisms) had any considerable diffusion within the Jewish-Christian area; but neither is there adequate ground for denying to the Jewish Christians all aptitude for such charisms, or for accusing the author of Acts of having as a Paulinist arbitrarily introduced it into his account of the primitive Christian world. If he had not found them in the sources on which he drew for 2 1-13 10 46 *f.* 19 6, but merely drew upon his imagination, we may be pretty confident that he would have brought in the same elements at other points as well. Of course, the mere fact that they were present in his sources does not of itself give any security that their picture of the diffusion of the charisms is historically correct.

16. Spread and end of 'tongue-speech' and 'prophecy' charisms.

(*b*) In exact proportion to the intensity with which the charism of tongue-speech was exercised in Corinth in Paul's time does the complete silence of the Epistle to the Romans on the same subject invite remark. In 1 Thess. 5 19 ('quench not the spirit') it may perhaps be intended, or at least included. In any case it cannot have long survived its most flourishing period. The author of Acts certainly can never have heard it exercised, otherwise he could not possibly have fallen into the mistake of supposing that it was speech in the language of foreign nations, or into the confusion of identifying with this foreign speech the speaking with tongues which occurred at the conversion of Cornelius (Acts 10 46 *f.* 11 15 17). It is a significant fact that Justin for his own period (about 155 A.D.) mentions only prophetic gifts (προφητικὰ χαρίσματα) but no speaking with tongues (*Dial.* 82, begin.). Irenæus (about 185 A.D.), in his detailed treatment of the charisms of which numberless instances happened every day (*Hær.* ii. 49 3 [=32 4]; also *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 7 3-5), speaks only of exorcisms of demons, prophetic visions and utterances, healings, and some cases of raising of the dead. In another place (v. 6 1; also *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 7 6) he mentions tongue-speech also, but only as something with regard to which he *hears* that it happens in the case of many brethren in the Church and without letting us know whether by it he understands the phenomena met with in 1 Cor. 14, or what is described in Acts 2. Irenæus says:

'We hear of many brethren in the church possessing prophetic gifts and speaking through the Spirit in all kinds of tongues and bringing to light for the general advantage the hidden things of men and setting forth the mysteries of God' (πολλῶν ἀκούομεν ἀδελφῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἐχόντων καὶ παντοδαπαῖς λαλούντων διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος γλώσσαις καὶ τὰ κρύφια τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς φανερὸν ἀγόντων ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι καὶ τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκδιηγουμένων). It is to be noted that the making manifest of the secrets of men of which Irenæus speaks immediately after mentioning tongue-speech is in 1 Cor. 14 24 *f.* attributed to the prophets, not to those who speak with tongues. Tertullian also does not say that there was speaking with tongues in his day; all that he does is contemptuously to call upon Marcion to exhibit in the case of any of his followers the exercise of spiritual gifts which, says he, 'are forthcoming from my side more easily' ('a me facilius proferuntur'): 'exhibeat Marcion . . . aliquos prophetas . . . qui et futura prænuntiarint et cordis occulta traduxerint (or: produxerint?); edat aliquem psalmum, aliquam visionem, aliquam orationem, dumtaxat spiritalem, in ecstasi, id est, amentia, si qua linguæ interpretatio accessit' (*adv. Marc.* 5 8, end). Thus tongue-speech appears, not as an independent thing, but merely in an added sentence which with the whole of its surroundings is clearly reminiscent of 1 Cor. 14 25 *f.* The ecstatical spiritual utterance, of which Tertullian speaks, in his time refers not to 'tongue-speech' but to 'prophecy.'

(*c*) For the ecstatical form of utterance did not disappear so quickly as did tongue-speech. On the contrary it became merged in the exercise of 'prophecy.' This was favoured in the highest degree by the circumstance that already the OT prophecy was conceived of as wholly ecstatical (above, § 8 *b*). This form of utterance was most strongly prevalent in Montanism. This may be the reason why stress is laid upon it by Tertullian; but as Montanism altogether was nothing new, but only a strong revival of a tendency which had once before had prevalence within the church although subsequently repressed, so also its view of prophecy was, even if not exactly what might be called the primitive Christian one, then at least the post-apostolic-churchly one (Weinel, 78-96). It was only by way of reaction against the exaggerations of this and against the dangers for ecclesiastical office which grew out of it that brought churchmen at last to the view which finds expression in the title of the treatise of Miltiades (Eus. *HE* v. 17 1), 'On the necessity of a prophet's not speaking in ecstasy' (περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν προφήτην ἐν ἐκστάσει λαλεῖν). As to how it came about that 'prophecy' also in its turn had to recede into the background and give place to the ecclesiastical office, see MINISTRY, § 38.

If, finally, we proceed to inquire into the value which the charisms possessed for primitive Christianity, we shall find that judges differ. (*a*) In the church of Corinth (which is almost the only authority to which we can refer) they were valued very highly. They were regarded, and quite naturally, as evidences of special grace and favour, and were therefore zealously striven after (14 12). This zeal, if a right zeal, was manifested in prayer (14 13 does not mean that he who speaks in tongue-speech is to pronounce this ecstatic prayer of his with the purpose of interpreting it afterwards: the meaning is that when not exercising his charism of tongue-speech he is to pray for the gift of being able himself to interpret any tongue-speeches he may subsequently receive). But we shall hardly be doing the Corinthians an injustice if we suppose that many of them sought to secure for themselves those 'gifts' by other means also—by imitation, or by artificially working themselves up into a condition of excitement, by efforts constantly repeated. Vanity, it would seem, was not altogether without its part in the matter; otherwise the gift most prized and coveted would hardly have been that of tongue-speech, the most conspicuous indeed of them all, but at the same time the least fruitful. In the mouth of the Corinthian Christians the tongue-speaker alone was the 'spiritual' person (πνευματικός: 14 37,

17. Popular view of the charisms.

[1] The most familiar example, by which it has been attempted to explain the process, is the following: a tongue-speaker babbled disconnectedly the syllables *ab* and *ba*; the interpreter believed himself to have discovered the Aramaic word *abba*. Possibly the matter often fell out so. It must not, however, be thought that precisely this word was known only to certain interpreters. As Paul employs it in Rom. 8 15 Gal. 4 6 it must have been known to Gentile Christians generally.

and, in accordance with this, in all probability 12 1 also).

(*b*) From this we can see, at the same time, what it was that properly speaking was regarded as the valuable element in the charisms. It was the extraordinary, the wonderful or miraculous, that quality in them which conferred a special importance on those who possessed them. Fundamentally the view taken does not differ from that of the Greek religion. Man desires to enjoy the possession of the godhead, bestowing itself on him individually. The same view dominates in the OT; and in Gentile-Christian circles also the OT conceptions of the operations of the Spirit of God can have been familiar and influential. This conception has a marked leaning towards the quaintly, or even, one might say, grotesquely miraculous. Thus it is the Spirit that enables Samson to rend a lion or burst his own fetters, that is able to convey Elijah from place to place at pleasure (Judg. 14 6 15 14 1 K. 18 12 2 K. 2 16; cp in NT Acts 8 39). Whether the thing done has a religious purpose comes but little into the question.

This way of looking at the charisms is precisely that which makes it possible to attribute the same workings to other spirits than the Holy Spirit.

18. Discerning of spirits.

(*a*) The belief in the existence of such spirits was at that time exceedingly prevalent. Broadly speaking, they do not fall simply under the two categories of good and evil, but many of them are regarded simply as of a subordinate character and as restricted in their insight. Whether they were called demons in accordance with pagan ideas, or angels in accordance with those of the OT, was indifferent; in either case they were thought of as quite personal and as very active. Of such a spirit it is, for example, presupposed in 2 Thess. 2 2 that it can produce the erroneous belief that the day of the Lord is immediately at hand.

(*b*) That these conceptions are present in 1 Cor. 14 also is shown by the plural, 'spirits' (πνεύματα) which, for linguistic reasons, cannot be taken to mean 'operations of the spirit'—a meaning, moreover, which in *v.* 32 is excluded by the connection in which the word occurs ('the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets'). Thus to each prophet is assigned a proper spirit, conceived of personally, by which he is inspired (cp Rev. 22 6: 'the God of the spirits of the prophets'). Quite similarly 1 Cor. 14 14 also: 'if I pray in a tongue, my spirit prayeth.' Here it is not the proper spirit, so to say, with which a man is born, that is intended; for this the apostle designates rather by the word 'understanding' (νοῦς), and distinguishes in this very verse from 'my spirit.' From this it follows that *v.* 12 also is to be understood quite literally: 'ye are zealous of spirits,' that is to say, one of you seeks to obtain an inspiration from one spirit, another from another.

(*c*) If this were not the meaning, no such thing as the 'discerning of spirits' would be possible. By the 'spirits' here interpreters indeed have proposed to understand distributions of the one Holy Spirit such as in point of fact were actually believed in (Nu. 11 25 Rev. 1 4 3 1 4 5 5 6, Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 13 2 15 1-6 and often). Only, in this case also, any 'discerning' would be meaningless. For, beyond question, any act of 'discerning' would consist in judging as to whether an utterance founded upon spiritual suggestion was true or false, one to be followed or rejected. 1 Cor. 7 40 shows us how easily it could happen that conflicting judgments were put forward on the ground that they were inspired. Since Paul here supports his judgment on the subject of re-marriage of widows with the words: 'I think that I also have the Spirit of God,' we must conclude that in Corinth other persons on the ground of suggestion by the Spirit had decided in the opposite sense. Cp 14 37 *f.* where the best reading (ἀγνοεῖται) is to be pronounced as an imperative (ἀγνοεῖτε): if any man is ignorant, ignore ye him.

(*d*) In all places where it occurs the 'discerning of spirits' is mentioned directly after 'prophecy' (1 Cor. 12 10 14 29, cp 1 Thess. 5 21). In itself considered, it is not easy to see why mention should not be made of it in connection with 'word of wisdom' or 'word of knowledge.' Yet it is easy to understand how it needed specially to be called into requisition in connection with 'prophecy,' if this last gave definite directions as to what ought to be done in definite particular cases (§ 7 *d*). From 1 Cor. 14 29 we cannot infer that only those who also possessed that of 'prophecy' possessed the gift of 'discerning'; 'the others' (οἱ ἄλλοι) can include others also.

(*e*) The recognition of a 'discerning of spirits' involves in principle a complete abandonment of the belief in suggestion of the Holy Spirit. With the utmost emphasis Paul insists (1 Cor. 12 4-11 14 33) that all charisms proceed from the Holy Spirit or from God; but at the same time they can also come from evil spirits and the listeners must decide for themselves as to this, and in fact decide again upon the basis of inspiration. Here the most important point is that it is not Paul who introduces the 'discerning of spirits' as something new; rather does it exist in Corinth as a thing of course. Here reveals itself the impossibility of continuing to hold fast the belief in divine inspiration if a free use of it is made in the actualities of life.

Already in the OT it had been found necessary to set up criteria for discriminating between false and true prophets. But that the one class relate dreams, the others 'speak my word faithfully' (Jer. 23 28) was, naturally, a quite inadequate distinction. That the true prophet must be a prophet of evil (Jer. 28 8) may have been true in Jerusalem in Jeremiah's day; but at other times, as, for example, in those of Deutero-Isaiah, this maxim might have been turned against the prophets now become canonical, and Jeremiah in fact finds himself constrained to add, 'if a prophet prophesies peace and his word comes to pass, then shall he be known to be a true prophet' (28 9). The result is set up as a criterion quite expressly in Dt. 18 20-22, cp Ezek. 33 33. Not only, however, does this criterion fail to be available early enough; in Dt. 13 2-4 is contemplated the case in which it may prove to have been deceptive, and for discerning the true prophet the only way left is to ask whether he labours in the service of Yahwè and (so Jer. 23 22) seeks to bring back the people from the error of their ways. [Cp PROPHET, §§ 23 25.]

Equally inadequate is the criterion set up in 1 Cor. 12 3: 'no man speaking in the Spirit of God saith, Jesus is anathema.' As to the difficulties and inconveniences experienced by the apostolic age from the impossibility of finding proper norms by which prophets could be tested, see MINISTRY, § 38 *a*, *b*.

But what did Paul think of the charisms? (*a*) On the one side he entirely shares the popular opinion.

19. Paul's view of the charisms.

He holds them all for operations of the Holy Spirit, and is not sensible of the contradiction which we have discovered (above, § 18 *b*, *c*, *e*) in his own words, to the effect that such operations can proceed from other spirits also, in fact from evil ones. At the close of the discussion, in order that any remarks of his in disparagement of tongue-speech may not be misunderstood, he says: 'forbid not to speak with tongues' (1 Cor. 14 39). He makes no effort to bring into action a criterion for tongue-speakers analogous to the 'discerning' applicable in the case of prophets. That no such criterion should have presented itself of its own accord is to be accounted for, on the one hand, by the consideration that tongue-speeches were too unclear to admit of their showing themselves to such disadvantage as in certain cases definite sayings of prophets did, and, further, that even in cases where they threatened to do so they could be explained away; on the other hand, by the consideration that in the case of a tongue-speaker, one was, more than in the case of a prophet, face to face with a seemingly supernatural communication which could be received only with reverence and awe. The first-mentioned consideration would hardly have restrained Paul from setting up a criterion to be applied to tongue-speeches; for his disposition towards them is much the reverse of

favourable, and he has every reason for seeking to limit their undesirable influence. The second consideration, however, did, in point of fact, hold him back, especially as, according to 14_{18}, he himself was a speaker with tongues more than any of the Corinthians.

(*b*) Alongside of this agreement with the popular view there presents itself, however, in the case of Paul, the great thought that every Christian has the Holy Spirit (Gal. 3_{25} etc.), and that the whole life of the Christian is an expression of the Spirit's activities (1 Cor. 12_{3} Gal. 5_{22} *f.* Rom. 5_{5} $8_{4\text{-}16}$). This thought could not fail, in the case of every manifestation that laid claim to the character of a spiritual gift, to lead to the question being asked as to its spiritual value, but also, at the same time, to lead to a lowering of the estimate put upon gifts in which their wonderful character was the most important thing, and to an increased appreciation of those which consisted in an intensified exercise of the new Christian life on its moral side. In the first characteristic of our definition (§ 1) we have already seen that the idea of the charisms is by no means uniform. Some of them are expressly regarded as miraculous, in others it is very difficult to perceive anything wonderful. To this latter category belongs 'ministry' in all its forms; 'government' also, and the simpler forms of devotional utterance. It is hardly probable that all these things owed their designation as charisms to the pagan or OT presuppositions which had a share in the building up of the conception 'charism' (χάρισμα). Since, then, this idea must have come to its maturity in the course of the missionary activity of Paul, under his eyes and with his co-operation, it is hardly too bold to conjecture that it was through his influence that these comparatively non-miraculous, but, from an ethical point of view, all the more important, manifestations should have come to be included in the number of the charisms.

(*c*) To the same order belongs also the most important modification which Paul applied to the idea of a charism when he refused to recognise as being such anything which had no utility for the life of the Christian community (12_{7}, τὸ συμφέρον, 'profit'; 14_{26}, οἰκοδομή, 'edification'; see above, § 3 *d*). By this miraculous manifestations were by no means excluded; but it was no longer their miraculous character that supplied the measure according to which they were to be valued. It was with this principle as his basis that Paul entered especially on his campaign against the over-valuing of tongue-speech. Broadly speaking, his great merit in this field consists in his having moralised, in accordance with truly Christian principles, an idea that was only half religious, and essentially miraculous, and, so far forth, unfruitful.

We must proceed still farther in the same direction if we are to arrive at an ultimate judgment on the historical significance of the primitive Christian charisms.

20. Conclusion. It is easily intelligible that the joy of enthusiasm over the possession of a new redeeming religion should have expressed itself in an exuberant way which, according to the ideas of that time, could only be regarded as the miraculous operation of the Holy Spirit. Apart from the exceptions specified above (§ 17 *a*) we have no reason for doubting that these manifestations were genuine expressions of the feeling of a strong religious life, not mere artificial imitations derived from the pagan cults. On the other hand, we know with regard to Paul that his ecstasies in which he had visions coincided in point of time with the attacks of his malady (see GALATIA, § 27); we shall, therefore, hardly err if we bring into causal connection with this malady the strong tendency to tongue-speech also, which, in any case, was intimately associated with the ecstatic condition. The ecstatical has always something of the unhealthy about it. Thus it is not difficult to explain why extensive circles in the early church kept entirely free from such manifestations. The church could get on very well in their absence. It is, on the other hand, equally intelligible that, once they had made their appearance they were infectious, that they brought the church life into serious danger, and that they led to reaction. Paul led this reaction on sound principles; the later church led it increasingly in the interests of its conception of church office which was itself very unsound; Paul by the endeavour to persuade, the later church too often by the exercise of force. The phenomena in question owe their disappearance, however, by no means to this reaction merely, but quite as much to their own degeneration. This degeneration was in large measure due to the faith in their miraculous character. In this case also it was demonstrated that miracles produce a favourable impression only when seen from a distance; where they have to be fitted into the daily realities of actual life they always bring evil consequences in their train. This holds true of the gift of healing the sick also, and of miracle-working generally. The reaction just spoken of did not venture to deny the miraculous character of the charisms. We for our part, however, are constrained to do so, and to account for everything in the phenomena to which a miraculous character has been attributed by the known psychological laws which can be observed in cases of great mental exaltation, whether in persons who deem themselves inspired or in persons who simply require medical treatment.

The non-miraculous charisms on the other hand, which, from the outset, possessed a moral character were of abiding value. Without them the church could not have lived; but they have never failed her and are destined never to become extinct; even should they have ceased to be called charisms, it will remain everlastingly true that they come from the Spirit of God.

21. Literature. On the whole subject see Dav. Schulz, *Geistesgaben*, 1836; *Supernatural Religion* [1877], 3 321-397 = popular edition, 1902, pp. 753-800; and the commentaries on 1 Cor. 12-14. Works of a more comprehensive kind are: Gunkel, *Wirkungen des heil. Geistes nach der populären Anschauung der apost. Zeit u. nach der Lehre des Paulus*, 1888; (2) unaltered, 1900; and, following Gunkel, Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Geister im nachapost. Zeitalter bis auf Irenaeus*, 1899; Beversluis, *De heilige geest en zijne werkingen volgens het . . . N. Verbond*, Utrecht, 1896. On speaking with tongues, see Bleek, *St.Kr.*, 1829, pp. 3-79; 1830, pp. 45-64; Baur, *Tüb. Ztschr. f. Theol.*, 1830 *b*, pp. 75-133; *St.Kr.*, 1838, pp. 618-702; Wieseler, *St.Kr.*, 1838, pp. 703-772; Hilgenfeld, *Glossolalie*, 1850; Rossteuscher, *Gabe der Sprachen*, 1850; van Hengel, *Gave der talen*, 1864; Arthur Wright, *Some NT Problems*, 277-302 [1898].

P. W. S.

SPOIL. The words are; (1) שָׁלָל, *šālāl*, Gen. 49_{27} (𝕲 τροφή), etc., σκῦλον, προνομή, διαρπαγή; (2) בַּז, *baz*, Jer. 15_{13}, etc., σκῦλον, προνομή, διαρπαγή; also (3) מְשִׁסָּה, *měšissāh*, 2 K. 21_{14} etc., כְשׁוּסָּה, *měšussāh*, Is. 42_{24}† Kt., προνομή, διαρπαγή; (4) טֶרֶף, *ṭereph*, Job 29_{17} etc., ἅρπαγμα, διαρπαγή. On the division of spoils cp TAXATION, § 1. See also SACRIFICE, § 8.

SPOKES, 1. *ḥiššūḳīm*, חִשֻּׁקִים, 1 K. 7_{33} AV 'felloe.' See WHEEL, 1 *b*.

2. *ḥiššūrīm*, חִשֻּׁרִים, 1 K. 7_{33} RV 'nave.' See WHEEL, 1 *c*.

SPONGE (СПОГГОС), Mt. 27_{48} = Mk. 15_{36} = Jn. 19_{29}†. Neither σπόγγος nor σφόγγος occurs in the LXX. The use of the sponge, however, was early known (cp, *e.g.*, *Il.* 18_{414}; *Od.* 1_{111}); see the Classical Dictionaries.

'Sponge' is the fibrous skeleton of a marine animal —the living part of which has been removed by drying, washing, and bleaching—belonging to the group Cornacuspongiæ of the non-calcareous sponges. The most important Mediterranean species are *Euspongia officinalis*, the Levant toilet sponge; and *E. zimocca*, the Zimocca sponge, and *Hippospongia equina*, the horse-sponge. All these are found at a depth of

3-100 fathoms along the coasts. The sponge fisheries of the Mediterranean are still the most important in commerce, and the Syrian trade is considerable.

A. E. S.

SPOON (כַּף, θυισκη). See ALTAR; § 10; COOKING, § 5, iii., INCENSE, § 7, and MEALS, § 10.

SPOTTED (טָלֻא), Gen. 30 32 *ff.* Ezek. 16 16; see COLOURS, § 12.

SPRINGS. In a country where perennial streams are rare, and where months of summer may pass without rain, the possession and preservation of water has always been a matter of serious concern. Water means life, and its value to the people of Canaan is illustrated by manifold references and numerous beautiful metaphors in the OT. For details concerning the amount of rainfall in Palestine, see RAIN, § 2, and on the distribution of springs and other sources of supply, see PALESTINE, § 13. Generally speaking, it may be affirmed that the most poorly watered districts are the table-land of Judæa on the W. of Jordan and the heights of the *Belkā* on the E.[1] Some of these tracts, however, were once better supplied, cp NEGEB, § 1.

1. Distribution and preservation of water.

Constructions for the preservation of water rank among the oldest specimens of masonry in Palestine. The simplest plan was to dig a hole, with perhaps a shaft of masonry, where springs were known to exist. Such a pit (*bĕ'ēr*, בְּאֵר, φρέαρ) was often covered over with a large flat stone, partly, no doubt, as a precaution against accident (Ex. 21 33), and partly to prevent its being easily discovered. For this latter purpose sand or earth might be strewn over the cover (cp also 2 S. 17 19).

The water was drawn up by a pitcher (*kad*, Gen. 24 16) or bucket (*dĕlī*, Is. 40 15, cp verb in Ex. 2 16, 19), and for the watering of cattle was poured into a trough (*rahaṭ*, Gen. 30 38 41 Ex. 2 16, *šōḳeth*, Gen. 24 20 30 38).[2] When dry a pit of this kind might be used as a prison, and as no attempt was made to keep it clean the accumulation of miry mud (*ṭīṭ*, Ps. 40 2 [3], cp Jer. 38 6) at the bottom added to the discomfort of the prisoner.

The Heb. and Gk. terms for 'Spring' which require mention are:[3]—

2. Words rendered 'spring.'

1. *'ayin* (עַיִן), Gen. 16 7 24 16 1 S. 29 1, etc.; AV's 'well' in Gen. 24 13 49 22, etc., obscures the force and meaning. The 'spring of Jacob' (Dt. 33 28) refers to J's descendants; cp the metaphors in Is. 48 1 Ps. 68 26 [27]. For particular springs, see reff. above in § 1. The connection with *'ayin* 'eye' is doubtful, nor, if the two are identical, is it easy to say which is older. The 'spring' can scarcely take its name from the circular shape of the orifice since this (as in English) is called the *mouth* (Gen. 29 2 *f.*). On the other hand, the eye could easily be called the fountain of the tears (as in Jer. 9 1 [8 23] עיני מקור דמעה). Perhaps some primitive belief underlies the usage.

2. *ma'yān* (מַעְיָן), derived from the above, properly a place of springs, cp Ps. 84 6 [7], Josh. 18 15 (AV 'well'), etc.

3. *bĕ'ēr* (בְּאֵר, cp above § 1, and see CONDUITS, § 1 [1]) occurs chiefly in the Hexat.; for place-names compounded with it, see NAMES, § 101 (*b*).

4. *mabbūa'* (מַבּוּעַ), Eccles. 12 6 (AV 'fountain'), Is. 35 7 49 10. Properly a place where water bubbles or gushes up, cp the verb in Prov. 18 4 of a bubbling spring, and metaphorically, of a gushing man in Prov. 15 2 28, etc.

5. *māḳōr* (מָקוֹר), a spring that has been *dug* (verb in 2 K. 19 24 Is. 37 25). Mostly used in a figurative sense (Prov. 13 14 16 22 18 4 etc.).

6. *mōṣā* (מוֹצָא), properly, 'place of exit' (cp also above col. 883, n. 2), with מַיִם, 2 K. 2 21 Ps. 107 33, 35 (διέξοδος), Is. 37 25 (συναγωγή), etc.

7. *nēbek* (נֵבֶךְ, orig. obscure) in Job 38 16, and perhaps also *ib.* 28 11 for מִבְּכִי, see BDB *ad loc.*

8. *gullōth* (גֻּלֹּת), Judg. 1 15†; see GOLATH-MAIM. True meaning unknown, perhaps a Canaanite word. On the supposition that the word is corrupt see KEILAH.

9. אַשְׁדּוֹת, Dt. 3 17 RVmg., see ASHDOTH-PISGAH.

10. πηγή (the usual word in 𝔊 for nos. 1 *f.*, 4 *ff.*), Jn. 4 6 Jas. 3 11 2 Pet. 2 17, etc.

11. φρέαρ (𝔊's word for no. 3), Lk. 14 5 etc., an artificial well as opposed to κρήνη (cp POOL, 2).

A full supply of water, rivers on bare heights, wells in valleys, pools of water in place of a wilderness, and springs instead of dry land characterise the highest possible happiness to the Hebrew mind (Is. 41 18 cp 35 7 44 3 Ps. 107 35). The possession of water is the one indispensable acquisition without which the right of pasture is useless. Hence, as Robertson Smith suggested, property in water is more important and probably older than property in land (*RS*(2) 104 *f.*, cp CATTLE, § 5). The digging of a well, accordingly, was an important function, and a typical specimen of one of the rites accompanying it has been fortunately preserved in Nu. 21 17 *f.* (see BEER, col. 515). Here the spring is addressed as a living being, and indeed not only is spring-water called 'living water' (Gen. 26 19 Nu. 19 17 etc.), but springs are regarded as endowed with life. They are regarded with reverence, credited with oracular powers, and frequently associated with sacred beings.[1] On the widespread beliefs connected with springs and wells among the Semites see IDOLATRY, § 2, NATURE-WORSHIP, § 4, Robertson Smith, *RS*(2) (reff. in Index). Cp also Barton, *Semitic Origins*, 92 *ff.*; Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel.*, *passim*; and the Abbe Bourcais, 'La source divine et générale conception Chaldéenne dans les Monuments figurés des Collections à Paris,' in Maspero's *Rec. de Trav.* 21 177-193 (1899).

3. Sentiment and Religion.

S. A. C.

STABLE (נָוֶה), Ezek. 25 5; elsewhere 'pasture.' See CATTLE, § 5, INN (*ad fin.*).

STACHYS (στaχυς [Ti. WH]), greeted by Paul as 'my beloved' (Rom. 16 9).

He is mentioned in the apocryphal lists of the 'seventy,' and according to pseudo-Dorotheus was consecrated first bishop of Byzantium, by the Apostle Andrew. In the apocryphal *Acta Philippi*, a believer of the name of Stachys is the host of Philip in Hierapolis. The name has been found among the remains of the imperial household (*CIL* 6 8607).

STACTE (נָטָף, *nāṭāph*, 'that which drops'; cp Job 36 27; στακτη) is mentioned with onycha and galbanum as an ingredient in the holy incense (Ex. 30 34; Ecclus. 24 15, RVmg. 'opobalsamum,' AV STORAX). A fragrant resin is obviously intended; but whether opobalsamum, storax, or some other substance, is uncertain. Jewish tradition identified *nāṭāph* with opobalsamum; but against this see BALSAM, § 4, and MYRRH. Perhaps gum tragacanth is meant; see STORAX, 2.

N. M.

STAFF. The words are partly the same as those in ROD (where see 1, 2, 3, 5). Nothing depends on ful-

[1] Full information is given by G. A. Smith, *HG* 77-79. For the evidence of place-names indicating the presence of water see NAMES, § 101.

[2] Other means of drawing up water are the *shadūf* in Egypt (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 281), and the water-wheel in Babylonia (Peters, *Nippur*, 1 135 141; cp Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel.* 198 [Hamath]). There seems to be an allusion to the latter in Eccles. 12 6. Cp AGRICULTURE, § 5.

[3] Cp also BROOK, CONDUITS, § 1, POND, POOL.

[1] This is not confined merely to medicinal waters (cp HAMMATH; MEDICINE, § 2, col. 3007 and reff.) where supernatural ideas might readily arise.

ness of references. By far the most interesting is Heb. 11 21, cp Gen. 47 31, where it is said that Jacob, after blessing Joseph's sons, 'worshipped upon the top of his staff' (προσεκύνησεν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου αὐτοῦ), implying הַמַּטֶּה (the reading of 𝔊, Pesh., It.) instead of הַמִּטָּה. Chabas justifies this reading by a reference to an Egyptian custom.[1] But it is clearly wrong, as the parallel passage 1 K. 1 47 shows. The 'head' of the bed is no doubt a peculiar expression; Holzinger suggests that a 'teraphim' may have been placed at the bed's head. But the true explanation is much simpler. ראש should of course be עֶרֶשׂ 'couch'; cp ערש יצועי 'the couch of my bed,' Ps. 132 3, RVmg. The other words are—

1. משענה, משענת, *mašʿēnāh, mišʿeneth* (√שען to lean), Ex. 21 19 Is. 36 6, etc. Used of the pastoral rod (‖ שבט) in Ps. 23 4 (see note in Che. *Ps.*(2)).

2. עץ, *ʿēṣ*, of the 'staff' of a spear (1 S. 17 7 [Kt. is wrong], 2 S. 21 19 23 7 1 Ch. 20 5).

3. פלך, *pélek*, in David's imprecation, 'let there not fail from the house of Joab one that hath an issue, or that is a leper, or *that leaneth on a staff*,' etc., 2 S. 3 29. So EV after 𝔊 (κρατῶν σκυτάλης [-η, or -ην]) and Tg. Jon. (מתקיף באנר; so read, not באנר). The rival rendering—'that holdeth the spindle'—does not suit the context nearly as well (cp H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*), but has a philological basis lacking to the first explanation. Moved by Driver's learned note (*TBS* 192, with n. 1) Löhr and H. P. Smith adopt 'spindle' for פלך (cp Prov. 31 19, and Toy's note). There can hardly be a clearer evidence of corruption; no philology can save this unsuitable reading. Read מ׳ בְּמַקֵּל, 'one that leans on (lit. grasps) a staff'—*i.e.*, a lame person. In Prov. 31 19 the reading is of course undisputed (cp WEAVING, § 2).

4. מוט, *mōṭ*, Nu. 13 23 (a pole, for bearing a huge grape-cluster).

5. בַּד, *bad* (in plur.), Ex. 25 13 *ff.* 1 K. 8 7 *f.* (to bear the ark).

6. ξύλον (in plur.), Mt. 26 47 Mk. 14 43, coupled with 'swords' (Jn. 18 3 speaks of ὅπλα). Cp the use of מַטֶּה and שֵׁבֶט (ROD, 1, 2).

T. K. C.

STAIRS. The rendering 'stairs' in AV is generally misleading.

1. In 1 K. 6 8†, no doubt, לוּלִים, *lūlīm* (ἑ[ι]λικτὴ ἀναβάσις; *cochlea*) can be plausibly rendered 'winding stairs' (EV; see however, Stade, *ZATW* 3 136 *ff.*, and cp TEMPLE, § 11, n.).

2. In 2 K. 9 13 'on the top of the stairs' (אֶל־גֶּרֶם הַמַּעֲלוֹת) can hardly be the right description of the place where Jehu's supporters acclaimed him as king (see JEHU).

3. In Neh. 9 4 it was not on the stairs but on the 'scaffold' (מַעֲלֵה, *ma'ăleh*; ἀνάβασις) prepared for the occasion that Jeshua and Bani stood. So AVmg. Cp PULPIT.

4. In Ezek. 43 17 (מעלות, *ma'ălōth*) 'stairs' should be 'steps' (RV); the steps of the altar are meant.

5. In Cant. 2 14 'the secret places (מדרגות, *madrēgōth*; ἐχόμενα τοῦ προτειχίσματος; *in caverna maceriæ*) of the stairs' forms a bad parallel to 'in the clefts of the rock.' מדרגה, *madrēgāh* (in plur.), is again rendered 'stairs' in Ezek. 38 20; most scholars suppose 'steep, ladder-like hills' (RV 'steep places,' 𝔊 φάραγγες) to be the true meaning. The word, however, is suspicious.

6. 'Stairs' is right for ἀναβαθμοί in Acts 21 40.

T. K. C.

STALL (מַרְבֵּק, *marbēḳ*, etc.), Am. 6 4 etc. See CATTLE, § 5.

STANDARD (דֶּגֶל), Nu. 1 52 etc. See ENSIGNS.

STARS. To the Hebrews, as to other races, the heavenly bodies were a constant source of interest and wonder. Their great number, comparable to the sand of the sea-shore (Gen. 15 5 22 17 26 4 Jer. 33 22), and known only to God (Ps. 147 4), their immeasurable height above the earth (Job 22 12 Ob. 4 Is. 14 13; cp Dan. 8 10*a*), and the brightness of their shining (Job 25 5 31 26 Dan. 12 3), formed subjects for comment; but it was their movements that excited the keenest attention, and opened up the widest field for the imagination.

To realise the Hebrew conception of this phenomenon, it is necessary to make some reference to their cosmology.

1. Earth and Heaven. This bears close resemblance to the scheme of the Babylonians (Jensen, *Kosmol.* 9 *ff.*), and may be thought to have formed part of the common property of the primitive Semitic family.

The earth was regarded as a flat surface, bounded upon all sides by the watery deep. Above, the heavens formed a hollow vault, which, resting on the waters, might be said to describe a circle upon them (Job 26 10 Prov. 8 27). This vault was thought to be solid, and was spoken of as a firmament (רָקִיעַ, *rāḳīă'*, something beaten or hammered out; Gen. 1 6 etc.), or, in the language of poetry, a tent spread out above the earth (Is. 40 22 Ps. 19 4). Upon the farther side of the firmament, called by the Babylonians *kirib šami*, 'the inner part of the heavens,' there was again water, 'the waters which are above the firmament' (Gen. 1 6 *f.*). Indeed, one of the earliest of creative acts was the placing of the vault of the heavens, in order to cleave in twain the watery deep (תְּהוֹם, *tĕhōm*, Bab. *Tiâmat*), and thus make possible the appearance of dry land (Gen. 1 6-8 Prov. 8 28 *f.*). Beneath the earth was the realm of the underworld (שְׁאוֹל, *Shĕōl*), and the whole was perhaps conjectured to rest ultimately upon the waters of the deep (Ps. 24 2 136 6).

Across the fixed vault of the firmament the heavenly bodies appeared to move, seeming, no doubt, to the

2. Movements of heavenly bodies. Hebrews as to the Babylonians, to enter by a door in the eastern quarter of the heavens and to make their exit in the W. by a similar means. Thus, to the poet's mind, the sun has his tent in the heavens, and at his rising is like a bridegroom who issues from his bridal chamber (Ps. 19 5 *f.*).

The regularity of the movements of the stars arrested the attention. They are governed by 'ordinances' established by Yahwè and unalterable (Jer. 31 35 *f.*), beyond the reach of human understanding (Job 38 33). The spectacle of the heavenly host, led forth in full tale, is a wonderful proof of Yahwè's mighty power (Is. 40 26). Thus they naturally serve to mark divisions of time. They are set in the firmament 'to divide the day from the night' and to 'be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years' (Gen. 1 14, cp Ps. 104 19). The Hebrew month (חֹדֶשׁ, *ḥōdeš*; יֶרַח, *yéraḥ*) is a lunar month, and the quarter of this period—one phase of the moon—appears to have determined the week of seven days (see MONTH, §§ 1, 6; WEEK, § 1). Since this constancy in the courses of sun, moon, and stars was so impressive, it is natural that anything which appeared to be of the nature of an interruption should, by the unscientific mind, be regarded as a portent of catastrophe. Of such a nature would be eclipses of the sun or moon, meteorites or falling stars, and comets.

So we find the darkening of sun and moon and the falling of stars associated with troublous times of direst calamity (Am. 8 9 Is. 13 10 Ezek. 32 7 Joel 2 10 31[3 4]=Acts 2 20 Joel 3[4] 15 Job 9 7; cp Mt. 24 29 Rev. 6 12 *f.* 8 12).[1] Comets, as moving in orbits which baffled the calculations of the ancients, can be spoken of as 'wandering stars, for whom the blackness of darkness is reserved for ever,' and thus serve to depict the lot of the reprobate.

[1] *Mélanges égyptologiques*,(3) 1 91. 'He then pronounced the ordinary oath, "By the life of the Lord Life-Health-Force," striking his nose and ears, and placing himself on the top of the staff. The reference is to the baton which the magistrate kept stretched out during the ceremony. By this attitude and by these gestures the prisoner testified his submission towards the magistrate.'

[1] An eclipse of the sun which occurred in the year B.C. 763 is recorded in the Assyrian Eponym Canon. See AMOS, § 4.

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To the primitive imagination that which moves is regarded as possessing life. Thus the heavenly bodies are pictured as living beings, and form subject of folklore and legend. Stars, in particular, are closely associated with angels.

The phrase 'the host of heaven' generally denotes the stars (2 K. 17 16 21 3 5 23 4 *f.* Dt. 4 19 17 3 Jer. 8 2 19 13 Zeph. 1 5; cp Gen. 2 1 Ps. 33 6 Is. 40 26 45 12); but in some cases, especially in late writings, invisible agencies are also denoted by the same term (1 K. 22 19 Is. 34 4 Neh. 9 6, and perhaps Dan. 8 10). Cp also Is. 24 21 and the fine poetical statement in Job 38 7 (cp CREATION, § 21, *e*).

Special stars or constellations mentioned in the Bible are as follow:—

(*a*) עַיִשׁ, *'áyiš* (Job 38 32); on the versions and on the supposed form עָשׁ, *'āš* (Job 9 9), see ARCTURUS. The allusion to the 'children' of *'áyiš* limits the possibilities of interpretation to such constellations as can be pictured under the form of a mother with children. Among the ancients there appear to have been two such—Ursa major, and the Pleiades.

3. Special stars or groups.

In favour of Ursa major is cited the Arabic title for this constellation.

This is *na'š*, 'the bier,' the four stars forming the quadrilateral being regarded as a bier, which is followed by three mourners, *banāt na'š*, 'the daughters of the bier.'

It is, however, quite impossible philologically to connect the Arabic word *na'š* with the Hebrew *'áyiš*; nor is there, in the passage of Job in which *'áyiš* appears, any trace of the idea of bier and bearers or mourners. It is the merit of M. A. Stern[1] ('Die Sternbilder in Hiob 38 31 *f.*,' in Geiger's *Jüd. Zeitschr.* 3 258 *ff.*) to have been the first among moderns to adopt the interpretation 'Pleiades,' and to have stated his case with great cogency. Stern disposes of the claims of Ursa major by pointing out that *'áyiš*, with the three other constellations mentioned in Job 38 31 *f.*, is cited by the poet on account of its meteorological importance.

This is evident from the context. In *vv.* 22-30 we have mention of snow and hail, light and east wind, thunder-shower and lightning, rain and dew, ice and hoar-frost. Then follow the three *vv.* 31-33 with reference to certain constellations; and in immediate succession, further notice of meteorological phenomena—clouds and the outpouring water, lightning and the bottles of heaven.

Thus the inference is clear that the constellations mentioned are such as have special significance as weather-signs. Now Ursa major, as a circum-polar constellation, never passes below the horizon in the N. hemisphere;[2] and, being therefore a conspicuous object at all seasons, could never be regarded as possessing any kind of meteorological importance. Thus its mention in such a context would appear to be quite misplaced.

On the other hand, the Pleiades, though but a small group, possessed for the ancients great meteorological significance.

By their rising at dawn the Greeks and Romans divined the approach of summer, whilst their setting at dawn, heralded the approach of the wet and stormy season (Hesiod, *Opp.* 383 *f.* 571 *f.* 619 *ff.*; Virgil, *Georg.* 4 231 *ff.*; Ovid, *Fast.* 5 599 *ff.*). The expression '*'áyiš* with her children' bears close resemblance to the name 'hen with her chickens' applied to this group of stars among both eastern and western peoples and actually employed in this passage as a translation of the Targum (ותנתא על אפרחהא תדברנון).[3]

The name *'áyiš* may then be thought to denote, not the group as a whole, but the principal star, known to astronomers as Alcyone. It must be deemed uncertain whether the Massoretic vocalisation עַיִשׁ is correct. The Peshiṭtā renders by *'iyyūtha*,[1] which probably has philological connection with the Hebrew name, and perhaps upon this analogy we may vocalise עֲיֻשׁ, *'ăyūš* (Hoffmann), or else, with closer approximation to the Syriac, עַיּוּשׁ, *'ayyūš*, or עִיּוּשׁ, *'iyyūš*.

(*b*) כְּסִיל, *kĕsīl* (Job 9 9 38 31 Amos 5 8) is generally supposed to denote ORION (*q.v.*), the most remarkable of constellations, both on account of the brilliancy and colour of the three principal stars,[2] and the striking resemblance of the figure to a gigantic human form equipped with belt and sword. The position of this group, a few degrees S. of the Ecliptic, renders it a very conspicuous object as viewed from the N. temperate zone, and among the Greeks and the Romans it was much observed as a sign of the seasons.

Thus its heliacal rising, southing, and setting are severally connected with different agricultural operations (Hes. *Opp.* 595 *ff.*, 609 *ff.*, 614 *ff.*); but, especially, the time of its setting marks the commencement of wet and stormy weather, when navigation becomes dangerous (Hes. *Opp.* 618 *ff.*; Hor. *Ep.* 15 7; Virg. *Æn.* 1 535 4 52).

The mention of the '*bands* of Orion' in Job 38 31 is perhaps an allusion to the three stars of the belt, and refers to the chains with which the giant—'dull-witted obstinate' giant—(כסיל) was thought to have been confined by the Deity. If man can loose these bands—the poet seems to mean—he may then hope to gain control over those changes in the season which the constellation marks. In Job 9 9 Amos 5 8 *kĕsīl* appears to be cited on account of its great brilliancy.[3]

(*c*) כִּימָה, *kīmáh* (Job 9 9 38 31 Amos 5 8) is translated 'Pleiades' by EV and many moderns, in accordance with the rendering of 𝔊 in both passages of Job,[4] Symm. and Vg. in Job 38 31, and Symm. and Theodot. in Amos. If, however, the grounds upon which *'áyiš* has been identified with the Pleiades can be considered sufficient, it is evident that we must look elsewhere for the constellation represented by *kīmáh*. Stern presses the claims of Canis major with its bright star Sirius—by far the largest of the fixed stars—known to the Greeks as *τὸ ἄστρον par excellence.*[5]

A constellation of so great a meteorological interest as Canis major and possessing a star of such brilliancy as Sirius, may naturally be expected to find mention in Job 38; and the identification with *kīmāh* is rendered plausible by the close connection with *kĕsīl*, just as the Great Dog lies nearly to the S. of Orion and close to his feet. A further point is the allusion to the 'chains[6] of *Kīmāh*' (מַעֲדַנּוֹת כִּימָה), which on this interpretation yields a good sense, since Canis major is the hound of Orion.

(*d*) The meaning of מַזָּרוֹת (Job 38 32; see MAZZAROTH), is highly uncertain. By most scholars the term is supposed to be identical with מַזָּלוֹת (see MAZZALOTH), the worship of which, in conjunction with that of the sun, the

1 Stern is followed by G. Hoffmann (*ZATW* 3 107 *f.*) and by Nöldeke (*Bib. Lex.* 4 370).

2 Cp Homer, *Od.* 5 275, οἴη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν 'Ωκεανοῖο. Virg. *Georg.* 1 246, Arctos Oceani metuentis æquore tingi. Ovid, *Met.* 13 727, Arcton æquoris expertem.

3 It is also worthy of notice that R. Yehūda's explanation of *'āš* as יותא, *yūthā* (*Bĕrākhōth* 58*b*) is interpreted by later Talmudists as זנב טלה, 'the tail of the Ram' (*i.e.*, Pleiades), or ראש דעגלא, 'the head of the Bull' (*i.e.*, Hyades).

1 The same rendering is employed for עָשׁ, Job 9 9, כֶּסֶל, Job 15 27, כְּסִיל, Amos 5 8. The Talmudic יותא, *yūthā* (note above), perhaps represents the same word with rejection of ע.

2 αβγ Orionis, named Betelgeuse, Rigel, and Bellatrix: the first and the second, of the first magnitude; the last, among the largest stars of the second magnitude.

3 On the phrase 'their *kĕsīlīm*' (כְּסִילֵיהֶם) in Is. 13 10 see ORION.

4 In 𝔊 Job 9 9, ὁ ποιῶν Πλειάδα καὶ Ἕσπερον καὶ Ἀρκτοῦρον καὶ ταμεῖα Νότου, it is quite clear that the order of the constellations has been changed, כימה being brought to the beginning and rendered Πλειάδα as in 38 31, whilst עש, which thus stands second, is translated Ἕσπερον as עיש in 38 32. This change of order, which seems to have been overlooked by critics, is substantiated by Pesh. ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܟܝܡܐ ܘܥܝܘܬܐ ܘܓܒܪܐ ܘܐܣܪ̈ܐ ܕܟܠ ܬܝܡܢܐ.

5 For the ancients Sirius marked the time of greatest summer heat (Hom. *Il.* 22 27-31, Hes. *Opp.* 417, *Sc.* 397; etc.), and its connection with this period is still preserved in the popular expression 'the dog days.'

6 The rendering 'sweet influences' AV, RVmg. can be traced back to Sebastian Munster (1535 A.D.), but appears to be philologically untenable.

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moon, and all the host of heaven, was put down by Josiah (2 K. 23 5); and 𝔊 in both passages employs the transliteration μαζουρωθ, whilst Targ., in accordance with Kings, uses in Job the rendering שׁטרי מזליא. In Rabbinic Hebrew the *mazzālōth* are the twelve zodiacal signs (*Bĕrākhōth* 32*b*; *Shabbāth* 75*a*), but also the planets, regarded as stars of good or ill fortune (*Bĕrēshīth rab.*, § 10, 10*c*, etc.). In agreement with this latter signification, we have, according to the restoration of de Vogüé, the dedication למזל נעם answering to the Greek Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ in a Phœnician inscription from Larnaca of about the 4th century B.C. (*CIS* 1 95). It is doubtful, however, whether we can safely argue back in explanation of the earlier use of the expression. In Arabic *manzil* denotes a 'lodging-place' or 'mansion'; and the plural *al-manāzil* is used of the twenty-eight 'mansions' of the moon. In Assyrian, according to Friedr. Delitzsch (*Ass. HWB*), *manzazu* denotes 'a place of standing,' from the root *nazâzu* 'to stand'; just as in Heb. מָקוֹם, 'place,' is derived from קום. *Manzazu* occurs on the fifth table of the Babylonian Creation series (see CREATION, § 2) which begins [1] 'He made the mansions (*manzazi*) of the great gods.' Further, there is a fem. form of *manzazu*—viz., *manzaltu* (= *manzaztu*), *mazaltu*. For this Delitzsch quotes 3 R. 59 35a: 'The gods in heaven in their mansions (*man-zal-ti-šu-nu*) set me.' Jensen (*Kosmol.* 347 *f.*) mentions the same facts. Whilst, however, Delitzsch identifies these *manzalti* with the zodiacal stations (*Prol.* 54), Jensen thinks that they were perhaps fifty in number,[2] corresponding to the number of the great gods, and represent, not merely the signs of the zodiac (cp Lockyer, *Dawn of Astronomy*, 133 *ff.*), but rather certain fixed stars and planets, lists of which are to be found in the inscriptions, but of which the identification appears to be possible only in a few cases (*Kosm.* 146 *ff*).[3] Here, then, it may be supposed that we have the original of *mazzālōth* of 2 K. 23 5; though, as is plain from the diverse opinions noticed above, the precise reference of these 'mansions,' as objects of worship borrowed by the people of Judah from the Babylonians, still remains uncertain.

With regard to *mazzārōth*, Stern is undoubtedly correct in stating that in the words of Job 38 32 'Canst thou bring forth *mazzārōth* in its season (בְּעִתּוֹ),' *mazzārōth* in conjunction with 'in *its* time' (בעתו) denotes a plurality which can be spoken of as a unity, and so a group of stars which form a single constellation. This consideration, which gains weight from the connection of *mazzārōth* with *'ayiš*, *kĕsīl*, and *kīmāh*, each of which describes a single special star-group, cuts at the root of the identification of *mazzārōth* in Job with *mazzālōth* as mentioned in 2 K. 23 5, upon the view which has above been taken of the latter. The special constellation represented by *mazzārōth* can, however, in default of evidence, be merely conjectural. Stern's view, that the word denotes the Hyades, is not open to objection, and is to some extent supported by the position of *mazzārōth* after *kīmāh* and *kĕsīl* and before *'ayiš*, according to the position of constellations in the heavens. But that this is the intention of the order of citation may be questioned, since in such a case the more natural method would be to reverse the order, and to speak of Pleiades, Hyades, Orion, Canis major, according to the order of rising. The Hyades were of meteorological importance to the ancients, who regarded their heliacal rising as the portent of wet weather (Hom. *Il.* 18 486; Hes. *Opp.* 613; Virg. *Æn.* 1 744, etc.). Stern, who would identify *mazzārōth* and *mazzālōth*, attempts to connect *mazzālōth* with the verb הִזִּיל (*hizzīl*) in the sense 'rain-producers'; but this is certainly inferior to the derivation adopted above (see further MAZZAROTH).

(*e*) The expression, 'the inner chambers of the south' (Job 9 9[1] חַדְרֵי תֵימָן, *ḥadrē thēmān*), is too indefinite to be taken as a reference to any special star or group of stars, such as the bright star Canopus or the constellation of the ship to which it belongs (Stern). Probably Dillmann is correct in suggesting that the author of Job, as a man of travel, would know that in journeying towards the S. more and more stars and constellations appear in the heavens, and might therefore reasonably refer in such terms to the stars of the southern hemisphere.

(*f*) On *kēwān* as a representation of the planet Saturn (Am. 5 26), *hēlēl* (?) as the planet Venus, and *Dioscuri* as the constellation *Gemini* (indirectly referred to in Acts 28 11), see CHIUN, LUCIFER, CASTOR AND POLLUX. [There is according to *Crit. Bib.*, reason to think that the Arabic name of Saturn, *zuḥalu*, underlies the חזאל of 1 K. 19 15. It is held that the 'Hazael' referred to was probably a N. Arabian, not a Syrian, king. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*]

4. Star-worship. It is highly improbable (cp CALF, GOLDEN) that the Hebrew tribes in Egypt came under the influence of the Egyptian religion, which was based upon the worship of the sun.

But such place-names as Beth-shemesh in SW. Judah, Har-ḥeres, Timnath-ḥeres, and Ḥeres on the E. of the Jordan permit the inference that the local Baal of the Canaanite, whose cults confronted the Israelites on their immigration into Canaan, was sometimes connected with the sun. See, however, SUN, and on this and other difficult points which here suggest themselves for consideration see ASHTORETH, BAAL, PHŒNICIA, § 11. On the much disputed statement of Am. 5 26 see CHIUN AND SICCUTH, SALMA.

Am. 5 26 introduces us to the subject of star-worship. The compiler of the Book of Kings regards the worship of 'all the host of heaven'—doubtless introduced from Babylonia—as one of the causes of the fall of the northern kingdom (2 K. 17 16). In the case of the kingdom of Judah we possess fuller information. Star-worship was here, apparently, not introduced before the time of Manasseh; but of this king it is related that he built altars to all the host of heaven in the two courts of the house of Yahwè (2 K. 21 5). Priests were appointed to offer sacrifice to the sun, the moon (see MOON), the *mazzālōth* (see above, § 3 [*d*]), and all the host of heaven, and special horses and chariots were dedicated to the worship of the sun, probably to be employed in processions (2 K. 23 4 5 11). Cp NATHAN-MELECH. It was not until the reformation in the 18th year of Josiah (B.C. 621) that measures were taken to root out this Babylonian astral worship (2 K. 23), owing to the influence of the book of Deuteronomy which contains special injunctions against the worship of the sun, moon, and stars (Dt. 17 2 *f.*; cp 4 19).

Josiah's efforts, however, were by no means wholly successful. The new cult seems to have been largely embraced by private individuals, who worshipped the heavenly bodies upon the roofs of their houses, burning offerings and pouring out libations (Zeph. 1 5 Jer. 8 2 19 13). More especially does the worship of the QUEEN OF HEAVEN (*q.v.*)—*i.e.*, probably, Ištar as a celestial goddess—appear to have enjoyed popularity among women[2] (Jer. 7 18). The reformation of Josiah, which must have been mainly concerned with public and national religious abuses, could not eradicate such private cults. Ezekiel (writing in the 6th year of the captivity of Jehoiachin, 591 B.C.), pictures the worship of the sun as carried on at Jerusalem within the Temple-court (Ezek. 8 16 *f.*)[3] and, as Jeremiah assures us, even after the fall of Jerusalem the Jews still persisted in the worship of other gods, and especially of the queen of

1 See Jensen, *Kosmol.* 288 *ff.*; Schrader, *COT* 1 15.
2 The *number* of the *manzazi* appears to have originally been given in the Creation tablet.
3 Jensen finds allusion to the zodiacal signs in the *Maši* stars of *l.* 2 of the Creation tablet above cited. The word *misrāta* (not *mizrāta*) or *iṣrāta*, which occurs in 1 3, cannot, with Sayce (*Religion of Bab.* 389), be identified with *Mazzārōth*.

1 Also in 37 9, reading with Duhm, תֵּימָן for תָּבוֹא, and omitting ה in הַחֶדֶר. For the *mĕzārīm* of the corresponding clause (EV 'north'), cp MAZZALOTH, and on this passage and on 38 31-38 see Che., *JBL* 17 103 *ff.* [1898].
2 See Che. *Jer., his Life and Times*, 198.
3 The 'holding of the branch to the nose,' in worshipping the sun is commonly traced to a Persian origin. See, however, TAMMUZ.

heaven (Jer. 44). The reference in Job 31 26 *f.* to the adoration of sun and moon by kissing of the hand sufficiently shows the danger which still beset the Jews when the poem of Job was written.

The only distinct reference to astrology in the OT occurs in Is. 47 13, where the exilic writer, in predicting the imminent downfall of Babylon, advises her in mockery to resort to her astrologers, if perchance they may save her from the impending catastrophe. Several peculiar expressions are used (see 'Isa.' *SBOT*). The phrase 'dividers of the heavens' alludes to a division of the sky for the purposes of astrology, and the reference of 'the monthly prognosticators,' or, 'those who make known at every new moon' seems to be to the official reports drawn up by the Babylonian astrologers to be sent in to the king month by month (see MAGIC, § 3 [5]). Many such Assyrian reports are still extant, and one of them gives us an astrological calendar, each month or day of which is noted as being lucky or unlucky for the commencement of a campaign, or for other operations.[1]

5. Astrology.

The interest and importance of astrology to the Babylonians is well known. According to the Chaldean priest Berossus (quoted by Pliny, *NH* 7 57) astronomical observations had been carried on by the Babylonians for 490,000 years before his day. In the sixteenth century B.C., a great astrological work was drawn up on seventy clay tablets, and deposited in the library of Sargon of Agade (see Sayce in *TSBA* 1 45 *ff.*).

The word אַשָּׁפִים, *aššāphīm*, which (in its Aramaic as well as its Hebrew form) occurs several times in the Book of Daniel, is rendered 'astrologers' by AV (RV 'enchanters'); but this interpretation is merely assumed. The word is of Assyrian origin (*aššapu*, *ašapu*, etc.), and means rather *sorcerer*, *charmer* (*COT* on Dan. 2 4; Del. *Proleg.* 141; cp Syr. *āšōphā*).

A late evidence of the celebrity of Babylonian astrology appears in the narrative of the Messiah's star in Mt. 2. [On the star cp NATIVITY, § 18.] For whatever the description ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν ('from the East') may mean, the title *magi* (μάγοι: see ZOROASTRIANISM) implies that the lore of the wise men was Babylonian. The star which they saw at its rising (ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ) was evidently such as to be regarded as a portent only by practised astrologers. Herod and 'all Jerusalem' appear not to have noticed the phenomenon until their interest was aroused by the inquiries of the strangers, and then the king had to 'inquire diligently' the time of the star's appearance. Thus the hypothesis which represents the star as a comet or new star of exceptional brilliancy may be considered to be excluded. Kepler (*De J. Chr. servatoris nostri vero anno natalitio*, 1605 A.D.) thought of a close conjunction of the planets Jupiter and Saturn in the constellation Pisces, which occurred in the year 747 A.U.C., and in this view he has found many followers (cp Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronol.* 2 399 *ff.*).[2] A similar conjunction in the year 1463 A.D. led the Portuguese Rabbi Abarbanel (1437-1509) to infer (*Comm. on Daniel*) that the birth of the Messiah was shortly to be expected. J. H. Stockwell (*Astr. Jour.* Nov. 26, 1892; quoted in *Nature*, Dec. 22, 1892) argues in favour of a conjunction of Jupiter and Venus which took place in the spring of 6 B.C.

It should be observed that the objection of Meyer (Comm. *ad loc.*), that the hypothesis of such a conjunction is excluded by the singular ἀστήρ, is quite alien to the question, since the reference of 'his star' would not necessarily refer to the conjunction taken as a whole, but rather to one member of the conjunction, which, by its peculiar position, was calculated to cast the nativity of the King of the Jews.

For star-worship see further NATURE WORSHIP, § 5. Cp Campbell Thomson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nin. and Bab. in the Brit. Mus.* (1900). C. F. B.

1 [In Is. 47 13 W. Muss-Arnolt (*AJSL* 16 223 [1900]), developing an idea of Zimmern, would read הַבָּרִים בשמים, 'those who scan the heavens,' בָּרִים being regarded as = bāru the Assyrian class-name for the soothsayers called seers. Another view, proposed in *Crit. Bib.*, is to read line 2 of stanza 5 of the Song of Triumph thus,

וְיוֹשִׁיעֻךְ חֹבְרֵי ישמעאל | קסמי ירחמאל,

'Let the spell-repeaters of Ishmael, the diviners of Jerahmeel, deliver thee,' supposing בבל to mean the capital of Jerahmeel in N. Arabia. T. K. C.]

2 See, on the other hand, the damaging criticism of this view by C. Pritchard in Smith's *DB*, 'Star of the Wise Men'; also *Mem. Roy. As. Soc.* 25.

STATER. The word στατηρ means properly a weight, and was used generally by the Greeks for the unit of weight, corresponding to the eastern *shékel.*

There is no reason to doubt the current derivation of the word from the root στα-, to weigh; the attempt to connect it with Ištar (Jensen, *ZA* 14 183, and Johns, *Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, 2 284), apart from philological difficulties, rests on the assumption that money was originally coined in Nineveh, and that some early coin might bear the head or figure of the city goddess Ištar.

The word is used in Mt. 17 27 (AV 'piece of money,' RV 'shekel'), where it means a stater or four-drachm piece of the Phœnician standard. As regards the actual coin intended, it must have been a stater either of Tyre or of Antioch, since at the time concerned these were the only mints issuing coin of the right standard. Under SHEKEL (§ 5) will be found an illustration of the silver didrachm or half-stater of Tyre; the figure given here represents a silver stater of Antioch.



Stater of Antioch.

The obverse bears the head of Augustus with the title ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ. On the reverse is a figure of the Fortune of the City of Antioch seated on a rock, wearing a mural crown, and holding a palm branch; at her feet is the river-god Orontes, in the attitude of swimming, half-emerging from the waves. (This type is a copy of the famous group by the sculptor Eutychides set up soon after the foundation of Antioch.)

The coin is dated 'in the thirtieth year of victory'—*i.e.*, of the era of Actium—and 'in the thirteenth consulship' of the emperor; hence it belongs to the year 2-1 B.C. This specimen weighs 229.5 grs. troy. Others of other dates bear the name of Antioch (Ἀντιοχέων μητροπόλεως).

Staters or shekels are probably meant by the word ἀργύρια used for the 'thirty pieces of silver' (Mt. 26 15 27 3 5).

That denarii (see PENNY, § 1) cannot be meant is proved by the analogy of Ex. 21 32 (thirty *shekels* of silver the price of a servant gored by an ox) and Zech. 11 12 *f.* (where denarii are out of the question). On the other hand, the 50,000 pieces of silver of Acts 19 19 (the value of the magical books) may have been denarii, as indeed the Vulgate translates them. G. F. H.

STATUTE (חֹק, חֻקָּה; √חקק, 'to engrave,' and so 'a *statute*, fixed by being *engraven*, or inscribed, on some durable surface,' Dr. *Dt.* 62), Dt. 5 5 8 11. See generally LAW LITERATURE; LAW AND JUSTICE.

STEEL. For נְחֹשֶׁת, *nĕḥōšeth;* נְחוּשָׁה, *nĕḥōšāh*, see BRASS; and for פְּלָדֹת, *pĕlādōth*, Nah. 2 3 [4]†, see IRON, § 2, col. 2174.

STEPHANAS (στεφανας [Ti. WH]), a member of the Corinthian church. His 'household' (cp the household of CÆSAR [*q.v.*]), 'the first fruits of Achaia,' had been baptized by Paul, and its members had afterwards distinguished themselves by the zeal with which they had set themselves to minister to the saints (1 Cor. 1 16 16 15), the ministry intended being doubtless chiefly that of hospitality. Of Stephanas personally, all that we learn is that, along with Fortunatus and Achaicus, he had brought news to the apostle at Ephesus which had 'refreshed his spirit' (1 Cor. 16 17 *f.*).

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The narrative in Acts (§§ 1 *f.* 7).
The charge (§ 3).
The speech (§ 4 *f.*).
Style of the narrative (§ 8).
Significance of episode (§ 9).
Bibliography (§ 10).

Stephen (ϹΤΕΦΑΝΟϹ) in the NT is the name borne by an early Christian agent in Jerusalem, who was the first to suffer for his faith. As narrated in Acts (6 1-8 3, cp 11 19 22 20) the pregnant and tragic episode of Stephen falls into three sections: (*a*) the prologue (6 1-15), containing an account (i.) of Stephen's appointment as one of the Seven, and (ii.) of his subsequent arrest; (*b*) the speech (7 1-53) which he is represented as having delivered *upon that occasion; and* (*c*) *the epilogue of his murder* and its effects (7 54-8 3). Although by common consent this narrative is regarded critically as undeniably historical, it requires to be subjected to a close analysis before it can be employed as evidence for its period.

1. Acts 6 1-7. The isolated character of 6 1-6 [7] indicates that the editor here has a special source or tradition before him. Note the first occurrence of 'disciples,' μαθηταί, the solitary instance (in Acts) of 'the Twelve' (cp Lk. 8 1), the church still meeting as one small body (as against 4 4 5 14), the conception of communal charity (cp COMMUNITY OF GOODS, § 5, and O. Holtzmann, *Ztschr. für Kirchengesch.* 14 327-336), and the strange position of the Seven (ACTS, § 10) who, though ostensibly appointed to the delicate and responsible subordinate task of superintending charity and money-matters (see Field, *Otium Norvicense, pars tertia*, 1899, p. 113), really do as spiritual work[1] as the apostles (cp 6 8 *f.* 8 4 *f.* 21 8; Holtzmann, *HC* 1 2 [1901], 52-54). The irrelevant summary of 6 7 is certainly an editorial addition which, like 5 14, interrupts the run of the narrative. For the increase of the church has nothing to do with what immediately precedes, and the conversion of priests has no connection with what follows. 6 8 *f.* is the original and natural sequel to 6 1-6. 6 1-6 has, indeed, a retrospective glance. It sums up the primitive Jerusalem-period (1 8) of the history, as 6 7—where otherwise the words 'in Jerusalem' (ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ) would be superfluous—is meant definitely to show; but its main object is prospective. The editor's aim is to introduce two new figures in Philip (8 4-39; see col. 3697-8) and especially Stephen (6 8-8 3), whose activities form the pivot of the next stage in the early church's history, as well as to connect Antioch (6 5 11 19-21) with the new mission-impulse. There may be a dramatic touch in 6 1 *f.*, where the preceding outward success of the young church is set beside the first sign of inner friction. Yet the immediate interest of the historian is not this juxtaposition or even the office of the Seven—a vague order, who drop out of sight at once—but with the man who was their most prominent member, and who found before long that his energy led to his arrest 6 8-15.

Like some or all, perhaps, of his fellow-officials Stephen was probably a Hellenist—*i.e.*, a Greek-speaking Jew resident in some Greek city (HELLENISM, § 2)—and it is significant that his opponents (probably including Paul himself, 22 3) came from his compatriots (see LIBERTINES, DISPERSION, §§ 17 *f.*, 22, CILICIA, § 3, PROSELYTE, §§ 3 *f.*, also the Lucan touch in Lk. 21 16, 'delivered up *by kinsmen*'). The circumstances of their origin rendered Hellenists often somewhat suspect in the eyes of rigid Palestinian Jews. Hence, by the operation of a common psychological law, many of them—so far from being more liberal and open-minded—cultivated exceptional strictness and suspiciousness in the practice of their religion. Just as the convert frequently outdoes those born in the faith by his eager zeal to accentuate the difference between his past and his present, so Hellenists were by no means *ipso facto* emancipated from the particularism of the Jewish faith. Their 'colonial life' did not naturally create an atmosphere in which 'the hard lines faded and the ideal depths were opened.'[1] In practice and theory, as the subsequent narrative shows (cp 9 29 21 27 22 3 *f.*), they often attached themselves to the most pronounced and bigoted habits of Judaism practised by the Pharisees. And this throws light at once upon their antipathy to Stephen, who perhaps had set himself to labour among his former associates (6 9 *f.*), no less than upon his own exceptional character. To their scrupulous conscience he appeared a renegade, a discredit to them personally and a revolutionary force within the religious praxis of the nation. They were the first to detect and challenge this liberal preacher, and their antagonism proves that his wider outlook and unique grasp of the spirituality of religion were by no means an inevitable product of his training. As in the case of Paul, so with Stephen: Hellenism furnished merely the soil of the religious growth (6 5 8 10).

2. Acts 6 8-15. The dual nature of the narrative in 6 8-15, fluctuating between the riotous justice of a mob and a trial before the Sanhedrin, is patent.[2] As almost all the critical editors are agreed, the conception of a trial is editorial or subordinate, and the alternatives are to regard the passage as a combination of two sources or as a single source edited and modified. *In the case of a single source, the alterations and* additions (possibly due to a correct enough impression of the speech and situation) are to be found in *vv.* 11 *f.* (13) 15 (in whole or part); so *e.g.*, Weiss, Wendt, and Moffatt. In the case of two sources, it is most tempting to agree with those (Spitta, J. Weiss, Hilgenfeld) who find the second (inferior) source in 12*b*-15 (12*b*-14, Jüngst). The isolated allusion to miracles in *v.* 8, and the better connection of *v.* 9 with either 5 or 7, suggest that *v.* 8 is also editorial.[3] Why the Sanhedrin-notion was introduced, it is not easy to say. Probably the editor regarded the Sanhedrin as the representative body of the Jews, just as he concluded the apostles to stand for the Christian community, and considered that here as hitherto any Jewish prosecution must proceed from or at least through them, to be judicial and regular. Whether this idea was purely pragmatic, or based upon some independent oral

[1] The pragmatism of the editor is shown in 6 6 where he suggests that the apostles' ratification was needed for every new office and departure (cp 13 1-3) in the church (even though in this case the recipients of their blessing were already full of the Spirit, *v.* 5), and that those who afterwards became preachers to the Gentiles were sanctioned by the heads of the Christian community. It is certainly not Stephen's efforts in charity organisation which involve him in the controversy of 6 9 *f.* On the other hand, the incident of this internal discussion and its satisfactory treatment indicates not merely a certain liberality of spirit—however tardy—on the part of the Hebraist majority but also an absence of ecclesiastical pretension on the part of the apostles, since their action showed that the church was to be a church indeed: 'not a mere horde of men ruled absolutely by the Apostles, but a true body politic, in which different functions were assigned to different members' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 52). Both of these ideas were probably present to the editor of Acts (cp CHURCH, § 11). Cp also 1 Pet. 4 11.

[1] Martineau (*Seat of Authority*, 631), who goes on, however, to point out that the fusion of Jewish and heathen thought in Hellenistic culture could not of itself have produced the Christian universalism. That reaches back, past Stephen, to Jesus and 'his infinite longing to open the soul of man to the life in God, unhindered by the mediation of priest and ritual. Thus the fountain of catholicity is in no confluence of philosophic, no combination of external conditions, but in the unique personality of Jesus of Nazareth.'

[2] Similarly in the account given by Josephus (*Ant.* 20 9) of James's murder some thirty years later (see JAMES, § 3; and von Dobschütz, *Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden* (1902), 110 *f.* 121 *f.*, 272). It is curious that these two martyrs, who represented the opposite wings of early Christian sentiment, should die—or be represented as dying—in somewhat similar fashion.

[3] Bacon drastically regards 6 11-7 1 (reproducing Mk. 14 55-60), 7 55-56 58*a*-60 8 1*a c*, 3 (reproducing Acts 22 4 *f.* 20 26 10 Lk. 22 69 23 34 46) as editorial modifications added to bring the speech into line with the general Lucan scheme; whilst the reference to miracles in 6 8 has been substituted for the substance of 9 29 (unhistorically—cp Gal. 1 21-24—transferred to Paul), and the words 'and of them of Cilicia and Asia' (καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ Κιλικίας καὶ Ἀσίας) in 6 9 are an editorial (cp 7 58 8 1) addition to a source which knew of only one synagogue (*i.e.*, an Alexandrian or North African one).

tradition which alluded to an appearance of Stephen before the Sanhedrin, or an inference from the rôle undoubtedly played by it in the subsequent persecution, we are not able to determine. The slight obscurity resting on the details shows that the editor's distance from the period prevented him from supplementing in strictly accurate fashion the gaps in his source. Fortunately the haze does not blur the main outlines of what happened: Stephen's arrest was the result of a popular *émeute*, which restrained itself just long enough to allow him to defend himself before a suspicious and exasperated audience, which numbered—perhaps unofficially—several members of the Sanhedrin.

3. The charge against Stephen. Stephen's persistent propaganda had created quite a new situation. The people (6 12 cp 2 47 5 13) were now up in arms against Christianity, and the charge was both grave and religious. Whether 6 11 or 6 13 *f.* be taken as the original source, the accusation was that of rank blasphemy against the Mosaic law and the temple-cultus. To rigid high-churchmen, like these Pharisaic Hellenists (cp APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, §§ 56, 58), and indeed to the people as a whole, especially in the capital, where prejudices naturally ran hot and hard, it seemed a horrid impiety to suggest that these ancestral privileges (law and cultus) were neither final nor absolutely essential means of grace. Stephen had probably appealed to the authority of certain familiar sayings of Jesus, analogous to, if not identical with, those cited in Mk. 7 13-23 13 2 14 58 (cp 15 29 ||.)[1] Without suggesting that Stephen spoke disrespectfully of the law or of the temple[2]—which would have been untrue to the spirit of Jesus (particularly when Lk. had expressly maintained the genuinely Jewish piety of Jesus and his attendance on the temple, Lk. 2 22-49), as well as out of keeping with the normal tone of contemporary Christianity—Lk. implies that Stephen had assumed an attitude less of antagonism than of comparative indifference to such national institutions, refusing to treat (*e.g.*) the sacrificial system as of absolute validity for Jews who believed in a Messiah about to return and establish a spiritual era. Zealots are angered as much by a refusal to echo their beliefs to the letter as by deliberate opposition; to ignore their tenets is as keen an insult as to attack them; and it is a fair inference from the historical data to assume that the negative and positive aspects of Stephen's preaching were alike interpreted by the sterner fanatics as a danger and a defection. Their fierce attachment resented his looser attitude as bitterly as a Roman procurator's public insults. Like one of their number, who afterwards recanted, they were shrewd enough to anticipate disastrous consequences to Judaism, if such liberal ideas prevailed (Gal. 1 13 *f.*).

4. The speech: its nature. In its extant form the speech put into the mouth of Stephen is, like the other addresses of Acts, the composition of an author who possesses considerable historical insight into his subject; the diction, style, and general standpoint of the address are sufficient to show its Lucan colouring and ability (cp 13 16-41, and the frequent analogies to Lk. 1-2, Acts 7 48 = 17 24, etc.). In the nature of the case, too, it is impossible to think of hearers taking down a verbatim report, or of the author having access to such archives of the court as furnished later martyrologists with graphic and accurate details of a Christian's last defence and struggles. But, from the verisimilitude of the contents as a whole[1] and the points which differentiate it alike from Petrine and from Pauline speeches, it is plain that the source drawn upon by the editor, to say nothing of such oral traditions (from Paul and other eye-witnesses, like Philip) as may have reached him, must have sprung from the vivid memories of some early Christians, possibly Hellenistic refugees at Antioch or Cæsarea; judged on the principles of comparative historical criticism, the speech therefore takes high rank as substantially exact. It is not difficult to suppose that so memorable a death—memorable for its consequences to the early church, as well as for its intrinsic details—made an exceptionally deep impression upon contemporaries,[2] and that this impression passed rapidly into some literary shape. Certainly the speech, as it stands, does not give one the impression of an unpremeditated reply, and (as many scholars have noticed) it hardly lies in line with the historical situation presupposed, even when the latter is critically analysed. But though the report is probably inadequate, it echoes an impromptu survey of history delivered from a familiar position. Elaborate rather than extempore, yet with gaps for all its elaborateness, it is an outline or authentic summary, representing in all likelihood ideas often repeated by Stephen in his synagogue-preaching as he encountered objections urged by people who, in ostentatious reliance upon the authority of Moses, found the rejection of Jesus by his nation an insuperable barrier to faith in him as the true Messiah, and also cavilled at his attitude towards the ancestral law and temple of the land. The speaker does not seize the occasion to preach repentance to the audience. Nor does he even attempt to clear himself specifically from the charges brought against him, being sensible from the first that the case was hopeless. His aim is to say all he has to say,[3] and he manages to do this by giving a reading of history in the light of religious experience—a light that is intensified as the speech proceeds, and hurriedly closes with a flash of lightning.

In several details of this speech, as elsewhere, Acts illustrates

1 Cp Keim, *J. v. Naz.* (ET), 1 71 *f.* 5 226-230. There can be little doubt (but cp SON OF MAN) that Jesus did actually anticipate a messianic triumph for himself which involved at his return the downfall, not merely the supersession, of the Jewish temple; and yet a passage like Rev. 11 1 *f.* indicates how unable certain Judaistic circles of primitive Christianity were to sympathise with this outlook. It is true that, even beyond the Essenes (ESSENES, § 5), there were abroad in Judaism movements of thought which attached quite a subordinate value to the sacrificial cultus and the temple itself (cp Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 1 104 *f.* 391 *f.*). These, however, could hardly be very influential in Jerusalem, although the Alexandrian culture of Stephen probably made him susceptible to such tendencies parallel with the teaching of Jesus. He does not notice, what a modern reader would be impressed by, that the very temple in question (6 13) had been erected by a man whose sympathies could not be termed—in any sense of the term—Jewish by conviction (see ISRAEL, § 88). A rather ancient reading which adds, after 'nation' (ἔθνος) in Lk. 23 2, 'and destroying the law and the prophets' (καὶ καταλύοντα τὸν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας)—is found not only in some Latin MSS but also in Marcion.

2 The greater prominence assigned to the temple in Stephen's oration is due historically to the fact that Jesus, to whom he appealed as his authority, had—once at least—spoken more explicitly upon the cultus than upon the law, and intrinsically to the fact that the one involved the other. Since the exile 'the cultus was but a portion of the law, to be minutely maintained no doubt, but maintained because the law ordained it. God's glory and Israel's were realised, not in the temple-worship, but in the fulfilment of the law of which that worship was but a part' (Montefiore, *Hibbert Lect.* 387). Notice that if Lk. omits Mt. 17 24-27 he also omits Mt. 12 6. On the early Christian conception of God's spirituality and the universalism it implied, see Titius, *Die vulgäre Anschauung von der Seligkeit im Urchrist.* 8 *f.* (1900).

1 'In psychological truth it has not its like in all Acts' (Spitta, 117). At the same time this long speech, the longest in the whole book, is evidently meant and (less evidently) arranged by the author to subserve the general apologetic motives of the volume. The writer's sense of the situation and the literary ability he displays here are the kind of evidence which makes it not irrelevant to say that Acts is 'the only one of the NT books which anyone would think of calling clever' (W. H. Simcox, *Early Church History*, 41).

2 It is certain, however, that Stephen died under the stones. The narrative lends no support to the idea (Wendt) that he recovered (cp 14 19 *f.*) in time to breathe his last among pious Christians who heard him repeat his testimony. The devout men who buried him were, in all likelihood, respectable Jews who had little or no sympathy with the fanatical excesses of their fellow-citizens.

3 Consonant with the Lucan idea of Lk. 21 13, where the sense of Mk. 13 9 is altered into that of arrest giving an opportunity for witnessing to the gospel.

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the midrashic tendency which had already embellished OT stories with rabbinic modifications and enlargements (see CHRONICLES, § 6, HISTORICAL LITERATURE, §§ 14 *f.*). No significance attaches to the apparent confusion of Horeb and Sinai (7 29 *f.*, cp Ex. 3 1; MIDIAN, SINAI), the use of the round number 400 in *v.* 6 (as occasionally in Josephus), the divergence between 7 29 and Ex. 2 14 *f.* (cp Heb. 11 27), the loose version of 2 S. 7 2 *f.* in Acts 7 46 and of Ex. 1 16 22 in Acts 7 19, or the alteration of 'Damascus' into 'Babylon' (*v.* 43). Other variations and innovations,[1] however, are more serious. Thus (*a*) in 7 2 the theophany to Abraham is antedated (as by Philo and Josephus), nor can an interpolation (Blass, *St. Kr.* 1896, 460 *f.*) be suspected; (*b*) Terah's initiative is ignored and his death antedated in 7 4 (as in Philo; see rabbinic traditions cited by Hamburger on this point); (*c*) Jacob's family is numbered (*v.* 14) not after the Massoretic (70=Gen. 46 27 Ex. 1 5) but after the 𝔊 text (75: known already to Philo); (*d*) Shechem is confused (*v.* 16) with Machpelah in Hebron, and all the patriarchs—instead of Joseph only—buried at Shechem (perhaps a Lucan home-thrust [see GOSPELS, § 109] at the contempt felt by rigid Jews for the Samaritans; see Lk. 9 51 *f.* 10 33 17 11 *f.* Acts 1 8 8 4 *f.*), a curious divergence not only from the OT narrative but even from the tradition followed by Josephus who buries them all at Hebron (*Ant.* ii. 8 2); (*e*) *vv.* 20-24 are tinged with the Jewish legends (MOSES, §§ 20 *f.*), current also in Philo and Josephus, upon Moses' beauty, eloquence (in contradiction to Ex. 4 10 *f.*), wisdom, and martial prowess, *v.* 25 (acquitting Moses of rash violence and making his chivalrous interference the first step in the deliverance) being reproduced from the tradition in Philo, *Vit. Mos.* 1 8 *f.* and Jos. *Ant.* ii. 9 2 *f.*; (*f*) the rabbinic division of the lawgiver's life into three periods of forty years each, is followed in *vv.* 23 36; (*g*) the 'Red Sea' (*v.* 36) is an Alexandrian touch (Wisd. 10 18 19 7 1 Macc. 4 2 Heb. 11 29), taken evidently from *Ass. Mos.* 3 10 *f.* 'nonne hoc est quod testabatur nobis tum Moyses in profetiis, qui multa passus est in Ægypto et in mari rubro et in eremo annos quadraginta'; (*h*) the association of angelic agency with the law (7 36 53), though free from the depreciatory spirit of Gal. 3 29 Heb. 2 2, etc., is like them (cp Everling, *Die paul. Angelologie*, 61-65) due to the rabbinic development of Dt. 33 2 𝔊 (cp Jos. *Ant.* xv. 5 3); and (*i*) the citation from Amos in *vv.* 42 *f.* reproduces the mistranslation of an obscure and corrupt original (cp AMOS, § 13, CHIUN, MOLECH, § 1), Stephen arguing—in opposition to the normal and traditional view—that while the wilderness period had its divine means of grace (*v.* 44), it was yet a period of idolatry and apostasy punished by the Exile.

Such phenomena, though quite minor in importance, indicate a speaker or an author who is drawing upon his memory of popular religious tales and has been trained in the spirit of that Alexandrian Judaism which, for all its reverence, could sit wonderfully free to the letter and even the traditions of the OT records.

In his brilliant and skilful address (7 2-8 9-16 17-43 44-50 51-53), Stephen urges one or two extremely effective and apposite arguments, which amount to a counter-accusation against his opponents. In the opening sketch of patriarchal history, which is quite in keeping with the sententious and discursive style often affected by Orientals in unfolding some grave issue, the speaker is mainly concerned to explain the origin of the covenant and promise[2] which culminated in the Mosaic legislation and the Solomonic temple. But he manages indirectly to express his personal reverence for God (6 11, cp 7 2 55) and the temple (6 13, cp 7 7), as well as the common ancestry of Jew and Christian alike (*our* father, 7 2, cp 12, etc., also Lk. 1 73). Then comes the development of two leading ideas; one already suggested, the other novel, yet both showing his desire to justify himself by an appeal to the original basis and trend of OT revelation. (*a*) Charged with depreciating

5. Midrashic elements.

6. Contents.

[1] The use of ἐκκλησία (38, cp 8 1 3) is deliberate. The author hints at the normal position of the early Christians, who never dreamed of founding a sect but of continuing and developing the ancient people of God—to whom they served themselves as lineal heirs.

[2] Cp Rom. 9 4 'Israelites, whose is the glory [Acts 7 2] and the covenants [cp Acts 7 8] and the giving of the law [Acts 7 38 53], and the [divine] service [Acts 7 7] and the promises' [Acts 7 5]—(Ἰσραηλῖται, ὧν ἡ δόξα, καὶ αἱ διαθῆκαι, καὶ ἡ νομοθεσία, καὶ ἡ λατρεία καὶ αἱ ἐπαγγελίαι). The allusion to the other prerogative of the 'inheritance' (ἡ κληρονομία, Acts 7 5) is too incidental to afford any basis for a theory (Bacon) which regards this section in the speech as an attempt to show the Alexandrian spiritualising of the territorial 'inheritance' into a non-local worship (Lk. 1 73-75). 7 5 is answered by 7 45. Stephen does not, like the author of *Ep. Barn.*, spiritualise 'the inheritance' by denying any local material fulfilment of it; he merely argues that, however real, the local and national culmination of it in the history of Israel was not final, implying that its fulfilment lay in the far future (cp Heb. 4 1 *f.* 8-11).

the temple, he argues (40-43 44-50) that neither law nor temple had come until comparatively late in the national history, the temple in fact only in Solomon's reign; yet, previously to that, the spiritual revelation of God had been carried on in foreign lands (for Abraham, *v.* 2, Moses, *vv.* 30 33, and Israel, *v.* 38). Even the temple itself, as the prophets testified, formed no adequate or absolute medium for such a spiritual revelation (the tacit inference being, of course, that it could not therefore be any blasphemy or treachery to OT religion to assert, as Jesus had done, that even the temple was not indispensable or final).[1] And as for the law of Moses (*b*), with its divine vitality and power (to which, answering 6 13 *f.*, Stephen does ample justice, 38 53), not only had it, like the temple, been preceded by revelations (*e.g.*, of circumcision), but its founder had been misunderstood (7 25 Lk. 2 50), rejected, and thwarted by the very people (in Egypt 24-35, in the wilderness 36-39) to whom God had sent him as ruler and redeemer. Thankless, perverse, and obtuse: such had been their nature all along. Hence their failure to welcome Jesus with his authority and creative power to establish a new and final form of worship which should correspond to the ideal of the OT. This resistance, so far from being loyalty to religion, spelt both unfaithfulness and disaster to it, representing indeed a conservatism to the letter and the form of religion which the fresh and fuller current of the spirit would leave stranded. Moses predicted[2] that the Messiah would be a second Moses, and Stephen argues vehemently (in quite a characteristic Lucan fashion, cp Lk. 16 29 *f.* 24 27 *f.* Acts 28 23, etc.) that the true observance of the Law would lead its devotees to Jesus (51-53): real loyalty to the Law and the prophets culminates in Christian faith, the line of continuity running from the OT prophets to the gospel of Christ. Whereas, he grimly suggests, Jesus had been indeed a second Moses:[3] his rejection, due to the same obstinacy and rebellious spirit (51 *f.*) that Moses and his successors[4] (52) encountered, is really a proof of his genuine Messiahship. In short, the argument ends with a flashing retort. Stephen hurls back the charge of disloyalty on his accusers, implying, in characteristically Alexandrian and yet also in OT fashion, that the Jewish

[1] Stephen's reference to the Solomonic temple is curt and cool, but intended to depict its relative worth rather than its utter incompatibility with OT religion. His point, driven home by the citation from Is. 66 1 *f.*, is that God is not bound to the temple in Jerusalem, but free to reveal himself in wider and less external ways; compared to the spiritual worship of God given by Jesus (4 1 48), even the temple service is merely another golden calf. It is obvious that, in a book circulated after 70 A.D., this line of argument would be specially apt, proving that the destruction of the temple was no irreparable loss to religion.

[2] *v.* 37 is of cardinal moment to the argument of the speech in its extant form, since it destroys the Jewish claim that the Mosaic cultus and legislation were final. The prophet-Messiah, as a second Moses, at least equal to the first in authority, must have the right to supersede or transcend previous revelations. True, the Jews had rejected him whom Stephen claimed as the true Messiah. But that was no decisive argument against him, for they had done the same to the first Moses. Thus, although *v.* 37 has all the appearance of a parenthesis or editorial addition of Lk., even so it would only sharpen an idea already present in the original and (like 6 11) reflect a correct reading of the primitive source.

[3] So the Lucan addition (7 10) 'and wisdom' καὶ σοφίαν (cp 22)=Lk. 2 40 52 (Bacon)? The idea dominates the *Clementine Recognitions* (*e.g.*, 1 36). Cp Acts 3 13 *f.*=7 35 (Lk. 6 22 *f.*). Of course the Messianic interpretation of Dt. 18 15 *f.*, reproduced in Acts 7 37, is a misapplication of the original sense, which refers not to an individual but to a succession or order of prophets in Israel.

[4] Why the prophets (42-52)? Because (WRS, *OTJC*, 294 *f.*) they had vainly but vigorously protested against the formal tendencies of OT piety which with the temple became crystallised into yet more ceremonial worship. Without pronouncing the establishment of the temple itself a fresh token of the nation's sensuous bias, the speaker plainly hints that the Levitical ritual had thereby acquired a fatal prominence which tended to obliterate that spiritual worship for which the prophets stood, and to produce the further effect of rendering the worshippers incapable of estimating God's better and spiritual revelation.

rejection of Jesus was an integral part of the sensuous temper and externalism with which they had all along been blind and dull to the spiritual significance of the Law and the prophets.[1] Circumcision they had had; but it had brought no moral devotion (8, 58). Prophets they had had; yet only to disbelieve and persecute (37 42 48 52). A spiritual and heavenly law (λόγια ζῶντα, 'vim vitalem habentes,' Blass) they had received;[2] yet only to prove unfaithful to it (38 *f.*, 53) by turning it into a dead letter.

7. Acts 7 54-8 3. As we possess only an epitome of the speech, it is useless to inquire whether *vv.* 51-53[3] imply some interruption on the part of the angry audience, now awakening to the speaker's drift, or whether some part of the source has been omitted by the editor (Schwanbeck). The words are abrupt and final. This curt, stinging thrust, which formed the climax of the harangue, roused a heat of anger in the audience which, at Stephen's further blasphemous cry (56), passed into a scream of horror. Nothing is said about any formal conviction before the Sanhedrin. The offender is simply stoned to death outside the city—the regular method and place of punishment for blasphemy (Lev. 24 14-16, cp Lk. 4 29).

For the Jews to put any criminal thus to death upon their own responsibility was utterly illegal (cp Jn. 18 31); and the difficulty of the story is enhanced by the absence of any explicit evidence to show that a year or two after the death of Jesus Roman authority in the capital was seriously relaxed, or that—as afterwards (61, 62 A.D.) at the murder of James the brother of Jesus—an interregnum between two procurators was taken advantage of, or that the sentence of the Sanhedrin was formally connived at, if not ratified, by the Roman officials. At the same time, the broad unquestionable fact that the Jews proceeded to persecute the Christians without hindrance, whilst the Christians not merely fled from Jerusalem, where the Roman power was strong, but never had recourse to the civil power as a shield against their tormentors, suggests that the Jewish authorities must have had some sanction or other[4] for their outburst, although the historian—wishing perhaps[5] to convey the impression that such

1 Stephen makes no attempt to explain the cause of this obduracy. He seems to regard it as innate. In *Ep. Barn.* 9 *f.*, where the allegorical interpretation of the Mosaic customs is propounded as their original sense, the failure of the Jews to apprehend this is attributed to the influence of an evil angel (ἐσόφιζεν αὐτούς) and to their lapse into idolatry. Stephen's speech, upon the other hand (as Sabatier rightly points out), is at once the complement and the development of Jesus' parable in Lk. 20 9 *f.* As a historical retrospect it is unduly severe; but as a word for the immediate situation of the speaker it possessed a telling force. The thought of 7 51 *f.* is remarkably in line (cp O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, 336) with Lk. 13 34 *f.* (cp 11 49), where Jesus speaks in the name of God, who has repeatedly sent messengers to the Jews, and finally the Messiah, only to meet the same fate. See *Ep. Barn.* 5 11 'So the Son of God came in the flesh in order that he might sum up and complete the sins of those who persecuted his prophets to the death.'

2 Stephen does not go nearly as far as *Ep. Barn.* (4 6-8) which flatly denies that the Jews possessed the real law of God: 'ours it is, they lost it' by the idolatrous aberration mentioned in Acts 7 39-41. He distinctly upholds the living authority of the Law (in contrast to Paul, Gal. 3 21); only, whilst *Ep. Barn.* 14 1-4 denies that the Jews ever got this divine covenant, Stephen argues that they got it and failed to keep it (Acts 7 53). So 4 Esd. 14 29 *f.* from the Jewish standpoint: 'our fathers received the law of life which they kept not, which ye also have transgressed after them'; also Acts 15 10.

3 Lucan close to original (48-50), Holtzmann, *ZWT* (1885), 434-438. McGiffert finds in them the theme of the speech, viz., that temple-worship is not enough, demanding obedient and spiritual hearts among the worshippers. But there is nothing distinctively Christian in such an attitude.

4 Though this finds no support in the words 'I gave my vote,' κατήνεγκα ψῆφον (26 10), which are merely a rhetorically vivid expression of agreement (8 1). Paul was not a member of the Sanhedrin.

5 Consonant with his usual tendency to emphasise the Jews as the real enemies of the faith and to avoid blaming the Roman authorities. The first martyrdom of Christianity was brought about by false evidence and tumultuous justice on the part of the Jewish authorities (as 12 1 *f.*, etc.), and betokened no collision of the Roman authorities with the new faith.

violence was illegal—has failed to notice it. The fairest solution of the critical problem is to suppose that Stephen perished in a fanatical riot, the account of which ended with 8 2. The editor, however, has added not merely 6 11 *f.*, 15 but also 7 58 8 1*b*, 3 to the original source, drawing in the latter interpolations upon a tradition which was no doubt accurate.

The editorial hand, or a different source, in at least 7 58 8 1*b*, 3 is widely recognised—*e.g.* by Bleek, Weiss (adding 7 55 59*b c*), Clemen, Sorof, Krüger (*TLZ* 1885, 299), Wendt, Hilgenfeld (adding 56, 59), Schmiedel (ACTS, § 10), Moffatt (*Historical New Test.*, 429, 431, 667-670), and Bacon. Originally the source (58 *f.*) ran 'they stoned Stephen,' etc. (ἐλιθοβόλουν τὸν Στέφανον κ.τ.λ.); the insertion of 58*b* left 'stoned' without an object, and necessitated its repetition awkwardly in 59. Again 8 1*a* is obviously parenthetic, whilst 8 3 repeats the proleptic 8 1*b c* unless the latter be also excised (as by Weiss and Schmiedel). It is plain that Stephen died, not on the testimony of witnesses (6 13 7 58*b*), but on account of his own recent word and confession. The references to Saul, which are quite authentic, link the source to what follows, and it is needless to dwell on the dramatic effect[1] of this silent figure watching the opening struggle of a campaign in which he himself was presently to play so diverse and prominent a part.[2] A similar result in general is reached by those who bisect the whole narrative—*e.g.*, Feine (6 1-6 12-14 7 2-21 29-34 44-50 57 *f.* 8 1*a* 3 with 6 11 15 7 22-28 35-43 51-53 54-56 59 *f.* 8 1*b*-2), Jüngst (6 9 *f.* 12*c*-14 7 1-21 29-34 44-50 58*b*-60 8 1*b c*, with 6 1-6, 7*b c*-8 11 15 7 22-28 35-43 51-58*a* 8 1*a* 2-3), and Spitta (6 1-6 9-12*a* 7 2-54 57-58*a* 8 1*b*-2, with 6 7 *f.* 12*b*-15 7 1 55 *f.* 58*b*-60 8 1*a* 3), or by less radical investigators such as Blass (7 59*b*, a Lucan touch) and Ramsay (7 58 8 1, Lucan touches reproducing Paul's agonised confession when Philip narrated the episode, 6 9-8 39, at Cæsarea). If one is disinclined to follow those who (Spitta, J. Weiss, Hilgenfeld, etc.) adhere to the substantial integrity, as to the historicity, of the speech, the most tenable alternative is to consider that it represents a single source more or less edited (B. Weiss, Wendt, Holtzmann): it is quite in keeping with the author's practice in the third gospel (Wernle, *Synoptische Frage*, 18, cp 146) to deal more freely with narratives than with discourses in the traditional materials which lay before him.

The chief linguistic terms characteristic of 6 1-8 3 (especially in the speech), which do not recur elsewhere either in Acts or in the rest of the NT literature, are:—'defend,' †ἀμύνω (7 24); 'murder,' †ἀναίρεσις (8 1); 'resist,' †ἀντιπίπτω (7 51); 'uncir-

1 The whole story is full of admirable effects produced by an author who could write effectively as well as piously; *e.g.*, the literary art shown in the sonorous opening of the speech, dramatic touches like the glow of 6 15, '*they understood not*,' '*and kept it not*,' and '*he fell asleep*' (contrasting this death with the three already mentioned, viz., Judas, Ananias, and Sapphira), the vision of 7 59 with Jesus *standing* (not 'sitting' as usual) to welcome his martyr (cp Rev. 5 6), the contrast of Stephen's denunciation and his forgiving spirit, and the oratorical handling of the various themes in the harangue. 7 59 *f.* seems to echo a belief that the spirits of the dead (especially the martyrs) passed directly to God: cp Titius, 45; Schür. *Hist.* ii. 2 180.

2 See PAUL, § 7. Mommsen (*ZNW*, 1901, 85 *f.*), taking ἐν τῷ γένει μου (Gal. 1 14) in its local sense (=birthplace, cp Acts 4 26 18 2 24), considers that Paul directed his attack upon the separatists (including *e.g.*, Andronicus and Junias? Rom. 16 7) in Tarsus; which gives a good sense to Gal. 1 22, but hardly fits in with Acts 8 3 9 1 *f.* In a famous passage (Essay on 'Secret Societies,' *Works* [1863] 6 285-289) de Quincey discusses the uneasiness and fascination stirred by such martyrdoms in some of the more thoughtful spectators, and argues that the radiant countenance of Stephen 'bringing down to earth some revelation of a brightness in the sky, the fountains of which were intercepted to Paul, perplexed him; haunted him sleeping, troubled him when awake. . . . Upon this we may be sure that Paul brooded intensely, and that the noonday scene on the road to Damascus did but quicken and ante-date a result which would at any rate have followed in the end.' [Cp col. 4081 *f.*] The psychological nexus, alluded to in this passage, is reflected in the narratives of Acts, and probably formed one of the subordinate aims which the writer had in view as he fused the Stephen-source and the Pauline tradition together. See further below.

STEPHEN

cumcised,' †ἀπερίτμητος (7 51); 'gnash,' †βρύχω (7 54); 'come after,' διαδέχομαι (7 45); 'umpire,' †δικαστής (7 27 35); 'expose,' ἔκθετος (7 19); 'coming,' ἔλευσις (7 52): 'thrust out,' ἐξωθέω (7 45 [27 39 ?]); 'beyond,' †ἐπέκεινα (7 43); 'daily,' καθημερινός (6 1); 'ill-usage,' †κάκωσις (7 34);

8. Linguistic features of narrative.

'deal craftily,' †κατασοφίζομαι (7 19); 'possession, †κατάσχεσις (7 5 45); 'lamentation,' †κοπετός (8 2); 'ravage,' λυμαίνομαι (8 3); 'redeemer,' †λυτρωτής (7 35; cp Heb. 9 12 Lk. 1 68 2 38); 'remove,' †μετοικίζω (7 4 43); 'make a calf,' μοσχοποιέω (7 41); 'neglect,' παραθεωρέω (6 1); 'corn,' σιτίον (7 12); 'stiffnecked,' †σκληροτράχηλος (7 51); 'stir up,' συγκινέω (6 12); 'bury,' συγκομίζω (8 2); 'set at one,' συναλλάσσω (7 26); 'slain beast,' †σφάγιον (7 42); 'suborn,' ὑποβάλλω (6 11); 'sustenance,' †χόρτασμα (7 11); 'buy,' †ὠνέομαι (7 16); 'appeared,' †ὤφθη (of sudden human appearance, 7 26). Of these 31, no fewer than 18 (marked †) come from the LXX or Philo, a fact which (especially as the citations are loose and unintentional) corroborates the impression of Hellenistic or Alexandrian colour.[1] Even more remarkable is the absence of such distinctively Lucan traits as ἄν with optative, δὲ καί, ἐγένετο with infinitive, ἐν τῷ with infinitive, καθ' ἡμέραν, καὶ αὐτός, ὀνόματι, πᾶς (ἅπας) ὁ λαός, τις with a noun, and τὸ or τὰ before prepositions.

At the same time, the Lucan phraseology of the passage shows that if a written source underlies the record it has been worked over[2] by the editor: see the following favourite or characteristic Lucan traits (words peculiar to Lk.-Acts marked with an asterisk)—'holy,' ἅγιος (6 13 7 33); 'bring,' ἄγω (6 12); [ἀνάγω 7 41]; 'bring up,' *ἀνατρέφω (7 20); 'men brethren,' ἄνδρες ἀδελφοί (7 2); 'look steadily,' ἀτενίζω (6 15 7 55); 'till,' ἄχρι (7 18); 'and there arose,' ἐγένετο δέ (8 1); 'babe,' βρέφος (7 19); 'ministry,' διακονία (6 1 4); 'open,' διανοίγω (7 56); 'cut,' *διαπρίω (7 54); 'scatter abroad,' *διασπείρω (8 1); 'arrange,' διατάσσω (7 44); 'just,' *δικαίος (Messianic title, 3 14 7 52 22 14); 'seventy,' *ἑβδομήκοντα (7 14); εἰμί with dative (7 5 44); εἶπεν δὲ (7 1 33); 'expose,' *ἐκτίθημι (7 21); 'before,' ἐνώπιον (6 5 *f.*, 7 46); 'the following [day],' *τῇ ἐπιούσῃ [ἡμέρᾳ] (7 26); 'in those days,' ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις (6 1); 'send forth,' ἐξαποστέλλω (7 12); 'year,' ἔτος (7 6 34 42); 'devout,' *εὐλαβής (8 2); 'find grace,' εὑρίσκω χάριν (7 46 Lk. 1 30, cp Heb. 4 16); 'rejoice,' εὐφραίνω (7 41); 'come upon,' ἐφίστημι (6 12); 'having kneeled down,' θεὶς τὰ γόνατα (7 60 cp Lk. 22 41); 'named,' καλούμενος (7 58); 'behold,' κατανοέω (7 31, cp Heb. 3 1 9 24); 'famine,' λιμός (7 11); 'after these things,' μετὰ ταῦτα (7 7); 'summon,' *μετακάλεω (7 14); 'month,' μήν (7 20); 'young man,' *νεανίας (7 58); νομίζω = suppose (7 25 = Lk. 2 44); 'now,' νῦν (7 4 34 52); 'house of Israel,' οἶκος Ἰσραήλ (7 42); 'with one accord,' ὁμοθυμαδόν (7 57); 'sight,' ὅραμα (7 31); ὅς in attraction (7 16 *f.* 45); 'at the feet,' παρὰ τοὺς πόδας (7 58); πλῆθος (6 2 5 = community, Deissm. *Neue Bibelstudien*, 59); 'multiply,' πληθύνω (6 1); 'except,' πλήν (8 1); 'full of the [Holy] Spirit,' πλήρης πνευμ. [ἁγίου] (6 3 5 7 55); 'avenge,' *ποιεῖν ἐκδίκησίν τινος (Lk. 18 7 *f.* Acts 7 24); 'betrayer,' προδότης (7 52 Lk. 6 16 2 Tim. 3 4 only); 'show before,' *προκαταγγέλλω (7 52); 'go before,' *προπορεύω (7 10 Lk. 1 76); 'unto,' πρός, of speech (7 3); 'word,' ῥῆμα (6 11); 'host,' *στρατία (7 42 Lk. 2 13); 'kindred,' *συγγένεια (7 3 14 Lk. 1 61); σύν (7 35); 'seize,' *συναρπάζω (6 12); 'approve,' συνευδοκέω (8 1); 'stop,' συνέχω (7 57); 'deliverance,' σωτηρία (7 25 Lk. 1 71); τε (6 7 12 7 26 8 3); 'of forty years,' *τεσσερακονταέτης (7 23, cp 13 18); τοῦ with infinitive (7 19); τοῦτον = him (7 35, cp 2 23 5 31); ὑπάρχω (7 55); '[the] Most High,' *[ὁ] ὕψιστος (7 48, cp Lk. 1 32 Heb. 7 1); 'voice,' φωνή with γίγνομαι (7 31); 'keep,' φυλάσσω (7 53, cp Lk. 11 28); 'widow,' χήρα (6 1); 'region,' χώρα (8 1); ὡς = when (7 23); ὡσεί (6 15), impf. with ptc. (8 1); besides the proper names like 'Libertine,' *Λιβερτῖνος; 'Chaldæan,' Χαλδαῖος; 'Hellenist,' Ἑλληνιστής; and 'Rephan,' Ῥεφάν; the phrase 'Son of Man' (7 56 = Lk. 22 69, almost only use of name outside gospels), 7 9 = 5 17 (Clem. Rom. 4 *f.*); the conception of Jesus as the prophet like Moses (7 37, cp 3 22 and Lk. 7 16 39 16 29 *f.* 24 27), Acts 7 27 = Lk. 12 14; ἀκούειν with ptc. (7 12, cp Lk. 4 23), Acts 6 10 = Lk. 21 15 Acts 7 22 = Lk. 24 19—'preserve alive,' ζωογονεῖσθαι (Lk. 17 33 Acts 7 19 1 Tim. 6 13, only); 'visit,' ἐπισκέψασθαι (7 23, cp Lk. 1 78 7 16); and one instance of the Lucan partiality for Is. 40-66 (Acts 7 47 *f.*; as in Barn. 16 2 with ἢ τίς for καὶ ποῖος and οὐχί for γάρ).

9. Significance of episode.

The significance of this episode for early Christianity is thus twofold. It formed one of those outstanding crises when, as the historian of Acts loved to show, the fanatical and malicious opposition of Judaism to the new faith only served to accelerate the extension of that faith to the Gentiles. But, further, it was an epoch when persecution broke upon the Church in general as well as upon individuals, owing to the fact that the Jewish authorities for the first time (within a year or so of the Crucifixion—*i.e.*, 30-31 A.D.)[1] realised the radical consequences of the gospel as preached by more outspoken Christians, who could appeal honestly to the authority of Jesus himself. Hitherto these distinctive principles of Christianity, with their far-reaching issues, had been tolerated mainly because they had not been adequately expressed. Hence the fitful and comparatively ineffective attempts of the authorities to keep the new movement in check, as well as the general popularity enjoyed by the Nazarenes in Jerusalem. The twelve lacked neither courage nor sincerity. For various reasons, however, they do not appear to have shown anything of the same insight into the tradition of Jesus which they preserved, as outsiders like Stephen, Philip, and Paul. Upon men like these fell the brunt of the advance which had to be made, if Christianity was ever to be anything more than a Jewish sect. With the spiritual freedom and universal range of the new faith, as urged by Stephen and others, the twelve probably were in essential sympathy; indeed there is every reason to suppose that Stephen carried the majority (yet cp 21 20-22) of the church, willingly or reluctantly, with him in his outspoken statements. It is one thing, however, to approve a course of action, another and a nobler thing to start it. All credit for the more difficult step, with the wisdom and courage which it involved at this period, is due to Stephen, whose stand had a further liberating effect—hardly contemplated by himself—of forcing the early Christians into a consciousness of their real relation to the orthodox Judaism, side by side with which most of them had hitherto lived in peace. The break had to come, although as yet both sides had been for different reasons slow to disturb the *status quo*.[2] 'There is an inner freedom which may grow side by side with an allegiance fostered by birth and custom, prejudice and piety. But men first become conscious of this freedom when a demand is made that restricts it, or when it is assailed on account of some consequence already deduced from it by the enemy, but not as yet patent to the mind that cherishes it' (Weizsäcker). Such an awakening came to early Christianity at the martyrdom of Stephen. He first expressed a latent antithesis of principle, grasping the gospel of Jesus with a thoroughness and penetration which enabled him to formulate certain questions, afterwards elaborated differently yet along the same line by one who had been an accomplice in his murder. This is all the more remarkable, because the stimulus originally came not—as in later controversies—out of practical exigencies due to the unlimited preaching of the gospel, but entirely from the inward fidelity of one man (who had not belonged to the original disciples) to the principle of religious freedom in the spirit and sayings of Jesus.[3]

The dependence of the Stephen-narrative upon several of the best authenticated portions of the Synoptic tradition (for the Johannine, see Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* [ET], 2 35 *f.*) has been already noted;[4] the general similarity of several details in the accounts of his death and of the trial of Jesus (*e.g.*, Lk. 22 66 =

[1] Peculiar to Hebrews and Lk.-Acts (including Acts 6-8 3) are: 'goodly,' ἀστεῖος; 'star,' ἄστρον; 'custom,' ἔθος (except Jn. 19 40); 'bring in,' εἰσάγειν-εσθαι (except Jn. 18 16); 'trembling for fear,' ἔντρομος; Red Sea, Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα; 'devout,' εὐλαβής (group); 'he that bears rule,' ἡγούμενος (except Mt. 2 6 citation); 'rest,' καταπαύειν -σις; 'change,' or 'remove,' μετατιθέναι (except Jude 4); sojourn -er, παροικέω -ος (literal sense): 'patriarch,' πατριάρχης; *hand* of God (except 1 Pet. 5 6); 'made with hands,' χειροποίητος of temple (except Mk. 14 58). See also Acts 7 44 = Heb. 8 2-5.

[2] This is perhaps betrayed also in the occasional roughnesses of construction—*e.g.*, the change of subject in 4 ('removed,' μετῴκισεν), 8 ('begat,' ἐγέννησεν), and 10 ('made,' κατέστησεν), though Weiss goes too far in taking passages like 10 *c*-16 and 19 5-23 *a*, 26-29, 36 *f.*, as editorial additions inserted in view of Lk.'s Gentile-Christian audience.

[1] One early tradition, followed by Usuardus, Petavius, and other mediæval and later scholars, put Stephen's martyrdom in the same year as the Ascension.

[2] As the subsequent history, down to the third century, shows, there was a recurring tendency to gravitate back into Judaism on the part of certain Christian circles (cp Harnack's *Dogmengeschichte*, ET 1 294 *f.*).

[3] In its account of the persecutions conducted by that 'inimicus homo' (*i.e.*, Paul), *Clem. Recogn.* 1 70 *f.*, like Hegesippus, ignores Stephen; James is for Hegesippus the protomartyr, though in Eus. *HE* v. 2 5 Stephen reappears as the model witness of Christ.

[4] It depends upon the critical view taken of Jn. 4 21-24, whether that passage be regarded as a later expansion of the idea suggested in Acts 7 48 *f.*, or as embodying a genuine logion of Jesus (cp Jn. 2 19-22) to the effect that only spiritual worship in his name answered to the true ideal of the OT revelation.

Acts 6 12) is not unnatural in a historian who is concerned to describe how loyalty to the authority and ideas of the great proto-Martyr brought one of his followers to a like fate. Such conformation was inevitable, though it is not easy to determine how far it was conscious and literary. It is distinctly curious, however, that false witnesses and an allusion to Jesus' saying about the temple should be introduced here by an author who deliberately omits both facts from his narrative of Jesus' trial; and also that the authentic saying on the Cross (Lk. 23 34*a*)—which does not form part of the original third gospel (see *Hist. New Test.* 654)—should be reflected in Acts 7 60 (cp Lk. 6 28, Acts 3 17 13 27), just as it was actually quoted by the brother of Jesus at his martyrdom (*ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων κύριε θεέ πάτερ ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἴδασι τί ποιοῦσιν*, cp § 2), and by the Lyons martyrs (Eus. *HE* v. 2 5). There is one very significant change, however, in Acts 7 59 (= Lk. 23 46), emphasised by the preceding words 'calling upon,' *ἐπικαλούμενον* (sc. Ἰησοῦν). The similar parallels between Stephen and Paul (6 13 = 21 28 6 9 = 21 21 27, cp 24 12) are of no literary significance whatever, nor is Stephen's speech a literary expansion of certain Pauline ideas. For, whilst criticism has learned to do justice to the powerful impression (see above; also R. H. Hutton's *Theological Essays*, 318 *f.*, and Feine, *Das Gesetzesfreies Evang. des Paulus*, 1899, pp. 16 *f.* 88 *f.*) made by Stephen's religious consciousness upon Paul, Stephen cannot be described as a forerunner of Paul without serious limitations. In Stephen an original element worked like a ferment, which differentiated him not simply from his leading contemporaries, but from the line subsequently followed by Paul. The very occurrence of similar ideas—*e.g.*, in Rom. 9-11 (Acts 7 52 = 1 Thess. 2 14 *f.*, see Origen on Mt. 13 57)—is one of several proofs that such ideas were widespread in certain circles of early Christianity, and the points of difference are upon the whole more tangible than the points in common between the two men. Paul was not interested in the cultus-question at all; Stephen was. Yet Stephen never raised the question of the Gentiles,[1] as Paul did from the first. Nor did he, like Paul in general, view the Law as superseded by grace; in Hellenistic fashion Stephen traces a spiritual current through Jewish history, believing that a proper interpretation of the Law, and obedience to the spirit, would have saved the Jews from their ancient lapses, even from the culminating lapse at the crucifixion. *Per contra*, as has been already indicated (§§ 3, 6), Stephen had not advanced to the position which in later writers may be termed distinctively Alexandrian.

The scanty and worthless legends upon Stephen, collected by Tillemont (*Mémoires*; Eng. ed. 1735, pp. 353-359), mainly cluster round the place and time of his death, and the finding of his relics. According to one tradition of the fifth century, he was buried, thanks to the friendly intervention of Gamaliel, at Kafr Gamala in presence of the lamenting apostles. His festival seems to have been held generally on the 26th of December, the day following Christmas; which occasioned Augustine's saying that unless God had first become man to die for men, men would never have found courage to die for God. Epiphanius (*Hær.* 20 4) numbers Stephen among the Seventy, and one curious tradition (followed by Dante, *Purg.* 15) describes him as a youth.

10. Bibliography. In addition to the critical editions of Acts, *ad loc.*, the monographs on source-criticism (ACTS, § 11), and various biographies of Paul, see especially *Baur's *Paulus* (ET), 1 39-62; *Zeller's *Contents and Origin of Acts* (ET) 1 237-246 2 175-176; Ewald's *History of Israel*, ET 7 155-164; Gfrörer, *Die heilige Sage* (1838), 1 408 *f.*; Renan, *Les Apôtres*, chap. 8; Rauch, *St.Kr.* (1857), 352-368; F. Nitzsch, *ibid.* (1860), 479-502; *Witz, *JDT* (1875), 588-606 [finding the red thread of the speech in 7 48 *f.*]; W. Schmidt, *Bericht d. Ap.-gesch. über Steph.* (1882); Sabatier, *L'apôtre Paul* (ET), 39-46; Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristenthum* (1887), 559 *f.*; Feine, *JPT* (1890), 89-108; Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* (ET), 1 327 *f.*; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 372-377; J. Weiss. *St.Kr.* (1893), 489-501; *Absicht*, 10-15; *Kranichfeld, *St.Kr.* (1900), 541-562, 'Der Gedankengang in der Rede des Steph.'; *B. W. Bacon, *Biblical and Semitic Studies* (Yale Univ., U.S.A., 1902), 211-276, and Grieve, Hastings' *DB* 4 613-615; Harnack, *die Mission und verbreitung des Christentums* (1902), 34-37; and on the apocryphal *Revelatio sancti S.*, P. v. Winterfeld (*ZNTW*, 1902, p. 358). The papers by K. Schmidt (*Beweis des Glaubens*, 1892, pp. 69-86); E. H. Plumptre (*Biblical Studies*, 347-375), and Nösgen (*Neue Kirch. Zeits.* 1898, pp. 661-687) are unduly conservative, and the older sketches by Krause (1786), Luger (1836), and Thiersch (1849) have been largely superseded by more recent critical researches prompted here, as in so many lines, by the genius of Baur. Adequate materials for historical study may be found in the monographs marked by an asterisk, supplemented by Spitta's *Ap-gesch.* (1891), 96-123, and discussions such as those of Weizsäcker, *Das Apost. Zeitalter* (ET), 1 62-75, and McGiffert, *Apostolic Age* (1897), 76-93.

J. Mo.

STEPS (מַעֲלוֹת), 2 K. 20 11 = Is. 38 8 RVmg.; EV DIAL.

STEWARD. A convenient and familiar term used for:

1. אִישׁ עַל־בַּיִת, lit. 'the man over the house'; cp Gen. 43 19 1 K. 16 9 (see ARZA).

2. בֶּן־מֶשֶׁק בֵּיתִי, Gen. 15 2, a difficult phrase, on which see ELIEZER, 1, and cp Dillmann, Delitzsch, and *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*

3. סֹכֵן, Is. 22 15 RVmg. (EV 'treasurer'), applied to SHEBNA (*q.v.*).

4. מֶלְצַר, Dan. 1 11 AVmg.; see MELZAR.

5. שַׂר, 1 Ch. 28 1 RV 'ruler.' See PRINCE, 3.

6. οἰκονόμος, Gal. 4 2 RV, etc. Hence οἰκονομία, Lk. 16 2 *ff.* EV 'stewardship.'

7. ἐπίτροπος, Mt. 20 8 (of the master of the vineyard) Lk. 8 3 (cp CHUZA); see PROCURATOR.

8. ἀρχιτρίκλινος, Jn. 2 8. See MEALS, § 11.

STEWPAN (כִּירַיִם), Lev. 11 35† RVmg.. See COOKING, § 4; cp POTTERY, § 4.

STOCKS. For punishments involving restraint of the person, see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12 (end), and cp CHAINS, PRISON.

The word is used to render:

1. מַהְפֶּכֶת; see col. 3850 (7).

2. עֶכֶס, Prov. 7 22 AV; see ANKLETS, col. 171, and n. 1.

3. צִינֹק; see COLLAR, 3.

4. סַד, Job 13 27 33 11 EV (probably an Aramaic loan-word),[1] here mentioned specifically as an instrument for confining the feet.

5. ξύλον, Acts 16 24, lit. 'wood.' On the 'inner prison' into which Paul and Silas were cast on this occasion, see PRISON, § 1 (end).

STOICS (ϲτοικοι [Ti.], ϲτωικοι [WH], Acts 17 18). The Stoa was founded at Athens, about 300 B.C., by Zeno; and many of its distinctive doctrines were added during the third century by Cleanthes and Chrysippus. Stoicism was brought to Rome by Panætius about 140, and many distinguished Romans learnt its principles from Posidonius (about 86-46). It was the leading philosophical school in the early empire; the chief writers are Seneca (4-65 A.D.), Epictetus (flor. *circa* 100), and Marcus Aurelius (121-180). The Stoic doctrine was divided into logic, physics, and ethics. In logic its most characteristic feature is the search for a criterion of truth, and the placing of this criterion in the feeling of certainty. In physics the Stoics returned to the crude pre-Socratic views, and especially to those of Heraclitus. They were strict materialists, and conceived God, or nature, to be in essence a fiery process. In ethics, Zeno formulated the end of life as *τὸ ὁμολογουμένως ζῆν*, 'consistency'; but this was expanded by Cleanthes into 'life consistent with nature,' and by Chrysippus into 'life according to our experience of what happens by nature.' Thus ethics was set on a basis of theoretical knowledge—though the physical theory does not furnish any very obvious ethical guidance. Virtue alone was good, vice alone bad. Other things were indifferent—*e.g.*, life and pleasure, death and pain. But of these the former were normally preferable to the latter—only normally, however, so that when life was blighted suicide was laudable.

The Stoics were the first to introduce into morals the idea of law—which is law for man because it is the law of the universe. In passing from 'end' to 'duty,' from 'virtue' to 'conscience,' they are the forerunners of modern ethics. But in abandoning the Greek standpoint they fall into rigorism, and set up in the passionless sage a colourless and uninviting ideal.

It was entirely in a practical spirit that ethics was developed by the Romans. Seneca dwells chiefly on the wickedness of man and on the constant war which must be waged against sin. Epictetus' teaching is summed up in his maxim ἀνέχου καὶ ἀπέχου, and that of Marcus Aurelius in the words, 'to be sufficient unto oneself by doing justly and thereby having calm.'

Stoicism owes something of its character to Heraclitus, something to the Cynics, something to the political indifference of the times. But its preoccupation with conduct it probably owes to a Semitic origin. Zeno came from Cyprus, and was commonly called 'the Phœnician'; Chrysippus came from Cilicia. Babylonia, Palestine, Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, and the Phœnician colonies were the homes of the sect, of which European Greece produced not a single distinguished member. Naturally then there are resemblances between Stoicism and some of the post-exilic biblical writings. The author of Ecclesiastes had probably a general

[1] One proof that the speech rests on a special source; for the idea of universalism was thoroughly Lucan (cp Lk. 24 47 Acts 28 25 *f.*). In 7 42 another comparatively isolated feature occurs, in the reference of sin directly to providence (Titius, 23 *f.*).

[1] Cp POTTERY, § 8 (2).

acquaintance with Stoic ideas (see ECCLESIASTES, §§ 10, 13). Some of the apocryphal writings—4 Macc. and the Wisdom of Solomon—display rather more than this. Seneca has very many sayings which recall the words of Jesus (especially in the SERMON ON THE MOUNT [*q.v.*]) and of the Epistles (and above all those ascribed to Paul). Many of the parallelisms are more apparent than real; but the frequency and closeness of those which remain exclude the hypothesis of mere coincidence, and it is almost certain that the influence was reciprocal. Seneca may well have met Christians and heard Christian views at Rome. And Paul must have known something of Stoicism, of which Tarsus was perhaps, next to Athens, the headquarters. Stoicism would have its attractions for a Pharisee. Paul can quote the Stoic Aratus (Acts 17 28), and he has at least two conceptions which owe something to Stoicism—the world-wide city of God (1 Cor. 12 12 *f.* 27 Gal. 3 28 Eph. 2 19 Col. 3 11), and the *αὐτάρκεια* of the Christian (2 Cor. 6 10 9 8 11 Phil. 4 11 13 18). See HELLENISM, §§ 6, 10.

W. D. R.

STOMACHER (פְּתִיגִיל), Is. 3 24†. See MANTLE, § 2 (9).

STONES, FIGURED, AND SACRED. See IDOL, § 1 *f.*

STONES (PRECIOUS)

Vague terms (§ 1). Hebrew names classified (§4).
Uses of stones (§ 2). Greek names (§ 5).
Stones known (§ 3). H. Priest's breastplate (§§ 6-20).
i. *ōdem* (§ 7). ii. *piṭdāh* (§ 8). iii. *bārĕḳeth* (§ 9).
iv. *nōphek* (§ 10). v. *sappīr* (§ 11). vi. *yāšĕphāh* (§ 12 *f.*).
vii. *lĕšem* (§ 14). viii. *šĕbō* (§ 15). ix. *aḥlāmāh* (§ 16).
x. *taršīš* (§ 17). xi. *šōham* (§ 18). xii. *yahălōm* (§§ 12-19).
Result (§ 20) Covering of King of Tyre (§ 22).
Kadkōd (§ 21) Foundations of New Jerusalem (§ 23).
Bibliography (§ 24).

In addition to the more specific names for precious stones to be discussed later there occur the following more general terms:—

1. Vagueness of terms.

אֶבֶן יְקָרָה, *'ében yĕḳārāh*, *λίθος τίμιος*, *lapis pretiosus gemma*, 2 S. 12 30 1 K. 10 2 10 *f.* 1 Ch. 20 2 29 2 2 Ch. 9 1 9 *f.* and freq. [*yĕḳārāh*, prob. orig. 'heavy'; cp 2 Ch. 3 6; then 'rare'; cp 1 S. 3 1]: cp אַבְנֵי חֵפֶץ, *'abnē ḥēphes*, *λίθους ἐκλεκτούς*, *lapides desiderabiles*, Is. 54 12 [cp Pr. 3 15 8 11]; אֶבֶן חֵן, *'ében ḥēn*, *μισθὸς χαρίτων* (!), *gemma gratissima* Prov. 17 8; אַבְנֵי מִלֻּאִים, *'abnē millū'īm* [from מלא 'fill up'], *λίθους εἰς τὴν γλυφήν*, *gemmas ad ornandum* [*ornatum*], Ex. 25 7 35 9 = *τοὺς λίθους τῆς πληρώσεως*, *gemmas*, Ex. 35 27; אַבְנֵי פוּךְ, *'abnē pūk*, *λίθους ποικίλους*, [*lapides*] *diversorum colorum*, 1 Ch. 29 2: the last-named passage gives several of these phrases together. See also MARBLE, COLOURS, and the names of particular stones.

It is only with long experience, and wide knowledge, that the distinction between 'precious,' 'fine,' and merely 'ornamental' stones becomes established. The majority of the 'precious stones' of the modern world were unknown in Western Asia, and still more in the Mediterranean, until Ptolemaic and Roman times; and even then they were regarded merely as rare varieties of the commoner stones which most nearly resembled them—*e.g.*, the many varieties of *smaragdus* known to Pliny, which, even so, do not include the modern 'emerald.'

2. Uses.

Natural stones which are in any way remarkable—for brilliance, colour, crystalline form, or any other property—are prized and treasured by many primitive peoples; either simply for ornament, or, more commonly, for use as charms (for real or imaginary influences); as engraved seals (for their hardness and resistance to wear); or as currency (for their rarity, value in exchange, and extreme portability).

3. Stones actually known to the ancients.

The first step towards identification of ancient 'precious stones' is to record what stones are actually found to have been in use on ancient sites of different ages and countries: as in the table below.

From this it will be seen (1) that universally the commoner have preceded the more 'precious' stones; (2) that even quartz and its varieties (chalcedony, sard, agate) were not much worked, except in Egypt, until late Babylonian and Assyrian time; (3) that really hard stones, such as *beryl*, are very rare until the time of Alexander the Great; and (4) that it is only after his time that the wealth of the farther East became available except by accident. For this latter period, however, the centre of the Hellenistic jewel trade was in Alexandria; the translators of the LXX were therefore most favourably situated for the collection of authentic evidence as to the names of the stones.

It is not to be expected, therefore, that the biblical vocabulary will be either copious or precise; or that the Hebrew terms, being of (at lowest) pre-Alexandrine date, will be found to correspond accurately with those of 𝔊; for the latter belong to a period when the influx of gems from the far East had recently depreciated many stones which thitherto had been relatively 'precious.' Still more is this the case as between the ancient versions and AV, the vocabulary of which represents a similar period of acute transition, due mainly to the recent exploitation of the sea-routes to farther Asia and to America; moreover AV's vocabulary seems to be used quite at random—*e.g.* the persistent interchange of 'emerald' and 'carbuncle'; and the use of 'ruby' for 'coral.' RV is equally erratic, but without the same excuse.

4. Hebrew names.

The Hebrew phrases (*e.g.*, 1 Ch. 29 2) clearly include all ranks of valuable stones, from 'stones to be set' and treasured gems to the 'stones of divers colours' which are coupled with 'marbles' (*abnē šáyiš*, אַבְנֵי שַׁיִשׁ, *πάριον*, *marmor*

STONES ACTUALLY KNOWN TO ANCIENTS
(marked with crosses)

Name and Colour.	Quality. Appearance.		Quality. Hardness.	Place and Period. Egypt.			Bab.-Ass. Babylonia.			Mediterranean.					
	Opaque.	Transparent.	Hardness.	Prehistoric.	XII. Dyn.	XVIII. Dyn.	Earlier.	Later.	Assyria.	Prehistoric Ægean.	Syrian Coast.	Cyprus: VII.-IV. Cent.	Hellenic: VII.-IV. Cent.	Hellenistic: III.-I. Cent.	Roman Empire.
Red—															
Marble	×	..	3	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Porphyry and Felspar	×	..	6	×	..	..	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Jasper	×	..	7	×	..	..	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	×
Garnet	..	×	6.5	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	×	×	×	×
Sard, Carnelian, Agate	×	×	7	×	×	×	..	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Jacinth (zircon)	..	×	7.5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	?	×
Yellow—															
Serpentine	×	..	3-4	×	×	×	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Jasper	×	..	7	..	..	×	..	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..
Cairngorm (Y. Quartz)	..	×	7	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	×	×
Chrysolite (Peridote)	..	..	6-7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×
Topaz	..	..	8	..	..	..	?	?	?	..	..	..	..	..	×
Green—															
Serpentine and Marble	×	..	3-4	×	×	×	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Porphyry and Felspar	×	..	6	×	×	×	×	×	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Malachite	×	..	7	×	×	×	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Jasper	×	..	7	×	×	×	..	×	×	×	×	..	×	..	×
Prase	×	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	..	..	×
Beryl (all kinds)	..	..	8	..	..	..	?	?	?	..	?	×	×	×	×
Dioptase ('Chalkedon')	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	×
Blue—															
Turquoise	×	..	6	×	×	×	..	..	..	×	..	..	..	..	..
Lapis lazuli	×	..	5	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	..	×	×	×	×
Amethyst	..	×	7	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Sapphire	..	×	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×
White and Colourless—															
Quartz	..	×	7	×	×	×	..	×	×	×	..	..	×	×	×
Chalcedony	×	..	7	×	×	×	..	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Striped—															
Onyx †	×	..	7	..	..	..	..	†	†	†	..	†?	†	†	×
Sardonyx	×	..	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	×	×

† Cut *across* the bands, not *along* them.

Parium), and were used simply 'to garnish the house.' No hard and fast line, however, can be drawn between these ornamental stones, and the 'precious stones' in the stricter sense; and the word *šōham* in particular, though it occurs in the 'breastplate' of the high priest, and is used for the engraved 'onyx-stones' (AV) on his shoulders, seems also to be used generically for the whole category of variegated or brightly coloured stones (see § 18, below).

The interpretation of the several names does not take us much further, except to classify the qualities for which different stones were prized. Of the descriptive names :—(*a*) the majority refer simply to *brilliance* and must be restricted to transparent or translucent stones; they give no clue as to colour.

1. בָּרֶקֶת, *bārēḳeth*, Ex. 28 17, etc., from √'flash'; see § 9.

2. אֶקְדָּח, *eḳdāḥ*, Is. 54 12, from √'kindle' [cp CRYSTAL]. 𝔊 λίθος κρυστάλλου arises from confusion with קֶרַח, *ḳēraḥ*, 'ice'; Aq. λ. τρυπανισμοῦ gives the sense 'kindle by rubbing'—*i.e.*, either 'polished' or 'striking sparks.' Compare Ezek. 28 14 16, 'stones of fire' (אַבְנֵי־אֵשׁ, on which, however, cp CHERUB, § 2, n. 2, with the Assyrian reference).

3. כַּדְכֹּד, *kadkōd*, Is. 54 12 Ez. 27 16, from √'strike fire'; but perhaps = Ar. 'red,' or a place-name. 𝔊 variable: see § 21 [and cp CHALCEDONY, 1].

(*b*) Next come descriptions of *colour*, without reference to brilliance, though not therefore to be confined to opaque stones: these names are rare and doubtful.

1. אֹדֶם, *ŏdem*, Ex. 28 17, etc., properly 'red'; 𝔊 σάρδιον (cp Pers. *zerd*, 'yellow-red'); but perhaps a place-name 'Edomite stone'; see § 7.

2. שְׁבוֹ, *šĕbō*, Ex. 28 19, etc., may perhaps = Ar. 'red'; but is more probably a loan-word or a place-name; see below, § 15.

3. שֹׁהַם, *šōham*, Ex. 28 20, etc., from √'pale' = Ar. *šōham*, or perhaps Ar. *musaḥham* 'striped garment' (Ges.), which if established would be decisive in favour of a *banded* stone: or Ass. *sâmtu*, a dark stone from Meluḫḫa in W. Babylonia (Del. *HWB*, *s.v.*, and Schrader, *COT*(2) 1 30 [cp, however, BERYL, § 4]): or a place-name: or corrupt; see ONYX, and § 18 below.

(*c*) Other names describe *qualities or uses other* than brilliance or colour :—

1. אַחְלָמָה, *aḥlāmāh*, Ex. 28 19, etc., perhaps from √'dream,' which identifies the stone as the well-known charm against bad dreams and drunkenness = 𝔊 ἀμέθυστος, the mod. 'amethyst.' [But see AMETHYST, end, and Hommel, *AHT* 205 *f.* 283.]

2. סַפִּיר, *sappīr*, Ex. 28 19, etc. from √'engrave'; the 'inscription stone' *par excellence* (Tg. says the Tables of the Law were made of it); or perhaps akin to Ass. *ṣupur* 'thumb-nail' signature—*i.e.*, signet-stone, see § 5. It is described as 'like the body of heaven,' Ex. 24 10; and 𝔊 σάπφειρος identifies it as *lapis lazuli*. See SAPPHIRE.

3. שָׁמִיר, *šāmīr*, Ezek. 3 9, etc., from √'sharp,' 'hard,' Eg. *asmer*, Gg. σμύρις, Germ. *Smirgel*, Eng. *emery*, is not strictly a 'precious stone,' though translated 'diamond' in Jer. 17 1 AV, and 'adamant' in Ezek. 3 9 Zech. 7 12; see ADAMANT.

4. יַהֲלֹם, *yahălōm*, Ex. 28 18, etc., from √'strike hard': cp perhaps *ḥallāmīš* 'flint,' and Ass. *elmēšu*, a hard stone used for rings and on chariot wheels (*ZDMG*, 40 728). [To the references in FLINT (*q.v.*) add *ZDMG* 46 570.]

(*d*) Others again are clearly *place-names*, denoting the source of supply:

1. *kadkōd* (see *a*, 3, above) for which 𝔊 has χορχορ in Ezek. 27 16. In Is. 54 12, Symm. has καρχηδόνιον; cp Plin. *HN* 37 30 for the 'Carthaginian carbuncle,' and Pesh. *karkednā* for *šĕbō* in Ex. 28 19 39 12.

2. רָאמוֹת, *rā'mōth*, Ezek. 27 16 𝔊 ῥαμωρ, Vg. *sericum*, RV 'coral,' need not be a stone at all. [See CORAL, but cp also RUBY.]

3. *šĕbō* (see *b* 2, above), Ex. 28 19 39 12, may be the ψεφω, 'Psepho,' of Strabo, 822, Theophr. 34, an island up the Nile, S. of Meroë, celebrated for its gems; but it is perhaps a loan-word; see below, § 15.

4. תַּרְשִׁישׁ, *taršīš*, Ex. 28 20, etc., cp 'stone of Tarshish,' Ezek. 10 9, etc.; see TARSHISH.

5 and 6. *'ŏdem* ('Edom,' see *b* 1, above) and *šōham* (see *b* 3, above; *sāḥīm*, 'Soḥeim' in Yemen) may also be place-names.

(*e*) Finally, several names, which have no clear significance in Hebrew, are probably *loan-words* :—

1. לֶשֶׁם, *lĕshem*, Ex. 28 19, etc., recalls Eg. *reshem* (Hommel, *AHT*, 283). [For another view see JACINTH.]

2. נֹפֶךְ, *nōphek*, Ex. 28 18, etc., has been compared with Eg. *m-f-k-t* and Ass. *lupakku*. The latter is more probable; see EMERALD, and § 10 below.

3. פִּטְדָה, *piṭdah*, Ex. 28 17, etc., seems to be Ass. *ḥipindu*. The Skt. *pita*, 'pale-yellow,' is unlikely; see TOPAZ, and § 8 below.

4. *šĕbō* (see *b* 2, *d* 3, above), Ex. 28 19 may be Ass. *šubu*; but perhaps also Ar. 'red'; or the place-name 'Psepho,' see *b* and *d* above.

5. יָשְׁפֵה, *yāšĕphēh*, Ex. 28 20, etc. seems to be Ass. *yaspu*, *aspu*; and perhaps also = Eg. *ḫ-s-p-d*, see § 13 below.

These vague terms [see also PEARL] obviously give little information; and in no case do we know the colour of the Assyrian and Egyptian equivalents. If any conclusions, therefore, are to be drawn from them at all, it must be by means of the renderings of 𝔊.

5. Greek names.

The Greek vocabulary may be classified in the same way as the Hebrew.

(*a*) *Brilliance* is denoted only by ἄνθραξ and σμάραγδος.

ἄνθραξ, 'hot coal,' for *nōphek* (§ 4, *e* 2, above); σμάραγδος, 'dazzling,' for *bārēḳeth* (§ 4, *a* 1, above), and also for *šōham* (§ 4, *b* 3, above), Ex. 28 9 35 27 39 6 (cp μαραγέω, μαραυγέω, and perhaps μαρμαίρειν; Skt. *marakata* is a derivative, like It. *esmeralda* and Eng. *emerald*; σμ. itself may be a corruption of *bārēḳeth* above).

(*b*) Colour gives ὑάκινθος, λίθος ὁ πράσινος, χρυσόπρασος and χρυσόλιθος; cp σάρδιον below (only in NT: from the *blue* flower of that name; the Ind. *jacut* seems to be a derivative, like Eng. *jacinth*).

πράσινος (λ. ὁ πρ. for *šōham* [§ 4, *b* 3, above], Gen. 2 12; cp χρυσόπρασος, Rev. 21 20), 'leek green.'

χρυσόλιθος (for *tarshish* [§ 4, *d* 4, above]), 'gold-stone.'

(*c*) Other qualities give the following :—

ἀδαμαντινός, 'intractable.' In class Gk. = 'steel-like.' For *šāmīr* (§ 4, *c* 3, above), Jer. 17 1; cp στερέα πέτρα, Ez. 3 9, and the corrupt διὰ παντὸς (ἀδάμαντος), Ez. 3 9.

ἀμέθυστος, 'charm against drunkenness'; for *aḥlāmāh* (§ 4, *c* 1, above), the Greek superstition taking the place of the Hebrew.

κρύσταλλος, 'ice'—*i.e.*, 'crystal.' In Is. 54 12 a misreading of אֶקְדָּח (see § 4, *a* 2, above). In Rev. 4 6 22 1 a simile for clear water; in Rev. 21 11 κρυσταλλίζοντι, 'turning into crystal.'

ὄνυξ, 'finger-nail' (for *šōham* [§ 4, *b* 3, above]. Popularly supposed, later, to be descriptive (Plin. *HN* 37 24); but probably a loan-word, see below.

σαρδόνυξ—*i.e.*, 'sard-onyx'; Rev. 21 20†, but cp Vg. *sardonyx* for *šōham*, ἐν ὄνυχι, Job 28 16.

(*d*) Place-names are responsible for the following :—

ἀχάτης (= *šĕbō* [§ 4, *b* 2, *d* 3, *e* 4]), from the river Achates in Sicily.

λιγύριον (= *lĕšem* [§ 4, *e* 1, above]), from Liguria in N. Italy. The descriptive talismanic λυγγούριον does not occur in 𝔊.

σάρδιον (= *'ŏdem* [§ 4, *b* 1, *d* 5, above], popularly derived from Sardis in Lydia; but probably originally a loan-word; see below (*e*).

χαλκηδών (Rev. 21 19† only), from Chalcedon in Bithynia.

Cp θάρσεις, ραμωθ, and χορχορ, transliterated, and the καρχηδόνιον of Symm. in Is. 54 12 (= *kadkōd* [§ 4, *a* 3, *d* 1] ἴασπις).

(*e*) Loan-words, finally, are the following :—

βηρύλλιον (= *šōham* [§ 4, *b* 3, above], and [by error] *yāšĕphēh* [§ 4, *e* 5, above], see below); Pers. *billaur*, Skt. *vaidūrya*, Prakt. *velūriya*, Pesh. *b-r-w-l-a*.

ἴασπις (= *yāšĕphēh*), Heb. cp Ass. *aspu*.

σάπφειρος (= *sappīr* [§ 4, *c* 2, above]), Heb.

σάρδιον (= *'ŏdem* [§ 4, *b* 1, *d* 5, above), though actually obtained near Sardis in Lydia, is probably from Pers. *zerd*, 'yellow-red.'

τοπάζιον (= *piṭdāh* [§ 4, *e* 3, above], perh. Heb., cp Ass. *ḥipindu*; but derived by Pliny (*HN* 37 8) from the word 'to seek' in the language of the 'cave-dwellers' of the Topaz-island in the Red Sea. In Ps. 119 127 τοπάζιον = τὸ πάζιον = *paz* (פָּז), 'refined gold'; cp παζ in Cant. 5 11 [on which see GOLD, § 1 *f.*; TOPAZ, § 2, n. 1; UPHAZ].

ὄνυξ, ὀνύχιον (popularly derived from ὄνυξ, 'finger-nail') is probably Ass. *unḳu*, 'ring,' cp *kunuku*, 'conical seal'; cp Eg. *anak* (Muss-Arnolt, *Sem. Words*, 139). The explanation, ὄνυξ = 'finger-nail,' occurs first in Pliny, *HN* 37 24 (quoting Sudines), and is supported by the remote resemblance of a pale onyx (the black onyx was not worked till late Hellenistic times) to a finger-nail with its lunula in the flesh beneath. But the word is as old as Ktesias (about 400 B.C.) and may have arisen from the Assyrian custom of using the impression of the thumb-nail (*ṣupur*; see *sappīr*, above) as the signature of a clay-tablet: ὄνυξ would then mean 'thumb-nail stone' in the sense of 'signet.'

For the interpretation of this Greek vocabulary, we have fortunately a good and slightly earlier authority in the treatise of Theophrastus, περὶ λίθων (about 300 B.C.), which sums up Greek knowledge on the subject just at the moment when Alexander's conquest had thrown open the farther East, but before its effects had become generally felt. For the interpretation of the

additional terms added by the Apocalypse, we have again a nearly contemporary commentary in Pliny, who represents the abundant materials, but mainly empirical classification, of the lapidaries of the Early Roman Empire. That the vocabulary of the LXX is probably trustworthy, is suggested by the general uniformity of its rendering. So uniform, indeed, are these, that in the four cases in which serious discrepancies occur (see under AGATE, BERYL, ONYX, and below), it is probably safe to assume that it is the Hebrew text which is at fault. The phrases in the Apocalypse, also, display close acquaintance with current terminology, and supply more than one striking confirmation of the conclusions derived from the comparison of MT and the LXX.

We may, therefore, proceed to discuss the identifications supplied by the LXX renderings. Of these, by far the greater number are contained in the description of the high priest's breastplate, Ex. 28 17 *ff.*, to be read with the parallel passage Ex. 39 10 *ff.* and the corrupt variant, Ez. 28 13 (the 'covering of the king of Tyre'). It will therefore be convenient to take these stones in the order in which they occur, and to append (§ 21 *ff.*) those which do not occur in the breastplate.

6. High priest's breastplate.

Two preliminary considerations should be noted. (1) The BREASTPLATE (*q.v.*), when folded for use, measured a span (about 8 in.) in each direction. The space available for each stone with its setting was therefore as much as $2 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; and if the same proportion was observed between stone and setting as was customary in ancient jewellery, the stones themselves may have been as large as $2 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ in., and cannot have been much less than half that size. They were therefore each a good deal larger than the average size of the common Babylonian cylinder or Egyptian scarab. We are therefore probably safe in excluding, on the ground of size alone, stones which are really rare and 'precious,' even if these stones themselves could be shown to have been known. (2) Each stone was engraved with the name of a tribe, and some of these names are of some length. This again postulates a large surface and low hardness. The private Jewish name-signets vary from $\frac{3}{4}$-$1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in length, and are of a very moderate degree of hardness (7 or less).

7. Identification of stones, OT: 'Odem.

i. *'Ōdem*, *σάρδιον*, *sardius*, Ex. 28 17 39 10 (cp Ez. 28 13, and *sardius*, Rev. 21 20). Both names signify 'red' (see above, §§ 4, *b* 1, 5*d*), and the stone is no doubt the modern red or orange 'sard,' the commonest of all engraved stones in ancient times (cp Plin. *HN* 37 106). The best of them came in Greek times from Sardis and Babylon, and a fine deep red kind from Yemen (hence perhaps [cp SARDIUS] 'Edomite stone,' from the proximate source of supply). The material (translucent quartz stained with iron) is quite common, and merges in the clearer and lighter-tinted 'carnelian' and 'red agate.' As this is probably denoted by *šĕbō* ἀχάτης (§ 15), it is not impossible that *'ōdem* may originally have meant the opaque blood-red jasper,[1] which is common in early Egypt, was used in Babylonia and Assyria, and also in Greece, and was valued as a charm against hemorrhage.

8. Piṭdāh.

ii. *Piṭdāh*, *τοπάζιον*, *topazius* (Ex. 28 17 39 10, cp Ez. 28 13; in Rev. 21 20 *τοπάζιον* is exchanged with *σαρδόνυξ*, see below) is identified with Ass. *ḫipindu*, a 'flashing stone' which recalls the 'stones of fire' in Ez. 28 14 16, and the *abnē ekdāḥ* in Is. 54 12. The rendering *τοπάζιον* makes it clear that the LXX understood by *piṭdāh*, a stone which was (1) translucent, (2) yellow. As the modern 'topaz' was hardly known[2] before Greek times, and is indistinguishable, except by its superior hardness, from 'false topaz,' or yellow rock-crystal, it is possible that the latter is meant. The *τοπάζιον* of the Greeks was a translucent, golden-coloured (*χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστίλβον φέγγος*, Strabo, 770), or yellow-green, stone (*e virenti genere*, Plin. *HN* 37 8), probably the modern 'chrysolite,' or 'peridot'. This was a noble variety of olivine, and consequently of the yellow 'serpentine' (Ar. *'aṣfar*, 'yellow'), which was in common use for scarabs and cylinders of all dates. It is identified by Petrie [and independently by Cheyne; see GOLD, § 1 *b*; OPHIR, § 1; TOPAZ, § 2] with the original *piṭdāh*; the only objection to this being that *ḫipindu* was a 'flashing' stone. This 'chrysolite' was found in the Levant, and occasionally in considerable masses; but the ancient supply came from an island (*τοπάζιος νῆσος*) in the Red Sea, which was the monopoly of the kings of Egypt (Strabo, 770; Diod. Sic. 3 39; Plin. *HN* 37 8 6 34). Like olivine, 'chrysolite' is soft and easily engraved—*eadem sola nobilium limam sentit* (Plin. *HN* 37 8).

9. Bārĕḳeth.

iii. *Bārĕḳeth*, *σμάραγδος*, *smaragdus*, Ex. 28 17 39 10 (Ez. 28 13, *σμάραγδος*; but *bārĕḳeth* [*smaragdus*] changes places with *yahălōm* [*iaspis*], cp § 12 *f.* below); Rev. 21 20 has *σμάραγδος*, *smaragdus*, in the place of *bārĕḳeth*, and Rev. 4 3 has *ἶρις . . . ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδίνῳ*. In Ex. 28 9 35 27 39 6, *σμάραγδος* translates *šōham* (Vg. *onyx*) where it is used of the high priest's shoulder-stones. Both *bārĕḳeth* and *σμάραγδος* originally denote *brilliance* only; *e.g.*, Herod. 2 44 describes a *στήλη* (probably a columnar natural crystal) *σμαράγδου λίθου λάμποντος τὰς νύκτας μέγαθος*,[1] 'so large as to give light at night,' but says nothing of the colour either of the stone or of the gleam. Of this same *σμάραγδος* Theophrastus (25) says that it was of the 'Bactrian' variety, *εἰ μὴ ἄρα ψευδὴς σμάραγδος*, and he adds (24) other instances of gigantic specimens which came to Egypt, *ἐν δώροις παρὰ τοῦ Βαβυλωνίων βασιλέως*, but confuses them all with the 'copper-emerald' (*dioptase*) of Cyprus and Chalcedon (*χαλκήδων*, Rev. 21 20). Now, only two brilliant stones occur in such columnar *στῆλαι*—the 'rock crystal,' and the 'beryl.' In favour of 'rock crystal' we may quote (1) the comparison of the *rainbow* with *σμάραγδος* in Rev. 4 3; (2) the statement of Pliny (*HN* 37 64), quoted by Petrie (Hastings' *DB*), that Nero used a *σμάραγδος* to aid his sight—a statement to be compared with the superstition, which survives, that better spectacles are made from rock crystal than from glass; (3) Martial's association of *smaragdus* with *adamas* (v. 11 1); (4) the probability that hexagonal beryl in its paler varieties was regarded as a harder and greenish variety of 'milky quartz'; (5) the certainty that, as early as Theophrastus, a very large number of stones, all brilliant, and of all shades of green, from aquamarine to dioptase (*χαλκήδων*), were included generically under *σμάραγδος*.

In favour of 'beryl,' on the other hand, are the following considerations: (1) From Theophrastus onward the *σμάραγδος* was more or less definitely *coloured*—Theophrastus, however, does not say *what* colour—and was believed to originate by the action of water upon green jasper (*ἴασπις*, Theophr. 27, see § 13). (2) Both the 'beryl' and its deep-green 'emerald' variety have been universally believed to give relief to the eyes; but this was through their restful colour, not through their refractive powers, and 'beryls' in particular had already given rise to It. *barelle* and High-Germ. *brille*, before the invention of spectacle-glasses. (3) The

[1] So F. Petrie, in Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* 'Precious Stones'—a valuable and suggestive commentary based largely upon new material.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Guide to Bab. and Ass. Antiq.* (p. 136) gives both 'emerald' and 'topaz' in a list of materials used for cylinders; and nos. 27 and 39 in the Babylonian Room are apparently of a variety of base emerald or beryl ('mother of emerald'). Dr. Budge kindly supplies the further information 'we have no cylinders which may be certainly called topaz, but I have seen several in Mesopotamia among the natives'; he adds that nos. 128 and 679 (of Pehlevi time) are of 'topaz.' In *PEFQ*, 1902, p. 326, the announcement is made that a fragment of 'emerald' has been found in a pre-historic deposit at Gezer; but no authority is given for the mineralogical determination.

[1] So MSS.; see Stein (1881). Wiedemann defends the conjecture *μεγάλως*, 'shining with great brilliancy,' and ascribes the glow to ancient use of a phosphorescent paint.

kindred belief that 'beryl' shed a light of its own was known to Theophrastus (*l.c.*, 23), and has survived in It. *brillare* (Low Lat. *berillare**) and Eng. *brilliant.* (4) The probability that σμάραγδος could be imitated (ψευδὴς σμ., Theophr. 25) suits the prevailing greenish tinge of ancient glass better than a quite colourless stone; cp, moreover, Rev. 46, θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ. (5) The collocation of κρυστάλλῳ with σμαραγδίνῳ in Rev. 4 *vv.* 6 3 suggests that after all this writer distinguished 'rock crystal' and 'smaragdus.'

As to *bārēḳeth*, the probability is (1) that originally it meant the colourless flashing 'rock crystal,' which was commonly used for engraving, in Egypt of all periods, in Mesopotamia from the later Babylonian time onwards, and more rarely in prehistoric Greece; (2) that this meaning did not wholly die out even after the LXX translation was made, but survived in the use of σμάραγδος in Rev. 4 3, and in the confusion with *yahălōm* in MT of Ez. 28 13 (see below, § 19); (3) that the obvious likeness between the words, and the current confusion between the hexagonal forms of 'quartz' and pale 'beryl,' caused the LXX to render *bārēḳeth* by σμάραγδος, and provoked the substitution for *yāšĕphēh* of *yahălōm* in MT, so as to separate what now were two adjacent *green* stones.[1]

iv. *Nōphek*, ἄνθραξ, *carbunculus* (Ex. 28 18 39 11); in Ez. 28 13 ἄνθραξ remains, but *nōphek* [Vg. *carbunculus*]

10. Nōphek. changes places with *sappīr* [*sapphirus*] of § 11. In Ez. 27 16 the LXX mistranslates, and Vg. has simply *gemmam;* Rev. 21 20 substitutes χαλκηδών). If *nōphek* could be identified with Egyptian *m-f-k-t* (see EMERALD [end]), either malachite or turquoise would be meant; and this is supported by the equivalent χαλκηδών (copper-emerald) of Rev. 21 20; see § 23, below. But this identification would ignore the uniform rendering of both the LXX and Vg.; and as ἄνθραξ (*carbunculus*) is descriptive and appropriate, whilst *nōphek* (probably a loan-word) gives no clue, it is better to accept the identification of the LXX with a translucent *red* stone. This latter, since the 'ruby' of Ceylon and Burma, and likewise the true 'carbuncle,' were unknown to Theophrastus (see CARBUNCLE), must denote the large class of red 'garnets' ('pyrope,' 'almandine,' etc.), which are found in abundance and of very considerable size, were known in Egypt from prehistoric times, were commonly used for signets in Hellenistic times, and are easily engraved. As to *nōphek* itself, the alternative derivation, from the *lupakku* of Am. Tab. 202 16 [cp EMERALD, 2], may probably be accepted. Of the colour of this *lupakku* we have no information; but we know that it came as tribute to Egypt from Ashkelon —*i.e.*, from the NE. This fact is compatible with the occurrence of *nōphek* among the wares sent from Syria to Tyre in Ez. 27 16.

v. *Sappīr*, σάπφειρος, *sapphirus* (Ex. 28 18 39 11); in Ezek. 28 13 σάπφειρος remains, but *sappīr* [Vg.

11. Sappīr. *sapphirus*] changes places with *nōphek*, [*carbunculus*] [§ 10]; Rev. 21 20 has σάπφειρα). The true 'sapphire' (blue corundum) was almost unknown before Roman Imperial times, and when known was included, from its clear blue colour, under ὑάκινθος[2] (see § 23, below). The *adamas Cyprius*, which occurred in the copper-mines and was known to Pliny for its sky-blue colour, was probably 'azurite.' Σάπφειρος, on the other hand, is identified (Theophr. 37; cp 55, κύανος σκύθης, and Plin. *HN* 37 120 'optime apud Medos'), with the opaque blue 'lapis lazuli' of Turkestan, and the *uknu* of Babylonia and Assyria, which was known also in Egypt and Greece from prehistoric times, and was frequently sent as a present from Babylon to Egypt in the Tell-el-Amarna period. As its Hebrew name implies, it is easily engraved, and occurs in large enough masses to make tablets like the 'Tables of the Law' (acc. to Targ.; cp the temple dedication on lapis lazuli, Brit. Mus. [Depart. Assyr. Antiq.] No. 91013). [Cp SAPPHIRE.]

vi. *Yahălōm*, ἴασπις, *iaspis* (Ex. 27 18 39 11); in Ezek. 28 13 ἴασπις remains, but *yahălōm* [Vg. *iaspis*]

12. Yahălōm and Yāšĕphēh in MT. changes places with *bārēḳeth* [*smaragdus*] see § 9). It is most improbable that *yāšĕphēh* (§ 13) could have so far changed its significance that ἴασπις should be used by preference to render *yahălōm*. [Cp JASPER, *ad fin.*]. Either ἴασπις, therefore, or *yahălōm* must be transferred to the twelfth place (§ 19), and we have seen reason already (under *bārēḳeth*, § 9) to suppose that *yāšĕphēh* should be restored here, and *yahălōm* transferred to no. xii. For other reasons identifying *yahălōm* with no. xii. see below, § 19.

Yašĕphēh, which is a loan-word (Ass. *yašpû ašpû*, Eg. *ḫ-s-p-d*), gives no clue, save that *ašpû* was large

13. Yāšĕphēh. enough, and not too hard, to be employed for the royal seal of Ašur-bāni-pal (Nabunahid stele). That ἴασπις, on the other hand, was (1) a dull or opaque stone, is shown by the combination ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ in Rev. 4 3 (see § 23, below), by the compound terms *iaspachates* and *iasponyx* known to Pliny (*HN*, xxxvii. 10 54 9 37), and by Martial's association of *iaspis* with *sardonychus* (v. 11 1 ix. 60 20); and (2) that it was a green stone is probable from association with the σμάραγδος of the Cypriote copper-mines in Theophrastus (27; cp ἰάσπιδι κρυσταλλίζοντι, 'jasper turning into a clear ice-like stone,' Rev. 21 11) and from its mediæval character (see JASPER). But (3) it had many variants; among them a red (ἴασπις = *kadkōd* Is. 54 12, cp Symm. καρχηδόνιον, cp *iaspachates*, above), a yellow (*fulva*, Virg. *Æn.* 4 261), and an opalescent, perhaps actually the 'opal' (*opalus*, Plin. *HN* 37 21: √Skt. *opala*, 'stone'). [Cp JASPER.] All this combines to show that *yašĕphēh*, ἴασπις, is the modern 'jasper' (opaque massive silica), and especially its green variety, which is widely distributed, often of considerable size, and easily engraved, being used commonly for Egyptian scarabs of all periods, for Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders, and for the seal-stones of prehistoric Greece (for engraved specimens from the Syrian coast [in Louvre], see Ledrain, *Notice Sommaire des Monuments Phéniciens*, Nos. 408, 427, 432 *f.* 437). All varieties of jasper are liable to occur together, and are associated, and easily confused, with the green chalcedony ('plasma,' 'prase'; the common 'bloodstone' is plasma spotted with red jasper), with the more opaque varieties of agate, and with the opal group, which all have practically identical composition. The *green* jasper, being the rarest, was not unnaturally the most prized in antiquity, and gave its name to the group. As the Cypriote passage (Theophr. 27) shows, green jasper was not clearly distinguished from the harder varieties of 'malachite' and other green copper-minerals (see § 18, below).

vii. *Lĕšem*, λιγύριον, *ligurius* (Ex. 28 19 39 12); in Ezek. 28 13, 𝔊 has ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον καὶ λιγ.; MT

14. Lĕšem. Vg. omit, ending the list with *zāhāb* (*aurum*) in the tenth place, see § 22, below (Rev. 21 20 gives χρυσόπρασος in the corresponding place: see § 23). *Lĕšem*, probably a loan-word (? Eg. *reshem*, but cp JACINTH), gives no clue. Λιγύριον was taken by some to be a place-name, and the stone seems to have been confused with 'amber,' from its electrical qualities (which are possessed by several different gems); but Theophr. 28 gives λιγγούριον (*i.e.* λυγκὸς οὐρόν) with a folk-tale about its origin, and a distinction between a clearer and a darker tinted variety. RV gives 'jacinth' (with mg.,

[1] The 'oriental emerald' (green corundum) is in any case out of the question. It does not seem to have been known in antiquity, and Sanscr. *marakata*, apparently a loan-word from Gk., suggests that, when discovered, it was regarded merely as a superior variety of σμάραγδος.

[2] The only indubitable description is that of Solinus, see King, *Nat. Hist. of Prec. Stones*, 245 *f.*; the earliest specimens are noted in King, *l.c.* 253.

‘or, amber’); but there is no evidence that the jacinth was either found in Liguria, or was known at all till Roman times. Probably a clear yellow stone is meant, like ‘cairngorm’ or ‘false topaz’ (iron-tinted quartz). The rendering of Rev. 21 20, *χρυσόπρασος*, suggests a greenish yellow stone, and perhaps serves to differentiate the adjacent yellow *χρυσόλιθος* (§ 17).

15. Šĕbō.

viii. *Šĕbō*, *ἀχάτης*, *achates* (Ex. 28 19 39 12: in Ezek. 28 13 𝔊 has *ἀχάτης*: 𝔊 MT Vg. omit; Rev. 21 20 in the corresponding place has *ὑάκινθος*). *Šĕbō* may be a loan-word (Ass. *šubu*) or the place-name *Ψεφώ*, an island S. of Meroë, noted for its gems (Theophr. 34, Strabo, 8 22). [Cp CHALCEDONY, 2.] ’*Αχάτης* (also a place-name) is definitely the ‘Sicilian agate.’ Pesh. *karkednā* in Ex. 28 19 39 12 may be a corruption of *καρχηδόνιος* (cp Symm. on Is. 54 12, *kadkōd*, and § 21, below), or of *kadkōd* itself. For (1) Sicilian stones going eastward would probably travel *viâ* Carthage, (2) similar ‘agates’ may have been found in N. Africa, (3) a Carthaginian ‘carbuncle’ is known to Pliny, *HN* 37 92 95. What particular variety of ‘agate’ (banded translucent silica) was exported from Sicily is not known: but banded agates, particularly of the deeper red varieties[1] (approximating to *sardonyx* and *iaspachates*) were in common use in Egypt throughout (the source here may well have been *Ψεφω* on the upper Nile), in Greece from prehistoric times (esp. common in early Crete), in later Babylonia, in Assyria throughout, and on the Syrian coast (engraved specimens in Louvre, Ledrain, *l.c.*, Nos. 413, 420, 422, 440, 449 red; 409 white).

16. ’Aḥlāmāh.

ix. ’*Aḥlāmāh*, *ἀμέθυστος*, *amethystus* (Ex. 28 19 39 12; in Ezek. 28 13 𝔊 has *ἀχάτης*; MT Vg. omit; Rev. 21 20, *ἀμέθυστος*). The folklore of the Hebrew and Greek names identifies with the modern ‘amethyst’ (transparent purple quartz), which was commonly used, and freely engraved in Egypt throughout (esp. under XII. dyn.), in Greece from prehistoric times, on the Syrian coast (Ledrain, *l.c.* Nos. 407, 414, cp 392, 421), and more rarely, in Babylonia and Assyria. [See also references in § 4 (*c*), 1.]

17. Taršīš.

x. *Taršīš*, *χρυσόλιθος*, *chrysalithus* (Ex. 28 20 39 13; in Ezek. 28 13 𝔊 has *χρυσόλιθος* here; and MT ‘Tarshish,’ Vg. *chrysolithus* at no. iv., see § 22, below; in Ezek. 10 9 Vg. has *chrysolithus*, but 𝔊 *ἄνθραξ* [perhaps by identification with the Carthaginian carbuncle of Plin. *HN*, 37 25, see § 21, below]; in Dan. 10 6, *θαρσεὶς*, *chrysolithus*; in Cant. 5 14 𝔊 *θαρσεὶς*, Vg. *hyacinthus*; Symm. has *ὑάκινθος* here and Ezek. 1 16 28 13; in Ezek. 1 16 𝔊 has *θαρσεὶς*, Vg. *visio maris*). *Taršīš* is simply a trade-name and gives no clue. Χρυσόλιθος is vaguely descriptive. A stone may be a ‘gold-stone’ in three different ways. (1) It may apparently contain grains of gold—*e.g.*, ‘avanturine quartz,’ and the epithet *χρυσόπαστος* applied to ‘sapphire’ (Theophr. 23, cp Plin. *HN* 33 31, ‘aurum in sapphiro scintillat,’ 37 38, ‘aurum punctis conlucet’). (2) It may be golden yellow and opaque—*i.e.*, yellow jasper or yellow serpentine. The former is adopted here by Petrie (Hastings, *DB*, *s.v.* ‘Precious Stones’), and both were used commonly in Egypt and Babylonia at all periods, and in prehistoric Greece. (3) It may be golden yellow and *transparent*. This would be inartistic in juxtaposition with the transparent yellow *lĕšem*, *λιγύριον* (§ 14), but would agree better with the later uses of *chrysolithus*, which seems to represent the modern ‘topaz’ (as *topazius* is the modern ‘chrysolite,’ see § 8, above), and was found of very large size in Spain (‘Tartessus’), Pliny, *HN* 37 127. Petrie notes that the topazius of the ancients (*peridote*) is actually a ‘noble’ variety of yellow serpentine, and so may have taken its place as the ‘stone of Tarshish’ in course of time; compare the correlation of *ἴασπις* and *σμάραγδος* (opaque and clear green) in Theophrastus, 27.

[1] For the bearing of this on Rev. 21 20, *ὑάκινθος*, see below, § 23.

STONES (PRECIOUS)

The rendering *ἄνθραξ* may be a reminiscence of the Carthaginian ‘carbuncle’ (Plin. *HN* 37 25, see § 21, below), ‘Tarshish’ being taken for Carthage; and *ὑάκινθος* similarly may point to either ‘sapphire’ or ‘zircon’ as one of the products of an eastern ‘Tarshish’ towards India (see TARSHISH).

[For other solutions of the problem of the Tarshish-stone (to retain the traditional name), see TARSHISH, STONE OF.]

18. Šōham.

xi. *Šōham*, *βηρύλλιον*, *onychinus* (Ex. 27 20, *onyx*, Ezek. 28 13; in Ex. 39 13 *ὀνύχιον*, *onychinus*: *βηρύλλιον* being transferred, cp § 19. Josephus, too (*BJ* v. 5 7) gives *ὄνυξ* and for *yahălōm*, *βηρύλλιον*; but he also makes *šĕbō* and *aḥlāmāh* change places, as also *sappīr* and *yahălōm* [*ἴασπις*]. Elsewhere also, *šōham* is very variously rendered in 𝔊, by *σμάραγδος*, Ex. 28 9 35 27 39 6 (of the high priest's shoulder-stones); *λίθος ὁ πράσινος*, Gen. 2 12; *λ. σαρδίου*, Ex. 39 9 (same context as 39 6; perhaps for *σμαράγδου* miswritten *σραράρδου*, perhaps a variant for *ὀνυχιον*, cp *sardonyx*, Job 28 16, Vg.); *ὄνυξ*, Job 28 16; *λίθος ὀνυχός*, 1 Ch. 29 2 (with 5 1 *σοομ* = *šōham* transliterated). Vg. has *onyx* or *onychinus* everywhere; except Job 28 16, *sardonyx*, where 𝔊, however, has *ὄνυξ*. [Cp BERYL, § 4, ONYX.]

Thus the versions everywhere vary between (*a*) a green stone (*λίθος ὁ πράσινος*), whether clear (*σμάραγδος*) or cloudy (*βηρύλλιον*),[1] and (*b*) an opaque banded stone (*ὄνυξ*, *sardonyx* ? *σάρδιον*), the rendering adopted in EV. Between these two renderings we must decide according to (1) the evidence as to *šōham* itself, (2) the evidence as to *yahălōm* (MT *yāšĕphēh*) in xii. (§ 19), which likewise shares *βηρύλλιον* and *ὀνύχιον* in 𝔊, and has probably contributed to the confusion.

1. The word *šōham* has no clear meaning. It may be a loan-word (*a*) from Ass. *sâmtu*, the ‘dark’ or ‘cloudy’ stone, (*b*) from Ar. ‘pale’ (Ges.), which suits ‘onyx’ (see § 19, below) or ‘beryl’ (the commoner varieties, and the ‘aquamarine,’ not the deep green ‘emerald,’ *σμάραγδος*) almost equally well, (*c*) from Ar. *musaḥḥam*, ‘striped garment’ (see § 4 *b* 3), which, if it were established, would be decisive in favour of a banded stone; or it may be, (*a*) a place-name (cp Ar. *Soḥeim* in Yemen), which would not be inconsistent with the indication in Gen. 2 12 that *šōham* (*λίθος ὁ πράσινος*) came from HAVILAH (*q.v.*). It is clear, however (from passages like Job 28 16 and 1 Ch. 29 2, cp Ex. 25 7 35 9 35 27), either that the word had a wide generic sense (*e.g.*, ‘variegated stones’), *or* that some form of *šōham*-stone was important enough to deserve separate mention apart from ordinary ‘stones to be set.’ Moreover, in 1 Ch. 29 2 *šoham* is coupled with *abnē pûk*, ‘stones of pigment,’ which is likewise generic, and here *šōham* might well mean ‘variegated’ or ‘striped’ stones.

Now there is one such stone, not yet accounted for in our list of identifications. It was common in Egypt in all periods, obtained from the Sinaitic mine-country, and used throughout, both solid and as a ‘stone of pigment.’ It was known to Babylonia and Assyria, probably from the copious Siberian source. At the same time it is *green* enough (though only rarely and partially translucent) to be compared with *σμάραγδος* (which we have seen was regarded by Theophrastus as the ‘noble’ offspring of the opaque green *ἴασπις*) and still more with the cloudy ‘beryl’; and also *opaque* and *striped* enough to be described as a variety of ‘onyx.’ This stone is the ‘malachite’ (green copper carbonate) with its wavy or concentric bands and cloudy (*sâmtu*) patches of light, vivid, and dark green, and its occasional crystalline varieties. It is soft enough, like ‘lapis lazuli,’ to be easily engraved, and occurs in large enough pieces to serve as a tablet for a six-line inscription like that of the high priest's shoulder-stones. If *šōham* (*λ. ὁ πράσινος*, *par excellence*; cp the later Gk. *μαλαχῖτις*, ‘marsh-mallow stone’) be identified with ‘malachite’ (the Eg. *m-f-k-t*, according to W. M. Müller) the association of *šōham* with *sappīr* in Job 28 16 (𝔊 *ὀνυχὶ τιμίῳ καὶ σαπφείρῳ*) would find a close parallel in the ‘pyramids of green and blue stones’

[1] Whence Petrie (Hastings, *DB*, ‘Precious Stones’) concludes in favour of (1) ‘green felspar,’ passing later into (2) ‘beryl’: cp the argument in favour of the latter *s.v.* BERYL (*q.v.*).

which are quoted to illustrate the wealth of Rameses III. (Brugsch, *Gesch.* 596).

In Greek times, 'malachite,' owing to its comparative softness, and its profusion in Cyprus and other sources of copper, either ceased to be held in regard, or was confused with green jasper (ἴασπις). Meanwhile, other 'striped stones'—namely 'onyx,' 'sardonyx,' and 'banded agate'—came rapidly into vogue, as soon as the art of engraving *through* a surface-layer was perfected; and consequently *šōham* came to be rendered either by words for 'green' (βηρύλλιον, σμάραγδος) *or* by words for 'banded' (ὀνύχιον: *sardonyx*). Consequently, confusion arose on the one hand between *šōham* (*onyx*) and its neighbour *yahălōm* (which includes the white-faced 'onyx'; see below), and on the other, between *šōham* (green malachite) and *yāšĕphēh* (green jasper), as soon as *yahălōm* and *yāšĕphēh* were interchanged owing to the ambiguity of *bārĕḳeth* in No. i. (see above, § 9).

2. For the correlative argument from *yahălōm*, see next §.

19. Yahălōm. xii. *Yahălōm* (Ex. 28 20 39 13, MT *yāšĕphēh;* Ezek. 28 13, MT *bārĕḳeth*)=(1) βηρύλλιον, Ex. 39 13, Josephus (=Vg. *beryllus*, Ex. 28 20 39 13; *berillus*, Ezek. 28 13): =(2) ὀνύχιον (Ex. 28 13 Ezek. 28 13 cp § 18; Vg. has *beryllus* throughout). The transposition of *yahălōm* has been discussed already in § 12, above, where the LXX ἴασπις presumes an original *yāšĕphēh*. For xii. the balance of textual evidence favours ὀνύχιον in the LXX, just as it favours βηρύλλιον in xi.; and *beryllus* in Vg. may result from the same source as that followed by Josephus.

The word *yahălōm* seems to be connected with √הלם, 'strike hard,' and (possibly) with חַלָּמִישׁ, *ḥallāmīš*, 'flint' (πέτρα στερέα, Job 28 9, ἀκρότομος, 'abrupt-edged,' Ps. 114 8); with Ass. *elmêšu*, Aram. *'almās;* and with Greek 'pyrites'—(*i.e.*, 'fire-striking stone'). [Cp FLINT, but also DIAMOND]. The Assyrian *elmêšu* was a hard and probably colourless stone (nowhere either 'clear' or 'brilliant') which was used, with gold, to decorate chariot-wheels (cp the 'stone of Tarshish,' Ezek. 1 16 [RV 'beryl']); and also alone, for whole rings (Del. *Prol.* 85, *HWB*, *s.v.*). What is wanted, therefore, for *yahălōm* is a hard stone, colourless or of indifferent colour; of which whole rings could be made; and recognisably akin to the 'fire-striking stone,' to the hard stone for hammers and pounders, and to ordinary 'flint' or 'chert.' The alternatives are rock-crystal and white chalcedony; the one clear or milky, the other milky or opaque. Both were fairly common, in association with either quartzite or flint; but both were rare in their 'nobler' varieties. Both were used for whole rings, as well as for engraved seal-stones, in prehistoric Greece, and in Egypt of all periods; and also commonly for later Babylonian, and for Assyrian cylinders.

At this point it should be recalled that the etymology 'finger nail' for ὄνυξ (§ 5) cannot be traced back earlier than Pliny—*i.e.*, among Roman lapidaries, who took over an apparently *Greek* word, and gave it its *Greek* sense, though it is not at all an adequate description of the majority of 'onyx-stones.' Meanwhile the compound σαρδόνυξ shows that to denote a white-and-*red* 'onyx' it was the *red* which must be specified; the *white* surface therefore is the essential character of the generic 'onyx.' On the other hand, the etymology, ὄνυξ= Assyrian *unḳu*, 'ring,' would make ὄνυξ an obvious equivalent for a 'ring-stone,' like *elmêšu* or cognate words—especially as *elmêšu* was apparently colourless, and ὄνυξ meant a stone which had a surface, at least, of 'white carnelian' or 'chalcedony.' It follows from this identification that *yahălōm* was liable to be confused on the one hand with *bārĕḳeth* (in the sense of 'rock-crystal'); on the other (together with ὄνυξ) with *šōham* (in the sense of 'striped stone'); and yet again with *yāšĕphēh*, when later study had once revealed the many intermediates (*e.g.* Pliny's ***iasp-achates***, ***iasp-onyx*** and *sard-achates*, *HN*, 37 54).

20. High priest's breastplate. Thus the high-priestly breastplate, as a whole, may be conceived as having presented the following series of stones:—

HIGH PRIEST'S BREASTPLATE

iii. **Bārĕḳeth** 1. ROCK CRYSTAL white: *clear* 2. GREEN BERYL green: *clear.*	ii. **Piṭdah** 1. FALSE TOPAZ yellow: *clear* 2. CHRYSOLITE yellow: *clear.*	i. **Ṓdem** ? RED JASPER red: *opaque* SARD red: *dull.*
vi. [**Yāšĕphēh**] GREEN JASPER green: *opaque.*	v. **Sappīr** LAPIS LAZULI blue; *opaque.*	iv. **Nṓphek** GARNET red: *clear.*
ix. **Aḥlāmāh** AMETHYST purple: *clear.*	viii. **Šĕbō** RED AGATE red: *opaque* *striped.*	vii. **Lĕšem** CAIRNGORM yellow: *clear* ? CHRYSOPRASE (Rev.) yellow-green: *dull.*
xii. [**Yahălōm**] WHITE CARNELIAN or CARNELIAN-FACED ONYX white: *opaque.*	xi. **Šōham** MALACHITE green: *opaque* *striped.*	x. **Taršīš** 1. YELLOW SERPENTINE yellow; *opaque* 2. CHRYSOLITE yellow: *clear.*

or, in order of colours:—

	opaque	*clear*	
Red	ʼŌDEM	NṒPHEK	striped ŠĔBŌ
Yellow	TARŠĪŠ	PIṬDAH	? greenish LĔŠEM
Green	YĀŠĔPHĒH	BĀRĔḲETH* (later)	striped ŠŌHAM
Blue	SAPPĪR	AḤLĀMĀH	(purple)
White	YAHĂLŌM	BĀRĔḲETH* (originally)	

21. Kadkōd. One stone remains, which does not appear in the breastplate, but is mentioned in several other passages. This is *kadkōd* (AV 'agate,' RV 'ruby'), which is rendered in Is. 54 12 by ἴασπις, *iaspis*, Symm. καρχηδόνιον, and in Ezek. 27 16 by χορχορ, *chodchod*. The word *kadkōd* may be from √כרר 'strike fire' (cp Ar. red'); but the renderings χορχορ and καρχηδόνιον suggest confusion of *d* and *r;* cp Pesh. *karkednā* for *šĕbō*, [ἀχάτης] in Ex. 28 19 39 12. The rendering καρχηδόνιον suggests the 'Carthaginian carbuncle' of Pliny; and if, as seems probable, a *red* stone is intended, the ἴασπις of Is. 54 12 must be interpreted as a *red*, not a *green* jasper. See *Yāšĕphēh*, § 13 above, and cp AGATE, RUBY.

For *šāmīr* ('emery') which is not a 'precious stone,' and for the descriptive *'eḳdaḥ* and *rā'mōth*, see above, § 4.

22. 'Covering of King of Tyre.' A distorted version of the 'high priest's breastplate' is offered by the 'covering of the king of Tyre'[1] in Ezek. 28 13, the individual stones of which have already been discussed above. In this passage the LXX repeats its list of Ex. 28 17-20, in the same order, but inserts καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον between ἴασπις (vi.) and λιγύριον (vii.). This arose probably through (1) a misreading, ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ for ΛΙΓΥΡΙΟΝ, and (2) a misunderstanding of the last word in the list in MT (*zāhāb*=Vg. *aurum*), which would be facilitated by the double meanings of both λιγ. and ἤλεκτρον. On the other hand, MT followed by Vg. gives only *nine* stones, and in a new order, as follows:—*Ṓdem*, *piṭdah*, *yahălōm* (=the 'first row,' (i.) and (ii.) of Ex. 28 17 *f.*, followed by (vi.) interchanged with (iii.), by confusion of *yahălōm* and *barĕḳeth*); then *taršīš*, *šōham*, *yāšĕphēh* (=the 'fourth row' [x., xi., xii.] of Ex.): so that *yāšĕphēh* is brought into its right place at (vi.) of the present list (=ἴασπις of 𝔊); then, *sappīr*, *nṓphek*, *bārĕḳeth* (=the 'second row' of Ex., but with *sappīr* and *nṓphek* transposed, and *bārĕḳeth* instead of *yahălōm*); then *zāhāb* (Vg. *aurum*, 'gold') as noted above.

[1] [Cp CHERUB, § 2, PARADISE, § 3, and *Crit. Bib.* where the text of Ezek. 28 12 *ff.* is considered.]

These derangements are instructive. That they represent an old text is clear from Vg.; but that the corruption is later than 𝔊 is probable, firstly because 𝔊 follows Ex. 28 13 *ff.* (the variant ἀργ. κ. χρ. being mainly explanatory of λιγ.), secondly, because the derangements are all explicable on the single supposition that they are intended to remove difficulties which are raised by the identifications propounded by the LXX.

(1) The identifications *ŏdem* = σάρδιον, and *nŏphek* = ἄνθραξ, brought two red stones together. So long as 'ōdem, which is 'red' in any case, meant red jasper, it was opaque, and gave a certain contrast. 'Sards,' however, are often nearly clear. Hence a difficulty, which was removed by transposing *nŏphek* and *sappīr;* the further difficulty thus created, that the red *nophek* is brought next to the red *šĕbō*, ἀχάτης, not being felt, because, as we shall see, the 'third row' dropped out altogether.

(2) The identification *bārĕḳeth* = σμάραγδος had already brought about the transposition of *yāšĕphēh* and *yahălōm*, so as to separate the two *green* stones, and had caused the confusion in the LXX between ὀνύχιον and βηρύλλιον in xi. and xii. In MT it has had the further result that *barĕḳeth* in the old sense of a clear colourless stone became interchanged with the opaque colourless *yahălōm*. Moreover *bārĕḳeth*, if it meant σμάραγδος, meant 'green'; and ἴασπις was 'green,' whereas σμάραγδος was ambiguous, and *yahălōm* had no special colour. So on all grounds *barĕḳeth* went down to (vi.) and *yahălōm* up to (iii).

(3) Further, to restore *yāšĕphēh* to its proper place at (vi.), and perhaps as an alternative method of separating *ŏdem* and *nŏphek*, the whole of the 'fourth row' was interpolated between rows one and two.

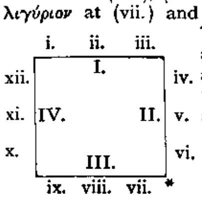
(4) Finally and consequently, the 'third row' fell out altogether; *lĕšem*, λιγύριον, being taken for ἤλεκτρον—*i.e.* ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον—and confused with the *zāhāb* (= Vg. *aurum*), which actually ends the description both in MT and 𝔊.

Another distorted version of the same list of stones is supplied by the 'Foundations' of the New Jerusalem, in Rev. 21 19 *f.* Here, as regards the order, the problem has been, how to adapt the twelve stones of the breastplate, in their four rows-of-three, to the foundations of a 'foursquare' city. The result is as follows:—

23. Foundations of New Jerusalem.

I.	ἴασπις	σάπφειρος	χαλκήδων.
II.	σμάραγδος	σαρδόνυξ	σάρδιον.
III.	χρυσόλιθος	βηρύλλιον	τοπάζιον.
IV.	χρυσόπρασος	ὑάκινθος	ἀμέθυστος.

Of these rows-of-three, the first row is the second row of the 'breastplate,' given in *reversed* order, (vi.), (v.), (iv.), with χαλκήδων for (*nŏphek*) ἄνθραξ at (iv.). The second row is the first row of the 'breastplate,' also in *reversed* order (iii.), (ii.), (i.), with σαρδόνυξ exchanged for τοπάζιον at (ii.). The third row is the fourth row of the 'breastplate' in *direct* order (x.), (xi.), (xii.), but with τοπάζιον exchanged for σαρδόνυξ at (x.). The fourth row is the third row of the 'breastplate' also in *direct* order (vii.), (viii.), (ix.), but with χρυσόπρασος for λιγύριον at (vii.) and ὑάκινθος for ἀχάτης at (viii.).



That is to say, the 'Foundations' are conceived as in the diagram appended, and to describe them the writer has started from the angle * between sides II. and III. He has first described II. and I., in correct sequence; but when he reached IV. and III., he has recurred to the traditional order within each of the 'rows-of-three,' or has perhaps attempted to work outwards again from his starting-point at the angle between II. and III.

This account also adds several minor points. (1) The confusion between σαρδόνυξ and τοπάζιον suggests that the authority, which is followed, read βηρύλλιον for *šōham* at no. xi. (§ 18), and ὄνυξ, or σαρδόνυξ for *yahălōm* at no. xii. (§ 19). (2) The χαλκήδων which takes the place of ἄνθραξ at no. iv. substitutes a *green* gem ('dioptase' or copper silicate) for the *red* 'garnet'; giving some slight support to the discarded rendering *m-f-k-t* ('malachite') for *nŏphek*, but confirming the view that σμάραγδος in Rev. does not mean a *green* stone merely—for χαλκήδων was itself regarded as a variety of σμάραγδος. Σμάραγδος here, therefore, may perhaps still be translated 'crystal' as in its primary meaning. (3) The χρυσόπρασος which takes the place of λιγύριον and is not otherwise found in OT or NT, belongs, like χαλκήδων and σαρδόνυξ, to a more advanced stage of experience, when intermediate tints were recognised; it may represent either a *greenish* 'chrysolith,' or, more probably, the opaque applegreen 'chrysoprase' (chalcedony tinted with nickel oxide), which is intermediate in tint between a yellow serpentine or yellow jasper, and the λίθος ὁ πράσινος (cp μαλαχῖτις) of Gen. 2 12. The modern 'prase' (deep green chalcedony) and its variant the jasper-spotted 'bloodstone' were used for scaraboid gems as early as the sixth century B.C. in the Levant (*e.g.* Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, No. 4581), but are not clearly to be identified even in Pliny. (4) The ὑάκινθος, which takes the place of ἀχάτης, is similarly mentioned in OT or NT only here and in Rev. 9 17, ὑακίνθινος; cp Enoch 71 2 (of 'streams of fire'). Pliny (37 40) represents it as a dull sort of 'amethyst.' Solinus describes what is evidently the modern 'sapphire (blue corundum) and says that it came from Ethiopia; probably he is thinking of a port-of-exchange on the Red Sea, and consequently of the true Indian gem. Later, the meaning expanded, including many different-coloured varieties (five according to Epiphanius, six according to Ben Manṣūr [quoted at length in King, *Nat. Hist. of Prec. Stones*, 250 *ff.*]). But the use of *hyacinthus* in Vg. Symm. to render *taršīš* in Cant. 5 14 (where the LXX has ἄνθραξ) as well as by Symm. in Ezek. 1 16 28 13 (where the LXX has the normal χρυσόλιθος) suggests that an early use of ὑάκινθος may have been to render the native Indian word which appears in Arabic as *yāḳūt*—this denoting the modern 'jacinth,' a 'noble' variety of 'zircon' (zirconium silicate), which is a transparent deep-red stone. Now the ὑάκινθος of Rev. 21 20 takes the place of a dark-red translucent stone, *šĕbō*, ἀχάτης. The epithet ὑακινθίνους of Rev. 9 17, too, is coupled with πυρίνους 'fire-like' (cp Enoch 71 2, above, and the equation *hyacinthus* = ἄνθραξ in Cant. 5 14), so that in both cases 'sapphire' is out of the question, whilst the sultry glow of the 'jacinth' is exactly what is wanted. Moreover, both ὑάκινθος and ἀχάτης might very well stand as parallel attempts to transliterate *yāḳūt*, and the displacement of the one by the other becomes in every way intelligible.

Other passages in Rev. dealing with 'precious stones' have been noted already above—*e.g.* ἴασπις, κρυσταλλίζων, 21 11 (§ 13); ἶρις ὅμοιος ὁράσει σμαραγδινῷ 4 3 (§ 9); θάλασσα ὑαλίνη ὁμοία κρυστάλλῳ 4 6 (§ 9). The striking simile ὅμοιος ὁράσει λίθῳ ἰάσπιδι καὶ σαρδίῳ recalls the portrait statues of Roman Emperors and others, in which the raiment is worked out in hard-coloured stones—a fashion introduced in the last years of the Republic from Ptolemaic Egypt. J. L. M.

24. Bibliography.

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STONING. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

STOOL, in 2 K. 4 10, represents כִּסֵּא, *kissē* (Δıφροc), on the original meaning of which word see THRONE, 1.

On the אָבְנַיִם, *ŏbnáyim* (RV 'birthstool'), of Ex. 1 16 cp POTTERY, § 8, and Baentsch's note, with the references in BDB, *s.v.*

STORAX. 1. It is plausible to find the storax (so RV^mg.) mentioned in Gen. 30 37 as לִבְנֶה, *libneh*, where EV has POPLAR (ῥάβδος στυρακίνη; Ar. *lubnā* = storax). In Hos. 4 13, however, the *libneh* is mentioned as a shady tree; this does not suit the storax, which is a mere bush. The shrub called storax by the ancients (Diosc. 1 79; Plin. *HN* 12 17 25) is the *Styrax officinalis*, a showy shrub covered with a profusion of white flowers, found throughout Syria and Palestine and abundantly in the hill regions of Gilead, Carmel, Tabor, Galilee, etc., and other places (*FFP* 354).

Storax exuded a gum, which was used for incense (and also for medicinal purposes), and at an early period formed an important article of Phœnician trade. It is to be carefully distinguished from the modern article, which is the product of the *Liquidambar Orientale*. Lagarde (*Mitth.* 1 234) has suggested with great probability that the name Storax is derived from the Heb. צֳרִי, *ṣŏrī* ('balm'); but whether the two words denote the same thing is doubtful. See BALM, § 1.

2. RV^mg. also gives 'storax' in Gen. 37 25 43 11 for נְכֹאת, *nĕkō'th* (after Aq. *στύραξ* [in both], Sym. *στύραξ*, and Vg. *storax* [in 43 11], which was adopted by Bochart); EV, however, has SPICERY, SPICES (*q.v.*). More probably (so RV^mg.) the gum intended is the Tragacanth (Ar. *nakā'a*, Syr. *anḳath ailā*, cp Löw, 24), which is the resinous gum of the *Astragalus gummifer*, of which numerous species exist in Palestine.

Like צֳרִי (in connection with which it occurs), tragacanth was an article of commerce imported to Egypt (according to Ebers, *Egypten*, 292, the word has been found in Egyptian), and also to Tyre (Ezek. 27 17, see Co. *ad loc.*). There is no reference to this product in the בֵּית נְכֹתֹה of 2 K. 20 13 Is. 39 2 (EV^mg 'house of his spicery'; so Aq. Sym., Vg.), on which see TREASURY.

3. AV has 'storax' for *στακτή* in Ecclus. 24 15; but RV (as EV in ‖ Ex. 30 34) has STACTE (*q.v.*). The fragrant resin intended may perhaps be the gum tragacanth mentioned above (2).

STORE CITIES, STORE HOUSES (מִסְכְּנוֹת), Ex. 1 11 1 K. 9 19, etc. See CITY (*f.*), PITHOM, § 4.

According to Winckler (*GI* 2 210), the phrase means 'cities of the governors' (Ass. *šaknu*, plur. *šaknûtu*; Phœn. סכן; cp FRIEND).

STORK (חֲסִידָה; from חֶסֶד 'pietas' [see LOVING-KINDNESS], in allusion to the mutual affection of parents and young; Lev. 11 19 Dt. 14 18 [17] Job 39 13[1] Ps. 104 17 Jer. 8 7 Zech. 5 9; 𝔊 *α[σ]σ[ε]ιδα* [in Job and Jer.], *ἔποψ* [in Zech.], *ἐρωδιός* or *ἀρ.* [in Lev. and Ps.], *πελεκάν* [in Dt.]; Vg. *herodio* [in Lev.], *herodius* [in Job and Ps.], *onocrotalus* [in Dt.], *milvus* [in Jer. and Zech.]). One of the unclean birds.

Both the White (*Ciconia alba*) and the Black Stork (*C. nigra*) are found in Palestine.

The White Stork is a well-known visitant to Europe, and is occasionally, though rarely, seen in Great Britain; in Palestine it is usually met with during the month of April (Jer. 8 7), on its way N. to its breeding-places from its winter quarters in Central and S. Africa. It is regarded as a sacred bird and never molested, and in return acts to some extent as a scavenger. It frequents the haunts of man, and usually nests on such prominent structures as chimneys or towers, more rarely on trees. Many legends and stories have grouped themselves around this bird.

The Black Stork has a black head, neck, and back; it winters in Palestine, and, avoiding the habitations of man, frequents the deserts and plains, especially in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. As a rule it lives in small flocks and breeds on trees or rocks; in the summer it migrates northwards. A. E. S.

STORY WRITER (ὁ [εἰς] τὰ προσπίπτοντα), 1 Esd. 2 17. See REHUM, 5.

STRAIT OF JUDEA (τοῦ πρίονος . . . τῆς Ἰουδαίας), Judith 3 9. See JUDEA.

[1] AV^mg. and RV^mg. both recognise 'stork' as the right rendering of *ḥăsīdāh*. The former gives, 'or the feathers of the stork and ostrich,' the latter, 'But are her pinions and feathers (like) the stork's?' In the text AV, 'or wings and feathers unto the ostrich'; but RV (agreeing with Di.), 'But are her pinions and feathers kindly?' The text is difficult, and most probably corrupt (see Budde and Duhm).

STRANGER AND SOJOURNER. This phrase, together with 'stranger or sojourner' and 'sojourner or stranger,' is used by AV to translate P's phrase גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב; RV more consistently has 'sojourner' for תּוֹשָׁב uniformly.

1. Terms.

גֵּר, *gēr* and תּוֹשָׁב, *tōshābh* denote a resident alien or *μέτοικος*, a foreigner settled for a longer or shorter time under the protection of a citizen or family, or of the state; as distinguished from בֶּן־נֵכָר, *ben-nēkhār*, or נָכְרִי, *nokhrī* (fem. נָכְרִיָּה), which simply denote a foreigner. זָר, *zār*, is a more general term, including both foreigner and stranger. It is used in Nu. 16 40 of anyone strange to—*i.e.*, not belonging to—the priestly clan. It is often used of persons who might also be called *nokrī*, Is. 1 7. The distinction between *gēr* and *tōshābh* will be considered later (§ 11 *f.*). The verb גּוּר, *gur*, is sometimes a denominative of *gēr* in its technical sense of resident alien, and sometimes has the more general sense of *abide*.

𝔊 usually has *προσήλυτος* for *gēr*, less frequently *πάροικος*; which latter is the usual rendering of *tōshābh*; *gûr* is usually *παροικέω*; and *ἀλλότριος* is the usual rendering alike of *nokhrī*, *nēkhār*, and *zār*; *zār*, however, is often rendered by *ἀλλογενής*. The Vulgate does not clearly distinguish these terms, but uses *advena*, *colonus*, and *peregrinus*, etc., for *gēr* and *tōshābh*; *alienus*, etc., for *nēkhār* and *zār*, and gives very various renderings of *nokhrī*.

I. *Foreigners, other than gērīm (strictly so-called), in the land of Israel.*—Jud. 1 19 21 27-36 (J_1) make it clear that Canaanite clans maintained themselves in the land long after the settlement.

2. Remnant of Canaanites.

At first, many of these clans stood to the Israelite tribes in the ordinary relations of neighbouring independent states. In conquered districts surviving Canaanites would be reduced to slavery. Where, however, they were too numerous, or submitted on conditions, they were employed in forced labour (*corvée*), וַיָּשֶׂם . . . לָמַס, Jud. 1 28. Thus in Josh. 9 27, JE, the Gibeonites are spoken of as temple-servants. Probably the status of such subject-clans was similar to that of the *gērīm*; but the data do not enable us to decide whether they were formally reckoned as *gērīm*, or placed in a distinct category. The deuteronomic editor of Joshua supposes that the Israelites exterminated the Canaanites at the Conquest, Josh. 10 40 11 20. Such a view could not have been held unless, long before the exiles, the Canaanites in Israel had disappeared as a distinct class and been absorbed in Israel and its *gērīm*. This absorption is also attested by the inclusion in Neh. 7 7 25 57 60 of the Gibeonites, Solomon's Servants, and the Nethinim among the Men of Israel.[1]

Many of the slaves owned by Israelites were of foreign birth; but the slaves became members of the family and shared its *sacra*, and thus virtually became Israelites.

3. Slaves; foreign wives.

Thus, in Israel, the slave was circumcised (Gen. 17 12 *f.* P), kept the Sabbath (Ex. 20 10 E), and the Passover (Ex. 12 44 P). See SLAVERY.

The examples of Moses, Boaz, David, Solomon, etc., and the law as to marriage with a female captive (Dt. 21 10-14), show that Israelites during the monarchy frequently married foreign wives. These, like the slaves, became Israelites in civil and religious status; thus Ruth, though a widow, assumes that, if she remains in her mother-in-law's family and settles in her late husband's native land 'thy people shall be my people, and thy god my god' (Ruth 1 16). See MARRIAGE.

The trade of Israel was mostly in foreign hands, and trade-routes passed through the land. For the most part traders would enter or pass through the country in caravans.

4. Traders, nomads, mercenaries.

Similarly, nomad clans would be occasional visitors, especially in the border lands. In ordinary times such caravans and clans could rely on

[1] Kittel, *Hist. of Isr.* (ET) 2 187, points out that the subjection of Israelites to the *corvée*, 1 K. 12 4 18, must have tended to obliterate any surviving distinction between Israelites and Canaanites. 1 K. 9 21 22 is by a late editor. [Cp SOLOMON, § 6.]

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their own strength and the general moral sentiment without seeking any special protection. Dt. 2$_{27}$ *f.* gives us the terms on which caravans might pass through a foreign country. They were to keep to the beaten track and pay for food and water. Further, the more powerful Israelite kings were anxious to foster commerce, and no doubt did what they could to afford a general protection to traders. Facilities for foreign traders were sometimes guaranteed by treaties; *e.g.*, the 'streets' or quarters which the Syrians had in Samaria, and the Israelites in Damascus, 1 K. 20$_{34}$. Cp TRADE AND COMMERCE, §§ 46 *ff.* The mercenaries of the royal bodyguard formed another important class of resident foreigners (2 S. 8$_{18}$ 15$_{18}$ 20$_{7}$ $_{23}$ 1 K. 1$_{38}$ 50 $_{44}$ 2 K. 11$_{4}$ RV); cp CHERETHITES and PELETHITES. It is noteworthy that David addresses the mercenary captain Ittai the Gittite as a *nokhrî* who came but yesterday and might be expected at once to quit a service that promised little advantage (2 S. 15$_{19}$). On the other hand, in Uriah the Hittite we have a foreign soldier who married a high-born Israelite woman (2 S. 11).

II. *Gērīm in the technical sense.*—The peculiar status of the *gēr* arose (1) from the primitive sentiment that a stranger was an enemy, an outlaw; (2) from the absence of any public police.

5. Temporary guest.

The guarantee of security of life lay in the blood-bond between a man and his kinsfolk. He was protected by the assurance that his kinsmen would avenge his murder upon the criminal and *his* kinsmen. Thus the foreigner, who was far away from his kin, was at the mercy of any evil-disposed persons. His only safety lay in putting himself under Israelite protection, by becoming the *gēr* or guest of an Israelite family. He then became included in the blood-bond, and his hosts defended or avenged him as if he were of their own kin. As in Arabia, such protection was freely accorded even to complete strangers. Abraham and Lot (Gen. 18 *f.*) press their hospitality on unknown travellers. In Judg. 19 the depravity of the men of Gibeah is shown by their inhospitable behaviour; and in Job 31$_{32}$ it is a mark of the righteous man that he does not leave the *gēr*—*i.e.*, the stranger who wishes to be received as *gēr*—to lodge in the street. In Arabia (WRS, *Kin.*, 41 *ff.*) the stranger becomes a *gēr* by eating or drinking with his patron; 'even the thief who has surreptitiously shared the evening draught of an unwitting host is safe. Nay, it is enough to touch the tent-ropes, imploring protection.' Further (259), 'he who journeys with you by day and sleeps beside you at night is also sacred.' But the hospitality so readily accorded can be enjoyed unconditionally only for three or four days. The *gēr* who stays longer ceases to be a guest and becomes a dependent (Bertholet, 27). But, while the relation lasted, the obligation laid upon the host to protect the *gēr* was stringent; the stories of Lot and of the Levite at Gibeah show what extraordinary sacrifices a host would make to defend his guests. The latter narrative reminds us that, in early times, an Israelite in a strange tribe was almost as helpless as a foreigner.

Analogy suggests that whole clans or tribes might put themselves under the protection of a more powerful people and become its *gērīm*.

6. Clans, etc.

'The several Jewish clans of Medina were compelled by their weakness to become *jīrān* (*gērīm*) of the Aus and Khazraj. Or a group might attach itself to its cousins—*i.e.*, to a tribe with which it reckoned kindred' (WRS *Kin.* 42). Thus the Israelites were *gērīm* in Egypt, Ex. 22$_{21}$; Bertholet, 50, considers that the subject Canaanites became a kind of *gērīm* to Israel, and that foreign traders and mercenaries may be considered *gērīm* of the kings; but the terms *gēr*, *gūr*, are not applied to any of these classes. Both the Israelites and the Canaanites rendered service to their patrons. We might perhaps regard as bodies of *gērīm* the 'mixed multitude'—Ex. 12$_{38}$ JE עֵרֶב, Nu. 11$_{4}$ JE אספסף—that went up from Egypt with Israel. Possibly, too, the Kenites might stand in the same relationship. See MINGLED PEOPLE, KENITES.

The traveller's necessities might be met by a few days' protection; but foreigners often came into the country needing a permanent home.

7. Permanent gēr.

Like Jacob, they might have provoked the dangerous hostility of powerful enemies. In Arabia, 'men are constantly being cut off from their own tribe, generally for murder within the kin, sometimes for other offences against society, or even for dissipated habits. . . . There were, however, many other circumstances that might lead free Arabs, either individually or in a body, to seek the protection of another tribe and become its *jīrān*' (*Kin.* 42). In such cases the *gēr* became for a longer or shorter period the settled client of a clan, or chief, or other individual head of a family.

Bertholet maintains with great probability that such *gērīm* would often attach themselves to the king; and that he would welcome them as a means of strengthening his authority. He includes among the royal *gērīm* the mercenaries and foreign traders. He further supposes that a foreigner might attach himself to a sanctuary as *gēr* of Yahwè, and understands Ps. 15$_{1}$ 61$_{4}$ as referring to such cases. The Gibeonites would be another case in point.

The express references to *gērīm* in Israel, however, deal with the *gēr* who is a dependent member of an ordinary family; in Ex. 20$_{20}$, etc., the *gēr* is grouped with the slaves and the cattle. There are constant exhortations to deal justly and generously with the *gēr* (Ex. 22$_{21}$, etc.); he is grouped with other needy and helpless classes, the Levites, orphans, widows (Dt. 26$_{11-13}$ Ps. 94$_{6}$), and the poor (Lev. 19$_{10}$). The *gēr* was at the mercy of the individual or the clan within whose gates he took refuge. They could take advantage of his helplessness to accord protection only under oppressive and burdensome conditions. The prophets (Jer. 7$_{6}$ 14$_{8}$ 22$_{3}$ Ezek. 22$_{7}$ $_{29}$ Zech. 7$_{10}$ Mal. 3$_{5}$) and the Law (Ex. 23$_{9}$ Dt. 24$_{17}$ Lev. 19$_{34}$) alike protest against such oppression. It appears, moreover, from Dt. 1$_{16}$ 24$_{17}$ 27$_{19}$, that the *gēr* was not wholly at the mercy of his patrons; disputes between them might be referred to judges.

The *gērīm*, however, were not always poor; Lev. 25$_{47}$ contemplates the possibility that the *gēr* may prosper and purchase impoverished Israelites as slaves. Shebna, Hezekiah's treasurer (Is. 22$_{15}$), was probably a foreigner, and the captains of foreign mercenaries and other foreign courtiers would readily acquire power and wealth.

The relation of the *gēr* to his patron was voluntary on both sides, and there was nothing in the nature of the relationship to prevent its being terminated at will by either party; but circumstances—the need of the *gēr* and the power of his patron—tended to make the relation permanent. In Arabia (*Kin.* 43) 'sometimes the protectors seem to have claimed the right to dismiss their *jîrân* at will . . . at other times . . . protection is constituted by a public advertisement and oath at the sanctuary, and holds good till it is renounced at the sanctuary.'

The terms upon which *gērīm* were received were matter of agreement between them and their patrons, and their position was similar to that of 'hired servants,' שָׂכִיר, *sākhīr*, with whom they are classed (Lev. 25 6$_{40}$ Dt. 24$_{14}$). Only, the *gēr* was more helpless than the native *sākhīr*, and less able to insist on favourable terms. Jacob at Haran, Israel in Egypt, rendered service for their hosts; David fought for Achish—or pretended to do so. Micah's Levite came to Mt. Ephraim to find someone with whom he might live as *gēr* (לָגוּר, *lāgūr*), and agreed to serve Micah as a priest for board and lodging, and ten pieces of silver and a suit of clothes annually (Judg. 17). The prosperity of Jacob illustrates the possibility of a *gēr* becoming rich; and his stealthy flight shows that a *gēr* might find it difficult to leave his patron.

Naturally—just as Jacob married Laban's daughters, and Moses Jethro's—*gērīm* sometimes married Israelite women—*e.g.*, Uriah and Bathsheba. But the case of Jacob and Arabian parallels (Bertholet, 62) suggest that a *gēr* who returned to his native land could not compel his Israelite wife to accompany him. The *gērīm*, as a class, would necessarily be landless. Moreover, both prophets and lawgivers did their best to keep family estates in the family. Their efforts, and the sentiments that prompted them, would tend to exclude even the rich *gēr* from acquiring land.

8. Pre-exilic period. In pre-exilic literature *gēr* is essentially a term describing civil, not religious, status. But civil status involved religious consequences. Various religious observances were matters of public order and decency, and as such would be required from *gērīm*. Thus, in the Book of the Covenant, the duty and privilege of the Sabbath extend to the *gērīm* (Ex. 20 10 23 12;[1] cp Amos 8 5). Further, a foreign *gēr* would naturally wish to worship Yahwè as Lord of the land of Israel, without necessarily renouncing his allegiance to the god of his native land (cp 2 K. 17 24-41). Moreover, it is probable, though by no means certain, that the *gēr* may sometimes have been included in the *sacra* of his patrons, as a member of the family. On the other hand, Moabite, Ammonite, and Phœnician communities at Jerusalem maintained their native worship for centuries (1 K. 11 5 7 2 K. 23 13). But in any case the religious obligations and duties of the *gēr* are simply the consequences of his civil status as an inhabitant of the land of Yahwè, a guest of the people of Yahwè; they are limited by his non-Israelite blood.

9. In Dt. In Deuteronomy, the *gēr* seems expressly included in the family *sacra*; in 16 9-17 the *gēr* is to share in the rejoicings at the feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles—*i.e.*, partake of the flesh of sacrifices, amongst other food. The teaching of the prophets and Deuteronomy, which drew a sharp religious distinction between Israelites and foreigners, naturally furthered the assimilation of the *gēr* to the Israelite—the only alternative, the entire exclusion of *gērīm*, was impossible. Thus, in the deuteronomistic passage Dt. 31 12, the *gēr* is to be exhorted to study and obey the law, and in 29 10-13 the *gēr* is to enter into covenant with Yahwè.

10. Later. The exile and return further promoted the religious identification of Israel and the *gērīm*; those who shared these experiences with their patrons became united by close ties. Moreover, in the restored community, *gēr* lost its civil, and acquired a religious meaning. A subject community, under a foreign governor, hemmed in by settlement of foreigners, was not likely to include a class of dependent foreigners. The tendency was for the Jews to unite with their neighbours to form a heterogeneous community. They were saved from this fate by asserting an exclusive relation to Yahwè and his Temple. Under such circumstances the foreigner who united himself with Israel had to become a worshipper of Yahwè, *gēr* came to mean proselyte. Constantly, especially in the Law of Holiness, laws are said to apply equally to the Israelite and the גֵּר, according to the common formula *kaggēr kā'ezrāḥ* (Lev. 24 16, etc.). The *gērīm* must refrain from idolatry (Lev. 18 26 20 2), from blasphemy against God (Lev. 24 16), must observe the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16 29-31), the Passover (Ex. 12 19 48 Nu. 9 14; but cp below), must abstain from eating blood (Lev. 17 10-13), and must observe certain rules in offering sacrifices (Lev. 17 8 22 18). The religious status of the *gēr* is almost the same as that of the Israelite—almost, not quite. In Lev. 23 42 it is the native Israelite, the *'ezrāḥ*, who is to observe the Feast of Tabernacles, in express contradiction to Dt. 31 12, which includes the *gēr*; but in view of this, and of the fact that everywhere else *'ezrāḥ* is combined with *gēr*,[1] Bertholet suggests that in Lev. *l.c.* *gēr* may have dropped out. Ex. 12 48 lays down that if the *gēr* wishes to eat the Passover he must be circumcised. Probably, with circumcision, the *gēr*, or at any rate his descendants, attained to the full civil and religious standing of an Israelite. For in Dt. 23 8 we are told that the children of the Edomites and the Egyptians shall enter into the congregation of Yahwè in the third generation, and this may be extended to *gērīm* generally. It is true that, in spite of Ezekiel's direction that *gērīm* should be given land in Israel (47 22 *f.*), P's Law of the Jubilee theoretically reserves the land for the original Jewish holders. Such a law, however, could scarcely have been enforced against foreigners in a country under foreign rule. And generally, the tendency must have been for *gēr*-families to be absorbed in the Jewish community. The main distinction between the *gēr* in P and the later proselyte is that the *gēr* is still thought of as coming to live in a Jewish community. On the use of *gēr* as proselyte, as in 2 Ch. 30 25, see PROSELYTE.

III. *The distinction between gēr and tōshābh.*—

11. Gēr and tōshābh. Outside of the Priestly Code *tōshābh* occurs only in Ps. 39 13[2] (= 1 Ch. 29 15). In eight passages it is either coupled with, or parallel to, *gēr*; in three others it is, like *gēr* elsewhere, coupled with *sākhīr*; and in two others it is qualified by *haggārīm*, 'that are *gēr's*.' Neither the usage, nor the versions (see above, § 1), suggest any clear distinction of the two terms, and of the many distinctions drawn, none have met with much acceptance. Probably the passages in which *tōshābh* occurs represent an unsuccessful attempt to substitute a new term for the old *gēr*. The older *gērīm* were now incorporated with Israel, and a new term—either *gēr* qualified by an addition, or simply *tōshābh*—might have served to distinguish newcomers from the descendants of former *gērīm*, and to indicate that the status of new foreign adherents was different from that of the old *gērīm*. The familiar term *gēr*, however, persisted.

12. Lev. 15 35. Lev. 25 35, 'And if thy brother be waxen poor, and his hand fail with thee; then thou shalt uphold him: *as* a stranger [*gēr*] and a sojourner [*tōshābh*] shall he live with thee,' RV, or better 'thou shalt uphold him *as a gēr* and *tōshābh*, and he shall live with thee' presents peculiar difficulties. *Gēr* and *tōshābh* are usually the antithesis of 'brother.' The Hebrew naturally implies that the poor Israelite would actually take the position of a *gēr*—*i.e.*, fall from his full Israelite citizenship; it might, perhaps, be strained to mean that he was to receive the same help and protection; or this meaning might be obtained by reading כ 'like' before *gēr* with 𝔊. Driver and White (*SBOT*), with Dillmann and Siegfried-Stade, excise *gēr* wᵉ *tōshābh* as a gloss.

Literature.—Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden* (to which this article is greatly indebted); WRS *Kin.* 42 *ff.*, 142; *Rel. Sem.* 75 *ff.*; Benz. *HA* 339 *ff.*; Nowack, *HA* 1 336 *ff.* W. H. B.

STRANGE WOMAN. For (1) אַחֶרֶת, *aḥhéreth* (Judg. 11 2), see JEPHTHAH; for (2) נָכְרִיָּה, *nokrīyyah* (Pr. 2 16, etc.), see STRANGER, § 1.

STRANGLED. AV 'things strangled,' RV 'what is strangled' (πνικτόν), Acts 15 20 29 21 25†. See COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, § 11, FOOD, § 11, and SHAMBLES.

STRAW (תֶּבֶן, Gen. 24 25 etc.; cp מַתְבֵּן, Is. 25 10). See AGRICULTURE, § 8; CATTLE, § 5; cp also BRICK.

STREAM OF EGYPT (נַחַל מִצְרַיִם), Is. 27 12. See EGYPT [RIVER OF].

STREET (רְחוֹב), Gen. 19 2. See CITY, § 2, *c*.

[1] The references to the *gēr* in these verses are sometimes ascribed to a deuteronomic editor.

[1] Nu. 15 13 is only an apparent exception; *gēr* occurs in *v.* 14.
[2] *Tōshābhē* in 1 K. 17 1 is a misreading: either an accidental repetition of 'the Tishbite,' or, as 𝔊ᴮ, ἐκ Θεσβῶν, for 'of Tishbeh.' Cp TISHBEH.

STRING (פְּתִיל), Judg. 169 RVmg. See CORD.

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS (מִנִּים), Ps. 1504; see MUSIC, §§ 6-10.

STRIPES (מַכָּה), Dt. 253. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 12.

STRONG DRINK (שֵׁכָר), Nu. 63. See WINE AND STRONG DRINK, § 8.

STRONG HOLD (מִבְצָר), 2 Sam. 247. See FORTRESS, MILLO.

STUBBLE. (1) קַשׁ, *ḳaš;* καλαμη; Ex. 512 etc. (2) תֶּבֶן *tĕben*; so rendered in Job 2118; elsewhere 'straw.' See AGRICULTURE, § 8*f.*; CATTLE, § 5. (3) *καλάμη*; 1 Cor. 312, cp 1 above.

STUD (1) הָרַמָּכִים, *hārammākīm*, Esth. 810 RV. See HORSE, § 1 [5]. (2) נְקֻדּוֹת, *nĕḳuddōth*, Cant. 111†. Graetz very plausibly emends to ענקים (see NECKLACE, 3).

SUA (σουα [B]), 1 Esd. 529 RV = Ezra 244, SIA.

SUAH (סוּחַ; χουχ[ε]ι [B], σουε [AL]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4, ii.), 1 Ch. 736.

SUBA, RV **SUBAS** (σουβας [BA]), a group of children of the servants of Solomon (see NETHINIM) in the great post-exilic list (see EZRA, ii. § 9, § 8 *c.*), one of eight inserted in 1 Esd. 534 𝔊BA (om. 𝔊L) after Pochereth-hazzebaim ‖ Ezra 257 = Neh. 759.

SUBAI (συβαει [BA]), 1 Esd. 530 = Ezra 246, SHALMAI.

SUBURBS (1) מִגְרָשׁ, *migrāš*, περισπορια and *ἀφωρισμένα* in Josh., *περισπόρια* and *περιπόλια* [L] in Ch. [*κατασχέσεως* or *-ων αὐτῶν* 1 Ch. 132], *προάστ[ε]ια* in Nu. [*ἀφορίσματα*, *v.* 3, *συγκυροῦντα*, *v.* 4, *ὅμορα* or *ὁμοροῦντα*, F om., *v.* 5], *διάστημα* in Ezek., [*ἀγροὶ*] *ἀφωρισμένοι* in Lev. [cp *τὴν ἀφωρισμένην* 2 S. 81, and see METHEG-AMMAH]; Lev. 2534 Nu. 352-57 Josh. 2111-19 21-37 39 *f.* Ezek. 452 4817 1 Ch. 640 *ff.* [55 *ff.*] 132, RVmg. 'pasture-lands.' See CATTLE, col. 712, n. 2.

(2) פַּרְוָרִים, *parwārim*, 2 K. 2311. RV 'precincts.' See PARBAR.

SUCATHITES (שׂוּכָתִים), 1 Ch. 255 RV, AV **SUCHATHITES**. See SOCOH.

SUCCOTH (סֻכּוֹת, *i.e.* 'thickets' or [see Gen. 3317] 'booths'; usually *σοκχωθ*; in Josh. 1327 *-θα* [B], *σωχω* [A], *σιχωθ* [L]; 2 Ch. 417 *σεχωωθ* [B*vid.] *σεχχωθ* [B1], *σοχωθ* [L]; *σκηναί* in Gen. 3317 Ps. 608 1088 [*σκηνώματα* ℵ]).

1. A town in Gadite territory (Josh. 1327: GAD, § 12 [col. 1587]) in 'the valley' (*'ēmeḳ*). It is also mentioned in 1 K. 746, 2 Ch. 417, in connection with Solomon's foundries, which were in 'the clay ground (?) between Succoth and Zarethan.' The description has been held to point to 'Ain es-Sāḳūt, an old site, close to the Jordan, but *on 'this' side*, some 9 m. S. of Beth-shean (so Robinson), which is supposed to be referred to in these words of Jerome (*Quaest. Hebr. in Gen.*), 'est autem usque hodie civitas trans Jordanem hoc vocabulo in parte Scythopoleos.' Against this view, however, see ADAM. Merrill (*PEFQ*, 1878, p. 83) and Conder adopt as the site the large Tell or mound now called Dēr 'Alla, about 1 m. N. of the Zerḳā, discovered by Warren;[1] the special reason is that the Talmud identifies Succoth with תרעלה, Ter'ala (Neub., *Géogr.* 248), which seems to be this Dēr 'Alla. This is rejected by Moore as not agreeing with the topographical details in Judg. 84-17. All this, however, is precarious, unless supported by a thorough textual criticism.

(1) As to Josh. 1327. The text must originally have belonged to a geographical survey of the Negeb, in which 'the rest of the kingdom of *Cushan*, king of Heshbon' was assigned to the Gadites. סכות is mentioned just before צפן (see ZAPHON), and most probably is miswritten for מעכת, 'Maacath' (in Negeb).[2]

(2) As to 1 K. 746 (and the ‖). The true text probably stated that Hiram the artificer cast the vessels in Maacath-jerahmeel, between Maacath and Zarephath. See TEBAH.

The other occurrences of the name in MT are very doubtful. It has been inferred from Gen. 3317 (J), where Jacob appears to have crossed the Jabboḳ before moving on to Succoth and thence to Shechem, that Succoth lay on the S. side of the Jabboḳ, near the point where it forces its way into the Jordan. This is thought to agree with the representation in Judg. 85, where Succoth is *apparently* the first town reached by Gideon after crossing the Jordan somewhere near Zererah (Zeredah) and Abel-meholah. This may possibly have been the notion of the redactor of the narrative; but it is not what the original story intended to convey. 'Succoth' is a corruption either of סַלְכָה, Salecah = צלחד, Ṣalḥad, the border city at the S. E. corner of Bashan (cp JEGAR-SAHADUTHA), or, more probably, of Maacath, a district of the Negeb. (Cp, however, GIDEON.)

In Ps. 608 1088 the 'valley of Succoth' is thought to be that part of the Jordan valley which adjoins Succoth (cp Josh. 1327); but this unique and obscure phrase is improbable. The boldest but also perhaps the most critical conjecture is that the psalmist wrote 'I will mete out Cusham and Maacath' (see *Ps.*(2)).

𝔊 also recognises a place-name Succoth in 1 K. 2016 (*εν σοκχωθ* [B], *εν σοκχω* [AL]). Both here and in *v.* 12 probably we should read על־כסאתם, 'on their thrones'; see *Crit. Bib.*

2. A station (סֻכֹּת) mentioned repeatedly in the Exodus narrative (Ex. 1237 [*σοκχωθα* BF1, *σοχωθα* F*, *σοχωθ* L] 1320 *σοχωθ* [L] Nu. 335 *f.* *σοχωθ* [B* *v.* 5]). See EXODUS, i. § 10, GOSHEN, and PITHOM, § 2. Here, too, 'Maacath' may originally have stood (*sub judice lis est*). See WILDERNESS OF WANDERINGS. T. K. C.

SUCCOTH-BENOTH (סֻכּוֹת בְּנוֹת; ροχχωθβαινειθει [B], σοκχωθβενιθει [A], -βανειθα [L]), a Babylonian idol introduced into Palestine (2 K. 1730). As some critics think, a Hebraised form of Sarpanitum, consort of Marduk (on the name see Jastrow, *RBA*, 121 [Germ. ed. 115], 449). So Rawlinson, Schrader, Hommel. Delitzsch (*Par.* 215) explains Sakkut-binutu ('supreme judge of the world'?). But surely if the usual explanation of Am. 526 is correct we can hardly doubt that it is a corruption of סַכּוּת כֵּיוָן, Saccūth-Kēwān (two names of Saturn combined; see CHIUN AND SICCUTH).

There is, however, a better theory. It is probably of the non-Israelite Negeb that the original narrative spoke as the country from which the new colonists of the cities of שמרון (see SHIMRON) came. Among them were the men of בבל—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel; the idol they made was of סכות, or rather כֻּשִׁית, 'Cushith,' a title of the so-called 'Queen of Heaven' (or, 'of Jerahmeel'?) worshipped by the N. Arabians. See *Crit. Bib.* בנות possibly comes from וכות (כ' written too soon). The men of Cuth, or rather Cush, made Nergal—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel (a name for the Jerahmeelite Baal); those of Hamath (Maacath) made Ashima—*i.e.*, Ishmael; the Arvites (Arabians) made Nibhaz and Tartak (= Terah); the Sepharvites (Zarephathites) made Adrammelech and Anammelech (= Jeraḥmeel). T. K. C.

SUD (σουδ [BAQ]; *ṣûr* [Syr.], *sod*), a Babylonian stream (canal) near which Jewish exiles are said to have been settled (Bar. 14). Cp BARUCH [BOOK], §§ 1, 4. There must be some error in the text. Since Bar. 11-38 probably had a Hebrew original, we may venture to assume a confusion between ר and ד, and read either סור, Sūr, *i.e.*, Sora, the seat of a famous Jewish academy (so first Bochart), or more probably שִׁחֹר, 'Shihor,' the name of a wādy in the Negeb, assuming that בבל in the source from which the writer drew meant Jerahmeel. See SHIHOR. For a less probable view, see Wetzstein in Del. *Jes.*(3), 701 *f.* T. K. C.

SUD (σουα [B]), 1 Esd. 529 AV = Ezra 244, SIA.

SUDIAS (σουδιου [BA]), 1 Esd. 526 = Ezra 240, HODAVIAH 4.

SUKKIIMS, RV **SUKKIIM** (סֻכִּיִּים; τρωγοδυται [BA] τρωγλοδυται [cp Swete] σουχιειμ [L]; *Troglodytæ* var. [Libyes scilicet] Trogodytæ). In 2 Ch. 123

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[1] See Trelawney Saunders, *Introd. to the Survey of W. Pal.* (1881), 158.

[2] 'In the valley,' Josh. 1327, should be 'in Maacath.' Cp Ps. 608*b*, where עמק סכות represents a twice written מעכת (see *Ps.*(2)).

the army of SHISHAK (*q.v.*) is described as consisting of soldiers 'of Egypt, the Lubim (*i.e.* Libyans), the Sukkiim (סֻכִּיִּים), and the Ethiopians.' By Sukkiim, evidently an African nation is meant; and considering the position between Libya and Ethiopia, one understands why 𝔊 and Vg. guess at the *Trog(l)odytæ* (the l correctly wanting in B). This, however, is only a guess; no such name is known in antiquity. The Egyptian name for those nomadic tribes of Hamitic blood, living between Egypt and the Red Sea, was *Anti*. This seems to have about the same meaning as the Greek name, viz., 'inhabitants of rocks, cliff-dwellers.'[1]

Gesenius's explanation, 'dwellers in booths' (סֻכּוֹת) is philologically and practically impossible. C. Niebuhr, *OLZ* 3 69, has observed that the name is almost the same as the תֻּכִּיִּים (*tukkiyyim*), 1 K. 10 22 2 Ch. 9 21, the supposed 'peacocks' (see PEACOCK) brought to Solomon, and conjectures that the word really means there 'black slaves,' correcting into *sukkiyyîm*, as above. As such a word or name remains unknown, W. M. Müller proposes, 2 269, to assume חסמים, 'grey-hounds' (from Egyptian *tsm*), as the original reading in the African curiosities brought to Solomon, and thinks that the chronicler mistook this for a name of an African nation. Thus C. Niebuhr's observation, which is undoubtedly correct as far as the similarity of both words in vocalisation, is just reversed. Of course, the last explanation rests on a somewhat bold assumption. W. M. M.

SUN (שֶׁמֶשׁ, חֶרֶס; on etym. see BDB). As to the gender of the sun, Šemeš or the corresponding word is masculine in Heb. generally,[2] Aram. and Ass. In Arabic it is feminine, but the heathen Arabs knew Šams as a sun-god (see further below). For sun-worship among the early Israelites there is little positive evidence, and that little (one would far rather think otherwise) threatens to disappear as the result of a searching criticism of the place-names Beth-shemesh, En-shemesh, Har-heres, Kir-heres, Timnath-heres, which it is possible are comparatively late corruptions of Beth-cusham, En-cusham, Har-ashhur, Kir-ashhur, Timnath-ashhur (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 S. 6 12 Judg. 1 35, and other related passages). The ordinary view, of course, is that שֶׁמֶשׁ, *šémeš*, and חֶרֶס, *ḥéres*, in the traditional forms of these names, prove that the places to which the names are taken to have belonged were centres of the cultus of the sun-god. We must remember, however, that the solar character of the Baals has not been made out (BAAL, § 2 *f.*; NATURE-WORSHIP, § 5), and (not to fall into repetitions) that it is in S. Arabia that the worship of sun and moon was 'strikingly prevalent.' On the other hand, Winckler has produced a considerable body of evidence (most of it, to be sure, is unsafe) from the early narratives, to show that solar and lunar mythology is represented in Hebrew legends, and holds that the god variously called Ramman, Hadad, and Yahu is not only the storm-god, but at the same time the god who, in the spring-tide, restores fruitfulness to the earth, and one of whose forms is the well-known Tammuz (*GI* 2 78). In Gen. 49 10, where Dillmann supposes the moon to be represented by Joseph's mother, Winckler holds that, since שֶׁמֶשׁ may be feminine (see Gen. 15 17; and cp Ges. *Thes.*, *s.v.* שֶׁמֶשׁ) and יָרֵחַ, *yārēăḥ*, neither is nor can be feminine, the mother is the true representative of the sun, and we have here a sign of the influence of a different form of mythology from the pure Babylonian—viz., the S. Arabian, in which the children of the moon-god are 'Athtar, who is masculine, and Šams, who is feminine. Winckler also (*GI* 2 70) thinks we may infer that in the early Hebrew myth (which was also the original Semitic as well as S. Arabian myth) Šams, the sun-deity, was the mother, 'Athtar the wife of the moon-god. Zimmern (*KAT*(3), 365, 369) gives a qualified support to Winckler's theories, but thinks that Egyptian influences on Hebrew cults may be presumed, in addition to Babylonian. If we throw back this influence far enough, the possibility of this may be granted. But, so far as the biblical evidence goes, it is surely Babylon (directly or indirectly) rather than Egypt which is indicated as the source of such influences. We must also desiderate a much keener and more methodical criticism of the Hebrew texts, especially of names and phrases bearing on cults and myths, than is yet habitual among biblical and archæological scholars. For instance, is it safe to build either on the place-name Beth-shemesh, or on the personal names SAMSON and SHESHBAZZAR (*qq.v.*)? However this may be, the worship of the sun and moon and of the 'host of heaven' in general among the Israelites in the seventh and sixth centuries is not doubtful (see MOON, NATURE-WORSHIP, § 5, STARS, § 4, TAMMUZ).

On the relation of Yâhwè to the spring-sun god Marduk, see CREATION, § 8, and cp Zimmern *KAT*(3), 369, 509; on other points, see CHARIOT, § 13, HORSE, § 4, NATHAN-MELECH. See also ECLIPSE. For SUN-DIAL (Is. 38 8) see DIAL; for SUN-GATE (Jer. 19 2 AVmg.) see POTTERY, HARSITH, cp JERUSALEM, § 24; for SUN IMAGES see MASSEBAH, § 1, *c*.

T. K. C.

[1] [For a consideration of the question whether 2 Ch. 12 2 12 refers to Mizraim or Mizrim, and to Shishak or to Cushi, and how סכיים should be read, see SHISHAK, § 3, and *Crit. Bib.*]

[2] Masculine in Ps. 104 19; feminine in Gen. 15 17. In Sam. Pent. it is sometimes constructed with a feminine where MT has a masculine. *Vice versâ*, in Jer. 15 9 Kt. has בָּאָה where Kr. has בָּא (of the sun).

SUPH (סוּף, ΤΗϹ ΕΡΥΘΡΑϹ [BAF], Τ. Ε. ΘΑΛΑϹϹΗϹ [L]), the name of a locality, from which, Dillmann conjectures, the יַם־סוּף (*yam sūph*; EV RED SEA [*q.v.*]) took its name, Dt. 1 1 † (cp 𝔊). The neighbouring names in the traditional text are as perplexing as Suph, and there is some reason to think that D_2 has, either by accident or under the influence of theory, misread an earlier text which lay before him.

מול סוף may originally (cp 𝔊, Nu. 21 14, ἐφλόγισε = סופה) have been מול צרפת[1], and the whole verse may have run, 'These are the words which Moses spoke to all Israel in Arabia of Jerahmeel, in the wilderness [in Arabia], opposite Zarephath, between Paran and Peleth and Libnah and Miṣrim.' In Nu. 21 14 the same name appears as **Suphah** (סוּפָה). See VAHEB, and *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

SUPPER (ΔΕΙΠΝΟΝ). Mk. 6 21 etc. See MEALS, § 2 (*b*), EUCHARIST.

SUR (ϹΟΥΡ [Ba.b ℵa? a.b c.a A]; Τ. [ℵ*]; ΑϹϹ. [B*]; Syr. *Sūryā*), one of the coast-towns of Palestine which submitted to Holofernes (Judith 2 28). Fritzsche too boldly corrects to 'Dora' (Dor). If, however, OCINA is Accho, this violates the geographical order of the places. Most probably Judith (like Tobit; see THISBE) was redacted from a narrative in which the scene of the events was mainly in the Negeb. The place-names easily adapted themselves to this view. 'Sidon and Tyre,' as often, represents מִצּוּר, 'Miṣṣur,' 'Sur and Ocina' (*v.l.* the Kenites), מִצּוּר וּקְנַז, 'Miṣṣur and Kenaz.'

T. K. C.

SUR, GATE OF (שַׁעַר סוּר), 2 K. 11 6; cp 2 Ch. 23 5. An unexplained riddle in a doubtful text. See Kittel, and *Crit. Bib.*, also JERUSALEM, § 24.

SURETY (√עָרַב), Gen. 43 9. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 17, PLEDGE, § 3, and TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 82 (*e*) 1 (4); cp EARNEST, DEPOSIT.

SUSA (ΕΝ ϹΟΥϹΟΙϹ [BℵA?Lβ]), Esth. 11 3. See SHUSHAN.

SUSANCHITES, RV **SHUSHANCHITES** (שׁוּשַׁנְכָיֵא, ϹΟΥϹΥΝΑΧΑΙΟΙ [B], ϹΟΥϹΑΝ· [AL]), one of the peoples represented among Osnappar's colonists (Ezra 4 9 †).

Delitzsch (*Par.* 327; *Calwer Bib. Lex.*(2) 876), following Lenormant, compares Shushinak, the name of the capital and of the chief god of Susiana on the native Elamite inscriptions. If, however, the present writer's theory that Ezra-Nehemiah has been recast, on the basis of a mistaken historical theory, by a Jewish editor, be accepted, 'Shushan' will (cp סוסים in Is. 66 20) have arisen out of Cushan (cp CUSH, 2) and 'Šusankāyē' (Ezra 4 9) out of Cushānāyē 'Cushanites.' See SHUSHAN, and on 'Osnappar' see *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

[1] Perhaps written צרפ'.

SUSANNA (ϲογϲαννα, *i.e.* שׁוֹשַׁנָּה, 'lily,' § 69).

1. The pious and beautiful wife of Joakim, in one of the apocryphal additions to Daniel. See DANIEL (BOOK), § 5.
2. One of the women who ministered to Jesus (Lk. 8 3).

SUSI (סוּסִי; ϲογϲ[ε]ι [BAFL]), a Manassite, father of Gaddi, Nu. 13 11 [12] (col. 2919, n. 6).

SWADDLE, SWADDLINGBAND. The verb (חתל, *ḥāthal*, in Pu. and Hoph.) is found in Ezek. 16 4; the noun *ḥăthullāh* (חֲתֻלָּה), in Job 38 9, figuratively of the dark cloud enveloping the circumambient ocean.

The mortal speaker in Wisd. 7 3 *f.* says, 'I also when I was born, drew in the common air, and fell upon the kindred earth, uttering, like all, for my first voice, the selfsame wail. In swaddling clothes was I nursed and in [watchful] cares (ἐν σπαργάνοις ἀνετράφην καὶ ἐν φροντίσιν).' See also Lk. 2 7 12 (ἐσπαργάνωσεν, ἐσπαργανωμένον). Cp ROLLER; FAMILY, § 10; MEDICINE, § 1. In Lam. 2 22 the verb is טפח, *ṭippaḥ*, more probably 'dandled': so RV. See SPAN.

SWALLOW. 1. דְּרוֹר, *dĕrōr*: Ps. 84 3 [4], Prov. 26 2 †; τρυγών in Ps., στρουθοί in Prov. See below.

2. סוּס, *sūs*, Is. 38 14 Jer. 8 7,† Kt.; סִיס Kr.; χελιδών[1]; correctly rendered in RV; AV wrongly CRANE (*q.v.*, for explanation of error).

Canon Tristram considers that *dĕrōr* is rightly interpreted swallow or martin, whilst the identity of *sīs*[2] with the swallow or swift has been satisfactorily proved by Bochart 2 1 10 (cp Lagarde in *GGN* 1888, p. 6 *f.*), and receives interesting confirmation from the fact that Tristram heard this name given to the swift (*Cypselus apus*, L) by the present inhabitants of Palestine (*FFP*, 82 *f.*).

Although zoologists place the Hirundinidæ (swallows and martins) some distance from the Cypselidæ (swifts), swallows and swifts are very frequently mistaken for each other, and it seems improbable that the ancient Jewish writers distinguished between them.

There are three species of swallow, *Hirundo*, now found in Palestine. (1) The common swallow, *H. rustica*, which, like its congener (2) *H. rufula*, returns from its winter quarters towards the end of March, whilst (3) *H. savignii*, the oriental swallow, winters in the Holy Land. Four species of martin and three species of swift are known in Palestine, one of them being the common swift, *Cypselus apus*, referred to above.

The swifts fly, like the swallows, with great rapidity, and their return from the S. in the early spring is a most striking event (Jer. 8 7). It usually occurs at the beginning of April. 'Clouds pass in long streams to the north, but still leave prodigious numbers behind.'

They return to their winter quarters in November. It is thought that the reiterated complaining cry of the swift is referred to by the prophet (Is. 38 14) rather than the more musical and less frequent note of the swallow (see further Che. *ad loc.*).

Both swifts and swallows frequent towns and villages. The swallows build their nests of mud (Ps. 84 3). The swift usually builds its nest of straws, feathers, etc., cemented together by saliva; it uses such materials as it can obtain without recourse to the ground, as with its long wings and short legs it experiences difficulty in rising from the earth.

3. (עָגוּר, *'āgūr*: Is. 38 14 Jer. 8 7 †), rendered in RV CRANE (*q.v.*). A. E. S.—N. M.

[It seems probable that עָגוּר should also be substituted for MT's אֶרֶז in Job 7 6. 'My days are swifter than a crane' will be instinct with pathetic force to those who remember travellers' descriptions of the migration of the crane. See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.]

SWAN (תִּנְשֶׁמֶת, *tinšĕmeth*, Lev. 11 18 [πορφυριων [BFL] -ρων [A]], Dt. 14 16 [(ε)ιβιc BAFL]).

Two species of swan, *Cygnus musicus* (*C. ferus*), the Whooper or Wild Swan, and *C. olor* (*C. mansuetus*), have been found in Palestine; but they appear to be comparatively rare, and scholars do not now defend AV.

Following 𝔊 in Dt., Tristram identifies *tinšĕmeth* with the sacred ibis (*Ibis æthiopica*; but see HERON), or with the purple gallinule (*Porphyrio cæruleus*) allied to the moor-hen. See, however, OWL.

The same Hebrew word is found in Lev. 11 30 in the list of unclean quadrupeds, where AV has MOLE (*q.v.*, 2), RV CHAMELEON. See LIZARD, 6. A. E. S.

[1] χελιδών represents both סוס and עגור in Is., in Jer. χελιδὼν ἀγροῦ = סוס or סיס. Aq. ἵππος in Is. 38 14; Sym. χελιδών in Is. 38 14, τέττιξ in Jer. 8 7; Theod. σίς in Is. 38 14.

[2] This form, which is the Kre in Jer. 8 7, is also supported by Th. in Is. 38 14 and is the name which Tristram heard (see above).

SWEARING (√שׁבע, Gen. 21 23, etc.; ομνγειν, Mt. 5 34, etc.). See OATH.

SWEAT, BLOODY. Of the passage in Lk. 22 44 (the agony in the garden), 'and his sweat became as it were great drops of blood falling down upon the ground' (καὶ ἐγένετο ὁ ἱδρὼς αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι αἵματος καταβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν), three interpretations are current: (*a*) that a literal (and preternatural[1]) exudation of blood is intended; (*b*) that the sweat-drops *resembled* blood-drops in colour, size, abundance, or the like; (*c*) that the expression is to be taken rhetorically, somewhat as the modern 'tears of blood.'

It is to be observed that *vv.* 43 *f.* are absent from many MSS (see the discussion in *WH* 264 *ff.*). It is a question whether they were suppressed by the 'orthodox' (ὀρθόδοξοι δὲ ἀφείλαντο τὸ ῥητόν, Epiphanius, *Ancorat.* 31), or whether they are to be regarded as a later insertion, explicable perhaps on some such principle as that suggested above in col. 1808, middle. Among the most recent commentators Holtzmann accepts them as genuine, whilst B. Weiss rejects them. There is a recent discussion of the subject by Harnack (*SBA W*, 1901, 251-255), who holds it to be certain that BNA give an intentionally shortened text, and places the excision perhaps in the beginning of the second century, but perhaps also many decades later. His arguments are four: (1) Every feature in the disputed passage which can be compared with certainly genuine Lucan passages bears the Lucan stamp. (2) There is no direct evidence that the words were wanting in the MSS. before 300, whilst Justin, Tatian, and Irenæus attest them for the first half of the second century. (3) In two important points the passage could not fail to offend the orthodox: (*a*) the statement that an angel strengthened Jesus: we remember how earnest was the struggle in the earliest times for the super-angelic dignity of Jesus; (*b*) the ἀγωνία with its consequences was produced not by external attacks but by a terrible inward struggle (this goes beyond Heb. 5 7). (4) We cannot, it is true, give a full answer to the question whence the fourth evangelist drew his material; but it is clear that in the narrative of the Passion and the Resurrection he had no other source than the Synoptics. Now is it not highly probable, asks Harnack, that Jn. 12 27 *ff.* is the Johannine transformation of Lk. 22 43 *f.*? Cp CROSS, § 5.

SWEET CANE (קָנֶה), Is. 43 24 Jer. 6 20. See REED, 1*b*.

SWEET ODOURS. (1) בְּשָׂמִים, *bĕśāmīm*, 2 Ch. 16 14, etc. See SPICE, 1; cp BALSAM. 2. נִיחֹחִים, *nīḥōḥīm*, Lev. 26 31, etc. Cp SACRIFICE, § 36.

SWEET SPICES (סַמִּים), Ex. 30 34. See SPICE, 2.

SWINE (חֲזִיר; cp Ass. *ḫumṣiru*;[2] γc; χοιρος, Lk. 8 32 *f.* 15 15 *f.* etc.). Apart from the prohibition of eating

1. Biblical references. swine's flesh (Dt. 14 8, cp Lev. 11 7) there is probably no pre-exilic reference to this animal in the OT. The fine proverb comparing a 'fair woman without discretion'

[1] According to Professor Macalister (Hastings, *DB* 3 330*a*): 'There are no modern trustworthy cases of genuine bloody sweat; and although in some older writings comparable instances are quoted, none of them are properly authenticated.'

[2] *Ḫumṣiru* and *piazu* are two animals which belong to the class represented ideographically by *SAḪ* (*i.e.*, swine). They lived in reedy, marshy districts. Whether *ḫumṣiru* is quite the same as the Arabic *ḫinzīr* is uncertain; but the affinity must be great (Jensen, *ZA* 1 309). The Aramaic *ḥĕzīrā* is, like the Arabic form, derived from Babylonian; cp references in Muss-Arnolt, *s.v. ḫumṣiru*. 'Narrow-eyed' (BDB) is not a satisfactory explanation.

to 'a jewel of gold in a swine's snout' (Prov. 11 22) may already presuppose the proximity of Gentiles who kept swine. This is certainly the case with the two most familiar NT references to swine—viz., 'he sent him into his fields to feed swine' (Lk. 15 15), and 'neither cast ye your pearls before the swine' (Mt. 7 6). But we can go deeper into the meaning than this. It is difficult not to think that, at any rate in its present form, the crowning error of the 'prodigal son' consisted in his becoming paganised[1] (an ever present danger of Jews in the Roman period); 'the swine,' as well as 'the dogs' (note the article) in Jesus' warning, are Gentiles of the class described so often in the OT as 'the wicked' (contrast Is. 42 4*b*). Such passages are intelligible only at the period when both Judaism and the young religion of Christ were confronted by an alien religious system in the very midst of the sacred land. No more striking exhibition of this perpetual contrast can well be imagined than that in the narrative of the demoniacs of Gerasa (see GERASA). This place was (like Gadara) in the heathen territory of Peræa, where a 'herd of many swine' (Mt. 8 30 Lk. 8 32)—we need not lay stress on the too definite detail in Mk. 5 13[2] ('about two thousand')—was a familiar sight.

It is probable that the story of the Gerasene demoniac or demoniacs has not reached us in its earliest form, and that the departure of the 'legion' of demons into the half-legion of swine is a secondary element.[3] If so, we gain a fresh illustration of the Jewish way of regarding heathenism as a 'swinish' error (see Weizsäcker's weighty remarks, *Apost. Age*, 265). The author of 2 Peter regards the immoral heresy of his day as just such another (2 Pet. 2 22,[4] where EV 'sow,' ὗς).

There are three references to swine in 𝕲 which are not found in MT. Probably, however, they are due to corruption of the text. See 2 S. 17 8 (where 𝕲B appears to insert ὡς ὗς τραχεῖα ἐν πεδίῳ; but see Klo. *ad loc.*) and 1 K. 20 19 22 38 (where the [αἱ] ὕες of BAL and BA respectively has evidently sprung out of κύνες).

2. A sacred animal.

The swine occupied a highly honourable place as a sacrificial animal in Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, but was neither sacrificed nor eaten by the Jews.[5] Their feeling of repugnance was not shared by the Assyrians, who relished swine's flesh;[6] though the hog, which was only half-tamed, was not included among their ordinary domestic animals.[7] In Egypt the pig was unpopular, if not tabooed.[8] Swine were certainly kept, but only in certain localities—*e.g.*, in the district of el-Kāb (the city of Eileithyia). Among the live stock belonging to Renni, whose tomb is at el-Kāb, 300 swine are mentioned. As Renni (13th dynasty) was a prophet of the goddess at el-Kāb (perhaps to be identified with Selēnē; cp Herod. 2 47), it is probable that he had to provide swine for sacrifice; for swine, as Herodotus states, were sacrificed to Selēnē and Dionysus (Osiris). The drove of swine depicted in the tomb of Paheri (18th dynasty) at the same place may be for agricultural purposes. Elsewhere swine came to be regarded as embodiments of Set and Typhon, and were loathed accordingly. To the Syrians and Phœnicians, however, the swine was sacrosanct and its flesh prohibited (cp Lucian, *Dea Syr.* 54). Antiphanes states that it was sacred to Aphrodite or Astarte (Athen. 3 49).

Probably it is from the European boar (*Sus scrofa*) that the domesticated swine of Palestine is derived, though this is still to some extent a matter of conjecture. Swine are very uncommon in Palestine, and there may have been the same scarcity in Jewish territory in ancient times on account of the repugnance of the Jews to this animal. This repugnance (which is shared by Mohammedans) is not to be explained on mere sanitary grounds (cp Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 8). It is but the reverse side of that earlier veneration for the swine as *sacrosanct*,[1] which also accounts for the original taboo upon swine's flesh; and the legend of the death of ADONIS may be a primitive (Phœnician) explanation of this change of feeling. There is indeed some evidence among the Jews of a survival of the ancient feeling in certain quarters. As Robertson Smith has pointed out,[2] the strange statements in Is. 65 4 (cp 66 17) and 66 3 are most easily explicable if the flesh of swine was partaken of in secret sacrificial meals.

The correctness of this view is by no means bound up with his view of the date of Is. 65 *f.*, which later criticism regards as belonging to the time of Nehemiah, and referring to certain unorthodox rites practised by some at least of the Jews and by the Samaritans, or the N. Arabians (Che.), and denounced by the adherents of a legal orthodoxy. It has also been made at any rate plausible by Robertson Smith that the swine, the dog, and the mouse (see DOG, MOUSE) were the totems of the Jewish families which took part in the mysteries described in those strange prophecies.[3]

3. References to boars.

The BOAR in Hebrew bears the same name as the swine. The Talmud for clearness uses the phrase חֲזִיר הַבָּר (cp בַּר, 'the open country,' Job 39 4); a psalmist (Ps. 80 13 [14] σῦς [BA], ὗς [א ART]) once speaks of 'the boar from the jungle'[4] (מִיַּעַר, EV 'out of the wood'). This is in fact the more descriptive phrase. It is in the 'jungle' of the Jordan, from Jericho to the Sea of Galilee, that the wild boar specially dwells, though he is also to be found in the lowlands of S. Philistia and Beersheba and on the slopes of Hermon. 'A party of wild boars,' says Tristram (*NHB* 54), 'will uproot a whole field in a single night.' The Assyrian storm-god in his fury is likened to a wild boar (*ḫumṣiru*); not unnaturally we may interpet Ps. 80 13 [14] of the havoc wrought in Palestine by the armies of Artaxerxes Ochus. Similarly in 4 Esd. 15 30 the CARMANIANS [*q.v.*] are compared to 'the wild boars of the forest' (in one of the late additions to 4 Esd.); and in Enoch 89 72 the Samaritans who attempted to prevent the rebuilding of the Jewish temple are symbolised by wild boars.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.—T. K. C.

SWORD (חֶרֶב, *ḥéreb*; μαχαιρα, ρομφαια, ξιφος). In Ecclus. 46 2 ῥομφαία (EV 'sword)' represents *kīdōn*, כִּידוֹן. See JAVELIN, 1, 5. In Job 20 25, *bārāḳ*, בָּרָק, lit. 'lightning,' is poetically used for 'sword' or 'blade' (cp Dt. 32 41).

[1] The parable is even *literally* accurate. That Jews were sometimes tempted to keep swine is proved for the time of John Hyrcanus by a prohibition quoted by Grotius in his comment on Mt. 8 32.

[2] Keim's statement (*Jesu von Naz.* 2 457) is correct; 'the report of Matthew is by far the simplest, the most original.' Cp Badham, *S. Mark's Indebtedness*, 42 *f.*

[3] Nestle (*Philologica Sacra*, 21) suggests that the story may have arisen as a popular explanation of a place-name such as Rās el-ḫinzīr, 'swine's head' (or 'promontory'), or Tell abu-l-ḫinzīr, 'hill of the father of swine.'

[4] In this passage the reference to the wallowing of the swine appears to have sprung from a misreading of a well-known proverb (Prov. 26 11).

[5] Cp Frazer, *Pausanias*, 4 137 *ff.*

[6] On certain days it was expressly forbidden to eat it (Jastrow, *Relig. Bab. Ass.* 381). Was it sacred to Bel at Nippur? See Peters, *Nippur*, 2 131.

[7] Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 560. The illustration given by Maspero represents a sow and her litter in the reeds of the marshes.

[8] Erman, *Egypt*, 441.

[1] The theory of the primitive sanctity of the swine is unassailable (cp FISH, §§ 9 *ff.*). Callistratus's explanation of this sanctity (Plut. *Sympos.* 4 5) may be absurd; but the fact remains. Cp Frazer's important remarks in his *Pausanias*, 4 138; and see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 8; FOOD, § 16, and *JQR*, 1902, p. 422.

[2] *Kinship*, 307 *ff.*; *RS*(2) 343, 357, 368. (Other illustrations of the subject of this article will also be found in *RS*(2).)

[3] [See SHAPHAN, SANBALLAT, ZERUBBABEL, and especially *Crit. Bib.*, where the evidence relative to the captivity of the people of Judah and their subsequent relations to their oppressors is considered, and Is. 65 4 66 3 17 are restored to what the present writer takes to be their original form. He would gladly have come to other results, as the new considerations compel him to abandon the brilliant and plausible theory adopted from W. R. Smith in *Intr. Is.* 366 *ff.*—T. K. C.]

[4] On the reading see HIPPOPOTAMUS.

Other words doubtfully or wrongly rendered 'sword' are:

1. *šélaḥ*, שֶׁלַח, Joel 2 8; RV 'weapons' (EV's usual rendering). 'Dart' would be better (שׁלח, to send, shoot). So in Neh. 4 17 [11], and elsewhere, 'weapon' should be 'dart' (𝔊BℵA βολίς).

2. *mĕkērāh*, מְכֵרָה, Gen. 49 5†. So AVmg., RV. The meaning is suitable; but the sense has no philological justification (see Spurrell's note). See SHECHEM.

3. *réṣaḥ*, רֶצַח, Ps. 42 10 [11]; 𝔊 καταθλάσαι (-θλᾶσθαι [ℵc.a]); AVmg., 'Or, killing'; RVmg., 'Or, crushing.' Baethgen agrees with RV, comparing 62 3 [4]. See Che. *Ps.*(2), We. *SBOT*, on the text of both passages.

The *ḥéreb* or sword (the sheath of which was called תַּעַר, *tá'ar*, or נָדָן, *nādān*) was suspended from the girdle (Gen. 48 22 1 S. 17 39 25 13 2 S. 20 8), probably on the left thigh (cp Judg. 3 16, with Moore's note), as was also usual with the Assyrians (see Layard, quoted below) and the Greeks. Though so frequently mentioned in the OT, we need not infer that it was in very common use; the sword cannot have been so easy to make as the arrow (see WEAPONS, § 2) or SPEAR. Nor must we suppose that an instrument of the same size and shape is always intended by *ḥéreb*; the same word may have denoted the most primitive form of sword, as well as the later knife-like weapons (cp Josh. 5 2 and see KNIFE, 2), including scimitars and the longer poniards.

Taking a wider survey of the evolution of the sword, we notice that the earliest form of this weapon was of wood; the antelope's horn, merely sharpened, which is still used in every part of the East where the material can be procured, may also, as a writer in Kitto suggests (*Bibl. Cycl.*), have served the same purpose. The Egyptian soldiers of the first Theban Empire were armed in some cases with wooden swords (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilisation*, 452), and swords of heavy wood are said to be still used in Nubia; in Mexico and Yucatan the wooden sword was provided with a flint edge, and 'the destructive powers of this formidable weapon are frequently dwelt upon by the early Spaniards' (Wilson, *Prehistoric Man*, 1 190). Later, bronze and iron were used.

The sword, however, would not appear to have been a favourite weapon in ancient times. Where it is found, it seems to be carried as a rule as an additional security. The Chaldæan soldiers, whose equipment was of the rudest kind, though they seem to have used the dagger, did not apparently carry a sword (see Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 722). According to Erman (*Life in Anc. Egypt*, 516), the swords (*ḥurpu*) imported into Egypt in the eighteenth dynasty came from Syria. Wilkinson (*Anc. Egypt*, 1 210 *f.*) gives the following description of the Egyptian sword:

> 'The Egyptian sword was straight and short, from two-and-a-half to three feet in length, having apparently a double edge, and tapering to a sharp point; and Herodotus compares the sword of Cilicia to that of Egypt. It was used for cut and thrust; but on some occasions they held it downwards, and stabbed as with a dagger. The handle was plain, hollowed in the centre, and gradually increasing in thickness at either extremity' (cp the picture of the storming of Dapuru, the fortress of the Ḥeta, by Rameses II., reproduced above, col. 1223).

This is very like the sword of the bronze age as we find it elsewhere (cp the bronze swords given in Evans, *The Ancient Bronze of Great Britain*, 273-300; Wilson, *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, 1 352). Like other bronze swords it is without cross-piece[1] or handguards; and like these, in spite of what Wilkinson says, it was perhaps 'intended for stabbing and thrusting rather than for cutting' (Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*(6), 30).[2] The swords of the Mediterranean pirates seem to have been of the same kind (Wilkinson, 246; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 375); and we meet with it again on the silver patera found by Gen. di Cesnola (*Cyprus*, pl. xix., opp. p. 276) at Curium.[1] For cutting, a curved sword, like a sickle, was often used. In the nineteenth dynasty the Pharaoh himself is represented as fighting. 'He even takes part in the hand-to-hand fight, and his dagger and sickle-shaped sword are close at hand' (Erman, *Anc. Egypt*, 527).[2] The Assyrians, whose martial equipment was remarkable, used swords of various kinds and sizes. The spearman, besides his spear and shield, often carried a short sword in his belt (Maspero, *Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, 321). But Assyrian soldiers also used long swords; 'the swords were worn on the left side, and suspended by belts passing over the shoulders, or round the middle' (Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 342); some of the swords have quite a modern appearance (see Ball, *Light from the East*, 199). That amongst the Israelites the sword was sometimes slung in the same way seems to be shown by such passages as 1 S. 17 39 2 S. 20 8 1 K. 20 11. Both sword and sheath amongst the Egyptians and Assyrians were often highly ornamented (see Wilkinson, *Anc. Egypt*, 1 210, Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 298; cp also the poniards found in the coffin of 'Aḥ-ḥotep, as shown in Maspero, *Egyptian Archæology*, 318 *f.*, *Struggle of the Nations*, 97).

Amongst the metal objects found by Bliss (*A Mound of Many Cities*, 105) were spear-heads, lance-points, and knives, but apparently no swords. On p. 106, however, he gives what he describes as 'a large knife, which fitted on to a wooden handle, as a few slivers of wood still clinging to the end show.' Perhaps this was rather a poniard. Schliemann in his Mycenæan explorations (*Mycenæ*, 283) found swords the length of which 'seems in a great many cases to have exceeded three feet . . .; they are in general not broader than our rapiers.' But, strange to say, he found no swords on the supposed site of Troy (see *Ilios*, 483). At Hissarlik 'weapons of copper and bronze occur frequently—lance-heads, daggers, arrow-heads, knives, if we may designate these as weapons—but no swords' (Preface by Prof. Virchow, xii). The reputed sword of Goliath was preserved as a sacred object in a sanctuary (1 S. 21 8 *f.*). There are Babylonian parallels (see GOLIATH, § 3), and Lubbock (*Origin of Civilisation*(5), 323) points out that to some peoples the sword itself has been an object of veneration and even of worship. M. A. C.

SYCAMINE TREE (ϲυκαμινοϲ, Lk. 17 6†) is, as all agree, the mulberry, that being the invariable meaning of the Greek word (Cels. 1 288 *ff.*).

Both the black and the white mulberry (*Morus nigra* L. and *M. alba* L.) are at this day commonly cultivated in Palestine. The Greek name is probably derived from Heb. שִׁקְמִים, *šiḳmīm*, though this denotes a different tree—the sycomore or fig-mulberry. The Mishnic name for the mulberry is תות. 'Mulberry trees' as a rendering for בְּכָאִים is a mere guess. Cp MULBERRY TREES. N. M.

SYCHAR (ϲυχαρ [Ti. WH]), mentioned in the account of the conversation of Jesus with a Samaritan woman (Jn. 4 5). It was a 'city of Samaria,' and it was 'near the piece of ground (χωρίον) which Jacob gave to his son Joseph.' 'Jacob's fountain' (πηγή) was there, by which we are told that Jesus sat, 'wearied with his journey.' From the expression 'a city . . . called Sychar' (cp 11 54, 'a city called Ephraim') we may plausibly assume that the place referred to was not very well known. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the redactor of the Gospel may have misread the manuscript which lay before him, and that, not knowing any places called Sychar and Ephraim, he

[1] Cp the earlier broadsword of the ante-Norman period; see Evans, *Ancient Armour and Weapons in Europe*, 1 31 *ff.*

[2] 'The handles of the bronze swords are very short, and could not have been held comfortably by hands as large as ours, a characteristic much relied on by those who attribute the introduction of bronze into Europe to a people of Asiatic origin' (Lubbock, *op. cit.*).

[1] The weapons of Cyprus were greatly prized; 'Alexander had a Cyprus sword given him by the king of Citium, and praised for its lightness and good quality' (p. 10).

[2] Cp the curved sabre of Rammān (Adad)-Nirari I.; Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, 607; Ball, *Light from the East*, 133. The Etruscans also used the curved sword; Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 1 201 2 442.

may have modified the phraseology so as to suit these apparently obscure places.[1] Naturally there has been much debate as to this 'city called Sychar,' otherwise unmentioned; and the theory which has the first claim to be considered is that which identifies 'Sychar' with συχεμ (Sychem)—*i.e.*, the chief city of the Samaritans, Shechem.

1. Sychar = Shechem.

From the time of Eusebius, no doubt has been entertained as to the identity of 'Jacob's fountain.' It is called later in the gospel narrative a well (φρέαρ = בְּאֵר, *bĕ'ēr*), and this double title is, in fact, applicable to the venerable 'Jacob's Well' of our day, if the various reports of travellers are correct. It is no doubt rain-water that produces the softness claimed for the water of 'Jacob's Well'; but it may nevertheless also be true that, as Conder says, the well fills by infiltration.[2] Few of the sacred sites in Palestine thrill one so much as this, because of the beauty of the narrative with which it is connected, and because of the unquestioning and universal acceptance of the early tradition. Jacob's Well is situated 1½ m. E. of Nāblus, 1100 yards from the traditional tomb of Joseph (Josh. 24 32). It is beneath one of the ruined arches of the church which Jerome, as we shall see (§ 2), speaks of, and is reached by a few rude steps, being some feet below the surface. The situation is very appropriate, if the well was designed for the use of the workers in the grain-fields of el-Maḥna;[3] for it is at the point where the Vale of Nāblus merges into the plain of el-Maḥna. The reputation of its water for sanctity and for healthfulness might conceivably have led a woman to go there from Shechem (if Sychar = Shechem) to draw water, although the well was 'deep.' A doubt may, indeed, arise as to whether the city of Shechem could have been described by the narrator as 'near the piece of land which Jacob gave to Joseph,' if this piece of land enclosed the present 'Jacob's Well' and 'Joseph's Tomb.' It would seem, however, that a writer who had the statement of Gen. 33 18-20 in his mind would almost inevitably speak of the 'piece of land' as near Shechem; for the writer of that passage (we assume the text to be correct) certainly suggests that Shechem and Jacob's purchased estate were near together. If, therefore, our present 'Jacob's Well' was already known by that name in the time of the evangelist (or the writer on whom the evangelist relies) there is no difficulty in the statement that Sychar (if Sychar = Shechem) was near Jacob's possession. Nor can we, in accordance with the tenor of the narrative, venture to place 'the city' *very* near Jacob's Well, for Jesus' disciples, who had gone away into the city to buy food, returned (Jn. 4 8 27) only after Jesus had had a conversation with the woman, which we cannot well suppose to have been a short one.

If 'Sychar' were the only somewhat improbable place-name in the Fourth Gospel, it might perhaps be rash to question the accuracy of the reading; but Ænon, Salim, Ephraim all warn us to caution in the treatment of 'Sychar.' Jerome long ago ascribed the reading to the error of a copyist, nor has modern criticism disproved the possibility of his hypothesis.[4] It is, however, in the document used by the redactor of our Gospel, not in the Gospel itself, that we may suppose the corruption to have arisen. The text may have become indistinct, and the redactor may have misread 'Sychar' for 'Sychem.'

To suppose that the narrator, being an allegorist, deliberately changed 'Sichem' into 'Sychar' in order to suggest that the Samaritan religion was a 'lie' (שֶׁקֶר, *šéker*; cp Hab. 2 18), or that the Samaritans were 'drunkards' (*šikkōrīm*, cp Is. 28 1), is rash in the extreme. The latter suggestion (Reland) is absurdly inappropriate, for Is. 28 1 relates to the nobles of ancient Samaria, and has nothing to do with Shechem. (Cp, however, GOSPELS, § 54 γ.)

The above, however, is not the only solution of the problem of Sychar. By a curious coincidence it happens (*a*) that early Christian travellers in Palestine speak of a Sichar distinct from Sichem, (*b*) that the Talmud several times speaks of a Suchar, and (*c*) that at the present day the name 'Askar is found in the neighbourhood of Jacob's Well.

2. Sychar distinct from Shechem.

(*a*) As to the early travellers' notices, it is almost enough to refer to G. A. Smith's compact and lucid summary. Every one who either has, or desires to have, an intelligent delight in biblical geography knows this writer's *Historical Geography*, and may therefore be aware that the Bordeaux Pilgrim (about 333 A.D.) speaks of a Sychar, about 1 R. m. from Shechem. The pilgrim also says that the monument of Joseph was at the place called Sichem, by Neapolis at the foot of Mt. Gerizim. The abbot Daniel (1106-1107) speaks of 'the hamlet of Jacob called Sichar. Jacob's Well is there. Near this place, not half a verst away, is the town of Samaria . . . at present called Neapolis.' Fetellus (1130) says, 'A mile from Sichem is the town of Sychar; in it is the fountain of Jacob, which, however, is a well.' John of Würzburg (1160-1170) says, 'Sichem is to-day called Neapolis. Sichar is E. of Sichem.' Quaresmius (about 1630) gives the report of Brocardus (1283) that 'to the left (N.) of Jacob's Well' he saw 'a certain large city deserted and in ruins, believed to have been that ancient Sichem'; the natives told him that they now call the place Istar.[1]

In addition to other notices we may add the Itinerary of Jerusalem (333 A.D.), which places Sychar at the distance of *mille passus* from Neapolis, and the following testimony of Eusebius (*OS* 297 26): 'Sychar, before Neapolis, near the piece of ground, etc., where Christ according to John discoursed with the Samaritan woman by the fountain; it is shown to this day,' to his translation of which Jerome adds (*OS* 154 31) in lieu of the closing words, 'where now a church has been constructed.'[2] The latter statement, it may be said in passing, throws back considerably the date of the belief in the traditional Jacob's Well. It should also be noticed that Eusebius in the same work writes thus of Sychem or Shechem: 'The place is shown in the suburbs of Neapolis, where, too, the Tomb of Joseph is shown' (*OS* 290 56), with which compare this statement of Eusebius on Βάλανος Σικίμων (the Oak of Shechem = the present hamlet of Balaṭa): 'It is shown in the suburbs of Neapolis at the Tomb of Joseph' (*OS* 237 69). Now if the Tomb of Joseph was in the suburbs of Neapolis, surely the Well of Joseph must have been there too. Both Tomb and Well were certainly placed in the traditional 'piece of land' purchased by Jacob, 'before Shechem.' It may be added that there is abundant evidence in the texts of early and mediæval pilgrims for identifying Sychar and Sychem (see *HG* 373, n. 1).

(*b*) It was long ago pointed out by Lightfoot († 1675) that the Talmud mentions a place called Suchar (סוכרא ,סוכר) or Sichar (סיכרא ,סיכר), and a fountain of Suchar (עין סוכר), and a plain of En Suchar (בקעת עין סוכר). It was from En Suchar (fountain of S.) or the plain of En Suchar that the Passover sheaf and the two Pentecostal loaves were brought to Jerusalem during the war of Aristobulus II. against Hyrcanus II. (*Bābā ḳammā*, 82*b*; *Mĕnāḥōth*, 64*b*). The other references (*Bābā mĕṣī'ā*, 42*a* [*Pĕsāḥim*, 31*b*] and 83*a*; *Nidda*, 36*a*; *Ḥullīn*, 18*b*) relate to a time when the Samaritan population had no doubt given place

[1] It is remarkable, however, that in Gen. 33 18, as the text stands, the well-known Shechem is described in a way which would rather befit an obscure place like 'Sychar' (on the assumption that 'Sychar' is right).

[2] Cp G. A. Smith, *HG* 374; and papers on the water of Jacob's Well, *PEFQ*, 1897, pp. 67, 149, 196. 'The source of supply to the well has not been accurately ascertained, but it is, doubtless, greatly due to percolation and rainfall,' Barclay, 68.

[3] Trumbull, *PEFQ*, 1897, p. 149.

[4] 'Transient Sichem, non ut plerique errantes legunt Sichar, quae nunc Neapolis appellatur' (Ep. 86). 'Hebraice Sichem dicitur, ut Johannes quoque Evangelista testatur; licet vitiose, ut Sichar legatur, error inolevit' (*Quæst. in Gen.* cap. 48, no. 22). 'Sichar conclusio sive ramus. Conrupte autem pro Sichem . . . ut Sichar legeretur, usus optinuit' (*OS* 66 20).

[1] *HG* 369 *f.* 'Askar must be meant. Cp a similar uncertainty about the pronunciation of another Palestinian name (LACHISH).

[2] Cp Jerome, *Ep.* 86, 'Et ex latere montis Garizim exstructam circum puteum Jacob intravit ecclesiam.' The church built over the well was visited by Antoninus Martyr near the end of the sixth century, and again in the seventh century by Arculphus, and in the eighth by Willibald. The ruins of the church have doubtless raised the bottom of the well.

to a Jewish.[1] That at the time referred to by the evangelist a Samaritan population occupied Sychar is explained by the fact that under Herod the Great, Archelaus, and the Roman procurators, the Samaritans were able to recover from the fearful blow dealt to them by the vindictive John Hyrcanus.

It is difficult not to conjecture that the localities intended in the Talmud are the Sahil el-'Askar (Plain of el-'Askar) and the 'Ain el-'Askar (Fountain of el-'Askar) discovered early last century by Berggren. Though Prof. G. A. Smith does not mention this evidence, it is hardly likely that he rejects it.

(*c*) On the slope of Mt. Ebal, about 1¾ m. ENE. from Nāblus and little more than half a mile N. from Jacob's Well, is a little hamlet called 'Askar, with rock-tombs and a fine spring called 'Ain el-'Askar (or el-'Asgar). The neighbouring plain, too, bears the name Sahil el-'Askar. It is tempting to think that this is the Sychar of the Fourth Gospel (cp Conder, *Tentwork*, 175). Not only does it at once virtually prove the traditional Jacob's Well to be the true one, but it seems also to show conclusively that the evangelist had a singularly minute and accurate knowledge of the scene of his narrative, and this suggests in turn that the narrative itself may be, at least, founded on fact. It is true, there still remains the difficulty that nothing is said of a Sychar distinct from Sychem before the fourth century; that Eusebius's language is indecisive; and that Jerome, the most learned scholar of his time, and, like Eusebius, a resident in Palestine, maintains that Sychar is a bad reading; but perhaps the evidence of the Talmud and of the native nomenclature may plausibly be held to counterbalance this. Von Raumer, Ewald, Keim, Furrer, Lightfoot, etc., adopt this theory.

The disputants on either side may sometimes have been unduly influenced by their interest in the question,

3. Conclusion. Did the fourth evangelist make great mistakes in his geography? The author of *Supernatural Religion*, for instance ([2], 2 421 [pop. ed. 531]), whose tone is not altogther dispassionate, holds that the mention of a city of Samaria called Sychar is one of several geographical errors which show the author not to be a disciple of Jesus, or indeed a Jew. There is another point of view, however, already briefly referred to. The Fourth Gospel, as it now stands, may have several errors in names; but these errors may not be due to the writer, whose work has been edited and largely transformed by a redactor. It is most unlikely that the city which fills such a prominent place in the narrative of Jn. 4 should be any other than Shechem. Sychar is most probably incorrect, and it is a mere coincidence that the Talmud contains the name סוכר—*i.e.*, probably Sychar—and that the native nomenclature has preserved the name 'Askar. How סוכר, 'Sychar,' is to be explained, is by no means clear; it can, of course, have no connection with שְׁכֶם, Shechem. 'Askar, however, may quite well have grown out of Suchar; the 'Ain, as G. A. Smith well remarks,[2] may quite well represent an original 'Elif. It is one of the many plays on names discernible in the Arabic nomenclature, 'Askar being a common Arabic word for 'soldier, army.' Cp Taylor, *Pirḳē Ābōth*[2], 170. T. K. C.

SYCHEM (ϲυχεμ [Ti. WH], Acts 7 16; **Sychemite,** ὁ Συχεμ [BאA], Judith 5 16 AV, RV SHECHEMITE) AV, RV SHECHEM (*q.v.*).

SYCOMORE (ϲυκομορεα; Lk. 19 4†) and **SYCOMORES** (שִׁקְמִים, *šiḳmīm*, 1 K. 10 27 1 Ch. 27 28 2 Ch. 1 15 9 27 Is. 9 10 [9] Am. 7 14†, and שִׁקְמוֹת, *šiḳmōth*, Ps. 78 47†).

𝔊 wrongly renders by συκάμινος (-η in R of Ps. 78 47, -α in Am.), a word which is probably derived from *šiḳmīm*, but denotes the mulberry. *Šiḳmāh* (שִׁקְמָה) and Aram. *šeḳmā*, on the other hand, denote a quite different tree—*Ficus sycomorus*, L.—whose leaves to some extent resemble those of the mulberry, but its fruits those of the fig.

From the deep shade cast by its spreading branches the sycomore is a favourite tree in Egypt and Syria, being often planted along roads and near houses. It bears a sweet, edible fruit, somewhat like that of the common fig, but produced in racemes on the older boughs. The apex of the fruit is sometimes removed, or an incision made in it, to produce earlier ripening. This is the process denoted by the verb *bālas* (בלס) in Am. 7 14 (cp FIG, § 3). The sycomore, as a common and a lowland tree, is repeatedly contrasted with the more valued and majestic mountain cedars (1 K. 10 27, etc.). At the present time, it grows in Palestine mainly on the coast and in the Jordan valley (*FFP* 411). Cp AMOS, § 2, end, PROPHET, § 35.

The British 'sycamore,' which is a species of maple, is of course an entirely different tree. N. M.

SYELUS (ηϲυηλοϲ [B*A], η ϲυνοδοϲ [B[a?b]]), 1 Esd. 1 8 = 2 Ch. 35 8, JEHIEL, 7.

SYENE (סְוֵנֵה, סְוֵנָה). Ezek. 29 10 threatens destruction to Egypt 'from Migdol [to] Syene (RV Seveneh) and even unto the border of Ethopia' (thus EV[mg.]); similarly 30 6 without the reference to Ethiopia. Cornill, following 𝔊, sees the same name in 30 16: 'Syene (reading סון*, *swn*, for סין, *Sin*) shall have great pain,' ‖ Thebes—that is to say, even the most remote cities of Egypt shall tremble (in 5 15, however, Cornill keeps סין *Sin* as Pelusium). Cp also SIN, SINIM. *S'wēnēh*, or *S'wēneh* (סְוֵנֵה or סְוֵנָה), is rendered in Ezek. Συήνη (A. Σοηνη [cp 𝔊 in Is. 43 3, see SEBA], Σουηνη) in 𝔊, *Syene*, Vg., and the context shows that this is correct; cp especially the allusion to the Ethiopian frontier with Strabo, 32, 118, 669, 693, 787; Jos. *BJ* iv. 10 5; Plin. v. 10 11. The ancient Egyptians wrote *Swn*, *Swnw*, *Swnt* (no safe etymology of the name is possible); cp Brugsch, *Dict. Géogr.* 666; the Coptic form is ϲουαν. The Arabs rendered this *Uswān(u)*; the modern orthography is *Aṣwān*. The Massoretic punctuation is, evidently, taken from the Greek form, which also the English Bible has taken from the Versions.

This cataract-city seems to have been very old; but it was completely eclipsed by the capital of the nome, the island-city of Elephantine (Egyptian *Yēbu*), directly opposite. Syene does not seem to have been more than the landing-stage for the famous quarries, from which the ancient Egyptians cut *e.g.* most of their obelisks. The stone, however, they called 'stone of Elephantine,' and the troops guarding the Nubian frontier had their headquarters in that island-city. Herodotus therefore does not mention Syene, not because he had not been there (Sayce, *Journ. Phil.* 14 271), but because for him it belonged to Elephantine. The great garrison of Elephantine, of which he speaks, must have had its quarters mostly around Syene (not on the island) to protect the desert roads alongside of the cataracts against inroads of the nomadic Ethiopians. It is the more remarkable that Ezekiel knows the name of Syene and its importance as a frontier-fortress. Under the Romans Syene came more into prominence, receiving a garrison of 3 cohorts (Strabo, 817); Juvenal lived there in exile as governor of the city. Elephantine still had the temples. Under the Arabs Elephantine was deserted, and Syene became a very considerable town, being the point of arrival for the caravans from the Sūdān. Modern Asuān (Aṣwān) is a very small town, owing to the decline of the caravan trade; its population, which had fallen to 6000, is said to be now about 10,000. The most remarkable antiquities are the tombs of the monarchs of Elephantine (beginning from dyn. 6) on the mountain opposite, discovered in 1885, large Arab cemeteries, and the quarries. W. M. M.

SYMEON (ϲυμεων [Ti. WH], Lk. 3 30 Acts 13 1 15 14 RV, AV SIMEON (*q.v.*, 4-6.)

SYNAGOGUE. The term synagogue conveys a

[1] Delitzsch, 'Talmud. Studien, 8, Sichem and Sychar,' *Zt. f. Luther. Theol.* 17 [1856] 240 *ff.*; cp Neub. *Géogr.* 170 *f.*

[2] In opposition to Robinson, *Later Researches*, 133.

SYNAGOGUE

1. Name.

narrower and a broader meaning: in the broader meaning, a synagogue is a local community in its corporate capacity and as under religious and more or less civil jurisdiction; in the narrower, it is the building with its assemblies and services. Naturally, the two meanings often merge into one. The designation common to both is *kĕnēseth*.

The Heb. כְּנֶסֶת, and the Aram. כְּנִשְׁתָּא,[1] are derived from כָּנַס and כְּנַשׁ respectively, 'to gather'; hence they strictly correspond to the Gk. συναγωγή,[2] 'congregation' or 'assembly.' The narrower meaning is expressed also by בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת, Aram. בֵּי כְנִישְׁתָּא, and in Gk. by προσευχή,[3] συναγώγιον (Philo, 2 591 1 675), προσευκτήριον (Philo, 2 168), and σαββατεῖον (Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 2).

At first, the church also seems to have been called synagogue.[4] Ja. 2 2 is often quoted as evidence; but it may well be questioned whether 'assembly' (as ἐπισυναγωγήν, in Heb. 10 25) would not meet all the requirements of the passage (so v. Soden, *HC* on Ja. 2 2). Of more weight is the fact that the Ebionites called their church 'synagogue'; that the anti-Jewish Marcionites inscribed upon one of their church-buildings: συναγωγὴ Μαρκιωνιστῶν κώμ(ης) Λεβαβων;[5] and that in patristic literature συναγωγή is occasionally used for the church.[6] That the church abandoned the term in favour of ἐκκλησία may be accounted for by the fact of the separation of the two faiths; the two terms are used interchangeably in the LXX, and ἐκκλησία was like and unlike enough to be just the designation wanted. Schürer thinks that the word *ecclesia* was adopted because of its deeper ideal and spiritual significance (see *GVI* 2 433, and cp ASSEMBLY, CHURCH).

2. Origin.

The origin of the synagogue as an organised religious community is bound up with the general history of Israel after the exile (cp GOVERNMENT, §§ 25-31). When the assemblies first began, and when buildings were first set aside for this specific purpose, cannot be definitely stated. It seems most probable that the assemblies originated during the exile (cp Wellh. *IJG*(3), 193). In strange environment, and in default of a centre of worship, something of this sort in a limited form and extent must be presupposed to account for the religious zeal that emanated from the exiles. Whether, on the return to Palestine, any need was felt for such assemblies, the sanctuary becoming now again the centre of worship, may well be questioned. The activities of Nehemiah and Ezra and the introduction of the Law must in time, and in connection with the springing up of Jewish communities outside of Jerusalem, have given a new occasion for them (see CANON, § 18). No reference to the institution of the synagogue, however, is met with in the canonical or apocryphal books of the OT except Ps. 74 8, where *mō'ădē ēl* (מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל) is best taken as meaning 'sacred meeting-places,' and as belonging to the Maccabean period. (See Che. *Psalms*(1), *ad loc.*, but cp PSALMS, § 28, v.) In NT times the synagogue is already a well-known institution with a hoary past; 'Moses from generations of old (ἐκ γενεῶν ἀρχαίων) has in every city those that proclaim him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath' (Acts 15 21). (For full references in NT see § 1 n. 4; see, further, § 8.)

3. Function, etc.

In considering the function and organisation of the synagogue, it will greatly conduce to clearness if the distinction between the broader and the narrower meaning of the term is observed. The synagogal assemblies and services presuppose the existence of an organised Jewish community of which they form an essential part. The wider function is evident in ἀποσυνάγωγος, 'put out of the synagogue' (Jn. 9 22 12 42 16 2), which means more than mere exclusion from the synagogal assemblies—viz., exclusion from social and religious intercourse, that is, from community life (cp EXCOMMUNICATION). The wider function included not only the religious but also the civil and municipal affairs of the community. The distinction between secular and religious is foreign to Judaism. Mishnic legislation throughout presupposes Jewish control of civil life (*Nĕdārīm* 5 5, *Mĕgilla* 3 1); but this is ideal, and could not actually prevail except in towns where the Jewish population preponderated. Where that was not the case the organised synagogal community was found by the side of the civil. In the former case, the synagogal officials were identical with those of the town; in the latter case, they only ruled more or less the Jewish portion of it. Larger towns had more than one synagogal community. In Jerusalem, for example, according to Acts 6 9, the Hellenistic Jews had either two or five separate organisations, representing aggregations homogeneous in nationality or condition (cp Schürer, *l.c.* 2 430 *f.* 176 *ff.*).

4. Government.

Members of the synagogal community (בְּנֵי הַכְּנֶסֶת, *Bĕkōrōth* 5 5) were subject to discipline and punishment by the synagogal government. The local governing body, within whose jurisdiction it lay to try disciplinary cases, was called *bēth dīn*, בֵּית דִּין, 'court,' or (its Gk. equivalent) *sanhedrīn*, סַנְהֶדְרִין,[1] συνέδριον, 'council' (Mt. 5 22 10 17 Mk. 13 9); also βουλή (Jos. *BJ* ii. 14 1). It was composed of twenty-three members in larger towns; and in smaller, of seven members (cp GOVERNMENT, § 31; and see Schür. 2 176 *ff.*). The members were called 'elders' (πρεσβύτεροι, Lk. 7 3) or 'rulers' (ἄρχοντες, Mt. 9 18 23 Lk. 8 41), and the chief γερουσιάρχης (see Schür. 3 46 *f.*).

The chief methods of punishment were (*a*) scourging, (*b*) excommunication, and (*c*) death.

(*a*) Scourging (מַכּוֹת [*Makkōth*, 3 12], Gk. μαστιγόω [Mt. 10 17 23 34] and δέρω [Acts 22 19 Mk. 13 9]) was inflicted in the synagogue building by the synagogue attendant (חַזַּן הַכְּנֶסֶת, ὑπηρέτης, *Makk.*, *ibid.*). The minor offences for which it was administered are given in *Makkōth* 3 1 *ff.* The number of stripes was forty save one (*Makk.* 3 10, 2 Cor. 11 24, Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 21). The tribunal competent to decide upon the punishment is variously given as consisting of three or twenty-three members (*Sanhedrīn*, 1 2).[2]

(*b*) The punitive exclusion of unsubmissive members of the Jewish community is met with already in Ezra 10 8; it was to be the means by which to keep exclusive Judaism intact. There seems to have been at first (so in NT times) but one form of excommunication—viz., *ḥērem* (חֵרֶם),[3] 'ban,' that is, absolute exclusion from the synagogal community. Its origin and conception lie in the OT (see BAN). *Ḥērem* and its Gk. equivalent

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1 The rabbinical references will appear in the course of the article.

2 Jos. *Ant.* xix. 6 3; *BJ* ii. 14 4 *f.* vii. 3 3. In the NT συναγωγή occurs fifty-six times; with the broader meaning in twelve cases: Mk. 13 9 ‖ Mt. 10 17, Lk. 21 12 Mt. 23 34 Lk. 8 41 12 11 Acts 6 9 9 2 22 19 26 11 Rev. 2 9 3 9. Of the remaining forty-four cases it means 'assembly' twice: Acts 13 42 (not in BℵA) Ja. 2 2; and the synagogue-building and its services in the others: Mk. 1 21 1 23 ‖ Lk. 4 33, 1 29 ‖ Lk. 4 38, 1 39 ‖ Lk. 4 44, 3 1 ‖ Mt. 12 9, Lk. 6 6 6 2 ‖ Mt. 13 54, Lk. 4 16 12 39 ‖ Mt. 23 6, Lk. 20 46 (doublet 11 43) Mt. 4 23 (doublet 9 35) 6 2 5 Lk. 4 15 20 28 7 5 13 10 Jn. 6 59 18 20 Acts 9 20 13 5 14 14 1 15 21 17 1 10 17 18 4 7 19 26 19 8†.

3 Acts 16 13 16; Philo, 2 523 *f.*, προσευχή implies the Heb. בֵּית־תְּפִלָּה, of which it is 𝔊's translation in Is. 56 7 (quoted in Mt. 21 13); but as a designation of the synagogue it is not found until late.

4 Epiphan. *Hær.* 30 18: συναγωγὴν δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦσι τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ οὐχὶ ἐκκλησίαν.

5 Le Bas et Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines*, t. 3, n. 2558, quoted by Schür. *GVI*(3), 2 443.

6 Cp Harnack, *ZWT*, 1876, pp. 104 *ff.*; Zahn, *Gesch. NT Kan.* 2 (1883) 165; *Einl.* 1 66 *f.*

1 *Sanhedrīn*, 1 5 *f.*; the two terms סנהדרין and בית דין are used interchangeably; and בית דין should not be limited to the lowest tribunal, as is done by Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* 141.

2 Scourging by Roman officials, referred to in NT (Mt. 20 19 Jn. 19 1), is not considered here.

3 For the rabbinical use of חרם, which does not differ from OT usage (see BAN), cp Jastrow, *Dict.*, *s.v.*

ἀνάθεμα mark an object as 'devoted,' or under the curse of God and deserving death (cp Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* 150).

Ḥērem meant, in fact, the penalty of death, and its infliction was prevented only by lack of power. We must take it that the NT terms ἀφορίζειν, ὀνειδίζειν, ἐκβάλλειν τὸ ὄνομα (Lk. 6 22), ἀποσυνάγωγον γίνεσθαι or ποιεῖν (Jn. 9 22 12 42 16 2), and ἀνάθεμα or ἀναθεματίζειν (Rom. 9 3 1 Cor. 12 3 16 22 Gal. 1 8 *f.* Mk. 14 71 Acts 23 12 14 21), all contain this meaning.[1]

(*c*) The tribunal composed of twenty-three members was competent to inflict the penalty of death (*Sanh.* 1 4), and it is most probable that excommunication was pronounced by it; if so, 'shall incur the penalty of the judgment' (ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει), Mt. 5 22, refers to the lighter punishment of scourging; 'shall incur the penalty of the council' (ἔνοχος ἔσται τῷ συνεδρίῳ), to the severer punishment of excommunication or death.

The Mishna mentions a second kind of excommunication—viz., *niddūy*, נִדּוּי, 'isolation,' called also by its Aram. equivalent *šammattā*, שַׁמְתָּא. Its main purpose seems to have been to guard the dignity and authority of the rabbinical teacher; it might be imposed for disobedience to a rabbinic decision, for an impertinent remark to a teacher, or for failure to greet him properly. It might be imposed by a mere hint—for instance, by saying, 'I have never known thee!' or 'Some one is calling thee outside!' The Gĕmārā mentions a third kind of excommunication—viz., *nĕzīphāh*, נְזִיפָה, 'rebuke.' It seems to have been a severe reprimand uttered by a rabbi, carrying with it in Palestine one day's, in Babylonia a seven days', overhanging displeasure. The *niddūy*-ban, according to the Gĕmārā, extended over a period of thirty days, and involved greater restraint as to intercourse, though not exclusion from the temple or synagogue service. But both forms are later than NT times, and they are too mild to represent the NT terms quoted above.[2]

5. The synagogue building.

Recently discovered ruins of synagogues in Northern Galilee, belonging probably to the second, some perhaps to the first, Christian century, furnish scanty, but the safest, information regarding the architecture of ancient synagogues. Negatively, they show that the rabbinic directions (*Tōs. Mĕg.* 4 22 *f.*) that synagogues should be built on a height of the city and should have the entrance on the E. (like the temple) had not yet come into force. The ruins do not lie in the most prominent positions of the towns, and, with the exception of the synagogue at Irbid, whose entrance is E., they were built from N. to S. with the entrance on the S. On the whole, a Græco-Roman influence in style is noticeable. The buildings were quadrangular in form, divided into five or three aisles by means of four or two rows of massive columns. The columns bore an architrave of stone, the roof was of wood, and the ornamentation, especially of the cornices, was extremely rich, and figures of animals are frequently met with. The entrance was by means of three front portals, a larger for the centre and two smaller for the sides; the lintels have carved on them Hebrew inscriptions and sacred Jewish symbols.[3]

Various parts of the synagogue building, outside of Palestine, find occasional mention in Gk. inscriptions: ἐξέδρα, 'portico'; πρόναος, 'vestibule'; περίβολος τοῦ ὑπαίθρου, 'court.'[4] The synagogue of Ḥammām-Lif, not far from Carthage, had a mosaic floor with varied animal forms in its design (see Schürer, 2 437, n. 26). Kaufmann has shown that both painting and sculpture were in use in decorating the synagogues, even at a later time, the lion being a favourite symbol ('Art in the Synagogue,' *JQR* 9 254 *ff.* [1897]). In a rabbinic description of the synagogue of Alexandria we meet the following terms: בסילקי, βασιλική, basilica; דיפלסטין, διπλῆ στόα, a double-colonnade; סטיו, στόα, colonnade.[1]

6. Site.

The synagogue of Philippi was outside the city gate by a river (Acts 16 13), and a decree of Halicarnassus (in Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10 23) speaks of synagogues as customarily placed by the sea-side (on these passages see PRAYER, § 4). This, however, does not seem to have been the usage in Palestine, nor is it taken account of in the ideal rabbinic legislation. Schürer's contention (2 444), as against Löw (*MGWJ*, 1884, pp. 167 *ff.*), that the ceremonial ablutions made the water-site preferable, is overdrawn. These ablutions do not require a river, and though orthodox Judaism now, more than ever, demands them, no preference is shown for such sites, which are, moreover, opposed to the positive requirement to build them on the highest point of the town. Neither does the position of the discovered ruins bear out Schürer's view. It would seem then that in foreign lands a preference was shown for sites outside the city (for obvious reasons), and then near the water-side; whilst on native soil, or in strong Jewish environment, a central site was chosen.

7. Interior.

The chief piece of furniture was the 'ark' (אָרוֹן, תֵּיבָה, Aram. אֲרוֹנָא, תֵּבוּתָא) containing the scrolls of the Law and other sacred writings, which probably stood by the wall farthest from the entrance. In the centre, upon a raised platform (בִּימָה, βῆμα), stood the lectern (ἀναλογεῖον, Heb. אַנְלוֹגִין or אַנְלְגִין). The rest of the room contained wooden seats (סַפְסָל, *subsellium*; קַלְטֵּר, κλιντήρ) for the congregation (cp Jer. *Mĕgillā*, 73 *d* foot; *Kēlīm*, 16 7). The chief seats of the synagogue (πρωτοκαθεδρία) were near the ark, facing the people, and were occupied by those held in highest honour. (Mt. 23 6 Mk. 12 39 Lk. 11 43 20 46; Tos. *Mĕgillā*, 4 21.) Schürer (2 451) takes it for granted that the women were seated separately in the synagogue. This is not at all certain; such evidence as there is points the other way. That the Talmud and all the ancient sources should not mention such an arrangement is hardly accidental, and the facts gathered by Löw (*MGWJ*, 1884, 364 *ff.*) show a prominent activity of woman in the synagogal service; to these should be added what Schürer himself mentions (3 50), that they could bear the titles of honour, ἀρχισυνάγωγος and *mater synagogæ*, and could sit in the seats of honour in the synagogue (2 451). The present writer has pointed out elsewhere ('Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult,' *JBL*, 1898, p. 111 *ff.*) that the exclusion of woman from the cult was gradual, and came with the progress in the development of the cult itself. Relegation to the galleries of the synagogues was seemingly the last stage and belongs to the Middle Ages (cp Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, 25 *f.*).

8. Synagogue assemblies.

The primary function of the synagogue assemblies was the popular instruction in the law. The children were taught in the 'school' (בֵּית הַסֵּפֶר; Jer. *Kĕtūb.* 32 *c*, *Kĕtūb.* 2 10), and the more technical training was furnished in 'the college' (בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ; Jer. *Mĕgillā*, 73 *d*); but the synagogue assemblies were for the religious instruction of the people. Worship, in the narrower sense, was only a secondary object. That this was so in the times of Jesus we learn from Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2 17; *Ant.* xvi. 2 4), from Philo (2 168), who calls the synagogues διδασκαλεῖα,[2] 'schools,' and from the NT, where 'to teach' (διδάσκειν) appears as the chief function of the synagogue (cp Mt. 4 23 Mk. 1 21 6 2 Lk. 4 15 31 6 6 13 10 Jn. 6 59 18 20). But there is evidence that at this time the synagogue assemblies stood, as it were, in the medium stage of their growth. In earlier times the synagogue was called 'the assembly of the common

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1 It seems most probable that 1 Cor. 5 3-5 and 2 Cor. 2 6-11 do not refer to a Jewish form of excommunication; see EXCOMMUNICATION, § 2, and cp article 'Anathema' in *PRE*(3).

2 See *Ta'ănīth* 3 8, *Mō'ēd Ḳāṭān* 3 1 *f.* and 14*a* 16*b*, *'Ēdūyōth* 5 6, *Middōth* 2 2. The full details of procedure in excommunication, as found in Hamburger, *RE*, *s.v.* 'Bann,' and in Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus*, 2 183 *f.*, are based upon a codification of Talmudic law of the Middle Ages and do not illustrate NT times.

3 There are eleven of these ruins: at Kefr Bir'im (two), Meirōn, Irbid, Tell Ḥūm, Kerâzeh, Nebratein, el-Jish (two), Umm el-'Amed, and Susaf; cp *PEFQ*, 1878, pp. 123 *ff.*, *PEFMem.* 1 224-234 240-243 251-254 396-402 414-417; Baed. *Pal.*(2), pp. cxv 255-260 333 (1894). It is not impossible that the ruin at Tell Ḥūm (see CAPERNAUM, § 3) is that of the synagogue referred to in Lk. 7 5, in which Jesus often taught; cp Wilson and Warren, *Recovery of Jerusalem* (1871), 342-346.

4 In Athribi (Egypt), Mantinea, and Phocis respectively; cp *REJ* 17 236 *f.* 34 148 12 236 *ff.*

1 Tōs. *Sukkā*, 4 6 = Jer. *Sukkā*, 55 *a*, *b*.

2 προσευκτήρια τί ἕτερον ἔστιν ἢ διδασκαλεῖα.

people' (כְּנֶסֶת הָעָם; *Shabbāth*, 32 *a*), and corresponded more nearly to the 'gate' (שַׁעַר) as a common meeting-place.[1] The Targum translates 'gate' (שַׁעַר) in Am. 5 12 15 *bēth kĕništā* (בֵּית כְּנִשְׁתָּא). But after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the synagogue began more and more to take the place of the temple, the assemblies took on gradually more of the form of worship. The name 'assembly of the common people' (כנסת העם) was then seriously objected to (*Shab.* 32 *a*), and the sacredness of the synagogue was specially asserted (Tos. *Mĕg.* 3 7).[2]

9. Officers.

For conducting the synagogue service, an official, strictly speaking, was not deemed necessary; any competent Israelite could officiate. The freedom with which Jesus and Paul took part in the service illustrates this fact. The person who led in the exercises was called 'representative of the community' (שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר), and if he erred while performing his duty, some one else present might immediately take his place (*Bĕrākōth* 5 3). The same freedom still prevails, in theory at least, in the present synagogue service; but naturally those who are especially qualified by experience and efficiency are preferred.

The chief official of the synagogue as a religious assembly was the ἀρχισυνάγωγος, EV 'ruler of the synagogue' (Mk. 5 22 35 *f.* 38 Lk. 8 49 13 14 Acts 13 15 18 8 17; Heb. רֹאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת, *Sōṭā* 7 7 *f.*). The office was not identical with that of the 'elder' (πρεσβύτερος) or 'ruler' (ἄρχων), nor with that of the 'president of the gerousia' (γερουσιάρχης; see § 6), though one might serve in both capacities at the same time. The duties of the Archisynagogos related to the care and order of the synagogue and its assemblies and the supervision of the service.

A second functionary was the *ḥazzān* (חַזַּן הַכְּנֶסֶת, *Sōṭā* 7 7 *f.*, *Yōmā* 7 1), the ὑπηρέτης, AV 'minister,' RV 'attendant' of Lk. 4 20. It was his duty to present for reading, and return to the ark after the reading, the sacred scrolls; he also taught the children (*Shab.* 1 3), and acted as the lictor in scourging, as the agent of the synagogue council (בֵּית דִּין); cp § 8.

The giving of alms was a religious service in the time of Christ, and was administered in the synagogue by special officials called 'administrators' (פַּרְנָסִים), who had under them 'collectors of alms' (גַּבָּאֵי צְדָקָה), and 'distributors of alms' (מְחַלְּקֵי צ׳); see *Shab.* 118 *b*, and cp ALMS, § 3 *f.*

The rabbinic requirement was that at least ten men must be present for the conduct of divine service (*Mĕg.* 4 3). Whether this was already in force in NT times is doubtful; but it led in post-Talmudic times to the custom of providing by payment 'ten men of leisure' (עשרה בטלנין, *decem otiosi*), whose business it was to attend the service; they possessed, however, no official rank.

10. The service.[3]

The Mishna (*Mĕg.* 4 3) enumerates five principal parts of the service: (*a*) the Shĕma'; (*b*) prayer; (*c*) the reading of the Law; (*d*) the reading of the Prophets, and the benediction; but to these must be added (*e*) the translation and explanation of the Scripture lesson. How much of each of these was already in use in NT times will appear in the sequel. On the whole, as has been indicated above (§ 8), the synagogue service was much simpler before the destruction of the temple; that crisis in Judaism exerted a strong influence upon the development of synagogal institutions.

(*a*) The Shĕma' (שְׁמַע, 'Hear!'), so called from the opening word of the first passage, 'Hear, O Israel: Yahwè our God, Yahwè is one,' is composed of three passages of Scripture (Dt. 6 4-9 11 13-21 Nu. 15 37-41), two introductory benedictions for morning and evening, one closing benediction for the morning, and two for the evening.[1]

That the benedictions in their present form are the result of gradual additions was pointed out by Zunz (*Gottesdienstl. Vorträge d. Juden* [1832], 369 *ff.*); the same is most probably true also of the selection of the Scripture passages.

The origin of the reciting of the Shĕma' (קְרִיאַת שְׁמַע) is most probably to be sought in the endeavour to inculcate the sacredness and importance of the Law, for which the selections are most admirably adapted in that they not only emphasise these attributes, but also insist on certain outward symbolic signs as reminders of them (see FRINGES, FRONTLETS). As the phylacteries and fringes are well known in NT times (Mt. 23 5; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 13), the origin of the reciting of the Shĕma' must date back into the pre-Christian period as probably one of the first customs introduced by those who caught the spirit of Nehemiah and Ezra. That the object of the ceremony was accomplished may be seen from the fact that the act is regarded in the beginning of the second century A.D. as 'receiving the yoke of the kingdom of God'—*i.e.*, the obligation to keep the Law of Moses (*Bĕrākh.* 2 5; see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 1 80). The conception of it as a confession of faith (Schür. 2 459), or as a substitute for the daily sacrifices (Hamb. *RE* 2 1088), belongs to later times.[2] In the NT the opening words of the Shĕma' are quoted in Mk. 12 29 (cp Mt. 22 37 Lk. 10 27), but without any reference to its liturgical character.

(*b*) That the disciples could ask Jesus, 'Teach us to pray, even as John taught his disciples,' Lk. 11 1, would seem to indicate that a fixed form of prayer was at that time not in vogue (cp PRAYER, § 7). This is made the more probable by the history of the most ancient synagogal prayer, the *Shĕmōnĕ 'esrē* (שְׁמֹנָה עֶשְׂרֵה), the 'eighteen'—*i.e.*, petitions and benedictions. There are now two recensions of this prayer, a Babylonian and a Palestinian.[3] It appears evident that in the original form each of the petitions consisted of two members; the Palestinian recension has more nearly retained its original form, and is the shorter as well as the older; the Babylonian has received considerable additions. We have, therefore, here also to deal with a piece of synagogal liturgy which has passed through various stages of growth. The present writer is inclined to take the hint of Dalman (*PRE*(3), 7 10) and regard the eight petitions mentioned in Jer. *Yōmā*, 44 *b*, as pointing to an earlier form of the Shĕmōnĕ 'esrē. If the legislation regarding these eight petitions is not ideal, they fit into a period prior to the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.). The fuller forms cannot be as early. The arrangement in the present order of sequence is ascribed to Shimeon ha-Peḳōli (about 110 A.D., *Bĕrākh.* 28 *b*). Dalman thinks it probable that, as petitions 7 and 10-14 are later than the destruction of Jerusalem, the form in vogue before that event consisted of three opening benedictions (1-3), six petitions (4-6, 8, 9, 15), and three closing benedictions (16-18), and holds that this prayer, composed of twelve petitions, may be regarded as the Pharisaic-Judaic counterpart of that of Jesus, composed of five or seven petitions (Mt. 6 9-13 Lk. 11 2-4). An abbreviated form of the Palestinian recen-

[1] Cp Ps. 127 5, Ecclus. 6 34 7 14 (where for ἐν πλήθει πρεσβυτέρων stood probably in the original text בְּקָהָל זְקֵנִים; so Kau. *Apok.*, *ad loc.*) 38 33 39 10 41 18.

[2] At the end of the first century A.D. it was still possible to class sitting in the synagogues with sleeping away the morning, drinking wine at noon, and playing with children, as bringing failure in life (*'Ābōth* 3 14).

[3] See also TEMPLE, §§ 34 *ff.*

[1] Translations of these may be found in Hebr.-Engl. Prayer Books.

[2] Detailed rubrics, dealing with the manner and time of recitation and the persons who are and who are not under obligation to perform it, are given in *Bĕrākhōth* 1-3. The authorities differ as to whether it may be begun in the morning when it is light enough to distinguish between sky-blue and white, or between sky-blue and leek-green.

[3] The Palestinian was recently discovered by S. Schechter in a Gĕniza of Cairo, and published by him in *JQR* 10 654-659 (1898). Dalman has published both recensions (the probable later additions enclosed in brackets) with notes in his *Worte Jesu* 1 299 *ff.*; they are also contained in his *Messianische Texte*.

sion (from Jer. *Bĕrākh.* 8 *a*) is here given for comparison with the 'Lord's Prayer.'

'Grant us understanding; graciously accept our repentance; forgive us, our redeemer; heal our diseases; bless our years; for thou gatherest the scattered, and it is thine to judge the erring; put thy hand upon the wicked; and may all who trust in thee rejoice in the building of thy city, the renewal of thy sanctuary, in the Branch of David, thy servant (*v.l.* the sprouting of a horn for David); for thou answerest before we call. Blessed art thou, Lord, who hearest prayer.'[1]

Petition 12 of the Palestinian recension calls for special mention. The text and its translation are as follows:

לַמְשֻׁמָּדִים אַל תְּהִי תִקְוָה [2]
וּמַלְכוּת זָדוֹן מְהֵרָה תְעָקֵר [בְּיָמֵינוּ
וְהַנּוֹצְרִים וְהַמִּינִים כְּרֶגַע יֹאבֵדוּ]
[יִמָּחוּ מִסֵּפֶר הַחַיִּים וְעִם צַדִּיקִים אַל יִכָּתֵבוּ]
בָּרוּךְ אַתָּה יְיָ מַכְנִיעַ זֵדִים׃

May the apostates have no hope;
And the kingdom of arrogance be quickly uprooted in our day;
And the Christians and heretics perish in a moment;
Let them be blotted out of the book of life, and not be written with the righteous.
Blessed art thou, Lord, who bringest low the arrogant.[3]

The third line has settled it beyond question that Justin Martyr and the Church fathers were right in their statements that the Christians were mentioned in the daily synagogal prayers (*Dial. c. Tryph.* 93 133 137; and see Schür. 2 463).

By the end of the second century A.D. it was an established custom to close the synagogal service with the priestly benediction (בִּרְכַּת הַכֹּהֲנִים), Nu. 6 22-26. As this was originally a part of the temple service, it was probably not introduced into the synagogal liturgy until after the cessation of that service. When priests were present, they pronounced the benediction, standing between the ark and the congregation and facing the latter (Tos. *Mĕgillā*, 4 21); raising the hands as high as the shoulder (*Sōṭā*, 7 6), and repeating the formula after the precentor word by word, the congregation responding after each of the three parts with Amen. In the absence of priests the benediction was offered in prayer, and then, just before the closing prayer for peace, petition 18 (*Mĕg.* 18 *a*).

(*c*) The Sabbath lesson from the Law and the Prophets, and the occasional exposition or exhortation following upon them, were customary in NT times (Lk. 4 16 *f.* Acts 13 15 27 15 21; cp 2 Cor. 3 15; Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 18; Philo, 2 630). The lesson from the Law was unquestionably the oldest, and so the most prominent, part of the synagogue service. The tradition says that 'Moses instituted the reading of the Law on the sabbaths, feast-days, new moons, and half feast-days; and that Ezra appointed the reading of the Law for Mondays and Thursdays and the Sabbath afternoons' (Jer. *Mĕg.* 75 *a*). Such early and general origin, however, is out of the question. That here also there has been a gradual development is made probable by the fact that the present system of dividing the Pentateuch into fifty-four sections (סְדָרִים), to be completed in an annual cycle, can be traced back to an earlier cycle of two years' duration, and that again to one of three years and three years and a half. The special lessons still in use for the sabbaths of new moons, the four sabbaths before the Passover, and for other festivals (*Mĕgillā* 3 5 *f.*) give ground for the supposition that the lessons originated in the selection of appropriate passages for particular occasions, and that only out of these grew the more definite arrangement.[4] Since the reading of the Law was binding upon all, every Israelite, even minors, could partake in the public reading; and on the Sabbath morning seven, at least, were called upon. Each person read his own portion; and only in cases of inability to read was a public lector employed (Jer. *Mĕg.* 75 *a*; Phil. 2 282). The Mishna (*Mĕg.* 4 4) provides for a benediction before and after each person's reading. According to *Sōphĕrīm* 13, both closed with: 'Blessed art thou, Lord, who hast given the Law.'

(*d*) The selection of a portion from the second part of the Jewish canon, 'the Prophets' (נְבִיאִים), to be read after the lesson from the Law, marks a further step in the synagogue ritual. Its original aim may be gathered both from the term by which it was called and from the character of the earliest selections. The term Haphṭārā (הַפְטָרָה; Aram. אַפְטַרְתָּא) is derived from *pāṭar* (פטר), which, in the Hiphil, means 'to dismiss' or 'to adjourn a meeting'; the Haphṭārā was, therefore, the closing exercise. The selections show that they were meant to enforce, by an historical example or by a promise, the lesson from the Law on a particular occasion.

The Haphṭārā for the first day of the Passover was Jos. 5 9 *ff.*; for the second day, 2 K. 23; for Pentecost the lesson from the Law was, Dt. 16 9 *ff.*, the Haphṭārā, Hab. 3, including *vv.* 17 *ff.*; on the Day of Atonement, it was in the morning Is. 57 15 *ff.*, in the afternoon Jonah. Here again the earliest selections on record (Tos. *Mĕg.* 4 1-4; *Mĕg.* 31 *a*) are those for special days; and most likely they served as the nucleus for the present arrangement.

It is most probable that in NT times the prophetic portions were not yet fixed, but were chosen by the reader, and that the selection of Jesus (Lk. 4 16 *f.*) was his own choice.

(*e*) Both the lessons from the Law and those from the Prophets were translated or paraphrased into the vernacular Aramaic by an interpreter (מְתֻרְגְּמָן): in the case of the Law, one verse at a time; in the lessons from the Prophets, three verses might be taken at once (*Mĕg.* 4 4). These translations and paraphrases (תַּרְגּוּם) were of the nature of explanations, and led gradually to the more extended expositions (מִדְרָשׁ, דְּרָשׁ). Of teaching in the synagogues the NT contains many illustrations (Mt. 4 23 Mk. 1 21 6 2). The preacher (דַּרְשָׁן) sat while speaking (Lk. 4 20). The Scripture exposition was not a required part of the service; neither was it the prerogative of an ordained class; any one able to instruct might be invited to speak (Acts 13 15), though ordinarily it fell to the rabbis of the community (*Bĕrākhōth*, 28 *a*). Cp JESUS, § 9.

11. Literature. Much of the literature has already been mentioned; the chief place still belongs to Schürer, *GJV*(3), 2 427-463. Dalman, 'Synagogaler Gottesdienst,' *PRE*(3), 7 7-19, has added richly to both the subject and the bibliography, and signally distinguishes himself by a severer caution in using the Mishnic material to illustrate the time of Christ. To the literature given by Schürer and Dalman add: Duschak, *Gesch. u. Darstellung d. jüd. Cultus*, Mannheim, 1866; Nowack, *Hebr. Archaeologie*, 2 83 *ff.*; Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgesch.* 147 *ff.*; Dembitz, *Jewish Services in Synagogue and Home* (popular), Philad. 1898.

I. J. P.

SYNEDRIUM (*συνέδριον*), a Greek word which means 'assembly' and is especially used of judicial or representative assemblies, is the name by which (or by its Hebrew transcription, סנהדרין, *sanhedrīn, sanhedrīm*) is known that Jewish body which in its origin was the municipal council of Jerusalem, but acquired extended functions and no small authority and influence over the Jews at large (see GOVERNMENT, §§ 29 *ff.*; ISRAEL, §§ 81 *ff.*; SYNAGOGUE, § 4). In the Mishna it is called

1. Meaning and constitution. 'the sanhedrīn,' 'the great sanhedrīn,' 'the sanhedrīn of seventy-one [members],' and 'the great court of justice' (*bēth dīn haggādōl*). The oldest testimony to the existence and constitution of the synedrium of Jerusalem is probably to be found in 2 Ch. 19 8; the priests, Levites, and hereditary heads of houses there spoken of as sitting in Jerusalem as a court of appeal from the local judicatories do not correspond with

[1] The Hebrew text may be found in Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 1 304.

[2] Another fragment of this recension adds, אם לא ישובו לתורתך, and omits l. 4. The parts that are bracketed are regarded as later additions by Dalm. *Worte Jesu*, 1 300.

[3] The Babylonian recension of this petition omits נצרים, and for מינים it reads מַלְשִׁינִים, 'slanderers.' According to *Bĕrākhōth* 28 *b*, Samuel the Small added the petition against heretics to the original eighteen, making thus really nineteen; the Palestinian recension combines the petitions for the restoration of Jerusalem and the coming of the Messiah into one, and so has only eighteen in all.

[4] Cp Hamb. *RE* 2 1263 *ff.*; Büchler, 'The Reading of the Law and the Prophets in a Triennial Cycle,' *JQR* 5 420 *ff.* (1893), 6 1 *ff.* (1894).

anything mentioned in the old history, but may be taken as representing an institution of the Chronicler's own time. And just such an aristocratic council is what seems to be meant by the gerusia or senate of 'elders' repeatedly mentioned in the history of the Jews, both under the Greeks from the time of Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3) and under the Hasmonean high priests and princes. The high priest, as the head of the state, was doubtless also the head of the senate, which, according to Eastern usage, exercised both judicial and administrative or political functions (cp 1 Macc. 12 6 14 20). The exact measure of its authority must have varied from time to time, at first with the measure of autonomy left to the nation by its foreign lords, and afterwards with the more or less autocratic power claimed by the native sovereigns.

As has been shown under ISRAEL (§ 81 *ff.*), the original aristocratic constitution of the senate began to be modified under the later Hasmoneans by the inevitable introduction of representatives of the rising party of the Pharisees, and this new element gained strength under Herod the Great, the bitter enemy of the priestly aristocracy.[1] Finally, under the Roman procurators, the synedrium was left under the presidency of the chief priest as the highest native tribunal, though without the power of life and death (Jn. 18 31). The aristocratic element now again preponderated, as appears from Josephus and from the NT, in which 'chief priests' and 'rulers' are synonymous expressions. But with these there sat also 'scribes' or trained legal doctors of the Pharisees, and other notables, who are called simply 'elders' (Mk. 15 1). The Jewish tradition which regards the synedrium as entirely composed of rabbis sitting under the presidency and vice-presidency of a pair of chief doctors, the *nāsī* and *āb bēth dīn*,[2] is quite false as regards the true synedrium. It was after the fall of the state that a merely rabbinical *bēth dīn* sat at Jabneh and afterwards at Tiberias, and gave legal responses to those who chose to admit a judicature not recognised by the civil power. Gradually this illegal court usurped such authority that it even ventured to pronounce capital sentences,—acting, however, with so much secrecy as to allow the Roman authorities to close their eyes to its proceedings (Origen, *Ep. ad Afr.*, § 14). That this was possible will appear less surprising if we remember that in like manner the synedrium of Jerusalem was able to extend an authority not sanctioned by Roman law over Jews beyond Judæa —*e.g.*, in Damascus (Acts 9 2 22 5).

The council-chamber (βουλή) where the synedrium usually sat was between the Xystus and the temple, probably on the temple-hill, but hardly, as the Mishna states, within the inner court. W. R. S.

2. τὸ συνέδριον in NT. The term 'Sanhedrīn' does not occur in EV; but the Greek συνέδριον is found in a number of passages in NT where EV has 'the council.' In some cases it denotes an ordinary Jewish tribunal (Mt. 10 17); in others it seems to be used of the supreme Jewish Council, the Sanhedrīn (Mk. 14 55 Acts 5 21). In this latter sense the writers are commonly understood to have employed the word in the narratives of the trials of Jesus. It may be doubted, however, whether we have before us the original text.

In Mk. 14 55 (= Mt. 26 59) the writer, after relating that Jesus was led away to the high priest, adds: 'Now the chief priests and the whole council (ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον) sought witness against Jesus to put him to death.' In Mk. 15 1 again it is said, 'And straightway in the morning the chief priests with the elders and scribes, and the whole council (ὅλον τὸ συνέδριον), held a consultation'; but the parallel passage, Mt. 27 1, has simply 'all the chief priests and the elders of the people took counsel.' In the narrative in Lk. the word is introduced very awkwardly. In Lk. 22 66 it is said, 'And as soon as it was day the assembly of the elders of the people was gathered together, both chief priests and scribes; and they led him away into their council, saying, If thou art the Christ, tell us' (καὶ ἀνήγαγον [*v.l.* ἀπήγαγον] αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν [*v.l* αὐτῶν], λέγοντες, κ. τ. λ.). Here the abruptness with which the λέγοντες and following words come in, together with the use of συνέδριον for the place of assembly as well as for the Council itself (for which the evidence usually brought forward from other sources is not very strong), arouses suspicion. εἰς τὸ συνέδριον looks very like an insertion, and καὶ ἀπήγαγον (or ἀνήγαγον) αὐτόν an alteration of καὶ ἐπηρώτων αὐτόν.

It has been found that whereas τὸ συνέδριον occurs in Mk. 15 1 it does not appear in the parallel passage, Mt. 27 1. If, in addition to this, the word is a late insertion in Lk. 22 66, it is a question whether in an earlier stage of the narratives τὸ συνέδριον was present in any of the passages.

When this article was already in print, an important work, by Dr. Adolf Büchler, *Das Synedrion in Jerusalem*, appeared (1902). He thinks that the 'scribes' in Mk. 14 34 are clearly an addition, and that in all the passages ἀρχιερεῖς means (not the 'chief priests' but) the Temple authorities, by whom (and not by the Synedrium) Jesus was seized (see p. 200).

3. Jewish trial? In any case the narratives of the trial are not satisfactory when examined from a critical and scientific[1] standpoint.

'The meeting in the palace of the high priest which condemned our Lord was exceptional. The proceedings also on this occasion were highly irregular, if measured by the rules of procedure which, according to Jewish tradition, were laid down to secure order and a fair trial for the accused' (WRS, *EB*(9) 22 812 *b*). Cp SON OF MAN, § 37, end.

It has been pointed out by Brandt (*Die Evang. Gesch.* p. 67) and Edersheim (*Life and Times of Jesus*, 2 553) that the whole proceedings of the Sanhedrin, if they were such as they are represented to have been, contradict all that we know about the Jewish method of trial from other sources, even when we admit an ideal element in the Rabbinic notices.[2] The Jews, no less than the Romans, have at all times shown great reverence for the law (see Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie* 2 1151). If, as Renan (*Life of Jesus*, p. 252) supposes, Jesus was condemned not so much by Tiberius or Pilate as by the old Jewish party and the Mosaic law, it is remarkable that 'Paul' in dealing with this very law is silent on the subject (cp Brandt, p. 56).

But it is still possible to hold that Jesus was condemned at an informal meeting of the Sanhedrin (Edersheim), or by a smaller Court of Justice (Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, 2 163). Edersheim (2 557) thinks there can be no question that Jesus was condemned and done to death by the whole body of Sanhedrists, if not by the Sanhedrin, 'in the sense of expressing what was the judgment and purpose of all the Supreme Council and leaders of Israel, with only very few exceptions.' It is difficult, however, to think that the Romans would pay much attention to an informal Council. The high priest's task was simply, Edersheim thinks, 'to formulate a charge which would tell before the Roman Procurator'; but the charge he selects, that of blasphemy, however serious its estimation among the Jews, could hardly influence a Roman (cp Keim, p. 83). The charge of claiming to be the Messiah (Keim) might have had more weight; but Keim admits that the refusal of Jesus to explain what he meant by the claim is 'surprising' (p. 89). It is more reasonable to suppose that the charge (whatever it was) was formulated by a mere clique of Jews who in no way represented the nation,[3] and that the condemnation and crucifixion were brought about by the hirelings of such a clique.[4] It is true that Josephus (*Ant.* xviii. 3 3) is

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[1] The name *synedrium* first appears under Hyrcanus II. (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 9 4).

[2] *Nāsī* properly means the sovereign, and *āb bēth dīn* the president of the tribunal. The false traditional application is post-Mishnic.

[1] We are thinking of 'Science' as defined by Huxley (*Essays*) and Herbert Spencer (*Education*), and are not unmindful of what Tolstoy (*Modern Science*; cp his recently published [1902] *What is Religion?*) has said on the subject.

[2] 'All Jewish order and law would have been grossly infringed in almost every particular if this had been a formal meeting of the Sanhedrin' (Edersheim, *l.c.*). On Jewish 'law' cp Pascal, *Thoughts on Religion*, chap. 8, towards end.

[3] This seems to be the view of Jost, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* 1 402-409 (as cited in Edersheim, *Life*, 2 553, n. 2). He describes it as 'a private murder (Privat-Mord) committed by burning enemies, not the sentence of a regularly constituted Sanhedrin, etc.'

[4] The Jewish punishment was by stoning (cp the case of

supposed to assert that Jesus was condemned 'at the suggestion of the principal men among us'; but it has been contended that this passage is an interpolation (De Quincey, *Collected Works*, 7 127 [1897]), and in any case the statement would not prove much.

The trial before Pilate, as it is represented in the Gospels, seems to have been no less irregular, and the judge's conduct can only be accounted for by making him quite an exception to the general rule,[1] a man of all men the most perverse and inconsistent (see Keim, 6 83 *ff.*; Farrar, *Life of Christ*, chap. 60).[2] Pilate, however, it would seem, was not such an exceptional character. See PILATE. When, therefore, he condemned Jesus to suffer crucifixion he must surely have done so on other grounds, and the proceedings must have been different from those recorded by the synoptists. The charge would have to be a political one (cp Tac. *Ann.* 15 44). It may have been, as Lk. 23 2 suggests, only with more circumstantial evidence arising out of misconstruction of 'sayings,' that of 'forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar' (cp Mt. 17 24-27 22 17-22 = Mk. 12 14-17 = Lk. 20 22-26, where the words of Jesus, as reported, are ambiguous). With this charge Pilate would have been competent to deal, as Roman Procurator, more perhaps than with any other.[3]

4. Roman trial.

5. Origin of Narratives.

Keim has made a serious and important attempt to give a reasonable account of the trials of Jesus on the basis (mainly) of the synoptic narratives. His work is the more valuable as it takes note of the investigations of so many other critics. But the variety of views to which he refers, and his own failure to present a satisfactory picture, show the insurmountable difficulties of his task.[4] It seems better, therefore, to admit that it is difficult, if not impossible, to gather from the NT really reliable details of the trial that resulted in the crucifixion of Jesus (cp Brandt, p. 67).[5] In trying to transmit a complete life of Jesus the biographers may have done Jesus himself, the Jews, and the Romans some injustice. They can hardly have had more than rumours about the trial to draw upon;[6] but they also seem to have made free use of the OT[7] and of the Messianic interpretations.[8] There are perhaps also indications in the narratives that they, or their redactors, borrowed features from the ceremonies connected with festivals kindred to the Saturnalia;[1] or it may even be that in collecting materials for an expanded life of Jesus the editors seemed to find in the ceremonies that were performed at the sacrifice of the corn- and wine-gods information regarding the Master who suffered a somewhat similar fate.[2] The narratives in their present form seem also to indicate that at the time the Life was re-edited, the gap between Jews and Christians had become wider, and the effort to win converts among the Gentiles keener.

6. Literature.

Of the older literature of the subject it is enough to cite Selden, *De Synedriis*. The most important critical discussion is that of Kuenen in the *Verslagen*, etc., of the Amsterdam Academy, 1866, p. 131 *seq.* A good summary is given by Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*(2), § 23, 3. See also Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie*, *s.v.*; Ginsburg, 'Sanhedrin' in Kitto's *Bibl. Cyclop.*, and the works on the Life of Jesus; and for an apocryphal account of the trial, E. v. Dobschütz, 'Der Process Jesu nach den Acta Pilati,' in *ZNTW*, 1902, p. 89 *ff.*

W. R. S., § 1; M. A. C., §§ 2-5.

Stephen). At a moment of great excitement, and on such an occasion, would the cry of condemnation that would burst from the lips of Jews be 'Crucify him!'? Edersheim, in spite of his view mentioned above, confesses 'that such a cry should have been raised, and raised by Jews, and before the Roman, and against Jews, are in themselves almost inconceivable facts, to which the history of these eighteen centuries has made terrible echo' (2 577).

1 'It was their appreciation of law, their respect for law, their study of law, far more than anything else, which gave its greatness to the character of the Roman people. Even in the most degraded ages of their history, and with the worst individual types of men, this is the one bright spot which relieves the gloom' (Lightfoot, *Pilate* [a sermon]).

2 Cp Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, art. iv. Jeremy Taylor (*Life of Christ*, Works 2 613) says, 'Not only against the divine laws, but against the Roman too, he condemned an innocent person, upon objections notoriously malicious; he adjudged him to a death which was only due to public thieves and homicides (crimes with which he was not charged), upon a pretence of blasphemy, of which he stood accused, but not convicted, and for which by the Jewish law he should have been stoned if found guilty. And this he did put into present execution, against the Tiberian law, which about twelve years before decreed in favour of condemned persons that, after sentence, execution should be deferred ten days.'

3 See Pearson, art. iv. p. 284 (1866).

4 He is obliged to admit that the actors in this drama acted in quite an extraordinary and exceptional manner. Cp Renan's account.

5 The end therefore is as uncertain as the beginning. See MARY, NATIVITY, RESURRECTION. These matters should not be made of vital importance. 'About the birth of Jesus I know nothing,' says Tolstoy (*Faith*); 'nor do I need to know.' Cp Brandt's eloquent conclusion to his work, *Die Evang. Gesch.* p. 577; see also Leo Tolstoy, *What is Religion?*, Herbert Spencer, *First Principles*, chap. v.

6 Cp Brandt, *Die Evang. Gesch.* p. 81. The 'Pauline' Epistles have no details to give us, though the authors know that Jesus was crucified (Rom. 6 6 1 Cor. 1 13 23 2 2 2 Cor. 13 4 Gal. 2 20 3 1 5 24 6 14) by 'the rulers of this world' (1 Cor. 2 8). Cp Drescher, *Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus*, pp. 17, 39.

7 Cp Pearson, art. iv.; also Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, R. W. Mackay, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents* (1863), pp. 146 *ff.*

8 For these see Aug. Wünsche, *Die Leiden des Messias* (1870).

SYNTYCHE (ϹΥΝΤΥΧΗ [Ti. WH]), Phil. 4 2. See EUODIA.

SYNZYGUS (ϹΥΝΖΥΓΕ [Ti. WH]) in Phil. 4 3, though rendered '[true] yokefellow' in EV, is, though not met with elsewhere as such, almost certainly to be regarded as a proper name (Σύνζυγε [WH^mg.]). Various unsuccessful attempts have been made to guess who is meant, the Pauline authorship of the epistle being assumed. Clement of Alexandria thought that the apostle's own wife was intended; Chrysostom, the husband or brother of Euodia or of Syntyche; Lightfoot, Epaphroditus; others, Timothy, Silas; Ellicott and De Wette, the chief bishop at Philippi; Wieseler, even Christ himself, '*ναί* introducing a prayer.' Judging from the context, we can only say some one who was worthy of that designation and thus could be addressed in the words *γνήσιε Σύνζυγε*, 'genuine Synzygus'—*i.e.*, 'Synzygus who art rightly so named' (Vincent). In fact, *Σύνζυγος* means, as contrasted with *ἑτερόζυγος* (cp *ἑτεροζυγεῖν*, 'to yoke incongruously,' in 2 Cor. 6 14), one who has the power of bringing together what belongs together. The name is a symbolical one, the use of which in this passage cannot be explained as coming from Paul, who is represented as writing to the church 'with the bishops and deacons' (1 1). The force of the name does not become clear until we suppose it to come from an unknown author writing to the Philippians in the character of Paul. In addressing a certain circle he introduces the name with the purpose of showing in what manner men of high ecclesiastical position ought to act with regard to brethren from a distance visiting their church. Cp Lipsius, *HC*(2), 1892; Vincent, *Comm.* 1897; and PHILIPPIANS, § 3 *f.*

W. C. V. M.

SYRACUSE (ϹΥΡΑΚΟΥϹΑϹ, Ti. WH), a city on the SE. coast of Sicily, famous in Greek and Roman history, is mentioned in the journey-narrative of Acts (28 12) as having been for three days a halting-place of Paul on his way from Melita to Rome. Cicero often speaks of Syracuse as a particularly splendid and beautiful city, and still in his own day the seat of art and culture (*Tusc.* 5 66, *De Nat. Deor.* 3 81, *De Rep.* 1 21), and in his speech against Verres (5 2-54) gives an elaborate description of its four quarters (Achradina, Neapolis, Tyche, the Island), or rather the four cities which composed it. We hear nothing of importance about Syracuse during the period of the Empire. It had local self-government—its own senate and its own magistrates—like most of the Greek cities. Caligula restored its decayed walls and some of its famous temples (Suet. *Caius*, 21). Tacitus, in a passing mention of it (*Ann.* 13 49), says that permission was granted to the Syracusans under Nero to exceed the prescribed number of gladiators in their shows.

1 See Frazer, *Golden Bough*(2), 2 [= *Fortnightly Review*, Oct.-Nov. 1900]; Grant Allen, *Evol. of the Idea of God*.

2 Cp Edward Clodd, *Pioneers of Evolution*, Part II, § 1, middle.

SYRIA

Name, etc. (§§ 1-3).
Greater Syria (§ 4 *f.*).
Fauna (§ 5 *b*).
Lesser Syria (§ 6).
History: introductory (§§ 8-10).
Babylonia (§ 11 *f.*).
Ḥatti, Egypt, Assyria (§§ 13-15).
Aramæans (§ 16).
Tiglath-pileser I. (§ 17).
Syria left to itself (§ 18).
Later Assyrian Empire (§§ 19-23).
Later times (§§ 24-27).
Literature on Geography (§ 7).

1. Name. 'Syria' is unknown to Hebrew, but possibly identical with Bab. *Suri*, a N. Euphratean district of uncertain boundaries. We find *Syria* first in Herodotus (2 12, etc.). In Homer's list (*Il.* 2 783) only Ἄριμοι (Aramæans) appear. 𝔊 employed Συρία to translate ARAM (*q.v.*) in its divers applications (*e.g.*, Συρία Δαμασκοῦ, 2 S. 8 5; Μεσοποταμίας Συρία, Gen. 25 20), and EV followed. Herodotus (7 63), misled (?) by the resemblance of Ἀσσύριοι and Σύριοι, stated that these were 'barbarian' and Greek forms of a single ethnic. In consequence he used 'Syria' and 'Syrians' even more widely than OT used 'Aram'; and his vagueness reappears in Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 4 4) and in one passage of Strabo (16 737).

2. Greater Syria. Strabo, followed by Pliny and Ptolemy, in stricter use (see § 1, end) confined Syria to the geographical area bounded N. by Taurus, S. by the Arabian Desert, W. by the Mediterranean, and NE. by Euphrates. The SE. limit was formed by the vague frontier of the 'Syrian' desert, known in antiquity as the 'Arabian.' Both ancient 'Arabia Deserta' (=N. Ḥamād) and 'Arabia Petræa' (*i.e.* the Arabia of *Petra*=S. Ḥamād) would be included now by most geographers in Syria; whilst Arabia would be restricted to the ancient 'Felix,'[1] *i.e.*, all peninsular Arabia S. of and including the Nefûd or desert belt between the heads of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. In the Roman provincial arrangement 'Arabia'=Petræa and Deserta. Roman 'Syria' (at first one province and under Hadrian three) ended S. with Palestine, and E. with the limit of the Ḥamād Steppe. So also Byzantine Syria split into seven districts. Moslem geographers had some doubt whether to reckon the Ḥamād to Syria or to Arabia. Muḳadassi (early 10th cent. A.D.) protested against the extension of Syria or esh-Shām (*i.e.*, the 'left-hand' land, relative to one facing E. in Mekka) into the E. desert; and the later geographers (*e.g.*, Edrīsi and Abulfeda) mostly agreed with him in drawing the limit of Arabia obliquely NE. from 'Aḳaba to Raḳḳa on Euphrates, thus detaching the Ḥamād from Syria. For the purposes of the present article we shall follow them, and confine Syria to the area contained by N. lat. 38° and 31°, by the Mediterranean sea, and by an imaginary line drawn roughly parallel to its coast and on an average 150 m. inland.

3. Lesser Syria. There seems also to have been a special use of 'Syria,' which still prevails, restricting the term to that part of the wider area which lies N. of Palestine, but excluding the Lebanon littoral (Phœnicia). This territory was regarded as peculiarly Aramæan, and when the large Roman province Syria was divided, it retained its name without qualification. It had at most periods a distinct history, having been successively the peculiar seat of the 'Hittite' dominion, of the Aramæan confederate power, and of the Seleucid monarchy, at a time when Palestine and Phœnicia were Egyptian. Only the inclusion of the whole of wider Syria in a great alien empire, such as the Egyptian or Assyrian, ever made the history of all parts identical.

[1] The vulgar restriction of 'Arabia Felix' to the SW. of the peninsula (Yemen and Ḥadramaut) is due to a mediæval error, repeated and confirmed by D'Anville. Strabo, Pliny, and Ptolemy alike apply the term Felix to all peninsular Arabia.

4. Boundaries of Greater Syria. Syria has strong natural boundaries: high mountains N. (average summits 8500 ft.), sea W., and deserts S. and E.; but there are weak points, whose influence is shown in Syrian history. The deserts S. and E. being of the steppe character form very indeterminate social limits. Supporting nomad populations, which are constantly being reinforced from *foci* in the Arabian oases, and forced outwards by the inability of the desert to maintain their increase, these steppe-deserts do not divide nearly as sharply as the N. mountains, which retain barrier populations of peculiar character. Settled folk do not migrate into deserts, but desert folk constantly migrate into settled lands. Throughout the S. and E. border of Syria, therefore, 'Arabisation' has always gone on; and especially in Palestine, even W. of the Ghōr, many features of nomadic life appear intrusively in the settled society. The history of the Aramæan Semites has never been wholly distinct from that of the Arabian.

NE. and NW. are easy passes. Euphrates, fordable in an ordinary summer at various points below the Taurus gorges, has not served strongly to differentiate N. Mesopotamia from N. Syria. These regions are of very similar character, and the eastward roads pass readily from one to the other. On the other hand the Amānus mountains, though rising to 6000 ft., have many low and not difficult passes, notably those traversing the depression which divides the two main constituents of the system, the Elma and the Giaur chains, and will shortly be traversed by a railway. The strong boundary lies much farther W., where the main Taurus runs obliquely down to the sea in the 'Rugged' Cilicia (*Tracheia*). Eastern influence, therefore, which entered Syria from NE. passed readily out of it to NW. and caused the civilisation of Tarsus to be more Mesopotamian than that of Jerusalem. 'Plain' Cilicia may more fitly be reckoned to Syria than to Asia Minor, as indeed was apparently the view of Herodotus, who included Commagene in Cilicia (cp CILICIA, § 2). The influence of Mesopotamia is, therefore, as marked in N. Syria as that of Arabia in S. Syria.

5. General geography. The area within these limits has always presented a certain social homogeneity; but its great excess of length over breadth has militated against political unity, and given to its internal geographical barriers a separative power which their own character would hardly confer. The main internal barrier is a mountainous region extending to almost an equal distance N. and S. of lat. 34°. Here the land slopes up from N. and S. to a sill of 3000 ft. elevation (*Cœlesyria*). On either flank E. and W. of the plateau so formed rise longitudinal calcareous ranges. That on the E. (*Antilibanus*—J. esh-Sharḳi) is a five-fold system, radiating N. from a lofty nucleus on SE. of the plateau (J. esh-Sheikh, *Hermon*, 8600 ft.). The average elevation of the other principal summits is about 8000 ft. and of the valleys between the radii 5000 ft. The main drainage of the E. slopes flows SE. into a lacustrine pan, about 30 m. in diameter, where it is absorbed by irrigation, or goes to form marshy inundations, united or divided according to the season. Of these the principal are Baḥr el-'Ateiba N., fed by the Baradā (*Abana*) and Baḥr Ḳiblīyeh S., fed by the A'waj (*Pharphar*). E. of this oasis stretches a very barren steppe falling away to Euphrates. N. of it the swell of the central plateau is continued NE. from the spurs of Antilibanus by a barren ridge which runs to Euphrates and beyond. W. there is easy approach from the central sill of the plateau by a pass (4200 ft.) which leads between Hermon and the spring of the radii of the Antilibanus system to the upper valley of the Baradā. SW. there is also an easy, though at first barren road to the low country S. of the central plateau (=Palestine). This *oasis of Damascus*, therefore, placed almost on the axis of partition

between N. and S. Syria, and communicating readily with both these regions and with the elevated frontier district, is marked by nature for the locality of the capital city of an independent and undivided Syria. Were it not for its oasis character, Damascus would have played the part of capital more often. The W. range of the central plateau (J. el-Gharbi or Libnān = *Lebanon*) is a single chain of jurassic limestone with basaltic intrusions, very steeply inclined and without passes under 6000 ft. The highest summit reaches 10,200 ft. (see LEBANON, § 6). This walls off from the rest of Syria a narrow maritime strip, stretching from N. el-Kebīr (Eleutheros) on the N. to Carmel on the S., much interrupted by spurs of Lebanon, very fertile, thanks to the heavy precipitation on the western slope, and supplied with many harbours, good in the days of small sailing craft. Communication being difficult both with the interior (except by artificial ways made at great cost, such as the French mountain railway opened from Beyrout *viâ* Zaḥleh to Damascus in 1896), and within the littoral strip itself, the inhabitants of this region have not shared in the main currents of Syrian life, but have been attracted towards navigation (see PHŒNICIA, § 9). The distinctive character of their small territory was recognised by its constitution under Hadrian as a separate province (Syria Phœnice). The main floor of the central Syrian plateau falls gradually N. and S. from a scarcely perceptible sill just N. of Ba'albek, which is the main water-parting of Syria. It is an ancient lake-bed and the most important part of the mod. 'Lebanon' district, administered since 1861 as a province independent of the *vilâyet* of Syria. Along this deep and easy upland valley of *el-Bukā'* (anc. Cœlesyria), and between the flanking ranges, flow to N. the head-waters of the 'Āṣī (Axios or Orontes): to S. those of the Līṭānī (*Leontes*), called in its lower course el-Ḳāsimīyeh, which force their way W. between the S. butt of Lebanon and its continuation, the *massif* of Galilee, to the sea; and those of the Wādy et-Teim, which, after receiving the drainage of the S. butt of Hermon, becomes Nahr el-Kebīr (Jordan), and flows down into the rift of the Ghōr and to the Dead Sea (see JORDAN, § 3 *ff.*), where it is dissipated by evaporation at 1300 ft. below sea-level. The Beḳā' and the central plateau in general terminate S. in a steep and rugged hill-system, rising to 3860 ft. in J. Jarmak. This, which is the N. beginning of Galilee, renders access from the S. difficult, and diverts the natural trunk road eastward of the E. flanking range and to Damascus, whence it either gains the Buḳā' through the Baradā pass (see above), or it continues N. under the E. flank of Antilibanus, to debouch in the 'Āṣī valley lower down (near Ḥumṣ), or it crosses the steppe N. or NE. to Euphrates. S. Syria is all that lies S. of the central plateau and the oasis of Damascus, from the sea to the Euphratean watershed and the edge of the steppe-desert, which is here fringed in great part by lava-fields. All this district formed the *Syria Palestina* of Hadrian's provincial arrangement. It is divided longitudinally by the deep rift in which Jordan flows; and its eastern half, being thus in great measure detached from the western, and from all maritime influences, is especially open to influences of Arabia. W. Palestine merges insensibly in the desert on the S. For further geographical details concerning S. Syria see PALESTINE, § 2 *ff.* D. G. H.

5b. Fauna. It has been pointed out under PALESTINE (col. 3542 *ff.*) that, owing to the geographical position of the land, the fauna, though in the main Palæarctic in character, was modified by the intrusion of certain forms from the Oriental region towards the E. and from the Ethiopian region towards the S. Syria, lying to the N. of Palestine, is equally with it subject to invasion from the E., but is naturally much less exposed to intruders from the S., which, indeed, in Palestine, chiefly affect the hollow cleft which contain the Dead Sea and the valley of the Jordan.

The fauna of Syria, like that of Palestine, is to a great extent a steppe-, desert-, and rock-fauna, but it differs considerably from that of southern or even central Palestine in the character of its mammals. As might be expected, there are many animals with a northern provenance found in Syria which do not penetrate as far S. as southern Palestine, whilst the latter area harbours many forms which extend into the Peninsula of Sinai, Egypt, and Nubia, but which do not reach into Syria. Nehring[1] has recently pointed out that a line which leaves the coast in the neighbourhood of Kartha, skirts the southern limits of the Carmel group of hills, and then turns NE. to strike the Sea of Galilee a little W. of the exit of the Jordan, corresponds with the lower limit of the distribution of several of the more conspicuous Syrian mammals. Nehring's line, although it includes a considerable portion of Galilee, may be taken as the boundary of Syria considered from a zoological standpoint. It does not of course correspond with any historical limit; but animals are seldom found to respect political deliminations.

N. of this line we find the Syrian variety of the bear, *Ursus isabellinus*, which frequents the heights of Lebanon, Hermon, and is met with in Bashan and Gilead. The badger, *Meles taxus*, like the bear, seems to reach its southernmost limits in the wooded and hilly districts just mentioned. The pole-cat, *Mustela putorius*, and the ermine, *M. erminea*, are found on the slopes of Hermon, Lebanon, and Tabor, but do not pass Nehring's line. Their congener, *M. foina*, the beech-marten, however, spreads through Palestine. The otter, *Lutra vulgaris*, is also not uncommon on the shores of the Sea of Galilee. The striped hyæna, *Hyæna striata*, a nocturnal animal, the hunting-leopard, *Cynælurus jubatus*, are amongst the commoner carnivora, whilst *Felis chaus*, the jungle-cat, is found in Syria in a special variety. The roe-deer, *Capreolus capræa*, reaches its southernmost limit on the slopes of Mt. Carmel; neither it nor the fallow-deer passes the above-mentioned line. The Syrian wild-ass, *Equus hemippus*, is another conspicuous form which very rarely enters Palestine. The wild-boar, *Sus scrofa*, is more widely distributed. It frequents not only wooded and marshy localities, but even the desert, where it lives on roots. The gazelle, *Gazella dorcas*, extends southward from Lebanon, as does the Syrian hare, *Lepus syriacus*. Of the enormous family Rodentia, which supplies so large a proportion of the mammals in this part of the world, the Alpine-vole, *Microtus nivalis*, and the water-vole, *M. amphibius*, are common in Syria but do not pass Nehring's line. On the other hand, several species of ground-vole extend far beyond it, as do three common species of dormice, *Myoxus glis*, the squirrel-tailed dormouse, *M. nitela*, the garden dormouse, and *M. dryas*. The Syrian squirrel, *Sciurus syriacus*, is peculiarly Syrian, and the pouched-marmoset or souslik, *Spermophilus xanthoprymnus*, is not encountered S. of Gilead. The gerbille, *Gerbillus tæniurus*, is also peculiar to Syria. According to Nehring, the *Psammomys myosurus* mentioned under PALESTINE (§ 14 *d*) is more correctly referred to the genus *Nesokia*, and thus represents one of the intrusive elements from the Oriental region.

It will be seen from the above that Syria has several mammals peculiar to itself, and a number which reach their southernmost point in or about Mt. Carmel. The fauna of this region is further characterised by the absence of many creatures we are accustomed to associate with the Bible-lands. Conspicuous amongst these are: the coney, which recent research seems to confine to southern Palestine; the genus *Acomys*, a hedgehog-like mouse with spiny fur; the fascinating little jerboas, and several other rodents; and the Syrian ibex or beden. Enough has been said to show that the mammalian fauna of Syria (including a large part of Galilee) differs considerably from that of S. Palestine, and that probably there are few spots on the world of so restricted an area in which the mammals at one extremity differ so much from those at the other as they do in the little country of Palestine. A. E. S.

6. Lesser Syria. N. Syria is all that land which lies N. of the central plateau, and E. of Lebanon; but politically it has always tended to include not only the plateau itself (there being no such barrier to the N. as the mountains of Galilee form to the

1 *Globus*, 81, 1902, p. 309. See also WMM, *OLZ*, 1902, p. 394.

S.), but also the oasis of Damascus, between which and Palestine intervenes a barren tract. It comprises the NE. steppe as far as Euphrates, and all the N. land up to Taurus. Since this region is most strictly 'Syria' and is not treated elsewhere, a more particular description is subjoined.

(*a*) *The 'Āṣī*[1] *basin.*—The Buḳā' valley, after a course of about 100 m., opens out in lat. 34° 40'. The mountains on either hand fall to grassy downs, and the river 'Āṣī leaves the rocky gorge in which it has fallen over 2000 ft. and expands at a level of about 1600 ft. into a lake of 30 m. area, formed in part by an artificial dam of ancient construction. At the head of this stood the ancient Kadesh; at the foot now stands Ḥumṣ (anc. *Emesa*)—to hold the pass between the plateau valley and the lower Orontes lands, the heart of Syria proper (*Seleucis*). At the same point come in natural roads (1) from Tripoli (Ṭarābulūs) on the W. coast, round the N. butt of Lebanon by way of the valley of the N. el-Kebīr, (2) from Tadmor and Damascus round N. of Antilibanus. Railways will, not improbably, be laid shortly over both these roads, and Ḥumṣ will regain its old importance. The 'Āṣī flows on through a widening valley for about 25 m. to the rich marshy district of Ḥamāt (Hamath-Epiphaneia), to the E. of which point the steppe grows more down-like and habitable as far as the Euphrates, while to the W. rises a broad, low, and fertile range (J. Nuṣērīyeh) which on the W. leaves considerable littoral strips here and there of its own creation between itself and the sea. The most important of these contains the town el-Lādaḳīyeh (*Laodicea*). The range ends N. in the abrupt mass of J. el-Aḳra' (*Casius*), 5750 ft., which falls direct to the sea and closes the littoral. A road over J. Nuṣērīye meets, at Ḥamāt, the direct Aleppo road, which continues the easiest route from Euphrates.

Leaving Ḥamāt, the 'Āṣī bends somewhat W. of N. and flows through rich pastures (el-Ghāb) bounded on the E. by a triple system of basaltic hills (J. el-A'lā) with fertile intervals, which contain numerous remains of ancient inhabitation. It passes successively the sites of Larissa (Sējar) and Apamea (Ḳal'at el-Mudīḳ), and after a course of 50 m. from Ḥamāt, is turned sharply W. by a rocky obstruction (Jisr el-Ḥadīd) and hugs the N. butt of J. Nuṣērīye. To the N. in the line of its former course now opens out a wide plain (el-'Amḳ), partly filled by a marshy lake (Baḥr-el-Abyaḍ, or Aḳ-Deniz) into which it once flowed, and where it once met important tributaries, the Afrīn and the Kara Su. These now feed the lake which discharges into the 'Āṣī by the channel, Nahr el-Kowsit. The Afrīn flows down a broad valley (anc. *Cyrrhestica*) from the NE., which prolongs the plain far up towards Euphrates and carries a trunk road thitherward, which crosses a low water-parting E. of 'Ain Tāb and strikes the great river at Bīre jik, or following the valley of the Sājūr at Carchemish a few miles S. The proposed Baghdād railway will ascend the Afrīn valley after descending that of Kara Su. The Kara Su comes from the N. bringing the eastward drainage of S. Amānus. A natural road leads up its valley to its source on the marshy sill of Zinjirli (1650 ft.), and there forks (1) W. through the lowest Amanus passes to Cilicia and Asia Minor, and (2) NE. into the valley of Mar'ash and ancient Commagene. Ancient remains of a palatial Assyrian fortress of an importance suitable to its strategic position have been explored at Zinjirli by Dr. Von Luschan (FORTRESS, § 5). From the 'Amḳ plain a direct road also leads due E. to Aleppo and the Euphrates near Raḳḳa (Thapsacus). The deep and fertile region in which all these waters and roads meet is the natural centre of N. Syria, and accordingly the locality in which its greatest city of antiquity, Antioch, was situated (see ANTIOCH, § 1). The modern Anṭākieh lies near the point at which the 'Āṣī, having at last rounded the butt of J. Nuṣērīye, is about to plunge SW. into a gorge worn down between that range and the S. masses of Amanus. Through this it falls about 150 ft. in 10 m. to the sea in a series of unnavigable rapids. On the small deltaic fan N. of its mouth stands Suediah (anc. *Seleucia of Pieria*) which was the port of Antioch. But the unsheltered character of the port and the difficulties of the road in this gorge have caused N. Syrian trade to seek the more distant Alexandretta (Iskanderūn), which lies NE. of the plain of Antioch and behind the S. extension of Amanus, here crossed by the low *col* of Beilān (2230 ft.), about to be pierced by the Aleppo railway. The whole course of the 'Āṣī is about 170 m.

(*b*) *Commagene.*—To the N. of the 'Āṣī basin a small district intervenes before Taurus closes Syria. It is bounded S. by the heights in which the Afrīn and Kara Su rise. These heights start from Euphrates near the mouth of the Sājūr, and run NW. to 'Ain Tāb; thence they bend sharply to the SW., rise in Kurd Dagh to 4500 ft., and are linked to Amanus by the Zinjirli sill. The hollow N. of them is divided into two basins by a low swell running N. from Kurd Dagh to Taurus. The W. basin drains W. by the Ak Su through a rift in Amanus to the Cilician Jihun (*Pyramus*), and is the territory of Mar'ash (*Germaniceia*): it communicates, as we have seen, with the rest of Syria readily by way of Zinjirli. The E. basin drains to the Euphrates, looks eastward, and communicates less readily with the lands to the S. This is the ancient Commagene proper (Assyr. *Kummuḫ*), of which Samosata (Sumeisāṭ) was capital. Two important crossings of Euphrates, at Samosata and Zeugma (Bīre jik), placed it in communication with N. Mesopotamia and especially Edessa (Urfa).

(*c*) *The Euphratean plains.*—To E. of the 'Āṣī basin lies the lean steppe-like plateau described above as sloping E. to Euphrates. It is one in formation with the Arabian desert which limits Palestine on the E., but more fertile by reason of higher latitude and greater precipitation. It must be reckoned therefore to habitable Syria. It is limited on the S. by the ridge already mentioned, which runs NE. to Euphrates from Antilibanus, and along whose S. foot lies a chain of oases, marking a natural route from Damascus to the E. Of these the chief are Ḳarietein (*Nezala*) and Tadmor (*Palmyra*), both just on the verge of Arabia. The rolling downs to the N. of this chain once contained a large number of villages, dependent on wells, whose ruins have been explored by De Vogüé, Burton, Drake, Ostrup and others. This region is now deserted owing to its 'nomadisation' by the migrant Anazeh Bedouins, who have been pressing N. from central Arabia since the thirteenth century. In the latitude of J. A'lā, whose E. slopes fall insensibly into it, the plateau is still steppe-like; but immediately N. of this point occur a series of pans, whose northern limit is the ridge which bounds Commagene on the S. These pans receive water draining S. from that ridge, and are all of more or less saline character. Of the two principal basins, that on the E. receives a watercourse (N. el-Dahab), which rises just S. of Membij (*Hierapolis*) and ends in the great *sebakha* (salt-pan) of Jabul. That on the W. is more fertile and better supplied with fresh springs. It receives the Kowaik, which rises near 'Ain Tāb, and ends in a tract of permanent saline inundation (Mat) near Ḳennisrīn. Fine pasturage surrounds it, and its lower lands are arable. This is the ancient district Chalybonitis, which now supports Aleppo (Ḥaleb; anc. *Chalybon-Berœa*), a town of 65,000 inhabitants and the successor of Antioch. Through it lie the directest route from Asia Minor to Baghdād, or Babylonia, which crosses the Euphrates at Raḳḳa (*Thapsacus*), and the easiest road from S. Syria to the same point or to the more northern crossing at Bīre jik (*Zeugma*).

[1] 'Āṣī in Arab. = 'rebel,' and the title is variously explained by the turbulence, the inaccessibility, or the anti-Meccan direction of this stream. But it is undoubtedly derived originally from the same ancient native name which the Greeks wrote *Axios*.

For S. Syria see under PALESTINE and PHŒNICIA. For N. Syria see Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria* (1822); Porter, *Five Years in Damascus* (1855); Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* (1872); Ainsworth, *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition* (1888); Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen in Nordsyrien*, etc. (1890); and a recent account of part of the E. steppe by H. C. Butler, in the *American Journal of Archæology*, series 2, 4 (1900); cp also Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Persischen Golf* (1900), and Blunt, *Bedouins of the Euphrates* (1879). The summary by Reclus, *Géogr. Univ.* (*Asie Antérieure*) is very good (1884); and for more recent statistics, as well as local detail, see Cuinet, *Syrie, Liban et Palestine* (1896).

7. Bibliography.

D. G. H.

II. HISTORY

8. Idea of Syria. The region which we designate as Syria has never constituted a political unity; of itself a proof that it is not, like Egypt or the Euphrates-country, a single land held together by common conditions of living. There is no river to furnish a natural channel of inter-communication and bond of union. For the same reason, there has never been any such separate entity as a Syrian civilisation; in this respect also, precisely as in things political, the various districts gravitated towards the countries of the neighbouring great civilisations. If Syria as an idea has maintained its existence for millennia, it is possible to see in this also a proof of the tenacity of the ancient Babylonian conception of the world. For it is to the ancient geographical division associated with that conception that the idea of Syria owed its origin, and its revival upon the fall of Assyria, after the Assyrian ascendancy had well-nigh sent it to oblivion.

9. Relations. Suri-Syria is closed in by the two civilisation-areas of Babylonia and Asia Minor, and thus its development was determined by them. Being separated from the Egyptian area by Palestine, it was not so directly influenced from that side.

The movements of nations, the immigrations, to which it is exposed are, mainly, those from the S. (Arabia) and those from the N., by way of Armenia and Asia Minor. The first are those of the Semites; the second, those of the peoples whom we are accustomed to call Hittite because they stand to Asia Minor, the seat of the Ḫatti or Ḫeta, in a relation analogous to that of the Semitic immigrants to Babylonia. The natural consequence is that the population of Syria is in the main a mixture of both racial elements, and that in the course of the millennia and centuries representatives now of the one, now of the other, give the prevailing character to the whole.

10. Sources of information. For any knowledge of the conditions in detail we must turn, for the remoter antiquity exclusively, for later times chiefly, to the accounts we possess of the neighbouring peoples—primarily of the Assyrian-Babylonian, and then also of the Egyptian conquerors. The soil of the country itself has as yet yielded but few documents. Of these, for the older time, the monuments excavated at Zenjirli-Sam'al are of primary importance. The many monuments bearing Hittite inscriptions, which the soil of Syria, both in the narrower sense of that geographical expression (Hamath, Aleppo, Mar'aš, Carchemish) and in the wider (the eastern borderlands of Asia Minor), has yielded, still remain undeciphered.

11. Early Babylonia. The oldest Babylonian period shows Syria standing in the same relation to Babylonia as afterwards to Assyria. Sargon of Agade and Naram-Sin must have directed their armies thither precisely as was afterwards done by Tiglath-pileser I., Shalmaneser II., and the later Assyrian kings. That Sargon went forth to Amurru (Palestine) is repeatedly mentioned in the Omina, and 'Sargon subjugated and settled all Syria' is said of that monarch exactly as Shalmaneser II. and others might have had it said of them.

12. Later periods. In the time of Naram-Sin and the period that followed, at least down to that of the first dynasty of Babylon, the ascendancy in Syria is already held by that Semitic wave of immigration which we regard as the second and call the Canaanite. At that time, accordingly, Syria must, like Babylonia itself, have received a considerable influx of population of this race and language. The next Semitic wave consists of the Aramæans, whose lordship in Syria does not emerge until comparatively late. Until that event, accordingly, that is to say, during the second millennium B.C., and even later, 'Canaanite' dialects—*i.e.*, languages like Hebrew and Phœnician—must have been spoken in Syria. Even as late as the eighth century B.C., we can learn from the inscriptions of Zenjirli-Sam'al that the influence of the Aramaic had still to struggle with the older Canaanite dialects. A fragment of an inscription of Ḫasan Beyli, not far from Zenjirli, and inscriptions of Zenjirli dating from the ninth century (of Kalammu bar [!] Ḫaja) show, indeed, that by that time the Semitic language of ordinary intercourse must already have become Aramaic, but at the same time exhibit purely Canaanite forms of speech, closely corresponding to Phœnician.

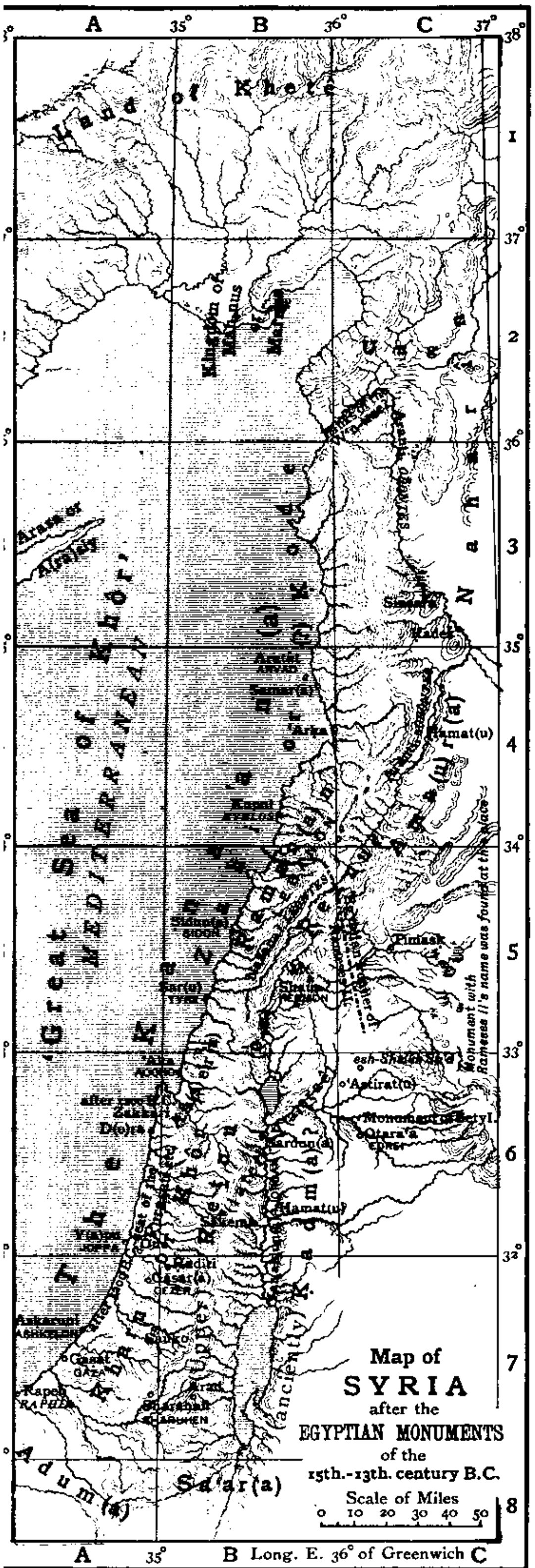
13. Hittite and Egyptian. In the middle of the second millennium we find a Hittite people, the Mitani, masters of Mesopotamia and N. Syria (Ḫanigalbat = Melitene). Though they are the first people of this race which we have as yet been able to discover on Syrian soil, we must not therefore conclude that they were the first to force their way thither. On the contrary, it seems as if we were able to trace, in the Amarna despatches, the existence of an older Hittite layer of population even in Palestine (such names as Sura-sar are unquestionably 'Hittite'). Both phenomena alike are to be interpreted as consequences of a larger Hittite migration into or conquest of Syria, advancing from N. to S., in other words, in the opposite direction to that of the Semitic immigration.

To the same period belong also the Egyptian conquests of the eighteenth and the nineteenth dynasty. How far the Egyptian lordship over Syria was in point of fact extended by these, hardly admits of ascertainment; but the princes to the N. of Aleppo, we may be sure, will hardly have accepted the Egyptian suzerainty for any longer period than that during which the Pharaoh was in a position at any time to despatch an army against them. Thus in N. Syria relations will have prevailed towards Egypt, similar to those which under Sargon and Sennacherib prevailed towards the adjacent border countries of Asia Minor (Tabal, Ḫilak).

In the Amarna letters in the fourteenth century, we find three powers keeping an eye upon Syria and Palestine: Babylonia (under the lordship of the Kassites), the Mitani, and the state of the Ḫatti or Ḫeta in Asia Minor. Of these the Ḫatti would seem to have been at that time the most dangerous to the influence of Egypt. Again and again mention is made of the advance of princes of Ḫeta into the Bekā'.

In the thirteenth-twelfth century Egypt is powerless, until under Ramses II. it again takes up a somewhat more vigorous foreign policy. During this interval Syria was naturally at the mercy of the other great powers, and it is in agreement with the picture presented in the Amarna letters that Ramses in the twelfth century comes into conflict with the Ḫeta in northern Palestine and Cœlesyria. In the interval the movement which we find already in existence in the fourteenth century must have been completed, and Syria have fallen in the main under the power of the Hittite state. The fourteenth-thirteenth century would thus be the time which witnessed a Hittite predominance in Syria and saw Syria drawn politically into closer connection with the Hittite empire. All the great Syrian cities from the N. to the S. were at this period governed by viceroys or vassal princes of the Hittite sovereign; from Commagene to the valley of the

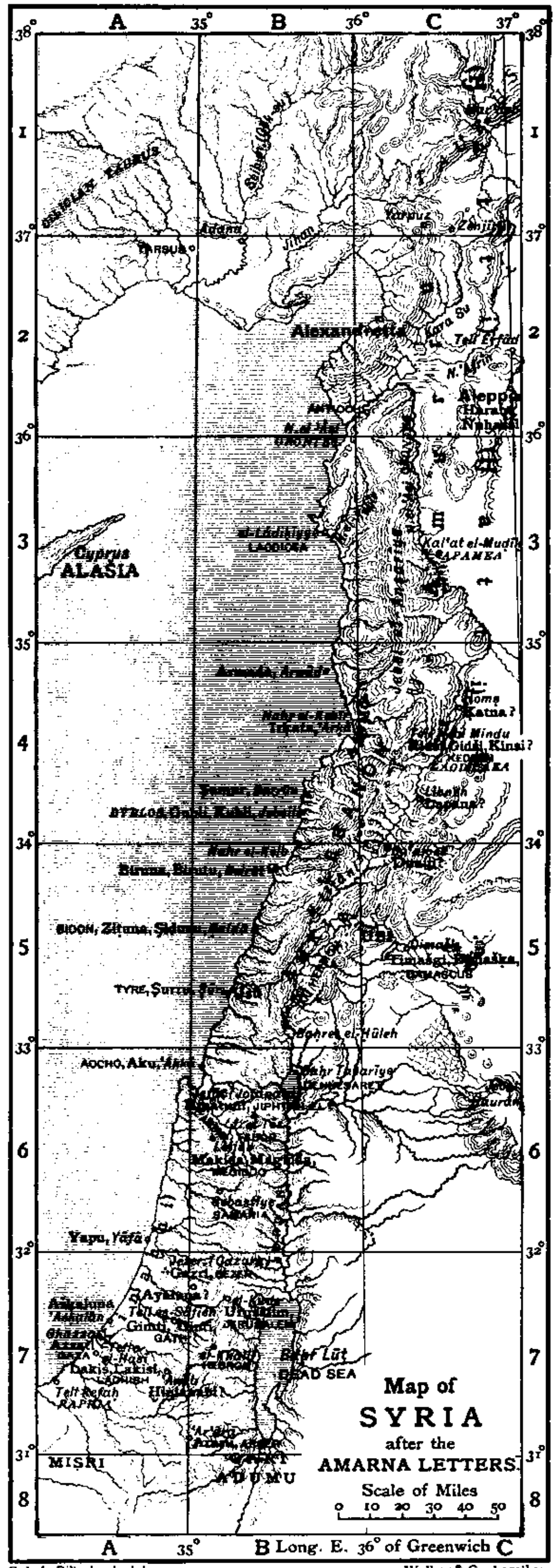
I. EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA BIBLICA 1903.

II. AMARNA LETTERS.



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Orontes, in Malaṭia, Mar'aš, Aleppo, Hamath, and Kadesh on the Orontes the sovereignty of the Hittites was established. From this period, we may be sure, CARCHEMISH on the Euphrates also was reckoned a Hittite city. It must have been the principal seat of the Hittite rule in central Syria, for with the Assyrians later it passed as the capital of Syria, in so far as it was Hittite, and they called its king also, without qualifying phrase, the Hittite (Ḫatti) king.

The advance of the Ḫatti southwards over Cilicia must have occurred in connection with these movements. For if their power had its seat in Asia Minor and on the Halys, they would have needed first to overthrow the Mitani power in Ḫanigalbat, if they had wished to force their way through Melitene and Commagene. Struggles with this power were not wanting; the Amarna letters tell of a victory of Dušratta of Mitani over the Hittite king, but the overthrow of the Mitani was accomplished by Assyria.

The Mitani and their successors, accordingly, held northern Syria, whilst the advance proper of the Hittites upon Cilicia (the Ḳuë of the Assyrian inscriptions) appears to have been made through the 'Cilician Gates' and through Cilicia and over Amanus.

14. Appearance of Assyria.

At the same time we can learn also from the Amarna letters that Assyria under Ašur-uballiṭ is beginning to be dangerous to its overlord, the king of Babylon, and to arouse his jealousy as well as that of the king of the Mitani. Soon afterwards, under Rammān (Adad)-nirari I. and Shalmaneser I., Assyria broke the power of the Mitani, and thus subdued Mesopotamia, settling it in part with Assyrian colonists, as well as extending also westwards of the Euphrates. Shalmaneser I. took possession of the lands to the N. of the Taurus and subjugated Ḳumani as well as Muṣri—*i.e.*, Cappadocia, at least between Taurus and Anti-taurus. In other words, he took possession of the whole area of the Mitani empire and brought that power to an end.

In doing so, Assyria at the same time stepped into the place that the Mitani had occupied over against the Ḫatti, and this new acquaintance thrust itself in almost like a wedge between the original land of the Ḫatti and their new acquisitions. The territory of the Ḫatti would in the event of any fresh advances of Assyria through Cilicia down to the sea be torn in two. The necessary consequence would then have been that the Assyrians would be compelled, as were the Mitani kings in the Amarna period, to go to war with the kings of the Ḫatti, in which all Syria from Commagene southward would have been involved.

15. Hittite and Egyptian.

The Ḫatti, however, were apparently spared this struggle by the sudden collapse of the Assyrian power at the death of Tukulti-Ninib I., and by his efforts to secure his position in Babylonia before pressing westward. This happened in the thirteenth century, and in this way the Ḫatti were enabled to develop and establish themselves in Syria undisturbed by the new and dangerous enemy.

The advance of Egypt under Rameses did not curtail this Hittite territory, for in spite of all alleged triumphs over the 'miserable Ḫeta' Rameses acknowledged their lordship over Syria, the mutually-recognised frontier having been possibly the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirūt, if not some river still more to the S.

By the peace concluded between the two powers, expressed in an offensive and defensive alliance between Ramses and Ḫetasar—an alliance rendered famous by the preservation of the terms of the treaty[1]—was effected a definition of political rights in Syria of great importance; the Pharaoh renounced his rights in Syria in favour of the Hittite king, and thus the country which hitherto had been in theory Egyptian now became Hittite.

[1] See WMM *MVG* 1902, no. 5 (*Ḫ(e)-tà-sì-ra*).

This theory was taken advantage of and zealously pressed by Assyria. If in the sequel Syria figures with the Assyrians as 'Ḫatti land,' they employ this designation because they come forward as lawful heirs to the Hittite claims.

16. Aramæans.

The same period which witnessed the subjugation of the Ḫatti saw also the gradual pressing forward of the Aramæans into Syria. Already in the Amarna letters we find mention of the aḫlamû, by which expression we are to understand the Aramaic bedouins. Rammān (Adad)-nirari I. and Shalmaneser I. fought with Aramæans mainly on Mesopotamian territory, and similarly also, about 1100, Tiglath-pileser I. speaks of struggles with Aramæan aḫlamû who had forced their way across the Euphrates into Mesopotamia.

17. Tiglath-pileser I.

The reign of Tiglath-pileser I. brought with it a renewed advance on the part of Assyria along the paths which had already been trodden by Shalmaneser I. Pressing across the Euphrates through Melitene to Ḳumani and Muṣri, Tiglath-pileser became master in the first instance of the former territory of the Mitani which belonged to him as lord of Mesopotamia. This was not possible without a previous clearing out of other invaders. For now also the 'Hittite' tribes of the N. were seeking to make their way into Mesopotamia and Syria, a counter-current to the Aramæan immigration. Tiglath-pileser names the peoples of the Ḳummuḫ—who thus, perhaps, at that time, gave their name to the country—of the Muski, and Kaska, as having been repelled by him from Mesopotamia. The people in question are racially of the same kindred as the then masters of Asia Minor and the Hittite empire. This empire was, of course, still more profoundly affected by this same movement of population, and in the reign of Sargon II. in the eighth century, it reappears still under the name of Muski.

These peoples thus, from the present period onward, constituted the population of the borderlands of Asia Minor and of Asia Minor itself. The Ḫatti empire also, accordingly, was the scene of new displacements of population. From a statement of Tiglath-pileser we learn, too, that the collision with the Ḫatti empire which had not yet occurred under Shalmaneser I., was no longer delayed. The Hittite king—this is our only reminder of the existence of a Hittite power at all at this period—was defeated by Tiglath-pileser, and the way to N. Phœnicia was once more open, and with it access to a port on the Mediterranean.

Tiglath-pileser I. pressed on as far as to Arvad, the most northern city of Phœnicia, and so found himself on territory which had formerly been recognised by Rameses as Hittite, and at the same time he had cut off the Hittite possessions in Syria from the mother country farther N. He tells us how (in Arvad) he received gifts from the 'king of Egypt'—amongst them a crocodile, apes, and the like. This means nothing either more or less than that the then Pharaoh—his name is not recorded—recognised him as conqueror of the Ḫatti and as heir of the rights which had been ceded to these by Rameses II. Assyria thus had become the rightful successor of Egypt in Syria.

Even Tiglath-pileser I. advanced by the most northerly route to N. Phœnicia. Though recognised by Egypt he had not yet gained the recognition of the Ḫatti nor, above all, that of the broken-up Syrian vassal-states or provinces themselves. We do not yet know what was the attitude of these states—Carchemish, Aleppo, and those further to the S. That matters would not have been settled without an appeal to arms may be taken for granted; but they do not seem to have come as far as that, for once more, as previously at the death of Tukulti-Ninib I., the Assyrian power speedily collapsed.

In this way Syria was rid at one and the same time

of both its lords, for the Hittite power also must at that period have been severely shaken by the irruptions of the Muski and others, and so precluded from effective intervention in the affairs of Syria. Syria, therefore, exactly as Palestine, was in the eleventh and tenth centuries virtually left to itself and at liberty to follow its own political development independently of the great powers: as such at this date come into account not only Egypt and Assyria but also Babylonia. In Palestine and Phœnicia arose the kingdoms of David and of Hiram, in Syria a number of states with populations essentially of one and the same character, a mixture of Hittite and Aramæan. Needless to say, under these conditions the Aramæan immigration went on with much less impediment than would have been the case if a strong and great power had held sway. We have evidence for this Aramæan advance in occasional statements made by later Assyrian kings regarding the time in question. Thus Shalmaneser II. bears witness that under the Assyrian king Ašur-irbi the Aramæans had taken possession of Pitru (see PETHOR) on the Sagur.

18. Syria left to itself.

This movement will have been in the tenth century, for from the second half of that century onwards we are again able to follow the course of the Assyrian kings (from Tiglath-pileser II. onwards). In the ninth century Ašur-naṣir-pal begins anew to expand. He begins by subjugating the Aramæan states which had in the meantime sprung up in Mesopotamia (the most important of them was Bit-Adini which had its centre about Ḫarran), and next[1] he proceeds to cross the Euphrates. It is nevertheless worthy of remark that he did not follow quite the same route as had been taken by his two predecessors Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser I. Whilst they took possession of the territory which had belonged to the Mitani and from this base were thus able, after the conquest of the Ḫatti, to make their way to the sea, Ašur-naṣir-pal advanced direct through Syria proper. He already possessed legal claims to the 'Ḫatti land'—for as such Syria is now constantly represented by the Assyrians, whilst the Ḫatti land proper on the Halys is henceforward known as Muski. The development which had gone on in the interval appears from what Ašur-naṣir-pal tells us. In the N. it was Ḳummuḫ, on both banks of the Euphrates, that was always most fully exposed to the Assyrian influence, and it acknowledged the Assyrian sovereignty immediately upon the subjugation of the Aramæan states of Mesopotamia. The region to the S. of Ḳummuḫ embraced in Ašur-naṣir-pal's time the state of Carchemish, now called the capital of Ḫattiland (see above, § 13). Its king submitted in like manner without a struggle, thus recognising the claims of Assyria. Westward of this had grown up a state which included the northern portion of Syria proper (substantially Cyrrhestica) from the borders of Carchemish—let us say the Sagur—southwards to the mountains of the Noṣairi; its southern and eastern neighbour here may have been Hamath, of which Ašur-naṣir-pal for very good reasons says nothing. The new state was that of Patin (see PADDAN-ARAM), which had Liburna or Lubarna for its king, and Kunalua or Kinalia as its capital. Liburna did not submit until his capital had been besieged. In the southern Noṣairi range, that is in the mountains of North Phœnicia, Ašur-naṣir-pal founded an Assyrian colony in Aribua.[2] Of any further steps he took Ašur-naṣir-pal tells us nothing; but the state of affairs under his successor shows us what occurred in the immediately following years in this Aramæan state in the 'Amḳ.

19. Ašur-naṣir-pal.

Shalmaneser II. proceeded immediately in the first years of his reign to strengthen his hold on the territory which Ašur-naṣir-pal had subjugated in Mesopotamia and Syria. Ḳummuḫ, Bit-Adini, and Carchemish had to submit, or were overthrown. In place of the single state of Patin, however, Shalmaneser set up in the same area several smaller states. Liburna had thus to share his dominion with the various princes of the districts of his former territory—perhaps in virtue of an arrangement of Ašur-naṣir-pal's on the principle of *divide et impera*. Shalmaneser mentions by name Mutallu of Gurgum, Ḫani or Ḫayan bar Gabar of Sam'al, Sapalulme, and afterwards Kalparunda[1] of Patin in 853. Thus, on this first campaign which carried him to the Amanus, Shalmaneser kept himself practically within the limits of Patin, which had recognised the Assyrian overlordship. Some years later (in 854) he already names along with this the people or tribe of Gusi (or Agusi), which had its seat near Arpad under its prince Arame, and (in the N.) Lalli of Melitene.

20. Shalmaneser II.

The same expedition was destined to bring the whole of Syria or Ḫattiland under the Assyrian sway, and the course of it explains why formerly Ašur-naṣir-pal had advanced by the 'Amḳ-route. For the territory of Hamath, and that immediately adjoining it on the S., were at that time the seat of a greater power which possessed the ascendancy over Central Syria. Here in the tenth-ninth century DAMASCUS (*q.v.*) had developed into a principal state. Shalmaneser II. reckons up the 'allies' of Benhadad (Bir-'idri)—*i.e.*, vassal states which had to render military service—in 854 B.C. and following years thus: Hamath, Ḳue, Muṣri, North Phœnicia, the 'Arabians,' Ammon.

The humiliation of Damascus was the task which henceforward confronted Syria. Shalmaneser grappled with it in vain. Even in 842 when Hazael was besieged in Damascus it was found impossible to force him to submit. On the other hand, from that year we hear no more of any 'allies.' Assyrian politics had drawn them all over to the Assyrian side. The question of adherence to Damascus or to Assyria is at this period the decisive one for every prince in Ḫatti-land, and it is accordingly the one of supreme importance for Israel also (see JEHU).

Towards the end of the reign of Shalmaneser (832) a revolt broke out in Patin; but it was quelled (Shalmaneser, *Ob.* 147 *ff.*). The troubles connected with the change of government and the reign of Šamši-Rammān (Adad) IV. left Syria, in particular Damascus, in much freedom. Rammān (Adad)-nirari III. was the first to get energetically to work again. Mari' of Damascus made submission to him, and thus all Ḫatti-land acknowledged Assyrian suzerainty. At the same time 'Amurri' also, down to its most southerly extremity Edom, was subjugated, and thus Assyria now went beyond the limits of the claims which could be inferred merely from the acknowledgment made by the Pharaoh under Tiglath-pileser I.[2] Henceforward, accordingly, Amurru also is included in the expression 'Ḫatti-land.' We are unable to say how far circumstances of the Amarna period were held to justify the claims made (cp § 13).

21. Later kings.

Next follows a period of decline of the Assyrian power, bringing along with it greater freedom for Syria and Palestine. Mention is made of risings in Damascus (773) and more particularly in Hadrak (Ḫatarikka) (772, 765, 755). The latter must thus at that period have been a town of importance in Syria. Probably Aramæan princes sought to establish a kingdom there

The powerlessness of Assyria had as one of its results that the northern part of Syria came under the influence of the Urarṭi, which at that time was strongly asserting

1 From the order of the annals it is possible to doubt whether this happened in 876 or in 868 B.C. The latter date is probably to be preferred.

2 Ḳal'at el-Arba'īn, ESE. from el-Lādaḳīyeh? see Šanda in *MVAG*, 1902, 78.

1 *I.e.*, the name כלברונד of the Aramaic inscription in *CIS*, 2 no. 75; see Sachau in *ZA*, 6432. The names are partly Aramaic, partly Hittite, and thus show the mixed character of the population.

2 Meanwhile Šošenḳ had again asserted the Egyptian claims to Palestine.

itself. This is true specially of the states of a prevailingly 'Hittite' character,—Kummuḫ, Melitene, Carchemish. By conflict with the 'Ḫatti'—*i.e.*, the Ḫatti properly so called, who are now designated as Muski by the Assyrians—the kings of Urarṭû had doubtless acquired like claims with those of Assyria. Under the changed conditions in Assyria, we see it now already designing to extend its influence also over Middle Syria. Sometimes the kings of Urarṭu take the title of 'king of Suri,' with the old-Babylonian meaning (cp § 8), and in opposition to their adversaries the kings of Assyria.

In Middle Syria Arpad was in the hands of Mati-el prince of Agusi (§ 20), and his subjugation, as well as the expulsion of the Urarṭû king Sarduris from Syria, was thus Tiglath-pileser III.'s first task. The reign of this monarch with its rapid increase of the Assyrian power, brought about in the end the subjugation of Syria and Palestine, and the prosperity of the Assyrian empire proper under the dynasty of Sargon. 'Ḫatti-land,' in the extended sense which includes Amurru and thus reaches to the Naḥal Muṣri, comes under the sway of Assyria as a province or vassal-state.

22. Tiglath-pileser III.

After the subjugation of Arpad and Urarṭû, the 'Amḳ was again overthrown in 738. Here Azriya'u of Ya'udi sought to make a stand. His capital Kulanî (see CALNO) became the chief city of an Assyrian province; the other districts of what had formerly been Patin (Sam'al, Gurgum) retained in the meantime their own princes. In Sam'al Tiglath-pileser mentions Panammû whom we know from the inscriptions of his son Bir-ṣur in Zenjirli. The king's next effort was directed against Damascus, which fell under Raṣôn in 732 B.C., and became an Assyrian province.

By avoiding collision, Hamath seems to have maintained a government of its own from the time of Shalmaneser II. It is not mentioned again after it had given up the 'alliance' with Benhadad to submit to the Assyrians (§ 20). By the formation of the province of Kulanî in 738 it had sustained a great loss of territory. The whole of the North Phœnician district which had belonged to it was—as belonging to Patin (cp end of § 19), and therefore rebellious—annexed by Tiglath-pileser as an Assyrian 'province Ṣimirra.' After the fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. an attempt was made in conjunction by Samaria, Damascus, and this 'province Ṣimirra' to cast off Assyrian sovereignty. Eni'il, the king, doubtless, of the old ruling house, had been set aside, and a certain Ilu-bi'di, 'a peasant,' called to the throne. The previous peasant condition of the new king shows that here there was a question of internal revolution which connected itself with similar movements in the adjoining countries and was somewhat belated. In Israel some fifteen or twenty years earlier Amos had in like manner spoken out in favour of a popular movement. The result naturally was that Hamath too lost its independence (720 B.C.).

23. Sargon II.

The same fate overtook Carchemish under its last king Pisiris in 717. He had vainly sought support from Mita of Muski (*i.e.*, Midas of Phrygia[1]), the ruler of the *old* Ḫatti-land. Thus the whole of Middle Syria down to the borders of Judah had come under the provincial administration of Assyria.

In the 'Amḳ Sam'al had also in the meanwhile lost its independence, doubtless at the time of the rising of Hamath. The same fate befel Ḳumani (Kammanu) and Melitene in 712, Gurgum with its capital Marḳas (Mar'aš) in 711, Ḳummuḫ in 708, so that North Syria also was now once more under Assyrian administration.

Under Sennacherib Assyria made no progress; on the contrary, in Palestine repeated efforts were made, simultaneously with a like effort on the part of Babylonia in the rear, to shake off the Assyrian yoke. This applies, however, only to the self-ruling countries—Sidon-Tyre under Luli, and Judah under Hezekiah; the Assyrian provinces remained tranquil—perhaps because they felt themselves at all events better off under the Assyrian administration than they had been under rulers of their own.

24. Later kings.

[1] Wi. *AOF*, 2 136.

Under Esarhaddon and Ašur-bani-pal, in like manner, more of the Syrian territory changed hands; broadly, the conditions which had been established under Sargon continued, with the single exception that the territory of Tyre and Sidon (not the *city of* Tyre), also had become Assyrian.

On the fall of Assyria, Necho made the attempt again to establish the old rights of the Pharaohs over Ḫatti-land. He advanced to Carchemish where he was defeated by Nebuchadrezzar.[1] At this period he must like Nebuchadrezzar have had his headquarters in the Beḳâ'. Riblah seems then to have played an important part. The district of Hamath to which it belonged was very favourably situated for such purposes.

25. Babylonian supremacy.

By the victories of Nebuchadrezzar Ḫatti-land or *êbir nâri* (עבר הנהר)—for it is now again occasionally designated by its old name—came under the power of Babylonia, and there it remained. The rebellions of Judah which eventually led to the abolition of that kingdom, met with no support elsewhere in Syria. During the whole of this period the capitals of the former states of Syria figure as the administrative centres of an equivalent number of Assyrian (afterwards Babylonian) provinces.

The same position of affairs is still indicated by Nabuna'id in his third year (553), when this ruler once more summons the kings 'of Gaza and the Middle Sea, beyond the Euphrates' to take their part in the rebuilding of the temple in Harran. At that time, therefore, 'Ḫatti-land' in the widest sense of the word was still acknowledging the Babylonian supremacy. Fourteen years later the new king of Babylon was Cyrus the Persian.

Under Cyrus and Cambyses the government of the country seems in the first instance to have been carried on unchanged; thus the provinces remained under their pêḫas and šaknus as before. The internal revolution within the Persian empire and the rearrangement of the administration under Darius next brought about the division of the empire into satrapies. As a result of this the 'Ăbar Nahᵃrā (עבר נהרא), as it was now officially called in Aramaic (*êbir nâri* still in the Cuneiform inscriptions), became a separate satrapy. Its first satrap was Uštani (see TATNAI), who was also at the same time satrap of Babylonia and thus received the whole Chaldæan kingdom as his satrapy. At a later date the two satrapies were separated. The Macedonian Conquest brought about, in the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, a fresh revival of the kingdom of Babylon. Very soon, however, the capital was transferred to Syria (Antioch). Through the Roman and the Parthian ascendency Syria was severed from Babylon; its civilisation, through closer contact with that of the West, received new impulses, whilst the Babylonian came to ruin under the Parthian influence. The same state of things persisted under the Sasanian rule in Babylon, and the Byzantine in Syria. The two were again united by the Mohammedan conquest which once more brought together the whole of the east into one common area of civilisation. Even then, however, the contrast was marked. The seat of the caliphate is at first in Syria; not, however, in the Christian Antioch but on the borders of Arabia, in Damascus, where formerly Benhadad had sought to found an empire. On the other hand 'Ali found himself compelled to transfer his seat from the native land of Islam to the other region of Eastern civilisation, to Babylon (Irâḳ). By his

26. Persian.

27. Later.

[1] Nabuchodonossor in Antilibanus and in Wâdy Brissa (W. from Ba'albek).

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1. Ben-Tābeel (RV 'the son of Tabeel,' AV '. . . Tabeal') is the only name given by Isaiah to the person put forward by Rezin and Pekah as a substitute for Ahaz on the throne of Judah (Is. 7 6). 𝔊 regards the name as a compound, the second part of which is אֵל, 'God.' The points, however, imply the pronunciation Tāb^e al—*i.e.*, 'good-for-nothing' (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 33 330 [1879]); a *jeu d'esprit* in the old Jewish manner. Winckler (*Alttest. Unt.* 74) and Guthe (ISRAEL, § 32) take 'the son of Tabeel' (as is usually read) to be Rezin (Rezon). Most scholars suppose that an Aramæan or Syrian is meant, but not

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TABEEL, AV **Tabeal** (טָבְאֵל, in Is. pausal form טָבְאַל [see Kö., *Lehrgeb.* 2 537], 'God is good,' or [Wi. *Alt. Unt.* 74] 'God is wise,' cp Tab-rimmon; ΤΑΒΕΗΛ [BℵAQΓL]).

1. Ben-Tābeel (RV 'the son of Tabeel,' AV '. . . Tabeal') is the only name given by Isaiah to the person put forward by Rezin and Pekah as a substitute for Ahaz on the throne of Judah (Is. 7 6). 𝔊 regards the name as a compound, the second part of which is אֵל, 'God.' The points, however, imply the pronunciation Tābᵉal—*i.e.*, 'good-for-nothing' (cp Nöld. *ZDMG* 33 330 [1879]); a *jeu d'esprit* in the old Jewish manner. Winckler (*Alttest. Unt.* 74) and Guthe (ISRAEL, § 32) take 'the son of Tabeel' (as is usually read) to be Rezin (Rezon). Most scholars suppose that an Aramæan or Syrian is meant, but not

Rezin himself, who is surely the chief speaker in Is. 7 5 *f.* Marti, however, suggests that the name of the father of Rezin's nominee may have been Ṭōbᵉ'el or Ṭōbi'el, so that he would have been a Judahite (but see TOBIAH); he declines, however, to speak positively. If, however, the view referred to elsewhere (REZIN, TIGLATH-PILESER) be correct, and the invaders of Judah were Rezin (Rezon), king of Aram, and Pir'ām (?), king of Ishmael, it becomes at once probable that the title of the pretender's father was Ben-Tūbal, TUBAL (*q.v.*) being an ethnic name of the N. Arabian border-land. According to this view, the invasion was from the S., and the news brought to Ahaz may have been 'Aram has encamped against Ephron'; Ephron (עפרון), corrupted in Is. (*l.c.*) into 'Ephraim' (אפרים), was the name of a town of Jeraḥmeel which became Judahite, according to 2 Ch. 13 19, under king Abijah; it may also have been Judahite under Ahaz, and if so have been on the frontier of Judahite territory towards the S. There are parallels enough in corrupt passages elsewhere to warrant our reading in Is. 7 6, 'Let us go up against Jerusalem . . . and let us appoint a king in the midst of it, namely, the son of Tubal (the Tubalite).'

2. A Persian official in Samaria, Ezra 4 7, who in 1 Esd. 2 16 is called **Tabellius** (ταβέλλιος [BAL]). It is very possible to read the name תֻּבַלִי, 'Tubalite' (*i.e.*, a man of the N. Arabian Tubal). This is connected with a critical theory on the original narratives in Ezra, for which see *Crit. Bib.* It involves holding Shobal (Gen. 36 20, etc.) to be the original of Bishlam, and perhaps Ramathi (1 Ch. 27 27) of Mithredath in the same passage, the present readings being due to a later editor.

T. K. C.

TABERAH (תַּבְעֵרָה, 'burning' of RVmg.; ΕΜΠΥΡΙΣΜΟΣ [BAFL]), a locality in the wilderness of Paran (presumably near Kibroth-hattaavah), which is said to have derived its name from the 'burning' which took place there (Nu. 11 3 Dt. 9 22†). See KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, WANDERINGS, §§ 7, 10.

TABERNACLE

Traditional view (§ 1).
Description in P (§ 2).
The tabernacle: its walls (§ 3).
Its coverings (§ 4).
Curtains (§ 5).
Court (§ 6).
Furniture (§ 7).
Significance of tabernacle in P (§ 8).
Symbolism (§ 9).
Unhistorical character of record (§ 10).
Impossible in the wilderness (§ 11).
Sacred tent in E (§ 12).
Tabernacle non-existent in historical times (§ 13).
Literature (§ 14).

1. Traditional view. According to the traditional view, which goes as far back as to P, and even to the period of the exile, the temple in Jerusalem had its prototype in the portable sanctuary—the tabernacle—set up in the wilderness by Moses. In accordance with directions received on Mount Sinai (Ex. 26 1 *ff.*, P) he constructed for Yahwè and the ark a sumptuous tent which accompanied the Israelites as their only sanctuary during their forty years' wandering in the wilderness. Though never anything but a 'tent,' a provisional and temporary house of God, designed for the journey from Sinai to Palestine, it continued long after the settlement in Canaan to be Israel's sole legitimate sanctuary—set up, now here now there, in various parts of Palestine until at last Solomon built his temple, to which the ark of Yahwè was finally transferred.

The most usual designation for this tabernacle in P is *'ōhel mō'ēd* (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד; *e.g.*, Ex. 27 21 28 43 29 4 10 *f.*, etc.; see ASSEMBLY, 2; col. 346). According to Ex. 29 42 *f.* Nu. 17 19 [4] this expression denotes the tabernacle as the place where Yahwè meets with Moses and the people and communicates to Moses from the *kappōreth* (see MERCY SEAT) between the cherubim his messages to the children of Israel. On this view the usual interpretation of the expression as meaning 'tabernacle of the assembly' or 'tabernacle of the congregation' (Bähr, 1 136 *f.*, Ewald, 168) is incorrect; moreover in point of fact the sanctuaries of the Semites never were, primarily, places of meeting for the community; they were places where the deity dwelt and revealed himself (see TEMPLE, § 1). So also the tabernacle (see below, § 8).

The tabernacle is expressly spoken of (Lev. 17 4 [cp 15 31 mg. 'tabernacle'], Nu. 16 9 19 13 31 20 30 47 Josh. 22 19) as *miškan Yhwh* (מִשְׁכַּן יהוה)—a phrase which on the other hand, it is true, is also used to designate the holy of holies, the dwelling place proper of the deity as distinguished from the rest of the structure (Ex. 26 1 6 *f.* 35 11 36 13 *f.* 39 33 *f.* 40 19 *f.* Nu. 3 25; cp also Ex. 39 32 40 2 6 29). Another name for the tabernacle is *'ōhel hā-'ēdūth* (אֹהֶל הָעֵדֻת; Nu. 9 15 17 22 *f.* [7 *f.*] 18 2), or *miškan hā'ēdūth* (מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדֻת; Ex. 38 21 Nu. 1 50 53 10 11), 'tabernacle' or 'dwelling place' of the 'testimony' or 'witness' (cp ARK OF THE COVENANT, § 3). This after the analogy of *'ōhel mō'ēd* is taken by Riehm and others as meaning 'the dwelling-place where God bears witness to himself and to his will,' in other words as equivalent to 'tent of revelation.' It seems more probable, however, that here as in the expression 'ark of the *'ēdūth*' (Ex. 25 22 26 33) the word *'ēdūth* means the two tables of the law, and the whole expression the tent in which the two tables are deposited (cp 𝔊 σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου, Vg. *tabernaculum testimonii* or *fœderis*; cp also Ex. 31 18 34 29).[1]

2. Description in P. The details of the tabernacle and its furniture have been preserved to us in two-fold form—once in the form of a divine instruction to Moses in which all the measurements and specifications to the smallest detail are given (Ex. 25 10-27 19), and again in that of a narrative relating how this instruction was carried out, when practically everything is repeated (Ex. 36 8-38 31). These two sections belong to different strata of P.

The whole description leaves at first sight such an impression of painstaking precision that the reader might be tempted forthwith to take for granted its historical truth. As soon, however, as he begins to examine more closely, and on the basis of this description proceeds to attempt to form for himself a definite picture of what the tabernacle was, he finds that in spite of the multitude of data supplied, or rather precisely because of their multitude, it is impossible to arrive at any clearness on the subject. As Wellhausen very truly remarks (*Prol.*[(5)], 353, cp ET 348): 'without repeating the descriptions of the tabernacle in Ex. 25 *ff.* word for word, it is difficult to give an idea how circumstantial it is; we must go to the source to satisfy ourselves what the "narrator" can do in this line. One would imagine that he was giving specifications to measurers for estimates or that he was writing for weavers and cabinetmakers; but they could not proceed upon his information, for the incredibly matter-of-fact statements are fancy all the same.'

The tabernacle consists of two parts: (1) the 'dwelling-place' (*miškān*), and (2) the enclosing court (*ḥāṣēr*).

3. The tabernacle: its walls. 1. The 'dwelling-place' is spoken of in the narrative as a 'tent' or tabernacle (*'ôhel*). On closer examination, however, this accords very imperfectly with the detailed description.[2] For the so-called 'tent' forms an oblong with upright walls made of thick 'boards' (EV, קֶרֶשׁ, *ḳéreš*,

[1] [Other words rendered 'tabernacle' in EV, but only in the more general sense of that word, are: סֻכָּה, *sukkāh*, see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF; סֹךְ, *sōk*, Ps. 76 2 (RVmg. 'covert'), or שֹׂךְ, *sōk*, Lam. 2 6 (RVmg 'booth or hedge'); סִכּוּת, *sikkūth*, Am. 5 26, AV; RV 'Siccuth,' see CHIUN; σκηνή, Mt. 17 4 etc.; σκῆνος, 2 Cor. 5 14; σκήνωμα, Acts 7 46 2 Pet. 1 13. See TENT.]

[2] It is clear that the writer is at great pains to make it appear that the structure is a tent. Only in this way can we explain the surprising circumstance that in both cases—both when the instructions are being given and when the construction is being described—he begins with the roof. Plainly he feels that the walls, etc., as he is about to describe them, do not give the impression of a tent. Therefore he gives to the curtains—the roof—the place of chief importance, which of course they would have in the case of a tent, and treats all else, the walls, etc.—as secondary and merely as necessary accessories for the curtains just as tent-poles are.

𝔊 στύλοι, Philo and Josephus κιόνες). These boards are each 10 cubits[1] high (thus quite rightly designated in the Greek: 'pillars' or 'posts'), the wall itself somewhat more, as the 'feet' (see below) of the boards have to be added in. In all there are 48 boards, 20 on the N. and 20 on the S. side (the structure facing eastward) and 8 forming the western (rear) wall. The front has no such wall; it is closed merely by curtains.

The boards themselves are (as Ex. 26 16 *ff.* expressly states) each $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits broad. From this, their arrangement and the thickness of each can be easily calculated.

The long side of the oblong (interior measurement) as is implied in Ex. 26 15 *ff.*, is to be 30 cubits, and that of the rear wall (thus interior measurement also) is 10 cubits. This last measurement indeed is not expressly given, but it is clearly implied by the whole context; the holy of holies at the west end of the structure is conceived of as a cube of 10 cubits, just as that of the temple of Solomon is a cube of 20. This being so, the boards of the rear wall were so placed as to make it the exterior wall which covered the breadth of both the longitudinal walls. The eight boards of the rear wall together made a breadth of $8\times 1\frac{1}{2}=12$ cubits; as the interior measurement was only 10 cubits there remained a difference on each side of 1 cubit which could only have served to cover the ends of the side walls. These, therefore and the rear wall also were 1 cubit thick (so Bähr, Ewald, Kamphausen, and others).

Holzinger,[2] it is true, supposes that these dimensions (10 cubits and 30 cubits) are meant to be taken not as interior but as exterior measurements. In support of this he points to the measurement of the curtain of goats' hair which is calculated for a framework of $10\times 10\times 30$ cubits. This argument holds good, however, only if we ignore Ex. 26 12 (Holzinger eliminates it as a gloss) and double the curtain for 4 cubits in front while at the rear it comes down to the ground ($4+30+10=44$ cubits). The passage just referred to, on the other hand, clearly reckons 11 cubits as hanging down at the rear and 2 cubits in front as doubled; thus leaving 31 cubits to be accounted for (viz 30 cubits as length of the exterior and 1 cubit as thickness of rear wall). In Ex. 26 22, it is true, the two corner boards of the rear wall are distinguished from the others; and from this the inference has been drawn that they were of slenderer proportions and thus the boards altogether thinner than has been calculated above (so, for example, already Josephus, who gives their thickness as half a cubit). The motive for this is manifest; a structure formed of boards 2 ft. 7 in. broad and 20.67 in. thick can no longer in fairness be called a tent; beams of such a size are no longer mere supports for a curtain roof; they are substantial walls, and it is also hard to say where in the wilderness trees capable of yielding such massive timber are to be found. Hence the pains taken in the apologetic interest to reduce the beams. Thus, for example, Knobel cites Ezek. 27 6 where the same expression *ḳéreš* is used for panelling (EV, RVmg. 'deck'), thus plainly indicating thin boards, not thick beams. As already observed, however, the writer's manifest object is to make the structure appear as a tent, and therefore he may very well have deliberately chosen this word even although (or rather because) it elsewhere means only 'plank.' Keil maintains that the interpreter has no reason for magnifying mere planks into colossal beams such as can neither be obtained from the acacia tree nor be transported on wheels in the wilderness. Nevertheless there is no getting past the fact that in Ex. 26 15 *ff.* it is expressly stated of all the boards that they were alike. The text of Ex. 26 22 *ff.*, however, is hopelessly corrupt and unintelligible. The numerous attempts at explanation that have been made at various times cannot be discussed here; some of them are in the highest degree artificial, as for example that of Riehm (*HWB, s.v.* 'Stiftshütte,' p. 1578 *b*). Cp, further, Dillmann and Holzinger, *ad loc.*; also Riggenbach, 23 *ff.*, Keil, 85 *f.* [Starting from Stade's study of the construction of Solomon's lavers (1 K. 7 28 *ff.*) in *ZATW*, 1901, pp. 145 *ff.* where יְדוֹת and שְׁלַבִּים are shown to have had the technical sense of 'stays' and 'cross-rails' respectively, Prof. Kennedy holds that the קֶרֶשׁ of P—which is found elsewhere only in Ezek. 27 6 in the sense of 'panel'—is 'a frame of wood, such as builders in all countries have employed in the construction of light walls.' He renders *vv.* 15 *ff.* thus, taking the parenthesis last: 'And thou shalt make the frames for the dwelling of acacia wood, standing up, two uprights for each frame, joined to each other by cross-rails—ten cubits the height and a cubit and a half the breadth of the single frame.' The third dimension is not given, because a frame has, strictly speaking, no thickness.]

Further, all the boards are uniformly furnished each with two יָדוֹת, *yādōth* (EV 'tenons'), which are connected with one another by a slip of wood (Ex. 26 16 *f.*). Josephus understands by the expression 'pivots' (στρόφιγγες) at the foot of each board, and this is not

[1] [It is assumed throughout this article that the longer cubit of 20·67 in. is meant; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.]

[2] So also A. R. S. Kennedy, 'Tabernacle,' in Hastings' *DB* 4 661 *a*.

improbably correct. For according to Ex. 26 19 two bases (אֲדָנִים, *ădānîm*, EV 'sockets,' βάσεις) are provided in each case for the two pivots. They are of silver, and each weighs a talent (95 lbs.); Ex. 38 27.[1] Interpreters differ widely as to the purpose and the form of these sockets. The most natural view seems to be that of Josephus, according to which the tenons and sockets were placed at the lower edge of the boards in such a way that the function of the tenons was to connect the boards with the sockets. For throughout the whole description no word is said as to the manner in which the boards were set up on or, as it may be, fastened into the ground. As to this, some interpreters think of the sockets as having been wedge-shaped and as being driven into the ground, the boards then being fitted into them by means of the tenons. Against such an explanation, however, must be urged the light weight of the silver; 95 lbs. of that metal (if the text be correct) are not enough for a wedge large enough to carry a pillar having a cross section of 30 × 20 in. and weighing something like half a ton. Moreover the use of silver for any such purpose at all would be very odd; silver and gold after all are best applied for the decoration of a structure and are not usually buried under ground. Other interpreters accordingly take the meaning to be that the *yādōth* (tenons), were designed for driving into the ground and that the *ădānîm* were merely quite shallow projecting bases of the boards through which the pivots passed. But not even thus is the object of fixing the boards in position attained, for simple pivots would have been insufficient, and the boards would have had to be driven into the ground (see below). Thus we are shut up to the view that the *ădānîm* were quite shallow bases of the boards serving more for ornament than for stability. By the pivots in that case these bases were attached to the boards. It will be enough merely to mention here the quite different explanation of Riehm (*HWB, s.v.* 'Stiftshütte,' 1578 *f.*) according to which each board consisted of two pieces which were held together by the tenons at the sides and by the feet below.

These boards were attached to one another by cross bars (EV 'bars'; בְּרִיחִם, *bĕrîḥîm*). Each board had on its outer side golden 'rings' (EV; טַבָּעוֹת, *ṭabbā'ōth*),[2] through which were passed strong bars of acacia wood. To be precise, there were five such bars on each side (Ex. 36 31 *ff.*). The middle bar, half-way up the boards,[3] ran all the way along and thus was in the case of the rear wall 12 cubits long, and in the case of each of the other two walls 30 cubits, or, let us say, 31 cubits, since doubtless we may safely assume that the boards of the rear wall which covered the ends of the longer walls, and thus the rear wall as a whole, were connected with the longer walls by these crossbars. From the statement about the middle bar that it went right along we must conclude that this was not the case with the others. These, accordingly, were shorter and we shall be justified perhaps in supposing that each bar joined together only one half of the total number of boards, and thus that each individual board had only three rings and bars. The position of the bars as given in the figure in Riehm (*HWB* 1579) is derived from the consideration that the narrator plainly has it in his mind that five bars could be at once distinguished by simple inspection, which would not so readily be the case if the upper and

[1] [This passage, however, belongs to a very late addition to P based on the census in Numbers.]

[2] It is not indeed expressly said in the text that the bars were upon the outer side; but this is the most natural and likely supposition. Ewald, however, amongst others, thinks of the rings and bars as on the inner side.

[3] Riggenbach and others take Ex. 26 28 as meaning that the middle bar went through the interior of the boards themselves and not through rings, but such a construction can hardly be put upon the expression בְּתוֹךְ הַקְּרָשִׁים, apart from the improbability of the whole idea.

lower bars had each run at a uniform level and each contiguous with the other.[1]

Finally, the boards and bars are, according to Ex. 26 29 *ff.*, overlaid with gold, that is to say, with thin gold plate so that the inner and outer surface of the structure was golden.[2]

These walls formed a framework for the coverings—the roof, which, as already observed, was regarded by the narrator as the main thing, the essential part of the structure, as indeed it would be in the case of an actual tent. It has four coverings, laid successively the one upon the other.

4. The coverings.

(1) The innermost was of costly linen. It is described (Ex. 26 1 *ff.*) as the work of the cunning workman (*ma'ăsēh ḥōšēb*), of fine-twined linen (*šēš*; see LINEN, 7) violet purple and red purple (*tĕkēleth* and *argāmān*; see COLOURS, § 15, PURPLE) and scarlet (*tōlā'ath šānī*; see COLOURS, § 14, SCARLET). Cherubim were woven into it. How the colours were applied we are not more precisely informed. We can imagine either a patterned textile in four colours with inwoven cherubim or a white texture with cherubim inwoven in three colours. The latter appears the more likely supposition. The curtain of the enclosing wall of the court was also white (see below). The whole covering was made up of ten separate 'curtains' (EV; *yĕrī'ōth*); each of these strips was 28 cubits long and 4 cubits broad, and five of them were joined side by side to form one large covering. No particulars are given as to the mode of their attachment. The two large coverings thus composed, 28 cubits long and 20 cubits wide, had each of them along one of the longer sides fifty 'loops' (EV; *lŭlāōth*) of violet purple so placed that each of the loops was opposite a loop on the other curtain. In these loops were inserted fifty golden 'clasps' (RV, AV 'taches'; קְרָסִים, *ḳĕrāsīm*), by means of which the two large coverings were held together.[3] The whole of the great covering thus made up, 28 cubits by 40, was then laid over the wooden framework. On the outer side of each of the two longer walls it thus hung down to a distance of 8 cubits (the whole breadth of the structure, including the thickness of the walls, being, as we have seen, 12 cubits). To the rear, on the other hand, there were 9 cubits to spare, as of course the covering was not allowed to overhang in front. In this position of the covering, the joining of its two great sections, with its loops and clasps, ran exactly along the top of the hanging curtain which, 20 cubits from the front, separated the holy place from the holy of holies. This arrangement was certainly designed. Nothing is anywhere said as to any special attachment of this great covering to the walls; nor indeed was any such attachment required, its own weight combined with that of the two others superimposed upon it being amply sufficient to keep it in position. This inner covering constitutes the *miškān* properly so-called, the wooden walls being regarded merely as supports for it; and we find it accordingly in one place (Ex. 26 13) expressly so called.

a. Kurz, Keil, Bähr, and others (including Holzinger), take it that this covering hung down on the inner side of the structure, covering the wall as with a hanging of tapestry. The reason primarily alleged for this opinion—that otherwise the cherubs between the wall and the hair-covering would not have been shown—disappears on the assumption we propose to make that the hair-covering was drawn out (see below). Two other reasons, adduced by Holzinger, carry more weight. (i.) In the first place he urges that the fine linen fabric would have taken damage if stretched over the wooden wall in contact with the rough covering of goats' hair, would have been torn by the nails, and so forth. As against this, however, it has to be pointed out that the whole structure is a creation of the imagination, and that in any case the author has not thought out the details with such practicality and minuteness as criticism of this kind would imply. (ii.) Holzinger's other reason is that, in Nu. 4 5, when the tabernacle is being removed it is represented that the byssus covering can be applied as a covering for the ark without more ado; this certainly could be done most easily if it hung wholly within. The fact, however, that in striking an actual tent the first thing to be done is to take down the tent covering, is of course one that does not need to be particularly emphasised; and the implied oversight of the narrator thus becomes intelligible. *b.* On the other side there are preponderating considerations against the theory that the covering hung within. (i.) In the first place, had it done so, this would have rendered necessary special arrangements for the attachment of the covering to the upper edge of the wooden walls, but of any such, no mention is anywhere made. (ii.) Further, in the case supposed, the covering would have hung down 9 cubits on each of the side walls, and as many as 10 on the hinder wall, thus resting on the ground—an inequality which, in combination with the great protruding cornerpieces, would have greatly disfigured the Holy of Holies. (iii.) Finally, in Ex. 26 12 *f.* it is expressly said that the tent-covering proper which lay above this covering overlapped it in all directions; but this is meaningless unless the inner covering also hung down the outside of the wooden walls. This last passage, it is true, is regarded by Holzinger as a gloss; it shows, however, in any case at least that from a very early date this linen covering was thought of as an external hanging. Nor is it by any means necessary to treat the verses as a gloss. For on any construction it is impossible to give precision and accuracy to the description (see below). For all which reasons the majority of modern interpreters (Dillmann, Riehm, Nowack, Kennedy, and others) adopt the view that the covering was an external one. On this view, let it be added, the general effect was not impaired by the inequality of the hanging on the side walls (8 cubits), as compared with the hinder wall (9 cubits), nor yet by the corner folds coming down to the ground with 2 cubits to spare.

(2) Above this inner covering came, as a second 'roof,' a real tent covering (Ex. 26 7 *ff.*) like those in ordinary use, made of black or brown goats' hair,[1] a material that quickly felts in rain and allows no moisture to pass through. This covering is also spoken of, absolutely, as 'the tent.' Like the other, it also, naturally, is made up of separate strips; of which there are eleven, each of them 30 cubits by 4. Of these eleven, five and six respectively are fastened together so as to form two larger coverings. Uniformly with the linen covering both parts of the goats' hair covering have each on the longer side fifty loops exactly opposite one another and are fastened together by clasps; only here the clasps are made of copper—a less noble metal. The material and colour of the loops are not specified. It will be observed that if a covering of these dimensions were to be laid over the linen covering, it would overlap it all round by a cubit, and this is expressly stated in Ex. 26 13. On the hinder wall, on the other hand, the overlapping part was 2 cubits longer than the linen covering. For the hair covering was so adjusted that of the eleventh (extra) breadth of 4 cubits only the half hung over the back of the tabernacle (Ex. 26 12), that is to say, overlapped the linen covering.[2] The extra portion over the entrance in front, 2 cubits in width, was not allowed to overhang but was turned back so that in this way the first strip to the front was folded along the medial line and lay double. According to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 6 4) there was thus made a sort of gable and portal. A simpler explanation perhaps will be that of Riehm and others, that the weight of the doubled front strip was intended to prevent the wind

[1] The circumstance that the middle bar ran right along and thus must have been 31 cubits in length naturally caused difficulty from very early times, and Josephus accordingly represents it as having been made up of several lengths of 5 cubits apiece, which were screwed together.

[2] Perhaps we ought with Holzinger to regard *v.* 29 as being in the main a gloss; in Nu. 4 careful packing of the gold-plated objects is enjoined, and this would certainly not be easy in the case of the boards of the tabernacle. Yet an oversight such as this, on the part of the narrator, is not difficult to imagine.

[3] Schick's supposition, that *one* curtain had loops and clasps, is contrary to the language of the text.

[1] Bähr thinks that this covering was entirely white. The text, however, does not say so, nor is the thing likely in itself. Ordinary tent-coverings are black or dark-brown, often having white stripes also (Cant. 1 5).

[2] Holzinger (*ad loc.*) it is true, holds this reckoning which brings out an excess to be a mistake, and considers 26 12 to be a gloss. The mistake arises according to him out of a false notion as to the manner in which the linen covering was placed (see above). [Kennedy (*op. cit.*) follows Holzinger in regarding *v.* 12 as a mistaken gloss, but holds that the whole of the eleventh curtain hung doubled over the edge of the roof in front, for which he claims the support of a Jewish treatise of the third century.]

from catching it too easily. Behind and at the sides the covering was protected against this by the fastening with tent pins (see below). The effect of the arrangement was that the joinings of the linen and of the goats'-hair coverings did not coincide; and this is evidently quite right. In like manner the places at which the separate strips were fastened together by the loops and clasps were not coincident as Bähr, and recently Holzinger and Kennedy, erroneously have held. In point of fact, since in the case of the goats'-hair covering the larger portion (of six strips) was put in front, the joining came to be over the holy of holies, 2 cubits farther back than the joining of the linen covering which as we have seen was exactly over the veil between the holy place and the holy of holies.

To this tent covering pertain the 'pins' (EV; *yĕthēdōth*) and 'cords' (EV; *mēthārīm*) of which recurring mention is made (Ex. 27 19 35 18 38 20 31 39 40). The pins, unlike the ordinary wooden tent peg, are of brass (38 31). From the mention of these pins and cords we must infer, although this is not expressly stated, that the hair-covering did not, like the under-covering, hang down over the outer walls, but, as would be the case with a regular tent, was fastened by means of ropes to the pins driven into the ground and thus spread out slantingly. Hence also it must in all directions have been longer than the linen covering. By this supposition we also get over the other difficulty, otherwise hard to meet, that at the rear this covering hung down 11 cubits (2 cubits more than the linen covering) and thus, since the wall was only 10 cubits high, would have had one whole cubit upon the ground unless thus drawn out.[1]

(3) Above this tent covering were placed—obviously for a protection from the weather—two additional coverings; one of rams' skins dyed red (מִכְסֵה עֹרֹת אֵלִים), and over this another of porpoise skins (מִכְסֵה עֹרֹת תְּחָשִׁים; but see BADGERS SKINS). As to the dimensions of these two coverings no details are given (see below, note 1). Riehm (*HWB*) and others have supposed that they served the purpose only of a roofing, and were not so large as the coverings properly so-called. This, however, cannot be deduced from the expression 'covering' (מִכְסֶה) nor yet from the 'above' (מִלְמַעְלָה) of Ex. 40 19 Nu. 4 25; and all further conjectures based upon this, such as that the roof ran to a point or to a ridge, and the like, are wholly without solid foundation (see § 10 end).

In front the structure was closed in, as has already been said, not by a wall of wood and a door, but only

5. The curtains. by a curtain (AV 'hanging,' RV 'screen'; מָסָךְ, *māsāk*, Ex. 27 16, etc.), which like the inner covering was a textile fabric woven in four colours: white spun linen, violet purple, red purple, and scarlet. This curtain formed a single piece 10 cubits square, and was held up by five pillars of acacia wood. Whether the pillars were placed between the first boards of the longer walls, or so that the two outermost were attached to the outer corners of these walls is not stated. The pillars have copper bases and according to Ex. 26 are overlaid with gold; according to 36 37, indeed, only the capitals were so. How the curtain was fastened to these pillars is not explained. Besides the golden pegs or 'hooks' (so EV; *wāwīm*, Ex. 26 37), rings (EV 'fillets'; *ḥăšūkīm*, Ex. 27 10) are also mentioned. By these some interpreters (Ewald, Dillmann) understand rings which formed a sort of garland under the capitals and thus served for ornament. Others (*e.g.* Riehm) explain them as rods which connected the hooks and on which the curtain was hung. At all events the *wāwīm* are not nails with which the curtain was nailed up—had this been so they would have to be pulled out every time the tabernacle was moved—but hooks to which the curtain was fastened somehow, with rings or otherwise.

[1] Holzinger (*ad loc.*) will have it that the cords and pins belonged to the upper coverings. In that case we should have to think of these as having been very large. The circumstance, however, that the hair-covering is actually called the tent (*'ōhel*; see above) permits the inference that just as in its material it resembled an ordinary tent, so also in its use it is thought of as such—that is to say was spread like an ordinary tent. [Kennedy, on the other hand, finds the 'cords' mentioned only in the latest strata of P, and thinks the hair-covering was pinned to the ground all round after the manner of the Ka'ba at Mecca.]

From this outer curtain the inner, by which the structure is divided into two parts, is distinguished only by its greater elaboration; the materials are the same, but, over and above, it is adorned with cherubim, the work of the skilled workman. The four pillars by which this inner curtain is supported, are of acacia wood completely overlaid with gold, and have silver bases, in this respect differing from the pillars of the outer apartment, which have bases of brass only, and only the capitals overlaid with gold. This inner curtain has its place directly underneath the row of clasps which fasten the two portions of the linen covering together, and thus is 10 cubits distant from the hinder wall. It divides the entire space into two apartments, the outer and larger being 20 cubits long and the inner only half as much, having thus the form of a cube of 10 cubits.

Nothing is said as to how this curtain is hung upon the golden nails. The curtain bears the designation of *pārōketh* (פָּרֹכֶת, Ex. 26 31, AV 'vail,' RV 'veil') or *pārōketh hammāsāk* (פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ; Ex. 35 12 39 34 40 21 Nu. 4 5, AV 'the vail of the covering,' RV 'the veil of the screen'). The meaning of the word (𝔊 καταπέτασμα, Vg. *velum*) is uncertain. It is generally explained as 'parting,' 'separation.' More probably it is an original *terminus technicus* used in connection with worship, and denotes the boundary of the cella of a sanctuary (see below, and cp Ges.-Bu. and BDB, *s.v.* פרך, ii. also Dillmann, *ad loc.*; WRS, *Journ. Phil.* 13 283; Halévy, *Mél.* 187).

The outer and larger apartment was 'the Holy' (*haḳḳōdeš*, Ex. 26 33, EV 'the holy place'), the inner 'the Holy of Holies' (*ḳōdeš haḳḳŏdāšīm*, Ex. 26 33, EV 'the most holy'). The latter could be entered only once in the year on the great day of atonement, and that by the high priest alone (Lev. 16 2 *ff.*); the former was accessible to the priests only, in the discharge of their sacred duties.

The sanctuary was surrounded by an enclosed court 100 cubits long and 50 broad (Ex. 27 9-19 38 10-20).

6. The court. The enclosure was by means of curtains (EV 'hangings, *ḳĕlā'īm*) of white spun linen (EV 'fine twined linen,' *šēš mošzār*). This curtain-wall which was 5 cubits high was supported by pillars of wood; whether of acacia is not stated, but this is probably meant. The total compass of the enclosing wall was (100 + 100 + 50 + 50 =) 300 cubits. The number of pillars is given as 20 for each of the longer sides and 10 for each of the shorter. The view of the author plainly is that there were sixty pillars in all at a uniform distance from each other of 5 cubits.

The number given for the pillars on each side is obviously inexact if the total number is to be taken as 60. If we take the statement quite literally and reckon all the pillars on each side, then on the given data we get a total of fifty-six pillars only, for of course each corner pillar is counted twice—once as part of the longer side and again as part of the shorter. It is in this way that Lund, Bähr, Winer and others view the matter. It is not very probable, however; for in that case the distances of the pillars from one another on the shorter sides ($\frac{50}{9}$ cubits) would not be the same as those on the longer ($\frac{100}{19}$ cubits). For this reason other interpreters prefer to think that the describer in giving his figures for each side did not count the last pillar in each row (so Keil, Dillmann, Riehm, Nowack and others). This doubtless would be in itself quite possible if it did not so happen that we are able to reckon exactly with regard to one side—the eastern with the entrance—that it actually had only ten pillars, neither more nor fewer. For this side had in the middle four pillars which carried the curtain of the door, and if we are to assume symmetry at all in the structure, the door must have been in the middle, and thus to right and left there must have been an equal number of pillars—namely three, as is expressly stated in Ex. 27 14 *f.* Thus we shall doubtless be justified in assuming that the author has allowed himself to be guided simply by his scheme according to which the proportion of 2 : 1 is applied to the whole structure without caring very minutely about details.

Each pillar has a base of bronze and a capital overlaid with silver. The diminution in the value of the materials in proportion to the distance from the Holy of Holies is noteworthy. The curtains are fastened in their places by means of silver nails which here also,

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doubtless served as hooks for hanging (38 17 27 17). In the same connection mention is made also of silver *ḥăšūḳīm*).

The meaning of the word חֲשׁוּקִים is disputed. Many understand by it silver bars, or bars of wood overlaid with silver, which reached from one pillar capital to another and rested upon silver nails, and to them the curtains were attached either directly or by means of rings (so Lund, Keil, Riehm, Knobel, and others). According to Ex. 38 17 19, however, the *ḥăšūḳīm* seem to have been integral parts of the pillars themselves, and the expression *mĕḥuššāḳīm késeph* (מְחֻשָּׁקִים כֶּסֶף; Ex. 27 17 38 17, EV, 'filleted with silver,' can hardly mean 'fastened with silver crossbars.' Other interpreters therefore (such as Ewald, Dillmann, Kautzsch, Nowack, Kennedy) understand by the expression 'rings' or fillets which surrounded the pillars above, probably at the base of the capitals (𝔊 ψαλίδες, explained by Hesychius as ἁψῖδες τῶν στύλων; Tg. כִּיבּוּשׁ, a lacing or garland).

The E. front differed from the other sides (Ex. 27 13 *f.*). From each corner only 15 cubits were provided with an enclosing curtain, in each case having three pillars. The middle space of twenty cubits was left open for the entrance and had a special curtain of violet purple and red purple; scarlet and white linen in embroidered work (and thus exactly like the curtain at the entrance of the tabernacle itself) which was attached to four pillars.[1]

In connection with this enclosure of the court of the tabernacle, finally, are mentioned also tent-pins of brass and cords (Ex. 27 19 35 18 30 20 31 39 40, etc.). Here also we see accordingly that the bases of the pillars are not designed for fixing them into the ground but that the pillars are kept in position by pegs and ropes which of course are applied on both sides. On another view (Riehm, Nowack, and others), these ropes and pegs held the curtain itself taut and therefore close to the ground.

As for the position of the structure, the *miškān*, within the court we learn that the orientation of the whole was eastward. As the altar of burnt offering stood to the E. of the tabernacle and thus the most characteristic acts of worship, the sacrifices, were performed here whilst the space behind the tabernacle to the W. was set apart for no special purpose, we must suppose that the structure was not in the middle but stood more to the W. On this point we may take it that Philo (*Vit. Mos.* 3 7) hit upon the right conjecture when he supposed that the front of the tabernacle was 50 cubits from the enclosing wall facing it, thus giving a free space of 50 cubits square before the tabernacle.

According to P the portable sanctuary possessed already in the times before the settlement in Palestine the following sacred vessels:—

7. The furniture.

(1) In the Holy of Holies stood the ark of the covenant (אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת, *'ărōn hā 'ēdūth*) with the mercy seat (כַּפֹּרֶת, *kappōreth*) and the cherubim. See ARK, MERCY SEAT, CHERUB.

(2) 'The Holy place' contained the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick and the altar of incense. The table of shewbread according to Ex. 26 35 stood on the N. side, and to it belonged various golden dishes (EV 'chargers,' *ḳĕ'ārōth*, Nu. 7 13 *ff.*) and bowls (EV 'spoons,' *kappōth*, Ex. 25 29 Nu. 7 14 *ff.*), pots or cups (AV 'covers, RV 'flagons,' *ḳĕšōth*) for the wine, and libation 'bowls' (so EV) for the wine offerings (*mĕnakḳiyyōth*, Ex. 25 23 *ff.* 37 19 *ff.*). For further details as to the table, see ALTAR, § 9, col. 126. Opposite the table, on the S. side of the sanctuary, stood the seven-branched golden candlestick (EV 'candlestick of pure gold,' *mĕnōrath hazzā'āb ṭāhōr*, Ex. 25 31 2 Ch. 13 11, or *hammĕnōrāh haṭṭĕhōrāh* [EV 'the pure candlestick'], Ex. 31 8 39 37 Lev. 24 4; see CANDLESTICK). As vessels pertaining to the candlestick are mentioned the snuffers (EV 'snuffdishes,' *melḳāḥáyim*) and little pans (EV 'censers'; *maḥtōth*), on which, according to some interpreters (Dillmann, Knobel, and others), lay the snuffers; according to others (Nowack, etc.) snuff dishes are meant (cp Ex. 25 31 *ff.* 37 17 *ff.*). On the form of the candlestick, see CANDLESTICK; on the custom of burning a light in the sanctuary, cp LAMP, and see TEMPLE, § 17. Between the shewbread table and the candlestick, facing the entrance and pretty far back, near the curtain shutting off the Holy of Holies stood the altar of incense (Ex. 30 1 [EV 'an altar to burn incense upon'], *mizbaḥ miḳṭar ḳĕṭóreth*, *m.ḳ. hassammīm*, Lev. 4 7 [EV 'the altar of sweet incense'], or *mizbaḥ hazzāhāb*, Ex. 39 38 [EV 'the golden altar']), with regard to which, and its absence from the older strata of P, see ALTAR, § 9.

(3) In the court stood 'the altar' κατ' ἐξοχήν (הַמִּזְבֵּחַ, *hammizbēăḥ*, Ex. 27 1 30 18 40 7, etc.), 'the altar of burnt offering' (*mizbaḥ hā'ōlāh*, Ex. 30 28 31 9, etc.) or 'the brazen altar' (*mizbaḥ nĕḥóšeth*, Ex. 38 30 39 39), on which see ALTAR, § 9 *a*; TEMPLE, § 18; and cp below, § 10). To the altar of burnt offering belonged a multitude of accessories: ash pans (AV 'pans,' RV 'pots,' *sīrōth*), 'shovels' (EV, *yā'īm*) for clearing the altar, bowls (EV 'basons,' *mizrāḳōth*) for sprinkling the blood, forks (EV 'fleshhooks,' *mizlāgōth*) for the sacrificial flesh, various sorts of 'firepans' (*maḥtōth*). The vessels, like the altar itself, were all of brass (Ex. 21 1 *ff.* 38 1 *ff.*), as also was the other main object in the court, the laver, used by the priests for washing their hands and feet; see SEA, BRAZEN.

As already mentioned above and as set forth fully under TEMPLE (§ 1 *f.*), the tabernacle, like all the sanctuaries of the Semites, has in the first instance the meaning not of a meeting-place for the community or congregation, but of a dwelling-place of the deity.

8. Significance of tabernacle in P.

It is the place where Yahwè dwells in the midst of his people (Ex. 25 8 29 45 *f.* Lev. 17 4 Nu. 16 9, etc.). When the tent is finished the cloud of Yahwè overshadows it and the glory (כָּבוֹד, *kābōd*) of Yahwè fills it; by day Yahwè's pillar of cloud and by night his pillar of fire overhangs it (Ex. 40 37 *ff.*). Thenceforward it is invariably from the holy of holies that Yahwè speaks to Moses. More precisely, the *kappōreth* (see MERCY SEAT) of the ark, beneath the cherubim, is the place where Yahwè establishes his abode. It is from here that Moses hears the voice of Yahwè (Nu. 7 89).

As Yahwè's dwelling-place the tabernacle naturally becomes also the place where he is worshipped, for the deity is worshipped in the place where he is (see TEMPLE; cp Ex. 27 42 Lev. 1 35); and, in point of fact, for P the tabernacle is the only legitimate place of worship. This follows inevitably from his standpoint throughout; for him it is a self-evident proposition that sacrifice can be offered and Yahwè approached only at the place where Yahwè has his abode. So much so that it is not found necessary in P expressly to say so; the centralisation of the worship is for him simply taken for granted.

Nor is the tabernacle in P the centre of the worship merely; it lies also at the foundation of the entire theocracy as the indispensable basis without which all else would simply hang in the air. The instructions regarding it constitute the main contents of the divine revelation at Sinai. Until it has come into existence the whole organisation of the rest of the divine commonwealth must remain in abeyance. In this respect there is an element of truth in the symbolical interpretation of many writers (such as Keil), that the tabernacle symbolises the kingdom of God, is the centre of the theocracy where the calling of Israel to be the people of God is realised. Its importance in this respect—as centre of the entire theocracy—finds its visible expression in the fact that in P the position assigned to it is exactly in the centre of the camp and of the people. The order of encampment detailed in Nu. 2 starts from the tabernacle, immediately around which are placed the Levites as a sort of bodyguard; then to the E. the tribes of Judah, Issachar, Zebulun pitch their camp; to the S. Reuben, Simeon, Gad; to the W. Ephraim, Manasseh, Benjamin; to the N., Dan,

[1] Here also, as in what is said as to the total number of pillars (see above), one observes that the author has not counted, or let us say drawn his plan, with exactness. He has simply assumed a regular interval of 5 cubits between the pillars, thus giving 20 cubits for 4, 15 cubits for 3. But this does not work out; the end pillar is forgotten. The whole side requires eleven pillars when such an interval is assumed; for the door five ought to have been reckoned or at any rate for each side of it to right and left four pillars. If we are to calculate with precision from the data he supplies, we shall have to reckon the distance from pillar to pillar of the doorway as $\frac{20}{3} = 6\frac{2}{3}$ cubits and that between the pillars at each side of the doorway as 5 cubits. [Cp Kennedy, Hastings' *BD* 4 657 *b*.]

Asher, Naphtali. This too gives the order on the march. Cp CAMP, § 2.

In this attribute as Yahwè's dwelling-place the whole arrangement of the tabernacle finds a ready explanation in so far as this is not to be found simply in its character as a portable sanctuary.

9. Symbolism.

The innermost chamber is the dwelling-place proper of the deity, the holiest part of the entire structure. Next come the holy place and the outer court in descending degrees of holiness, answering to the degrees of holiness attaching to high priest, priests, and laity in Israel, and to their respective rights of access to Yahwè. The holy of holies can be entered by the high priest alone, and that only once a year; the holy place is for the priesthood and the court for the people. This gradation of holiness finds expression also, as already said, in the material equipment: in the holy of holies everything is of gold; nought save the bases of the boards resting on the ground—though here an exception cannot well be justified—and the bases of the pillars which support the dividing veil and which perhaps stand rather in the holy place than in the holy of holies, is of silver. In the holy place only the furniture, and particularly those pieces which stand in the neighbourhood of the holy of holies—table of shewbread, altar of incense, candlestick—are provided with 'fine gold'; elsewhere it is simply ordinary gold that is used. The exterior pillars of the entrance-curtain, which doubtless are reckoned as belonging to the court, have but brazen bases. Similarly in the court itself we find brass only, save for the silver used in the nails and capitals of the pillars. In like manner the clasps of the goat-hair covering are of brass, whilst those of the inner covering are of gold. The interior covering which covers also the holy of holies, and the vail of the holy of holies are the workmanship of cunning workmen out of the four costly materials enumerated, with figured cherubim; the curtain at the door of the holy place is without cherubim and the curtains of the court are simply of white linen.

With these simple ideas, however, which find expression in the equipment of the tabernacle in the manner just indicated, the whole symbolism of the structure is by no means exhausted. A symbolical interpretation of the tabernacle that reaches much further is of ancient date. We find it already in Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 7) and Philo (*De vit. Mos.* 3 147 *ff.*), who interpret the tabernacle as an image of the universe; the holy of holies inaccessible to men is for them a figure of heaven, the holy place and the court represent the ocean, the four materials out of which the coverings and curtains were woven denote the four elements, the table of shewbread with its twelve loaves is the year with its twelve months, and so forth. And from their time onwards symbolical interpretation of this kind has persisted from century to century down to our own time. In the Christian church the typological view made its appearance very soon; cp Justin Martyr, *Cohort. ad gent.* 29; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 562 *ff.*; Origen, *Hom.* 9 *in Exod.*; Theod. Mops. *ad Hebr.* 9 1; Athanasius, 'Orat. in assumt. Christi,' *op.* 25, col. 1686; Theodoret, *Quæst.* 60 *in Exod.*; Jerome, *ep.* 64 9 19 *ff. ad Fabiolam*. In modern times Bähr, Friedrich, Hengstenberg, Keil, Kurtz, Riehm have exercised great acumen upon the symbolical interpretation of the tabernacle and in particular upon the symbolism of the numbers and dimensions (the number 4 signifying the cosmos, 10 completeness and perfection), as also upon the significance of the colours of the coverings, and so forth. All such interpretations, however, are wanting in any solid basis in the OT; nowhere does the author hint even in the remotest way that behind these externalities he is searching for deeper thoughts. It is hardly worth while therefore to discuss the various attempted interpretations in any detail.

Can we now regard the structure thus described in P as historical? Very great difficulties confront us in the endeavour to do so, quite apart from the fact that the description occurs only in P, the latest source of the Pentateuch. They have long been urged—by Voltaire for example—and may be summed up under the following four heads:—(1) the imaginative character of the account itself; (2) the physical impossibility of such a structure in the wilderness; (3) the inconsistency with the older Pentateuch sources; (4) the want of evidence for any such tabernacle during historical times.

10. Unhistorical character of record.

(1) The description itself from the outset presents great difficulties, and raises in the mind of the reader the question whether any such structure can ever have really existed. It has already been pointed out how in stating the number of the pillars of the court the narrator is plainly not describing something of which he has any clear picture in his mind's eye, not calculating and planning with practical preciseness, but only filling in figures according to a scheme of his own. Yet another point has also been noted already—that the fabric bears indeed the name of 'tent' and the author takes great trouble to produce in the reader's mind the impression that the sanctuary was such in reality, but in this effort has succeeded (and could have succeeded) but ill. Beams some 21 inches thick and 2 ft. 6 in. wide cannot be fastened together so as to form a massive wall by means of mere tent pins, and they are purposeless if they are intended merely as supports for a light textile fabric. It is perfectly evident that the model for this structure was not supplied by a bedouin tent, a dwelling place made of (goats') hair, of which the essential part, the roof, is spread upon three rows of poles, usually three in each row, 5 or 6 ft. high and closed behind by a similar fabric of hair (see TENT). On the contrary, the model was quite clearly a solid house rendered portable only by the expedient of breaking up the walls into separate beams. In this respect the whole structure becomes a huge anachronism when regarded as the workmanship of nomad hordes.

This becomes specially prominent in the description of the altar. In view of the ancient practice of building altars of stone (Ex. 20 24 *ff.*) one reasonably asks how the narrator could have arrived at an altar of brass, and then one remembers that the temple of Solomon also had such an altar. That this latter was the real model for the altar of the tabernacle becomes still clearer from another point of view. The altar of the tabernacle is of acacia wood plated with brass, a construction which in itself considered must be characterised as utterly senseless if the explanation were not so manifest; the altar of Solomon must remain as it is, a brazen altar: but it must be made portable.

A further detail may be singled out in this connection: the whole fabric is internally pitch dark. The walls have no windows nor openings of any kind; the roof in like manner is unpierced. This may serve well enough in the holy of holies; the Holy of Holies in the temple was also quite dark (see TEMPLE, § 7); but in the holy place it is impossible; there the priests had their priestly duties to discharge—arrange the shewbread, offer incense, and the like. And it will not do to call attention to the seven-branched golden candlestick (see CANDLESTICK, § 1).

Finally, there is the fundamental question: Is a structure of this kind capable of standing at all? Simply as a technical question of architecture (see Schick, as below, § 14) this must be pronounced utterly impossible. Nor is the reason difficult to perceive. The weight of the heavy coverings and above all the pressure brought to bear by the spreading of the tent-covering by means of cords and pegs, must necessarily tend to make the walls lean inwards. No opposing pressure is anywhere present. Even if we suppose that the bars connected the side walls with the rear wall, only the boards of the side walls that were nearest the rear wall were thus supported; but in any case it was impossible that weak bars should support the entire wall, 30 cubits long, formed as it was of heavy beams. For this reason, and in order to relieve the walls of the weight of the coverings, Schick finds it to be absolutely indispensable to provide the tabernacle with a sloping roof. This he obtains by changing the middle bar into a ridge-pole, following the English architectural authority Fergusson, who first propounded this theory in the article 'Temple' in Smith's *DB* (1863). Such a construction, however, flatly contradicts the clear tenor of the text. The text knows nothing of such a sloping or pointed roof—which, furthermore, would be wholly inconsistent with the idea of a bedouin tent.

(2) Over and above the inherent impossibility of any such structure, account must be taken of the incidental impossibility of constructing and transporting such a fabric in the wilderness. The contrast between this sumptuous fabric—made of the costliest materials of the best workmanship in wood and in metals which the East could command—and the soil on which it is raised, the bare wilderness; the contrast too between this tabernacle and the people amongst whom it stands—

11. Impossible in the wilderness.

primitive uncivilised nomads—is too great not to have excited doubts from a very early date as to the authenticity of the account. They were raised by Voltaire, and Colenso and Nowack (see below, § 14) have elaborately shown the impossibilities involved. First of all comes the difficulty as to the materials. According to Ex. 38 27 no fewer than 29 talents 730 shekels of gold, 100 talents 1775 shekels of silver and 70 talents 1400 shekels of copper are employed. To see what these figures mean, let the reader turn to the articles WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, SHEKEL. The amounts in themselves are not very great when compared with those which were applied in the great Babylonian sanctuaries; but for wilderness nomads, poor to beggary as regards gold and silver, they are impossible. It is indeed replied to this that the gold is simply the gold which had been obtained from the Egyptians; but such an answer becomes impossible in the case of the timber. Where on Sinai the cypresses grew from which beams over 17 ft. long, 2 ft. 7 in. wide, and 20 in. thick could be obtained no one has yet been able to say.[1] The working of the timber, moreover, presupposes a knowledge of arts which nomads do not possess; that Israel did not in point of fact possess this knowledge is clearly shown by the fact that even a Solomon had to go to Phœnicia for his temple and workmen. A word may be added as to the difficulties of transport. Four waggons with six oxen apiece are assigned to the Merarites for this, while each of the 48 beams weighs more than 10 cwt.

(3) Decisive on the question, finally, ought to be the observation, that the older sources of the Pentateuch, J and E, know nothing of a tabernacle of this sort. Not only is there no mention of this central sanctuary, but E in point of fact has a quite different sacred tent which completely excludes any possibility of the tabernacle of P.

12. The sacred tent in E.

The tabernacle of E is a tent which Moses pitched outside the camp (Ex. 33 7 *ff.*) and where Yahwè was wont to reveal himself to him in the pillar of cloud which descended for the purpose and stood at the door (Nu. 11 25 12 5 14 10); it is on this account called *'ōhel mō'ēd*, 'the tent of tryst.' No description of it is given, nor is its origin spoken of; but part of the old narrative has obviously been lost before Ex. 33 7, in which what is now lacking was probably explained. It appears, however, that it was very different from the tabernacle described by the priestly narrator. It was not in the centre of the camp but stood some distance outside it, and it was not the seat of an elaborate organisation of priests and guarded by a host of Levites, but had a single minister and custodian—viz., Joshua, who was not a Levite at all but Moses' attendant (Ex. 33 11).

The existence of such a simple tent-sanctuary presents none of the difficulties that beset the priestly narrative. Portable shrines were familiar to Semitic antiquity, and tents as sanctuaries were known to the Israelites in much later times at the high places and in connection with irregular worships[2] (see TENT). Such idolatrous tabernacles were probably relics of the usages of the nomadic Semites, and it is only natural that Israel in its wanderings should have had the like. And it is noteworthy that the portable chapels of the heathen Semites were mainly used for divination (cp *Journ. of Phil.*, 13 283 *f.*), just as the Mosaic tabernacle is described by the Elohist, not as a place of sacrifice (such as the tabernacle of the Priestly Code is) but as a place of oracle.

The heathen shrines of this sort contained portable idols or baetylia (see Selden, *De Diis Syris*, 16); but what the Mosaic tabernacle contained is not expressly stated. The ordinary, and at first sight the easiest, assumption is that the ark stood in it. But neither in Deuteronomy nor before it, are the ark and the tabernacle ever mentioned together, and of the two old narrators it is not clear that the Yahwist ever mentions the tabernacle or the Elohist the ark. The relation between the two calls for further investigation, especially as the ark retains its importance after the occupation of Canaan, whilst the 'tent of tryst' is not mentioned after the time of Moses, who, according to the Elohist (Ex. 12), enjoyed at it a privilege of direct access to the Deity not accorded to later prophets (cp also ARK OF COVENANT).

(4) Lastly, the whole historical tradition from the period immediately following the settlement down to the date of the building of Solomon's temple has no knowlege of any tabernacle.

13. The tabernacle non-existent in historical times.

True, apologists like Keil have succeeded in writing to their own satisfaction its complete history throughout the period of the judges and the first kings: at one time it was at Shiloh, at another at Nob, finally at Gibeon, whence it was removed to the temple. The Chronicler has indeed much to tell about it, proceeding as he does on the—to him self-evident—assumption that in every case where the older books made mention of sacrifice at all this must have been at the tabernacle (1 Ch. 16 39 21 29 2 Ch. 1 3 5 5). The older historical books, however (with exceptions to be mentioned immediately), know nothing of it. 1 K. 3 1 *ff.*, in explicit contradiction of 2 Ch. 1 3, states that Solomon sacrificed on the great high place of Gibeon and excuses this proceeding, which from the redactor's point of view of course seemed illegal, on the ground that the temple was not yet in existence. But no temple was required for the purpose if the tabernacle was then at Gibeon. The sanctuary at Shiloh, on the other hand, was not a tent at all but a solid house EV 'temple of the Lord,' (הֵיכַל יהוה, *hēkal Yahwè*, 1 S. 1 9 3 3), with *mĕzūzōth* (AV 'door posts,' RV 'side posts') and *dĕlāthōth* (EV 'doors'); cp especially Jer. 7 12 *ff.* Moreover, the ark is spoken of in 1 S. 4-6 in such a manner as shows that there was no fixed place where it was kept, and thus no Tabernacle. After it has been recovered from the Philistines, for example, it does not come to its proper house but first to Beth-shemesh and next to Kirjath-jearim, to the house of a private individual, where it remains for years. Thence it is fetched by David, who, however, after the disaster to Uzzah brings it into the house of one of his generals, and that too a gentile, Obed-edom of Gath (2 S. 7). Not till later does he transfer it to his own city, where he sets up a tent for its reception plainly in remembrance of the fact that the ark had formerly also been so housed. This tent was in time removed by Solomon to the temple (1 K. 8 4), for if these verses are old and belong to the context it is only this tent that can be understood by the *'ōhel mō'ēd* (more probably, however, the statement is of a later date; see Benzinger *ad loc.*). Thus the only remaining passage will be 1 S. 2 22, a passage which is already open to critical doubt owing to its absence from 𝔊. From all that has been urged we may safely conclude that the tabernacle of P is simply the temple of Solomon carried back into the older time by priestly fancy and modified accordingly. It was not the temple that was built on the model of the tabernacle; it was the tabernacle that took its shape, character, and importance for worship and the theocracy from the temple.

14. Literature.

Josephus, *Ant.* 3 6-8; Philo, *De vit. Mos.* 3 145 *ff.* The older literature will be found more or less fully registered in such works as those of Bähr or Riggenbach. Of later works we mention the following: Bähr, *Symbolik des Mos. Kultus*[(2)], 1 97 *ff.*; Friedrich, *Symbolik der Mos. Stiftshütte* (1841); W. Neumann, *Die Stiftshütte*, 1861; Ch. J. Riggenbach, *Die Mosaische Stiftshütte* (1887): Popper, *Der bibl. Bericht über die Stiftshütte* (1862); articles by Winer in *RWB* 2 529: Diestel in *BL* 5 405 *ff.*; Leyrer in *PRE*[(1)], 15 92 *ff.*; Riggenbach in *PRE*[(2)] 14 712 *ff.*; Riehm in *HWB*; Fergusson, art. 'Temple' in

[1] [Kennedy's novel theory (see above, § 3), that the so-called 'boards' were in reality light open frames, would, of course, meet this difficulty if it stood alone.]

[2] Ezek. 16 16, 'thou didst take of thy garments and madest for thyself sewn high places'—*i.e.*, shrines of curtains sewn together; cp Hos. 9 6 and Syriac *pĕrakkā*, Assyrian *parakku*, a small chapel or shrine, from the same root as Hebrew *pārōketh*, the vail of the Holy of Holies.

Smith's *DB;* Welte in *Freiburger Kirchen-lexicon;* Kurtz in *St. Kr.*, 1844, pp. 315 *ff.*; Kamphausen, *ibid.* 1858, pp. 97 *ff.*, 1859, pp. 110 *ff.*; Fries, *ibid.* 1859, pp. 103 *ff.*, Riggenbach, *ibid.*, 1863, pp. 361 *ff.*; Engelhardt in *ZLT*, 1868, pp. 409 *ff.*; also the *Archaeologies* of Jahn (3 226 *ff.*), De Wette-Räbiger, 268 *ff.*; Ewald, (3) 163 *ff.*, 367 *ff.*, (4) 387 *ff.*, 420 *ff.*; Saalschütz, 2 318 *ff.*; Keil, (2) 82 *ff.* ET 1 98 *ff.*; Scholz, 1 23 *ff.*; Haneberg, 161 *ff.*; Schegg, 406 *ff.*; Benzinger, *HA* 395 *ff.*, and Nowack, *HA* 2 53 *ff.*; Schick, *Stiftshütte u. Tempel*, 1898; A. R. S. Kennedy, art. 'Tabernacle' in Hastings' *DB.* On the question of the historicity of the accounts of the tabernacle cp especially De Wette, *Beitr.* 1 258 *ff.*, 2 259 *ff.*; Vater, *Comm.* 3 658 *f.*; Von Bohlen, *Genesis*, 112 *ff.*; George, *Jüdische Feste*, 41 *f.*; Vatke, *Bibl. Theol.* 224 *f.*; Nöldeke, *Beitr. z. Kritik*, 120 *ff.*; Graf, *De templo Silonensi*, 1855, and *Die Gesch. Bb. d. AT*, 1866, 75 *ff.*; Kuenen, *Godsdienst*, 2 75 *f.*; Reuss, *L'histoire sainte et la loi*, 240; Wellhausen, *Prol.*(3), 40 *ff.* ET 38 *ff.*

I. B.

TABERNACLES, FEAST OF. The Israelitic cycle of festivals came to a close, in autumn, with the feast of Tabernacles.

1. Agricultural character.

In the old legislation (Ex. 34 22 23 16) it is called *ḥag hā'āsīph* (חַג הָאָסִיף), 'the feast of ingathering,' and is to be celebrated 'at the turn of the year' (תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה). The very name shows quite clearly that the festival in its essential meaning is agricultural, a harvest feast; it is the autumn thanksgiving which no doubt has reference primarily to the fruit harvest and the vintage, but from the outset was regarded as the great thanksgiving for the whole produce of the year.

Hence the general expressions 'when thou gatherest in the produce of thy field' (Ex. 23 16, בְּאָסְפְּךָ אֶת־מַעֲשֶׂיךָ מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה), 'when thou gatherest in from thy threshing-floor and from thy press' (Deut. 16 13, בְּאָסְפְּךָ מִגָּרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ).

Like the other harvest feasts, it is intimately connected with the possession of the land of Canaan, and was celebrated for the first time there by the Israelites, who in all probability took it over from the Canaanites. It is with regard to the autumn festival specially that our information as to its having been a Canaanite festival is explicit; of the people of Shechem we are told that they went out into the field, gathered their vineyards, trode the grapes, and held festival and went into the house of their god and did eat and drink (Judg. 9 27). Cp also FEASTS, § 4.

As the closing harvest thanksgiving, and probably the oldest of the three feasts of harvest (see PASSOVER, § 4; PENTECOST, § 6), the autumn festival excels both the other great annual festivals (*ḥaggīm*, חַגִּים) of the Israelites in importance.

2. The most important of the yearly festivals.

In the law of JE, it is true, all three are already found on the same plane as equally necessary and equally important; for all of them attendance at the sanctuary is enjoined (Ex. 34 22 23 16). Yet how great was the special importance assigned in practice to the autumn festival as compared with the others appears at once in its very designation as '*the* feast' (הֶחָג, *heḥāg*) or '*the* feast of Yahwè' (חַג יהוה, *ḥag Yahwè*) κατ' ἐξοχήν (1 K. 8 2 12 32 Judg. 21 19; and even as late as Lev. 23 39 41 Ezek. 45 25 Neh. 8 14). Even in Zechariah (14 16 *ff.*) it is to the feast of tabernacles that the remnant of the heathen go up year by year to Jerusalem to worship the King, Yahwè Ṣĕbā'ōth. In these circumstances it cannot be regarded as merely accidental that the feast of tabernacles and the feast of tabernacles alone is more than once mentioned in the historical books when dealing with the more ancient period, and its celebration thus attested from the earliest period after the settlement in Canaan. At Shiloh, for example, the maidens celebrate it by going forth to dance in the orchards and vineyards (Judg. 21 16).[1] So also we learn from the story of Samuel that in wide circles it was customary year by year at the 'revolution of the days' (לִתְקֻפוֹת הַיָּמִים, 1 S. 1 20; cp the same expression in Ex. 34 22) to go in pilgrimage with the whole family to the sanctuary at Shiloh, and there to sacrifice to Yahwè and hold a joyous sacrificial meal (1 S. 1 3 *ff.*). The high importance attached to the festival is shown also in the fact that Solomon dedicates his temple at the same date (1 K. 8 2 65, cp 2 Ch. 7 8 *ff.*; on the passage cp also below, § 3). Answering to the yearly observance of this feast at Jerusalem, Jeroboam, according to a thoroughly trustworthy statement in 1 K. 12 32[1] (cp Benzinger, *ad loc.*) instituted a similar solemnity in the northern kingdom; here the only error of the author is in supposing (from his Deuteronomistic point of view) that before Jeroboam's time such a feast was observed only at the temple of Jerusalem, and not also at the sanctuaries of the northern kingdom. Pilgrimages of the same sort as those to Shiloh were in use also in other parts of the country to the various famous sanctuaries. The passages just cited show also at the same time that this autumn festival from the very beginning was celebrated in common by wide circles of participants. This does not seem to have been the case in the olden time with the two other harvest feasts; if observed at all, it was enough that they should be observed in quite small local circles; at least the complete silence of the historical books on the subject would be most easily explained in this way. The special importance of the feast of tabernacles continues to show itself in the Deuteronomic legislation. In contrast to what is required at the two other *ḥaggīm*, it is enjoined that all the days of this festival are to be observed at the central sanctuary in Jerusalem (Dt. 16 15; cp *v.* 7).

In the older legislation no more precise details than those already indicated are given as to how and where the feast ought to be observed.

3. Original manner of celebration.

Elsewhere (FEASTS, § 10) it is shown that the olden time had no thought at all of fixing the three harvest festivals to any definite day. This lies in the nature of the case. The great autumn thanksgiving was held as soon as the corn-harvest, vintage, and ingathering were finished. This happened, of course, in the various districts, and in different years, at different dates. In the hill-country around Jerusalem the feast was held of old in the eighth month. The completion of the temple was in the month of Būl, the eighth month, and its dedication was at the time of the autumn festival (1 K. 6 38; cp 8 2).[2] It is evidently in order to bring it into accordance with the Jerusalem date of the feast on the fifteenth of the month that the autumn festival at Bethel was fixed for the same day by Jeroboam (1 K. 12 32).

For the observance of the festival the offering of gifts from the fruits that had been gathered and of animal sacrifices accompanied by a sacrificial meal were matters of course (cp 1 S. 1 3 *ff.*). In the olden time the gifts and offerings were left to the freewill of the worshipper according as his heart impelled him to show his thanks to Yahwè (cp TAXATION, § 8). So also it is matter of course that the feast was observed as a joyous occasion.

[1] The narratives in Judg. 19-21 are certainly in their present form late Midrash. Yet there need not be on that account any doubt as to the accuracy of this statement or of many other touches preserved in them See DANCE, § 6, and cp further, Budde, *ad loc.*

[1] [See also SHECHEM, and cp *Crit. Bib.*]

[2] In the present text of 1 K. 8 2 it is indeed said that the dedication was 'at the feast in the month Ēthānīm, which is the seventh month.' To reconcile this date with 1 K. 6 38, according to which the temple was finished in the eighth month, it would be necessary to suppose that after its completion the dedication of the temple was put off till the seventh month of the following year—that is to say, for eleven months. This is in the highest degree unlikely. Since, moreover, we learn from 1 K. 12 32 that at that period the festival was observed at Jerusalem in the eighth month, we must suppose the original text of 1 K. 8 2 to have read merely 'at the feast.' The name of the month Ēthānīm is a later insertion easily explained by the consideration that, on the one hand, the fixed tradition was that the temple had been dedicated at the feast of tabernacles, and, on the other hand, that this feast, at a later date, but before that of Deuteronomy (§ 4), had been assigned to this month. The explanation of the name of the month—'which is the seventh month'—is the addition of a still later hand, as is shown by its position; it is also wanting in 𝔊BL [𝔊A has a curious reading αὐτὸς ὁ μὴν ἑβδομηκοστὸς ἕβδομος]. Cp further, Benzinger, *ad loc.*

Compare what we read of the feast of the Shechemites (Judg. 9 27) or of the dances of the maidens (cp DANCE, § 6) at the feast of Shiloh (Judg. 21 19 *ff.*).

When, then, in Dt. the feast is for the first time designated (in our present texts) as the 'feast of tabernacles' (Dt. 16 13; see below, § 4) and the priestly law (Lev. 23 42) expressly enjoins living in booths as part of the ritual of its celebration, or when the Law of Holiness (Lev. 23 40) orders the participants to take 'the fruit of goodly trees, branches of palm trees,' and the like, we may be perfectly certain that these are not newly invented innovations, but that very ancient custom lay at the foundation of the practices thus prescribed. The living in booths and the name 'feast of tabernacles' or 'booths' are connected with the simple fact that at the time of the olive and grape harvest it was usual to spend days and nights in booths of this kind—a practice which still holds its ground in those parts (see Robinson, *BR* 2 717; cp Is. 1 8).[1] If these booths at a later date found a recognised place in the official ritual of the feast, this shows that, properly speaking, all these days of harvesting during which people lived in the open under booths were regarded as constituting a festal time, which was brought to a close in, let us say, the pilgrimage to the sanctuary. With this also we may connect the precept in Dt. (see below) to observe the feast for seven whole days at the sanctuary. The other injunction, referred to above, to furnish oneself with fruits of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and so forth (if the reference be not simply to the branches needed for making the booths; see below) we may perhaps connect with what we read of the festal dances in Judg. 21 19 *ff.* It would be natural for those who took part in these to adorn themselves with sprigs and garlands.

4. In Dt.

In its festal legislation Dt. (16 13-15), as already remarked, designates the autumn festival by the name of *ḥag has-sukkōth* (חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת), 'feast of tabernacles' or 'booths'—a designation which, although not employed either in H or in P (see below, §§ 5, 6), it continued to retain.[2] As has already been said, it was not to any change in the significance of the festival or to any new ritual that this new designation was due; if Dt. had intended to introduce something that was new when it spoke of the celebration under booths, this piece of ritual would have been expressly prescribed. On the contrary, Dt. simply assumes both name and thing to be already familiar; thus the name also was already in use before the time of Dt. The duration of the feast is fixed at seven days, and in fact all the seven have to be observed at the sanctuary in Jerusalem (see above, § 3). The joyous character of the feast is also thoroughly preserved in Dt., as well as the idea of its being a harvest feast; and, in full agreement with the general spirit of solicitude shown in the Deuteronomic law for the welfare of the poor and the like, it is expressly enjoined that the bondman and the widow are all to take joyful part in the celebration (16 14).

[1] For evidence of the ancient practice of spending the festival under booths we cannot with confidence appeal to Hos. 12 10 [9]. The expression there made use of—מוֹעֵד, *mō'ēd*, instead of חַג, *ḥag*—is quite unusual. Still less suitable, it is true, is the interpretation which (so Wellhausen) refers it to the passover feast. In no other place do we read anything of a dwelling in tents during that feast. In the prophetic threatening 'I will yet again make thee to dwell in tents, as in the days of the (מוֹעֵד) solemn feast' no reference to any joyous festival, merely a reference to the wandering in the wilderness is required by the connection. Hence Kautzsch's rendering 'as in the day of the assembly [at Horeb]' seems the best. If the prophet is really intending the feast of tabernacles in this allusion, we shall then have our first distinct trace of an assumed parallel and connection between this 'dwelling in booths' at the feast of tabernacles and the dwelling in tents in the wilderness at the exodus from Egypt. Cp further, Wellhausen and Nowack, *ad loc.*

[2] In the NT and in Josephus it is accordingly spoken of as σκηνοπηγία, in 𝔊 as ἑορτὴ σκηνῶν, in Vg. as *scenopagia*, and in Philo (2 297) as σκηναί.

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It is shown elsewhere (FEASTS, § 10) how the centralisation of the cultus in Dt., even without any express intention on the part of the lawgiver, inevitably altered the character of the feasts. It became necessary that they should be observed at one common definitely fixed date, they lost their intimate connection with the life of the husbandman, and the tendency to change them into historical celebrations was greatly strengthened by this circumstance. No express reference to any historical event in connection with the feast of tabernacles is met with as yet in Dt. The bringing of the first-fruits at all is connected only in a quite general way with the historical fact that it is Yahwè who has delivered his people from the land of Egypt and given them the land of Canaan to possess. As thanks for the gift of the land the Israelite brings the first-fruits of its produce as a gift to Yahwè (Dt. 26 1-11). The bringing of the first-fruits enjoined in Dt. in conjunction with a liturgical formula of thanksgiving is not indeed in the law itself (Dt. 26 1-11) expressly connected with any definite time. It is, however, exceedingly natural to assume that the author of the injunction thought of it as to be carried out on the feast of tabernacles, for it deals with the offering of the first-fruits of the wine and oil-harvest as well as with the first-fruits of corn, and contemplates this as being done at Jerusalem. For this the feast of tabernacles was the convenient opportunity, unless one is to read the precept as implying a special pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the purpose. In this connection a quite general reference to the Exodus is implied for the feast of tabernacles. Lastly, in Dt. it is further laid down that every seventh year, the year of release, 'this law'—*i.e.*, the Deuteronomic law—shall be read before all Israel at the feast of tabernacles (Dt. 31 10 *ff.*).

5. In Ezek. and H.

Ezekiel is the first to give to this feast—designated 'the feast' or 'the feast of Yahwè'—a definite date; it is to begin on the 15th day of the seventh month, and to last for seven days (Ezek. 45 25). He orders for it the same offerings as for the passover; every day seven bullocks and seven rams as a burnt-offering, a he-goat as a sin-offering, an ephah for every bullock and every ram, with a hin of oil to each ephah as a meal-offering. The Law of Holiness (Lev. 23 39-41) in its present form has no precept as to the offering. The date in *v.* 39 is hardly original.[1] On the other hand it is here prescribed that the Israelites on the first day of the feast are to take to them the fruit of goodly trees (פְּרִי עֵץ הָדָר; cp under APPLE, § 2 [3]), branches of palm trees and boughs of thick trees[2] and willows of the brook, and rejoice before Yahwè seven days. That the palm branches and the boughs are to be used for making booths is nowhere said. It is equally possible to suppose that they were carried by the participants in their hands (cp above, § 3). Such a custom is attested at any rate for the later post-exilic period (2 Macc. 10 6 *ff.*; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 4, § 245, xiii. 13 5, § 372). What could be the application of 'fruit of goodly trees' in the construction of booths is not easy to see, and it is more natural to suppose that the fruit formed part of the thyrsus which each participant carried in his hand (cp below, § 7).

The laws of P concerning the autumn festival are

[1] How much of Lev. 23 39 belongs to the original law of holiness is very questionable. As in what follows this verse mention is always made of only seven feast days, *v.* 39*b*, which speaks of an eighth day, may be presumed to be a later addition (see below, § 6). The same holds good of the time determination in *v.* 39*a*. The other festivals also are not yet assigned to a fixed day in H. On this question see further the various introductions, especially the tables in Holzinger.

[2] עֵץ עָבוֹת is explained by tradition as meaning 'myrtle.' Occurring as it does between 'palms' and 'willows,' the expression would certainly seem intended to denote some definite kind of tree.

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found in Lev. 23 33-36 42 *f.* Nu. 29 12-38. The name of the festival is there the same as in Dt.: feast of tabernacles or booths, *ḥag has-sukkōth* (חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת: Lev. 23 34). The preference of P for this designation is not a mere accident; it is intended to denote, not a part of the ritual merely, but the meaning of the entire festival; it conveys, not only that during the festival it is necessary to live in booths, but also that the festival commemorates the booths in which Israel lived at the exodus from Egypt. It is exactly to this that the peculiar usage of the feast is intended to point (Lev. 23 42 *f.*). The change of meaning, designed to give the feast a place in the history of redemption, has thus been fully accomplished; there is now no longer present any trace of a reference to husbandry—a reference which, indeed, is absent also from the Law of Holiness. As with all festivals in P, so also in the case of the feast of tabernacles, the chief emphasis is laid upon the public sacrifices which are offered with lavish abundance, no longer as in Dt. upon the voluntary gifts of individuals and the sacrificial meal arising from these. The public sacrifices consist, over and above the regular daily burnt-offering with the customary meal and drink-offerings, of a sin-offering of a he-goat to be offered on each of the seven days of the feast, with in addition a daily burnt-offering of two rams and fourteen lambs, and on the first day thirteen bullocks besides, on the second day twelve bullocks, and each succeeding day a bullock the less—thus, on the seventh day seven bullocks, two rams, fourteen lambs. In each case there are, of course, the appropriate meal-offerings of fine flour mingled with oil—three-tenths for every bullock and two-tenths for each of the two rams. As compared with the offerings prescribed for the other principal feasts, those here enjoined are enhanced to an extraordinary degree—in some instances being more than doubled. Thus down even to so late a date as that of P we can clearly trace the continued operation of that pre-eminent importance which attached to this feast above all the rest in the oldest times.

6. In P.

There is yet one other point in which P goes beyond Ezekiel and H; to the traditional seven days of the feast it adds yet an eighth as a closing festival, *'ăṣéreth* (עֲצֶרֶת). As compared with the other seven days, this has an independent character of its own; it does not simply continue the sacrifices of the preceding days, but there are offered a he-goat as sin-offering, a bullock, a ram and seven lambs as a burnt-offering—in each case with the appropriate meal and drink-offerings, of course in addition to the regular daily burnt-offering. This day, however, as can readily be understood, is always reckoned as part of the main festival itself, and in later times it was customary to speak of an eight-days' feast (2 Macc. 10 6; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 4, § 245). This eighth day, like the first, is celebrated by a great assembly and by abstinence from every kind of work; for the intervening six days this is not demanded.

In post-exilic times, just as in pre-exilic, it is precisely of the feast of tabernacles that we most often hear; it always continued to be one of the most important festivals. Of the exiles after their return we forthwith read that when the seventh month came round they did not neglect the feast of tabernacles. And, as matter of fact, after the introduction of the law in 444 B.C., the feast was regularly observed in strict conformity with the legal prescriptions. This is expressly emphasised in Neh. 8 14 *ff.* It is, however, very noticeable that here the legal innovation is the revival of a custom which had passed out of use: not, as might be expected, the sacrifices, but the dwelling in booths. From this no other conclusion is possible than that this dwelling in booths was practised in the older time, not as a festal rite, but as a harvest custom. After Dt. had transferred the observance of the feast to Jerusalem, the practice had gone out of date; what had formerly been quite natural had now in the capital no meaning. When, however, the custom was brought into connection with history and judged to be a reminiscence of the tents of Israel in the wilderness, it received a new meaning which gave it fresh significance as a part of the ceremonial of the feast and recalled it to new life. From the account in Nehemiah (8 16) we learn further that in Jerusalem the booths were set upon the house roofs, in the house courts, in the courts of the temple (this last, of course, only for priests and Levites) and in the broad places of the city gates. Olive branches, branches of wild olives, myrtle branches, palm branches, and branches of thick trees (עֵץ עָבֹת, see above, § 5, n. 2) were employed for the purpose. The public reading of the book of the law, as required by Dt. (see above, § 4), was also a feature of the festival. The Chronicler's account of the feast of tabernacles at the dedication of the temple (2 Ch. 7 8 *ff.*) is evidence of the observance of the festival in accordance with P in the Chronicler's own time in so far as the seven days' feast of 1 K. 8 65 is altered into a feast of eight days. Finally, we read in the Maccabean period of the celebration of a feast resembling the feast of tabernacles, immediately after the purification of the temple (2 Macc. 10 6 *ff.*). This feast also lasts eight days; the participants carry in their hands 'wands wreathed with leaves, and fair boughs, and palms also.'

7 Later.

The custom here referred to (perhaps already an old one; see above, § 5) continued in use during the later period. The order of the feast is prescribed down to the minutest details in the Talmudic tractate entitled *Sukka* (cp MYRTLE). There the branches, etc., are not only used for making booths, but are also carried in the hands as the celebrants go to join in the worship. The 'fruit of goodly trees' (פְּרִי עֵץ הָדָר) was interpreted to mean the *ethrōg* (אֶתְרוֹג), apple of paradise, or Adam's apple, the *'ēṣ 'ābōth* (עֵץ עָבוֹת) the myrtle. Accordingly, a palm branch still in its 'sceptre-like' condition, that is, not yet expanded (the so-called *lūlāb*, לוּלָב) was fastened up along with a myrtle and willow in such a manner that the myrtle was on the right and the willow on the left of the palm. This festal thyrsus (also called *lūlāb*) was held in the right hand whilst the left carried an *ethrōg*, and thus equipped the celebrants went in procession with hosannas and waving of thyrsi round the altar of burnt-offering, each day once, but on the seventh day seven times, to commemorate the seven days' encompassing of the walls of Jericho. Josephus calls the thyrsus (*Ant.* iii. 10 4, § 245) εἰρεσιώνη—which means properly the harvest wreath of olive or laurel wound round with wool and decorated with fruit which the Athenian singing boys carried about at the autumn feast of Pyanepsia. Another Greek designation employed is θύρσοι (thyrsi; 2 Macc. 10 7; Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 5, § 372), properly the Bacchic wand wreathed in ivy and vine-leaves with a fir-cone at the top which was carried by the worshippers at the feast of Dionysus. It is doubtless this whole custom that Plutarch has in his mind when he represents the Jewish feast of tabernacles as being a Dionysiac festival (*Symp.* 4 6: τῆς μεγίστης καὶ τελειοτάτης ἑορτῆς παρὰ Ἰουδαίοις ὁ καιρός ἐστι καὶ ὁ τρόπος Διονυσίῳ προσήκων . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ κρατηροφορία τις ἑορτὴ καὶ θυρσοφορία παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἐν ᾗ θύρσους ἔχοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσίασιν).

Another peculiar custom, with regard to the meaning and origin of which there is still great uncertainty (cp NATURE-WORSHIP, § 4), was in connection with the daily drink-offering which was offered during the seven days of the feast. For this the water was taken from Siloam. A priest drew it in a golden pitcher of a capacity of three logs, and brought it amid trumpet-blasts through the Water Gate into the outer court of the temple. There other priests received it from him with the words (Is. 12 3): 'Ye will draw water with joy from the founts of salvation,' in which words priests and people alike joined. The water was then mixed with wine, and, while the priests blew on the trumpets and the Levites chanted psalms, was poured into a silver basin standing at the south-western corner of the altar, from which it flowed by a pipe into a subterranean channel and thence to the Kidron. We may, perhaps, bring this practice into connection with the ancient custom of drawing water and pouring it out (cp 1 S. 7 6) which may possibly have been used and retained precisely at the feast. Tradition has it that

abundant rain for the new seed-time and a fruitful year are symbolised in the act. In all probability the words of Jn. 7 37 *f.* are to be read in this connection.[1] Yet one other characteristic of the feast remains to be mentioned: the festal joy on the night between the first and the second day. In the court of the women four-branched golden candlesticks were erected and lighted up. With music, psalms, and trumpets, a torch dance was then performed by the most prominent priests and laymen. The offering of the festal sacrifices was accompanied, as in the case of the other great feasts, by trumpet-blowing by the priests, as also by the singing of the great hallēl—*i.e.*, Pss. 113-118 (see HALLEL); when the Hosanna was reached in Ps. 118 25 the lūlābs were shaken.

Outside of Palestine the Jews observed the festival in like manner in booths. As the determination of the month's commencement and of the whole calendar connected with it depended on actual observation of the new moon, and thus was uncertain (see NEW MOON), it was customary for the Jews outside of Palestine to observe the first and eighth days of the feast twice over on consecutive days, so as to make sure of observing the common national feast quite simultaneously with their brethren in Palestine.

After the destruction of the second temple arose the custom of adding yet a ninth day—the 23rd of Tishri—to the festival, celebrated as the feast of 'the joy of the law' (שִׂמְחַת הַתּוֹרָה). On the Sabbath preceding this day the reading of the law as divided into 52 parashiyyōth or lessons in the synagogue service came to an end; on the following sabbath the reading was recommenced. Cp Vitringa, *De Syn. Vet.*, 1696, p. 1003.

See the literature cited under FEASTS; also the articles in Riehm, Herzog-Plitt, Smith, etc. I. B.

TABITHA (ταβ[ε]ιθα [Ti. WH]),[2] Acts 9 36 40†. See DORCAS; cp GAZELLE.

TABLE. The words are:—

1. שֻׁלְחָן, *šulḥān*, τράπεζα, *mensa*. See MEALS, § 3 *a*; ALTAR, § 10; and cp SACRIFICE, § 34 *a*.

2. מֵסַב, *mēsab*, ἀνάκλισις (-ησις [C]), *accubitus*, is taken by EV in Cant. 1 12 in the sense of 'table'; cp MEALS, § 3 *a*, and n. 2; also § 3 *b*, n. 2; but see also BDB, and Bu. *ad loc.*, Haupt, *JBL* 21 (1902) pt. 1, p. 54.

3. לוּחַ, *lūăḥ*, πλάξ (31 times) πυξίον (thrice), *tabula*, *buxus*. Chiefly of the 'tables' of the law Ex. 24 12, etc., but also of the tables or tablets on which the prophets wrote their prophecies (Is. 30 8 Hab. 2 2), and of tables for writing generally. Cp WRITING.

4. τράπεζα, Mt. 15 27 1 Cor. 10 21 Heb. 9 2, etc.; see above, 1.

5. πλάξ, 2 Cor. 3 3 Heb. 9 4; see above, 3.

6. κλίνη in Mk. 7 4 [Ti. WH om.] is rendered 'table' in AV; RVom. RVmg. 'many ancient authorities add *and* couches.' See above, 2, and cp MEALS, § 3 *b* and n. 2.

7. πινακίδιον, Lk. 1 63, AV 'table,' RV 'tablet'; dimin. from πίναξ, and so a small tablet (for writing).

TABLE LAND (מִישׁוֹר) 2 Ch. 26 10 RVmg., EV 'plain(s).' See JUDÆA, PLAIN.

TABLET. 1. כּוּמָז, *kūmāz*, Ex. 35 22 Nu. 31 50†. RV ARMLET. See NECKLACE, § 4.

2. גִּלָּיוֹן, *gillāyōn*, Is. 8 1, RV see DRESS, § 1 [2], ROLL, 2.

3. בָּתֵּי הַנֶּפֶשׁ, *bātē* (?) *han-néphes̆*, Is. 3 20. See PERFUME BOXES.

TABOR (תָּבוֹר; θαβωρ [BℵARTL], γαιθβωρ [B] θαφωθ [A] Josh. 19 22, το ιταβυριον [BA] Hos. 5 1 Jer. 46 [𝔊 26] 18; αταβυριον Polyb. v. 706, cp ιερον Διος αταβυριου at Agrigentum and in the isle of Rhodes *ib.* ix. 27 7; το ιταβυριον ορος Jos.; ιταβυριον Euseb. *OS* 268 90 and θαβωρ, *ib.* 261 27; *Itabyrium*, *Thabor*, Jerome), the hill now called Jebel

1. Physical characteristics.

[1] The words are spoken on the 'great' day of the feast—ἡ ἐσχάτη ἡμέρα ἡ μεγάλη τῆς ἑορτῆς. By this probably is meant the seventh day, on which procession was made seven times round the altar, which on this day was decorated with branches of willow. This day is in fact called by the rabbins the 'great' Hosanna day—יוֹם הוֹשַׁעְנָא רַבָּא, or also the 'willow' day—יוֹם עֲרָבָה. The eighth day, the *'ăṣéreth*, is not strictly speaking to be reckoned to the feast of tabernacles; the special sacrifices and festal observances terminate on the seventh day (see above). This day, therefore, cannot be regarded as that intended in Jn. 7 37.

[2] Cp τοβιαθη (Wadd. 2155) and ταβιαθη, cited by Dussaud and Macler, *Voy. Arch.* 158 (Paris, 1901).

et-Ṭûr. Its dome-like shape as seen from the S. or SW. ('mira rotunditate,' Jer. *OS* 156 23), and its apparent isolation, make it a striking feature in the landscape of SE. Galilee. Hence it ranks with Carmel among conspicuous heights: *e.g.*, in Jer. 46 18, and the Midrash, *Ber. R.*, § 99, 'Tabor came from Beth-elim and Carmel from Aspamya to attend the law-giving at Sinai.' A psalmist even implies that what Hermon is on the E. of Jordan Tabor is on the W., Ps. 89 13 (but cp the commentators). It rises from the level of the Great Plain to a height of 1843 ft. (1312 ft. from the base); the summit is an extensive platform, 3000 ft. from E. to W., 1300 ft. at its greatest breadth, a peculiarity which did much to determine the associations which have gathered round the mountain.[1] Though from some aspects Tabor appears to stand alone, in reality it is a spur of the Nazareth group of heights, and is linked to them on its N. side. Its slopes, like the W. slopes of Carmel, are covered with vegetation and stunted trees, oak, ilex, terebinth, beech, carob, olive, etc., which afford cover to an unusual number of animals. From the top opens out a superb panorama, often, however, veiled with mists in the spring-time. The situation of the mountain, its imposing and prominent outline, explain at once the part which it has played in history. In all ages Tabor has been famous either for its sanctuary or for its stronghold. Commanding the NE. quarter of the Great Plain and one of the main outlets down to the Jordan, the W. esh-Sherār, it has considerable strategic value, whilst to the instinct of early religion it would seem to have been designed by nature for a holy place.

2. Sanctuary and stronghold.

The boundaries of Issachar, Zebulun, and Naphtali meet upon Tabor; Josh. 19 22 (Issachar), 12 CHISLOTH-TABOR—*i.e.* 'flanks of Tabor' (Zebulun), 34 'AZNOTH-TABOR—*i.e.* 'peaks (?) of Tabor' (Naphtali), 1 Ch. 6 62 [77] (Zebulun; 𝔊B θαχχεια). In the first and the last of these passages Tabor is the name of a town on or near the mountain. Long before the Israelite occupation Tabor was a holy place; it naturally became the common sanctuary of the three tribes whose portions met there. So we may infer from Dt. 33 19, 'they (*i.e.*, Zebulun and Issachar) call peoples to the mountain.' Though Tabor is not expressly named, as it is the mountain in which both these tribes had an interest the allusion would be clear to early readers. The passage seems to refer to some kind of religious fair or gathering at the sanctuary of Tabor to which the neighbourhood was invited for worship and barter (Stade, *GVI* 1 171; Driver, *Deut.* 409; see also Herder, *Geist d. Hebr. Poësie*, 150 *ff.* ed. Suphan). In the days of Deborah and Barak these tribes had suffered most from the hostility of the Canaanites; accordingly upon Tabor, as the common rallying-point, Barak gathered his men for a descent upon the enemy in the plain below (Judg. 4 6 12 14). Perhaps there was another reason for the muster on Tabor besides the obvious advantages of the position; the holy war, as von Gall suggests, would probably begin with a sacrifice at the tribal sanctuary (*Altisr. Kultstätten*, 124 *f.*; cp 1 S. 13 9 12 Mi. 3 5, etc.). From one account it appears that the battle was fought at the foot of the mountain (Judg. 4 14 *f.*); the Song, however, does not mention Tabor, and places the battle farther off, by Taanach, along the left bank of the Kishon (5 18-20). By this victory Tabor was secured to Israel; and, as a stronghold commanding one of the main caravan routes across the Plain, it must have proved an invaluable possession during the times of conflict and slow consolidation which followed (Judg. 7 1 22 1 S. 28 4 *ff.* 29 1 31 1). Of its fortunes in the days when

[1] In Talm. B. the extent of Tabor is given as 4 parsa, *Bāb. Bathr* 73*b* (*Zĕbāḥīm* 113*b* reads 40 parsa); the figures of Jos., *BJ* iv. 1 (height 30 stadia, the πεδίον on the summit 26 stadia), are of course absurd.

Assyrian and Egyptian armies passed within sight of it we know nothing (Is. 8 23 [9 1] 2 K. 23 29 Zech. 12 11). The sanctuary continued to serve the district. By Hosea's time it had become associated with the idolatrous form of Yahwè-worship which was characteristic of the N. kingdom; hence it incurred the prophet's denunciation; its priesthood, like that of Mizpah, the other typical 'high place,' is 'a net spread out' to catch deluded worshippers (Hos. 5 1). Nevertheless the sacred character of the mountain was not forfeited; in the course of time no doubt it influenced the Christian tradition (§ 5); it never quite lost its hold upon Jewish memory. In a late Midrash we find the opinion that 'the Temple itself might well have been built in the portion of Issachar,' had it not been otherwise ordered (Yalkuṭ on Dt. 33 19 בית הבחירה ראוי לבנות בחלק של יששכר).

3. Judg. 8 18 and 1 S. 10 3. The Tabor of Judg. 8 18 can hardly be the mountain; it is too far from the seats of Gideon's clan; the scene of the murder was the neighbourhood of Shechem rather than the Plain of Jezreel (but cp GIDEON, § 2). It is simplest to suppose that there was another Tabor near Ophrah (Budde, *Ri. Sa.* 114; but see also Moore, *Judges*, 228). The 'terebinth [RV 'oak'] of Tabor' (1 S. 10 3; 𝔊ᴸ *τῆς δρυὸς τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς*) is probably to be placed, as the context seems to require, in Benjamin, between Rachel's Grave, on the N. border of Benjamin, and Gibeah (von Gall, *l.c.* 88 *f.*). Ewald's emendation אֱלוֹן דבורה (= אֱלוֹן בכות Gen. 35 8) is scarcely necessary; there must have been more than one such sacred tree in later Jewish history. See, further, RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

In later Jewish history Tabor was the scene of three memorable engagements.

4. Jewish history. The first occurred in the struggle between Antiochus III. the Great (223-187 B.C.) and Ptolemy IV. Philopator (222-205 B.C.) for the possession of Palestine (Polyb. v. 70). After the surrender of Philoteria (S. of Lake of Galilee) and Scythopolis, about 218 B.C., Antiochus marched into the hill-country and appeared before Atabyrium, 'which is situated upon a rounded hill (*ἐπὶ λόφου μαστοειδοῦς*), more than 15 stadia in ascent,' and captured the place by a stratagem. Polybius calls Atabyrium a *πόλις* standing on the top of the hill, and the account of its capture agrees with such a position.

In B.C. 53 the proconsul A. Gabinius, general of Pompey, fought Alexander, son of Aristobulus, at the foot of the mountain (*περὶ τὸ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος*), and 10,000 Jews fell in battle (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 6 3).

The third episode is recorded in fuller detail. As governor of Galilee Josephus fortified Tabor against Vespasian in 67 A.D. Under pressure he built a wall round the summit in forty days, and supplied the fort with water from below, for the inhabitants (*ἔποικοι*) had been dependent upon rain. Vespasian sent Placidus with 600 horsemen to attack the Jews by enticing them down to the plain; they were unwise enough to leave their strong position in the hope of overwhelming the cavalry; it became impossible to retreat, and they were completely defeated. Want of water compelled those who were left in the fort (*οἱ ἐπιχώριοι*) to surrender the mountain to Placidus (Jos. *BJ* iv. 1 8 ii. 20 6, *Vita* 37). Remains of Josephus' wall were discovered in 1898.

Since the third century Tabor has been revered by Christian tradition as the scene of the Transfiguration.

5. The Transfiguration. The Gospels themselves do not give a name to the 'high mountain' (*ὄρος ὑψηλόν*); but it was more likely Hermon than Tabor (see HERMON, § 1, MOUNTAIN). The Transfiguration is dated six (Lk., eight) days after the confession of Peter at Cæsarea Philippi = Bāniās at the foot of Hermon. Nothing is said of a journey in the interval; the return to Galilee is placed after the Transfiguration (Mk. 9 30). Moreover, in Jesus' time, Tabor was hardly a place to which he could lead the three apostles 'apart by themselves' (*κατ' ἰδίαν μόνους*: Mk. 9 2)—*κατ' ἰδίαν* obviously refers to the apostles, not to the *isolation* of Tabor. The passages from Polybius and Josephus quoted above imply that the summit was inhabited and partially fortified.

Père Barnabé, who has written lately in support of the tradition, argues that there never was, and never could have been, a town upon the summit because of the absence of water and cultivable land sufficient to support a population (*Le Mont Thabor*, Paris, 1900). But the difficulty was overcome in other situations of a similar character; many remains of cisterns have been discovered on the summit; and monasteries have managed to live there. The passage in the *Gospel according to the Hebrews* quoted by Origen (*Comment.* in Joan. t. 26; Migne, *PG* 14 col. 132), where Jesus is made to say, 'Even now has my mother, the Holy Spirit, seized me by one of my hairs and borne me to the great mountain Tabor,' can hardly be said to support the Christian tradition; but it may have helped to give rise to it. The context of the quotation is lost, so that we cannot tell what event is alluded to; not improbably it was the temptation. Cp TEMPTATION, § 14, and see Moulton, *Bibl. and Sem. Studies*, Yale Univ., 1901, p. 161, with the references. At any rate Origen himself accepted the tradition (*Comment.* in Ps. 88 13 [89 12]; *PG* 12 1548), 'Tabor is the mountain of Galilee where Christ was transfigured.' In the fourth century it is held by Eusebius, who speaks of Hermon along with Tabor as 'mountains upon which the wonderful transfigurations and frequent sojourns of our Saviour took place' (*Comment.* in Ps. 88 13 [89 12]; *PG* 23 1092); by Cyril of Jerusalem, 'Moses . . . and Elias . . . were present with him when he was transfigured on Mt. Tabor' (*Catech.* 12 16; *PG* 33 744); by Jerome, 'Itabyrium et tabernacula Salvatoris,' '. . . montem Thabor in quo transfiguratus est Dominus' (*Epp.* 46 and 108; *PL* 22 491; *ib.* 889). Before the end of the fourth century, the tradition was widely current in the E., and pilgrims, such as Paula (Jerome, *Ep.* 46) and Sylvia of Aquitaine, began to venerate the spot. It is generally believed that the Empress Helena founded a basilica on Tabor about 326 A.D.; whether any remains of it can still be traced may be doubted. The church with three apses, excavated in recent years (plan given by Barnabé *l.c.* 136), is considered to show characteristics of fourth-, or fifth-century work (de Vogüé, *Eglises de T. Sainte*, 1860, 352 *ff.*); in 570 the three chapels were seen by Antoninus of Plaisance, and in 670 by Arculf, bishop of Eichstädt, the earliest travellers who refer to them; their narratives are published by the *Société de l'Orient latin* (1 94 and 185). The only dissentient voice in the early period is that of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.), who places the Transfiguration on the Mt. of Olives (*Itinerarium* [8th cent.], Soc. de l'Or. lat. 1 18); otherwise, down to the time of the Crusades the Christian tradition is unanimous and constantly repeated. It finds a place in the services of the Greek Church for Aug. 6th—*e.g.*, *Ἔφθασεν ἡ ἡμέρα τῆς ἐνθέου εὐφροσύνης· ἄνεισιν εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Θαβὼρ ὁ Δεσπότης τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ ἀπαστράψαι τὴν ὡραιότητα* (*Ὡρολόγιον τὸ μέγα*, Venice, 1876, 348); but in the Western service-books it does not seem to occur.[1]

In the history of the Frank kingdom Tabor maintained its associations with religious devotion and hard fighting.

6. The Crusaders. In 1099 Tancred occupied the mountain with European troops, and when he withdrew he endowed the church and entrusted it to the care of Benedictine monks, who restored the ancient basilica and built a monastery. Not long after, in 1113, the Turks under Malduk fought a battle with Baldwin I. on the plain below; the Crusaders were severely beaten, and the monks massacred. But fresh monks soon took their place; the abbey received new donations; the dignity of archbishop was conferred upon its Abbot Pons and his successors by a bull of Eugenius III. (1145). Then came the advance of Saladin in 1183; his troops ravaged the Greek convent; and in 1187, after the disaster at the Horns of Ḥaṭṭīn, the holy place of Tabor was reduced to ruins and abandoned by its Benedictines.

Early in the thirteenth century, Melik el-'Adil, in order to attack the headquarters of the Franks at Acre, fortified Tabor, using part of the ruined church for his towers. The fortifications were completed in 1213 by his son, Melik el-Mu'aẓẓam; several inscriptions commemorating the work have been found recently among the débris (Barnabé, *l.c.* 15, 100). It was this fortification of Tabor that occasioned the Fifth Crusade. In 1217 Andrew II., king of Hungary, and other Princes advanced against Tabor with a great host, and besieged the fort seventeen days; the first assault was boldly delivered and as boldly repulsed; delays and divisions in the Christian camp helped to make the second attack fruitless, and the Crusaders were forced to retreat. See the vivid narrative of Vincentius Bellovacensis, Soc. de l' Or. lat. *série hist.*, 3 98; Kugler, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, 312 *f.*; Michaud, *Hist. of Crusades*, 2 226 *ff.* The fortress was afterwards dismantled by Melik el-'Ādil in the hope of restoring peace; and, in the years which followed, the church

[1] In the fourteenth century the dogma of the Uncreated Light of Mt. Tabor was promoted by Gregory Palamas, Archbishop of Thessalonica (about 1349). He asserted that one light of Tabor was visible and comprehensible, the other invisible and incomprehensible; see Migne, *PG* 150 773 *ff.* Gregory became a patron of the curious sect of the ὀμφαλόψυχοι, drawn from the monks of Mt. Athos, who devoted themselves to the contemplation of the uncreated light of Tabor; Migne, *ib.* col. 899 *f.* Nilles, *Kalendarium manuale*, Innsbruck, 1896, *s.v.* Aug. 6.

was rebuilt and served by monks from Hungary (1229); for a short time it passed into the possession of the Hospitallers of St. John. But Tabor was not left in peace for long. In 1263 Bibars, the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, in the course of his campaign against Damascus, finally burnt and devastated the church, and the holy-place of Tabor was left a heap of ruins for 600 years. Franciscans from Nazareth conducted pilgrims to the summit from time to time, and celebrated, as well as they could, the Feast of the Transfiguration on 6th Aug. and the second Sunday in Lent. Not until 1858 did the Franciscans begin to undertake the care and excavation of the ruins; Greek monks followed soon after; and in 1873 was built the modest Latin convent which, with the Greek monastery close by, guards the ancient sanctuary. Napoleon's Syrian campaign brings Tabor into general history for the last time; in 1799 the French troops under Kléber, afterwards reinforced by Napoleon himself, encountered the vast army of Jezzâr, and the battle of Mt. Tabor ended in the complete discomfiture of the Turks; see Lanfrey, *Hist. de Napoleon* 1er, 1 399 *f.*

7. Name. The derivation of the name Tabor is unknown. In spite of its triliteral form, Winckler considers that the name has survived, like 'Jordan,' from pre-Canaanite times, and therefore is not Semitic in origin. For a Semitic derivation he suggests the Eth. *dabr* 'mountain,' with *d* for *t* under influence of the liquid (*AOF* 1 423). This interchange of dentals is perhaps to be found in the name of the village at the NW. foot of Tabor, *Debūriyeh* = DABERATH (*q.v.*), possibly a formation from תבור; the Arab. form has preserved the long vowel in the second syllable. One is tempted to conjecture that the primitive form of תבור was דבור (cp דְּבִיר Josh. 11 21 13 26 Judg. 1 11).

Older etymologies have a certain interest; *e.g.* Syr.-Hex. mg. ad Θαβωρ Josh. 19 22 gives βηθωρ, and explains *bēth 'ōr* 'house of light': Jerome *OS* 31 2 49 6 'veniens lumen, veniat lux' (תבוא אור!).

Among the Arabs Tabor has long been known as Jebel eṭ-Ṭūr—*i.e.*, '*the* mountain'—a name given also to Gerizim, Olivet, and Sinai. Sometimes the Arabs call it Jebel Nūr, 'of the light,' in allusion to the Transfiguration, for the Christian tradition is accepted by Moslems; Guérin, *Galilée*, 1 143 *ff.* We should expect Tabor to be mentioned in Egyptian documents; but this is probably not the case. The '*Dapura*' in the country of '*Amaura*,' so called to distinguish it from another *Dapura*, among the towns conquered by Rameses II. (temple of Karnak), is to be looked for on the Orontes in N. Syria; the *Depuru* mentioned next to Ḳadesh in the papyrus Anastasi I. (22 4, Chabas, *Voy. d'un Egyptien en Syrie*, pp. 197, 313), if not the same place, belongs to the same region. The situation of *Tapru* in the Būlāḳ Papyrus is not specified. The equivalent of these names would probably be טַבּוּר, 'hill,' rather than תבור. See WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 220 *ff.* The name of the mountain has not been found in Assyrian records.

8. Literature. In addition to the authorities referred to above may be mentioned the following: *Survey of W. Pal.* 1 388 *ff.*; Robinson, *BR*(2), 2 351 *ff.*; GASm., *HG* 394 *ff.*; Buhl, *Pal.* § 68. Père Barnabé gives a full and valuable collection of material (the point of view is uncritical, and the references are not always to be trusted). For a recent Roman Catholic work which rejects the traditional site of the transfiguration, see Abbé le Camus, *Notre voy. aux Pays bibl.* (Paris, 1895), 1 82 *ff.* G. A. C.

TABOR, PLAIN OF, or rather (so RV), OAK OF TABOR (אֵלוֹן תָּבוֹר, ΤΗϹ ΔΡΥΟϹ ΘΑΒΩΡ [BA], Τ. Δ. ΤΗϹ ΕΚΛΕΚΤΗϹ [L; see below]; *quercum Thabor*), a locality between the city where Samuel and Saul met and 'Gibeah of God' (see GIBEAH, § 2 [3]), 1 S. 10 3†. It has been supposed by Ewald (*Hist.* 3 21) and Thenius (without ancient authority) to be identical with the 'palm tree of Deborah between Ramah and Bethel in mount Ephraim' (Judg. 4 5). This is certainly plausible. On the other hand the descriptions of the sites of the two trees cannot be said to agree. The city referred to in 1 S. 9 6 *ff.* is not said to be Ramah, and 'Bethel in mount of Ephraim' and 'Gibeah of God' cannot be identified. It is much more likely that the 'oak' (or rather, 'sacred tree') referred to in 1 S. 10 3 was unconnected with any biblical story except that of Saul, and that Tabor is a corruption of some other name, possibly Baḥurim (בחרים): cp 𝔊L's rendering (τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς), which presupposes בָּחוּר. See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE. T. K. C.

TABRET. 1. תֹּף, *tōph*, 1 S. 10 5; AV has a slight preference for 'timbrel'; RV has 'tabret' in Gen. 31 27 Is. 5 12 24 8 30 32 Jer. 31 4 Ezek. 28 13, but 'timbrel' in Ex. 15 20 Judg. 11 34 1 S. 10 5 18 6 2 S. 6 5 1 Ch. 13 8 Job 21 12 Ps. 81 3 [2] 149 3 150 4. See MUSIC, § 3.

2. תֹּפֶת, *tōpheth*, Job 17 6. See TOPHETH.

TABRIMON, RV **Tab-rimmon** (טַבְרִמּוֹן, § 44, as if 'Rimmon is good,' or 'wise,' but see RIMMON ii. § 2), father of BEN-HADAD (1 K. 15 18: ΤΑΒΕΡΕΜΑ [B], ΤΑΒΕΝΡΑΗΜΑ [A], ΤΑΒΕΡΕΜΜΑΝ [L]). Cp TABEEL.

TACHE (קְרָסִים) Ex. 26 6, etc. RV 'clasp.' See TABERNACLE, § 4 (1).

TACHMONITE (תַּחְכְּמֹנִי) 2 S. 23 8, RV TAHCHEMONITE.

TADMOR (תַּדְמֹר; ΘΕΔΜΟΡ [AL], ΘΟΕΔΜΟΡ [B^b], ΘΟΕΙΔΟΜΗϹΕΝ ΤΗΝ ΘΟΕΔΟΜΟΡ [B* cum signo perversæ lect.], *Palmiram* [Vg.]) 'in the wilderness,' a name given (2 Ch. 8 4†) to a city built by Solomon by the Chronicler. This late historian doubtless had in view the great city in the Syrian desert between Damascus and the Euphrates (תדמור, תדמר of the Nabatæan inscr.) known to the Greeks and Romans as Palmyra (see WRS, *s.v.* 'Palmyra' *EB*(9)),[1] the mod. *Tadmur*, vulgarly *Tudmir*.[2] This appears from his bringing it into connection with Hamath and the N. He is, however, simply misquoting 1 K. 9 18, where the RV is certainly right in following the Kt. (תמר, *i.e.*, Tāmār, not as some have supposed Tammōr) in preference to the harmonistic Ḳre 'Tadmor' (תַּדְמֹר) adopted by AV following the versions. For the context here clearly shows that not Palmyra, but some place in the S. of Judah is meant (see TAMAR), and we have no reason to think that the boundaries of Israel ever extended so far N. The name Tadmor occurs nowhere else in the OT, nor even in the cuneiform inscriptions, nor can Palmyra be traced in history till just before the Christian era, 42-41 B.C. (Appian, *BC* 5 9). At that date, however, Palmyra was a place of some importance (cp ARABIA, § 3), and it may very well have come into existence some centuries earlier—long enough for the real story of its founding to be quite unknown in Israel in the time of the Chronicler. F. B.

TAHAN, TAHANITES (תַּחַן, תַּחֲנִי), Nu. 26 35. See below, TAHATH.

TAHAPANES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס) Jer. 2 16, RV TAHPANHES.

TAHASH (תַּחַשׁ) Gen. 22 24, AV THAHASH.

TAHATH (תַּחַת), an Ephraimite name originating in the Negeb, see SHUTHELAH (1 Ch. 7 20 *bis* νοομε = נחם? [B only once], θααθ, νομεε [A], θααθ [L twice]). The name occurs again in *v.* 25 under the form TAHAN (תַּחַן, θαεν [B], -αν [L] κα. [A—*i.e.*, καὶ θ.]), and similarly in Nu. 26 35 [P] (LXX *v.* 39 ταναχ), cp the family of the Tahanites (*ib.* תַּחֲנִי, ὁ ταναχ[ε]ι [BAFL]). In the priestly genealogies in 1 Ch. 6 which are intended to supply the great singers with a Levitical ancestry, Tahath is twice mentioned among the ancestors of Samuel and Heman (1 Ch. 6 24 [9] 37 [22], κααθ [B, but θ. *v.* 37], θ. [AL]), and it is only reasonable to identify Tahath or Tahan (= Nahath?) with TOHU [*q.v.*], which is also an Ephraimite name (cp EPHRAIM, § 12).

TAHATH (תַּחַת, note the 'priestly' name TAHATH above), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33 26 *f.* (ΚΑΤΑΑΘ [BAL], ΚΑΤΘΑΑΘ [F]). The

[1] For the earliest exact modern account of Palmyra (by Halifax, 1691), see *PEFQ* Oct. 1890, pp. 273 *ff.* See also Post, 'Second Journey to Palmyra,' *PEFQ*, 1892-93; Bernoville, *Dix jours en Palmyrène* (1868).

[2] On the connection between the names *tadmur* and παλμυρα see Lag. (*Übers.* 125, note), who approves the conjecture of Schultens (*Vita Saladina*; see the Geog. Index under 'Tadmora,' where the form *tatmur* is cited), that the original was *tatmur*, with the meaning 'abounding in palms.'

name stands between Makheloth and Terah, both of which are possibly corruptions of 'Jeraḥmeel' (Che.). See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

TAHCHEMONITE, AV **Tachmonite** (תַּחְכְּמֹנִי, ο χανανaιος [BA], υιος θεκεμανει [L]), 2 S. 23 8. Probably miswritten, owing to the repetition of ת from the preceding word, for הכמני (note ὁ χαν. in BA)—*i.e.*, הַכְּמֹנִי, 'the . . . -ite' (so Marq.). This is in accordance with the other descriptions of David's other heroes. But כמני can hardly be correct. Besides, הכמני is preceded (according to the emendation suggested under JASHOBEAM) by בית; בית־הכמני is analogous to בֵּית־הַלַּחְמִי. נ and ר being sometimes confounded, it is plausible to correct into בֵּית־הַכַּרְמִי—*i.e.*, a man of Beth-cerem (see BETH-HACCEREM); ר and מ were transposed. Cp Carmi, the name of a son of Zabdi, Josh. 7 1, and note that in 1 Ch. 27 2 Jashobeam is called a son of Zabdiel; also that in 1 Ch. 4 1 Perez and Carmi are brothers, and that in 1 Ch. 27 3 Jashobeam is said to have belonged to the b'ne Perez. T. K. C.

TAHPANHES (תַּחְפַּנְחֵס, Jer. 43 7, etc.) or **Tehaphnehes** (תְּחַפְנְחֵס, Ezek. 30 18); Jer. 2 16 Kᵉthib תחפנס (EV Tahapanes), Judith 1 9 AV TAPHNES, RV TAHPANHES, a city of north-eastern Egypt. Ezek. 30 closes the long enumeration of Egyptian cities threatened by destruction, with Aven-Heliopolis and Pi-beseth-Bubastus, *v.* 17, and Tahpanhes, *v.* 18, all three belonging to the Eastern Delta. The long verse, devoted to Tahpanhes, where 'the yokes (better, as 𝔊, 'sceptres'; see Cornill) of Egypt' shall be broken, and 'the pride of her power shall cease in her' shows the wealth and importance of the place, as does the allusion to 'her daughters'—*i.e.*, surrounding towns (Jer. 43 7 *f.*). Jeremiah, with many fugitives, fleeing from Palestine to Egypt, comes to Tahpanhes and settles there. This points again to the place being near the entrance from Palestine into Egypt—*i.e.*, in the NE. In *v.* 9 the words 'the entry of Pharaoh's house in Tahpanhes' seem to indicate that the place had a royal palace which, even if used only on occasional visits of the king, would indicate an important city. In 44 1 46 14 Tahpanhes (which, however, is wanting in the good MSS of 𝔊 in 46 14), Migdol, and Noph are the three most important settlements of Jewish fugitives in N. Egypt, as distinguished from Pathros in the S. In Jer. 2 16, the Egyptians are called 'children of Noph (Memphis) and Tahpanhes.' Judith 1 9, enumerating Taphnas and Ramesse and the whole land of Goshen (Gesem), as far as Tanis and Memphis, etc., seems to be following those Jewish settlements.

𝔊 transcribes the name as **Ταφνας** (indeclinable) in Jer. and Judith; in Ezek. 𝔊ᴮ has **Ταφναι**; Vg. not *Taphnæ*, as is usually quoted, but *Taphnis* (indeclinable: the same form occurs as accusative in Jer. 43 7). It has always been concluded from these transcriptions that the reference is to a place which Herodotus, assimilating its name to the Greek word for 'laurels,' calls Δαφναι. According to him (2 30) Psammetik I. established a great camp of soldiers 'in Daphnæ near Pelusium' (ἐν Δάφνῃσι τῇσι Πελουσίῃσι), which the Persians still maintained. In 2 154, he reports that Sesostris, returning from his conquests, rested there. The *It. Anton.* places *Dafno* 16 R. m. inland from Pelusium; Steph. Byz. also mentions Δαφνη.[1] Already Wilkinson (*Modern Eg. and Thebes*, 1 447) identified this place with the modern Tel(l) Defenneh (about 25 English miles in a straight line SW. of the ruins of Pelusium), which was excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1886 (see Petrie, *Tanis*, 2). Petrie found traces of earlier buildings of the Ramesside period, a great camp, fortified, according to the foundation records, by Psammetichus I., maintained under Necho and Amasis, and evidently abandoned afterwards, the palace or citadel having been destroyed by fire. Many finds of arms, pottery, etc., showed that the garrison had consisted chiefly of Greek mercenaries. The position of this fortress, on the right bank of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile close to the old caravan-road to Syria, explains its great importance and agrees excellently with that of the biblical Tahpanhes as key to Egypt (cp Jer. 43 7); the expression in Jer. 2 16 would be explained by the strong garrison. Such a place would also be best adapted for a Jewish colony which, evidently, subsisted chiefly on trading. Wilkinson's identification may, therefore, be considered as very probable.[1] The Egyptian name of the city has, however, not yet been found, which is not surprising, if we consider that the city received its importance only under Psammetichus I. Such Egyptian etymologies as have been attempted so far are too improbable to be discussed here.

[On the theory that the reference in all the passages which mention 'Tahpanhes' is to N. Arabia (cp PROPHET, §§ 26 *f.* 40), 'Tahpanhes,' like the other traditional names, disappears from the text. For the underlying words see *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 2 16 Ezek. 30 17 *f.*] W. M. M.

TAHPENES (תַּחְפְּנֵיס;[2] in 1 K. 11 20*b* defectively; θεκ [or χ]εμ[ε]ινα [BAL]; Vg. *Taphnes*; 1 K. 11 19 *f.* [twice]), the wife of Pharaoh, whose sister was given to Hadad, the Edomite, to wife. The name has a very Egyptian appearance, although no certain etymology could be given, except that the initial *t* would be the Egyptian article. The present vowel-points seem to follow the analogy of the city TAHPANHES (*q.v.*). See, however, HADAD, according to which article we should not expect an Egyptian name for a queen of Muṣri in N. Arabia which seems to be meant here instead of Egypt. The possibility remains open, at any rate, that at a later time, when the king of Muṣri in question had become a Pharaoh in the text, and the whole narrative was referred to Egypt, an Egyptian name was worked into the story. It would be futile to try to reconstruct the various short Egyptian words which could be found in the name, especially as 𝔊 differs somewhat from the Hebrew. [On the Heb. text cp *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 46 15.] W. M. M.

TAHREA (תַּחְרֵעַ; θαρα[α] [AL], θαραχ [Bℵ]), a descendant of Meribbaal; 1 Ch. 9 41.

TAHTIM-HODSHI, LAND OF (אֶרֶץ תַּחְתִּים חָדְשִׁי, την θαβασων η εστιν ναδασαι [B], γην εθαων αδασαι [A], γην χεττιειμ καδης [L]; Pesh. om. vers.; *terram inferiorem Hodshi* [Vg.]), a district mentioned between Gilead and Dan-jaan in the account of the movements of Joab in taking the census of the people of Israel 'from Dan even to Beersheba,' 2 S. 24 6.

1. State of the problem.

That 'Tahtim-hodshi' is corrupt, is too obvious to be questioned. Several remedies have been offered, but not quite satisfactorily, owing to the want of a thorough textual criticism of the whole narrative of the census (*vv.* 1-9) in the light of parallel passages of geographical description.

1. Ewald (*Hist.* 3 162, n. 3) thought that for 'Hodshi (?)' we should read 'Hermon' (חרמון). Grätz changed, in addition, 'Taḥtim (?)' into 'taḥath' (תחת); cp Josh. 11 3, where Wellhausen, Buhl, Bennett (*SBOT*,

[1] The form **Ταφνας** in the Coptic version, of course, proves nothing, being taken mechanically from the Septuagint.

[1] No significance, however, should be attached to the fact that the Arabs called a part of the ruins 'the castle of the Jew's daughter' (*kaṣr bint el-Yehûdi*), which has induced Petrie even to find the alleged 'brick-kiln' of Jer. 43 9 (see BRICK-KILN). It may be mentioned here that Erman (in his review, *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1890, p. 959) has warned us against laying stress on the similarity of the names Defenneh (?) and Daphnæ. The best Arabic form is *Tel(l) Defeineh* or *Defineh* (others give the plural *Defne*)—*i.e.*, 'treasure-hill,' evidently from finds made here by Arabs, not from an old name of the locality.

[2] *E.g.*, Lagarde once tried to find in Tahpenes the goddess Soḥme(t), worshipped especially at Memphis. A *ta-Soḥme(t)* 'the one belonging to S.' would, however, require quite a number of violent emendations

'Joshua'), and Steuernagel (but not Di.), read 'the Hittites (הַחִתִּי) under Mt. Hermon.' But in this case we require to prefix הַחִתִּי, thus producing 'the land of the Hittites under Hermon.' H. P. Smith prefers 'the land of the Hittites to Hermon.' But are not Hermon and Dan somewhat too near together?

2. Wellhausen (*TBS* 217), following Hitzig (for 'חת) and partly Thenius (for 'חד), reads הַחִתִּים קָדֵשָׁה, '(to the land of) the Hittites towards Kadesh.' This is confirmed by 𝔊^L (see above), and is adopted by Steuernagel, Driver, Buhl (*SBOT*). But is not Kadesh on the Orontes too far N.? Wellhausen has to suppose that the boundary line is traced to Kadesh, and that it then comes back (SW.) to Dan. And had David really conquered the northern Kadesh, and even completely incorporated it into the territory of Israel? Cp Buhl, *Pal.* 69.

3. Klostermann (*ad loc.*) and Guthe (*Gesch.* 94) would read נַפְתָּלִי קֶדְשָׁה, '(to the land of) Naphtali towards Kedesh'; cp Dt. 34 1 *f.* (where, in the description of the prospect from Mt. Nebo, Naphtali is introduced after 'the land of Gilead as far as Dan'), and 2 K. 15 29, where Kedesh is mentioned with Ijon (the name which, according to Klostermann, lurks in the second part of DAN-JAAN [*q.v.*]) and Gilead, as representing together the far N. of the land of Israel. This is plausible, but involves a somewhat bold emendation of תחתים.

A more secure solution of the problem can, as has been said above, only be reached in the course of a radical correction of the text. (On Dt. 34 1 *f.*, one of the passages referred to by Klostermann, see NEBO, MOUNT.)

2. Progress possible.

According to the present writer's emended text of 2 S. 8 1 *f.* (in a section which Budde, quite independently, places very near 2 S. 24 1-9, which it precedes), David had recently conquered the parts of N. Arabia nearest to the land of Judah, viz., Miṣṣur and Jeraḥmeel (the region from which the Israelites appear to have come). That David treated his new subjects with the cruelty asserted in the MT of 2 S. 8 2, may be confidently denied (see *Crit. Bib.*).

A study of the ways of the scribes suggests that the true text of that passage (omitting a number of corrupt dittograms of ירחמאל) is, וַיַּךְ מִצּוּר וירחמאלים וַיִּכְבֹּשׁ את־צרפתים ותהי מִצּוּר וגו׳, 'and he smote Miṣṣur and the Jeraḥmeelites, and subdued the Zarephathites, and Miṣṣur became' etc.

What David did next is shown us in 2 S. 24 1-9.

The thought came to him, 'Go, number Miṣṣur and Jerahmeel' (*v.* 1), or, as David puts it in his command to Joab, 'Go to and fro throughout all Zarephath-miṣṣur, from Dan (? Miṣran) even to Beer-sheba,[1] and number ye the people' (*v.* 2). Verses 5-7 describe Joab's proceedings.

'And they passed through Judah, and began from Aroer-jerahmeel, the city that is in the midst of the valley of [Jerahmeel] Jizreel, and they came to Jerahmeel,[2] *and to the land of the Rehobothites to Kadesh*, and they turned round to the city of Miṣran. And they came to Miṣṣur (or, to the fortress of Miṣṣur), and to all the cities of the Horites (Jerahmeelites) and the Kenites; and they came out to the Negeb of Judah, to Beer-sheba.' According to *v.* 9 (originally), Joab gave the number of the men of Miṣṣur as 8000, and of the men of Jerahmeel as 5000.

Thus 'Tahtim-hodshi' becomes 'the Rehobothites to Kadesh.' The Rehobothite warriors in David's bodyguard are known to us in the present text as 'Cherethites.' See REHOBOTH. T. K. C.

TALENT (כִּכָּר, Ex. 25 39, etc.; ταλαντον, Mt. 25 24, etc.). See SHEKEL, and WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

[1] We now see the original signification of the literary expression 'from Dan even to Beersheba.' There was a southern Dan. Possibly, however, 'from Dan' (מִדָּן) may be an early scribe's error (ממצרן), and the original coiner of the phrase wrote 'from Miṣran (מִמִּצְרָן). In either case the extent of the Negeb is thus defined. In the lapse of time this was forgotten.

[2] Rabbah of the bne Jeraḥmeel, miscalled in the text of 2 S. 12 26, etc., 'Rabbah of the bne Ammon.'

TALITHA CUMI (ταλιθα [Ti., -ει. WH] κουμ), two Aramaic words in Mk. 5 41 (see JAIRUS), correctly interpreted by τὸ κοράσιον (σοὶ λέγω) ἔγειρε: 'little maid (I say unto thee) arise!' The most important variants are (1) ταβιτα, etc. (with *b* for *l*), and κουμι (see Ti.). Ταβιτα, if not purely an error, suggests TABITHA [*q.v.*]; κουμι is of purely grammatical interest; see Dalman's useful note, *Gram. d. Jüd.-Paläst. Aram.* 266, n. 1. *Talitha*, properly 'young one,' used very frequently of lambs (in Aramaic more especially of the gazelle), would be represented in Aram. either by *ṭalyĕthā* or (cp Dalm. *op. cit.* 118, n. 6) *ṭĕlīthā*.

TALMAI (תַּלְמַי, cp Nab. תלמו, and the Liḥyân *Talmi* [DHM *Ep. Denk.* 5], also θολομαιος [see BARTHOLOMEW]; cp Wi. *GI* 2 40, n. 1; θολμι, -ει, θαλαμει). But the correctness of the reading 'Talmai' (with ת) has been questioned[1] (see TALMON, TELEM).

1. One of the sons of ANAK [*q.v.*] at Hebron (Nu. 13 22 [23], θελαμειν [BA], θα. [L], -ει [F]; Josh. 15 14: θοαλμει [B], τὸν θαλμαι [AL]; Judg. 1 10, θολμει [L], τὸν -ν [B], τ. θαμει [A]).

2. A king of Geshur b. AMMIHUR (*i.e.*, probably Jeraḥmeel [Che.]) whose daughter (Maacah) was one of David's wives, and mother of Absalom. (2 S. 3 3: θομμει [B]; 13 37: θολμαιλημ [B], θολομαι [A]; 1 Ch. 3 2: θοαμαι [B], θολμει [A], θολομι [L]).

TALMON (טַלְמוֹן, τελμων [BA] c. [L]), a family of doorkeepers or (reading אַשֻּׁרִים [Che.]) Asshurites in the temple.

Ezra 2 42 Neh. 7 45 (τελαμων [Bℵ], τολμων [A]), cp 1 Ch. 9 17 (ταμμαν or -μ [B, see Swete], τελμαν [A], -ων [L]); Neh. 11 19 (τελαμειν); and 12 25 (om. Bℵ*A, ταλμων [ℵ^{c.a mg. sup.}], τελμων [L]). In 1 Esd. 5 28 TOLMAN (RV, not in B, τολμαν [A]). The clan to which Talmon and another doorkeeper TELEM (טֶלֶם) belonged was an important one. See TELEM, and cp SHALLUM (8, 11).

TALSAS (σαλθας [B]), 1 Esd. 9 22 AV = Ezra 10 22 ELASAH, 1.

TAMAH (תֶּמַח), Neh. 7 55 AV = Ezra 2 53, TEMAH.

TAMAR (תָּמָר, 'date-palm'), a place on the SE. border of Judah, mentioned by Ezekiel (47 18 [𝔊² φοιν[ε]ικωνος BAQ] 19 [𝔊 θαιμαν κ. φ., θ being a dittograph both of תימנה and תמר] 48 28 [𝔊 θαιμαν], ܬܐܡܢ [Pesh.], for MT תָּמֹדּוּ, 'ye shall measure' [*metiemini*, Vg.]), and, as is usually held, one of the cities fortified by Solomon (1 K. 9 18 Kt. and RV; AV, however, gives TADMOR [*q.v.*] θερμαθ [A, om. BL], ιεθερμαθ [B at 10 23, om. A], θοδμορ [L *ib.*]; *Palmiram*; ܬܕܡܘܪ [Pesh.]). Knobel among critics, and Robinson and Wetzstein among geographers (cp TRADE, § 50), have identified Tamar (1) with the Thamara of Eusebius and Jerome (= the military station Thamaro of Ptol. 4 16 and the Peutinger Tables), a village which is a day's journey from Mapsis[3] (*OS* 210 86 85 3) between Hebron and Elath, and further (2) with the ruin called *Kurnub*, on an elevated site SE. of 'Ar'āra (AROER, 3).[4] This, however, does not suit the passages in Ezekiel. It appears that some point near the SW. point of the Dead Sea must be meant. ZOAR [*q.v.*] was called 'villa palmarum' in the times of the Crusaders, and Zoar was probably not the only place in the district which rejoiced in its stately palms. Engedi, however, is too far N.

The TAMAR of 1 K. 9 18, which has generally been

[1] Cp TOI, where it is inquired whether 'תֹּעִי, king of חמת,' is not miswritten for 'תַּלְמַי, king of מעכה' (Talmai, king of Maacah).

[2] Reading, 'from HAZAR-AENON [in the NE.] . . . the Jordan forms the boundary (𝔊 διορίζει = מגביל) as far as the eastern sea (going along) unto Tamar (תמרה).' So Smend, Cornill, Davidson, Toy, etc.

[3] See Buhl, *Pal.* 184, n. 545. The origin of the form 'Mapsis' is not clear. Hommel (*Exp. T.* 12 288 [1901]) has identified with it the Μαψ of Ptolemy v. 16 10, and the obscure ממשת on pottery stamps from the Shĕphēlah district (*PEF Mem.*, 1902, pp. 106 *ff.*).

[4] See Van de Velde, *Syria and Pal.* 2 130 *ff.* (more judicious than Robinson [*BR* 2 616], who did not actually visit Kurnub), who sees that Kurnub cannot be the 'Tamar' of Ezek., and cp Buhl, *l.c.* and Del. *Gen.*(4) 581.

identified with that of Ezekiel, requires separate treatment. It is credible that Solomon's fortress was for the protection of the commercial road from Ezion-geber to Jerusalem; but it is not less possible that it was to guard the Negeb towards the land of Muṣri (see SOLOMON, § 7). 'Tamar,' both here and elsewhere, is therefore probably miswritten for רמת (Ramath), which is a corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (see TAMAR ii.). 'In the wilderness, in the land' (במדבר בארץ) should probably be 'in Arabia, in Miṣṣur' (בַּעֲרָב בְּמִצֻּר) (Che.; see *Crit. Bib.*).

TAMAR (תָּמָר, as if 'date palm,' § 69; θαμαρ [BℵADEL]). The name, in the sense of 'date palm,' is of course suitable enough for a woman (cp Cant. 7 7 *f.* [8 *f.*]). But it also occurs as a place-name, and we have to find an explanation which will fit both the personal name and the place-name. Winckler (*GI* 2 98 *f.* 104 *f.* 227) offers such an explanation. Tamar, he thinks, is the Canaanite Ištar; the myth of Tammuz and Ištar was doubtless transplanted into Canaan (cp Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 14-16). BAAL-TAMAR was the place where the men of Benjamin had their tribal sanctuary, and dedicated to the [female] goddess Ištar. Cp KIRJATH-JEARIM, SAUL. 'Baalath and Tamar,' 1 K. 9 18, should rather be Baalath-tamar (a less original form of Baal-tamar). All this is set forth with great force and learning; but there is a doubt whether the relics of mythology can be so easily traced, and whether textual criticism, methodically applied, does not here, as often elsewhere, suggest a better explanation.

Proper names in the OT are even more frequently corrupt than has been supposed, and need very careful emendation, and it so happens that תמר, both as an appellative and as a proper name, is specially liable to corruption. The passage 1 K. 9 18 is treated separately (see TAMAR i.); we are here only considering the passages in which 'Tamar' occurs as the name of a woman. A careful study of this group of passages suggests that 'Tamar' has here most probably arisen out of one of the popular distortions of 'Jeraḥme'elith'; another such corruption is MAACAH, and a third is MAHALATH. We may add that איתמר, ITHAMAR (the name of a son of Aaron) very possibly came from ירחמאל, Jeraḥme'el (ת from ח); cp JEREMOTH.

1. The wife of Judah's son Er, who subsequently, through her father-in-law, became the mother of PEREZ and ZERAH [*qq.v.*] (Gen. 38 6 *ff.* [J] 1 Ch. 2 4 Mt. 1 3 [AV here THAMAR]). The story is referred to in Ruth (4 12) as furnishing a parallel to Ruth's marriage with Boaz. According to Winckler it is a Canaanitish development of the myth of Ištar (see above). For another and a preferable view of the significance of the story, see JUDAH, col. 2617 *f.*

2. Sister of Absalom (2 S. 13 1 *ff.* 1 Ch. 3 9 [B always θημαρ and so A in 1 Ch.]), and probably daughter of the same mother (cp Jos. *Ant.* vii. 8 1); see MAACAH, 2. According to Winckler (*GI* 2 227 *f.*), not only has this Tamar's name mythological affinities, but the whole story of her being outraged by her half-brother Amnon is mythological. An old myth respecting Tamar, the Canaanitish Ištar, and her relation to her brother (to whom TAMMUZ corresponds) has been transformed by the people into a quasi-historical narrative. Note especially Tamar's cake, which reminds Winckler of the cakes of Ashtoreth (Jer. 44 19). See, however, above, and cp ABSALOM, DAVID, col. 1033.

3. (θημαρ [B], *Thamar*, but μααχα [L]), a daughter of Absalom, 2 S. 14 27† (*vv.* 25-27 late; see Bu. *SBOT*, 'Sam.'). Elsewhere we hear of a daughter of Absalom and wife of king Rehoboam called Maacah, and 𝔊[BA] in 2 S. 14 27 identifies Absalom's daughter Tamar with the wife of king Rehoboam; 𝔊[L], indeed, goes further and reads, not Tamar, but Maacah. If the addition in 𝔊, 2 S. 14 27, relative to the marriage of Absalom's daughter with Rehoboam is correct, one would be inclined to follow 𝔊[L]'s reading 'Maacah.' But perhaps the difficulty is not really existent. 'Tamar' and 'Maacah' may both be corruptions of Jeraḥme'elith ('a Jeraḥmeelite'). For the rest see MAACAH, 3. Thus two of the cases of the recurrence of a name in the same family would disappear (see also MEPHIBOSHETH, and cp Gray, *HPN* 6 *f.*). T. K. C.

TAMARISK TREE is the rendering in RV of *'ēšel*, אֵשֶׁל, for which AV has in Gen. 21 33 'grove,' mg. 'tree'; in 1 S. 22 6 'tree,' mg. 'grove'; and in 1 S. 31 13 'tree.' The variety of rendering suggests that the Heb. word has an interesting history, and though it has become traditional to render 'tamarisk,' the critical tradition needs periodical revision at the hands of critics.[1]

1. Apart from 𝔊, whose rendering ἄρουρα Wellhausen (*Sam.* 124) pronounces unintelligible, the ancients took the word in a *general* sense, translating sometimes 'grove' or 'plantation' (Aq. δενδρών and δένδρωμα[2] (?); Sym. φυτεία, Vg. *nemus*, פרדים Tg. Jer. 1 and 2, and *Ber. rab.* 54, end), sometimes 'tree' (Sym. φυτόν; so Onk. Pesh.) or 'oak tree' (Theod. [τὰς] δρῦς; 1 Ch. 10 12 אֵלָה, instead of the אֵשֶׁל of 1 S. 31 13). Such a view of the meaning is supported by the Rabbis, and even by Celsius (1 535 *ff.*); but the rendering 'tree' would be excusable only as a protest against the cultus of some special sacred tree (cp OAK)—philologically it is of course untenable.

2. The tendency to explain obscure Heb. words from the Arabic has led to the identification of *'ēšel*, אֵשֶׁל, with the Arab. *'athl*, which corresponds phonetically, and means 'tamarisk.' Of this tree perhaps as many as half a dozen species are found in Pal. (Tristram, *FFP*, 250): our common tamarisk is not one of them. The common riverside species is *T. Pallasii*, Desc. The tamarisk 'is a very graceful tree, with long feathery branches and tufts, closely clad with the minutest of leaves, and surmounted in spring with spikes of beautiful pink blossom.' 'Though it is often a mere bush,' some of the Palestinian tamarisks 'reach such a size as to afford dense shade . . . Beersheba is well suited for the growth of the tamarisk; and we observed large numbers of the Eastern tamarisk on the banks below the site of Jabesh Gilead' (Tristram, *l.c.*). It is also common in Egypt, where it was anciently consecrated to Osiris, and bore the (Semitic?) name of *asari*.[3]

3. It may be doubted, however, whether this is really the correct explanation. It will be noticed that Tristram says nothing about tamarisks at Gibeah of Saul. The tree referred to in 1 S. 22 6 was no doubt a sacred tree (see HIGH PLACE, § 3 and n. 6). In 1 S. 14 2 we read apparently of a pomegranate tree under which Saul sat (see MIGRON). There is no probability in the view that the tree on the high place at Gibeah was a tamarisk. But if we give up *'ēšel* in 1 S. 22 6, we can hardly defend it in Gen. 21 33 and 1 S. 31 13; the presumption is that the same word is meant in all these passages, and that in all three it is corrupt. Now let us turn to 𝔊's ἄρουρα (thrice). At first sight this looks like an orthodox substitute for a word liable to be misused (cp the Vss. on Gen. 12 6, and see OAK). But how can 𝔊 possibly have understood the phrase ἐφύτευσεν ἄρουραν, if ἄρουρα means 'tilled land'? Clearly ἄρουρα must cover some tree-name, and it has been suggested that ἄρουρα may come from עַרְעָר or עֲרוֹעֵר, which 𝔊, like Tg. and Vg., understood to mean 'tamarisk.' Thus the harder part of 𝔊's riddle is explained. It remains to account for 𝔊's reading ערער or ערוער in lieu of אשל—it is no mere interpretation but a genuine reading that 𝔊 gives us. There is only one hypothesis which will do this; ערער or ערוער is a corruption of אֲשֵׁרָה, *ashērāh* (Che.). This, then, is the true reading in all three places:—*Abraham built an ashērah at*

[1] H. P. Smith sounds a note of warning. Though he renders אֵשֶׁל 'tamarisk,' he remarks, 'As the word only occurs three times, the species is uncertain.'

[2] δένδρωμα seems to be an error for δενδρῶνα (see Schleusner, *Lex. in VT*, *s.v.*).

[3] Pierret, *Dict. d'archéol. égypt.* 534; Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 28, n. 3.

Beersheba; Saul sat under the asherah at Gibeah; the bones of Saul and his sons were buried under the asherah at Jabesh.[1]

אשרה was corrupted in one important MS. into ערער or ערוער; in another into אשל. The idea of the latter hypothesis was suggested by Klo., who supposes אֵשֶׁל to be a deliberate distortion of אשרה,[2] in order to discourage Asherah-worship. 𝔊's ἄρουρα, acc. to him, is אֲרֻרָה, 'the cursed (tree)'—again a protest against tree-worship.

2. *'ar'ār*, עַרְעָר, Jer. 17 6 48 6† RV^mg., EV HEATH.

TAMMUZ (תַּמּוּז), whose worship is supposed, on doubtful grounds, to be alluded to in Ezek. 8 14 (θαμμουζ [BA], αδωνι [Q^mg.], *Adonis* [Vg.]), derives his name from the Bab. Dumuzi[3] (4 R. 28, 50 *a*)—*i.e.*, 'son of life,' which, according to G. A. Barton, refers to Tammuz as the child of the goddess of fertility, or perhaps 'a true divine child' (=Ass. *aplu kênu*; so Frd. Del.).

1. Personality and cult.

He is variously described as the youthful husband of the goddess Ištar, as her son, and as the first in the series of her rejected husbands. Every year, in the fourth month (Dûzu, see below)—*i.e.*, July—he descended to Hades, and remained there till the next spring. His disappearance gave occasion to drink-offerings and a great *bikītu* or 'weeping.' The 'motives' of his legend and the meaning of his cultus can be found in the Babylonian myth of the Descent of Ištar. There is also an illustrative passage in the Gilgameš-epic, Tab. 6, where, among other lovers of the goddess who have encountered a sad fate,[4] Tammuz (Dumuzi) is mentioned, 'Tammuz, the spouse of thy youth, thou compellest to weep year after year.'[5] The discovery of Friedrich Delitzsch and Jensen (*Kosmol.* 197) that 4 R. 30, no. 2 contains a song of lamentation for Tammuz is not less suggestive. This is how the song runs, as translated by A. Jeremias.[6]

'He went down (?) to meet the nether world, he has sated himself, the sun-god caused him to perish (passing) to the land of the dead, with mourning was he filled on the day when he fell into great sorrow.'

The word rendered 'sorrow' (*idirtum*) occurs again in 5 R. 48, col. 44, where, on the name of the month Tammuz, stands the note—*idirtum*, 'sorrow.' The Tammuz festival was in fact the idealisation of human sorrow—a kind of 'All Souls' Day.' Hence partly the strong hold which it obtained upon the masses. 'Dirges were sung by the wailing women to the accompaniment of musical instruments; offerings were made to the dead, and it is plausible to assume that visits were paid to the graves.' It is probable that, to gratify the general sentiment, specially important national mournings were placed in the month Tammuz (see below). 'The calendar of the Jewish Church still marks the 17th day of Tammuz as a fast, and Houtsma has shown that the association of the day with the capture of Jerusalem by the Romans represents merely the attempt to give an ancient festival a worthier interpretation. The day was originally connected with the Tammuz cult.'[7]

The month devoted to Tammuz in the later Jewish Calendar (*Mĕg. Ta'ănīth*, 4 5 6) was the Babylonian month Du'uzu or

1 It is assumed here that the Asherah was originally a sacred tree. But cp ASHERAH.

2 Siegfr.-Sta. agree, so far as Gen. *l.c.* is concerned.

3 The form Tamûzu has also been found in the personal name Ur (?)-(ilu) Tamuzu (Jensen, in Kraetzschmar's note on Ezek. 8 14). See further Delitzsch, *Heb. and Assyrian*, 16, and in Baer's *Ezekiel*, pref. xvii *f.*; Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, 26, 60, and *ZA* 1 17-24 215 *f.* 2 270 *f.*; Lenormant, 'Sur le nom de Tammouz,' in *Proc. of Paris Congress of Orientalists*, 2 149-165; Baudissin, *Stud. z. sem. Rel.-gesch.*, 1 35 300 *ff.*; G. A. Barton, *Semitic Origins* (1902), p. 86; Zimmern, *KAT*(3), 397 *ff.*

4 For parallels to this view of Ištar in mythology and folklore (including that in Tobit 3 8) see Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 16.

5 Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod*, 24; cp Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.* 580, 672; Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 482.

6 *Op. cit.* 50; but cp on one part of the song Jensen, *Kosmol.* 226.

7 Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 682.

Dûzu, which was assigned to Ninib, the god of the hot mid-day sun, as regent. See MONTH, § 2.

Originally and properly Du'uzu or Dumuzu, is the spirit or god of the spring vegetation;[1] also, by a natural sequence, he is the lord, and his sister Bilili (see BELIAL, § 2) is the lady, of the underworld, the region of growth, though also the place of the dead.[2] But it was not possible to keep this conception in its purity; it was natural to identify the vegetation spirit with the sun, and to treat Du'uzu as a manifestation of the solar deity (Ninib). For the drama of the sun is similar to that of plant-life; after the summer solstice the sun seems gradually to lose its strength, and at length to die, till at the winter solstice it is born again. Originally too, the Du'uzu story was distinct from the Adonis and the Osiris stories; but at an early date the distinction was forgotten (ADONIS, § 2). The identity of Tammuz and Adonis is asserted by Jerome[3] and other fathers (see ASHTORETH, § 2, with n. 3).

According to Robertson Smith the wailing for Tammuz was not originally connected with the death of vegetation, but was a ceremony of mourning for some sacrificial victim, such as is performed among the Todas of S. India to this day. Later, a different explanation was sought for the wailing—one more in harmony with advancing civilisation—and the rite was projected into the myth of the death of Tammuz. Robertson Smith also thinks that the yearly mourning for Tammuz-Adonis is the closest parallel in form to the humiliation of the Hebrew Day of Atonement (*Rel. Sem.*(2), 411, cp 414).

To this view G. A. Barton (*Sem. Or.* 114) assents. The story of Adapa, however (*KB* 6 1, p. 97; cp Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. Ass.* 549), discloses an earlier form of the Tammuz-myth according to which Tammuz did not go into the death-world on leaving the earth, but ascended to the gate of Anu, where he was stationed ('as door-keeper') with another solar god or vegetation god called Gišzrida. According to Jensen (*TLZ*, 1896, col. 70) another ancient belief made Tammuz, the god of vernal vegetation, the son of *abzu* (the primæval ocean). Certainly Gudea (about 3000 B.C.) mentions Tamūzi-abzu (zuaba), *i.e.*, Tammūz of the ocean, beside Ningišzida (identical with Geszida, mentioned above); compare, however, Jastrow (*RBA* 96), who deprecates fusing the two Tammūz-deities, and Barton (*Sem. Or.* 211 *f.*), who makes this deity a goddess.

We now turn to the single express reference to Tammuz in the MT. It occurs in the description of heathen rites practised in the temple, which Ezekiel in his captivity professes to have seen when in the ecstatic state.

2. OT traces.

First among these rites—according to Toy's explanation of chap. 8—comes (perhaps) an Asherah-image (*v.* 5). Next, the secret worship of reptiles and beasts, probably forms of old-Israelitish worship (*v.* 10). Next, the women weeping for Tammuz (*v.* 14). Next, twenty-five men worshipping the sun in the east (*v.* 16). The last form of heathenism (as most explain *v.* 17) is not recognised as such by Toy, but we have to mention it here for completeness; it is 'stretching out the branch to the nose.'[4] According to Toy, the sun-worship of the

1 See Jensen, *Kosmol.* 197, 227, but especially Frazer, *GB*(2) 2 115 *ff.* Barton thinks that the goddess Ištar was originally connected with some never-failing spring, and that some sacred tree near it represented her son (*Sem. Or.* 86).

2 Jensen, *Kosmol.* 225; cp Jastrow, *RBA* 575. Bilili is the world-principle of generation and growth.

3 There is a remarkable statement of Jerome (ed. Vallarsi, 1 321), 'Bethlehem nunc nostram . . . lucus inumbrabat Thamus, id est Adonidis.' Just before, he tells us that this cult of Adonis has lasted about 180 years, from the times of Hadrian to the empire of Constantine. Evidently he regarded the Adonis cult practised in the reputed grove of the Nativity as a deliberate profanation. It is not probable, however, that any such profanation would have been committed in the time of Hadrian; it was the Jews, not the Christians, who were at that time the objects of heathen persecution. And we may assume that the predominant element in the cultus in the cave at Bethlehem was not connected with Tammuz-Adonis, but rather with Isis and Sarapis, just as at Byblus the legend of Astarte and Adonis became fused with that of Isis and Osiris (cp Conradi, *Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus'*, 315 *f.*; Usener, *Rel.-gesch. Untersuch.* 1 202).

4 Toy takes ומורה (*v.* 17) in the sense of 'stench,' and renders, 'they are sending a stench to my nostrils' (אֶל־אַפִּי). Kraetz-

Jews was probably borrowed from Assyria, so that Tammuz-worship and sun-worship would naturally be mentioned together.

Plausible as this is, a critical scepticism appears justifiable. It is strange that החמן should occur nowhere else in the OT. In Ezek. 8 5 הקנאה is certainly corrupt; this may reasonably make us suspect החמן. First of all, however, the whole context should be critically examined. The most obvious corrections (if we presuppose some very constant types of corruption) are those in *v.* 10, on which see SHAPHAN. From the probably true text of this verse we may divine that the whole description of which it forms part relates to heathen rites of Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian origin. Elsewhere (see *Crit. Bib.*) the text of *v.* 14 is corrected, and a reference to the cult of the N. Arabian goddess is supposed. See, however, also HADAD-RIMMON, where a reference to Tammuz-worship is suspected to exist both here and in Zech. 12 11. For a generally supposed reference to the parallel cult of Adonis, see GARDEN, § 8; and cp NAAMAN. According to Ewald, the 'desire of women' mentioned in Dan. 11 37 is Tammuz-Adonis.

It is maintained by Stucken and Winckler that features of the Tammuz, Adonis, and Osiris myths *have attached themselves to certain legendary Israelitish* heroes. Thus Abram and Sarai, brother and sister, as well as husband and wife, also Amnon and Tamar, suggest comparison with Tammuz and Ištar[1] (see Stucken, *Astralmythen*, 11; Wi. *GI* 2 23, 227 *f.* cp 105 *f.*, and TAMAR, 2). The story of Joseph devoured by a wild beast, also the detail about Moses in the ark of bulrushes (see, however, MOSES, § 3), suggest respectively the Adonis and the Osiris myth. David, the beautiful young shepherd, also reminds one of Tammuz or Adonis. Many critics may be inclined to admit that the details here mentioned (Winckler has much more to mention besides) are of mythic origin; but to connect them *directly* with the Babylonian myth of Dûzu seems to be at present a somewhat bold hypothesis. That the mourning for Jephthah's daughter is *analogous* to the Tammuz wailing is, however, beyond the possibility of doubt (see col. 2362). T. K. C.

TANACH (תַּעְנָךְ), Josh. 21 25 AV, RV TAANACH.

TANHUMETH (תַּנְחוּמֶת; cp the Talm. pr. name Tanḥum), father of SERAIAH [*q.v.*] (2 K. 25 23: θανεμαθ [B], -μαν [A], θανεεμμαθ [L]; Jer. 40 8; θαναεμαιθ [B], θαναεμεθ [AQ], ναθ- [ℵ]).

The name, though possibly (cp Nahum in *OS*) early explained as 'comfort' (cp § 62; pointed so as to exclude a woman's name?), may, according to analogies (*e.g.* Rehum, connected with Jeraḥme'el), come from an ethnic of the Negeb (cp NAHAMANI). In 2 K. Seraiah b. Tanhumeth is called a Netophathite; but the present writer takes Naphtuḥite to be meant (cp NETOPHAH)—*i.e.*, he belonged, like (probably) his companions, to the Negeb. In Jer. the designation is *apparently* given to certain 'sons of EPHAI' (*q.v.*). But בני עופי (as Kt.) is a corrupt duplication of נטופתי. Cp *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 40 1 5, where it is argued that Gedaliah's Mizpah may have been Zarephath in the Negeb. T. K. C.

TANIS (τανεως [BA]) Judith 1 10. See ZOAN.

TANNER, TANNING. See LEATHER.

TAPESTRY (מַרְבַדִּים, *marbaddîm*), RV 'Carpets,' AV 'coverings,' RVmg. 'cushions,' of tapestry are mentioned in Pr. 7 16 31 22†. See EMBROIDERY, WEAVING.

TAPHATH (טָפַת, § 78), 'daughter of Solomon,' wife of one of the king's prefects (see BEN-ABINADAB), 1 K. 4 11 (ταβληθει [B], ·θλει [Bab. vid.], ταβααθ [L], ταφατα [A]). Probably, however, it was a Salmæan (*i.e.*, Arabian) woman who is meant; point שַׁלְמָה. So in *v.* 15. Her name was perhaps Naphtuḥith (cp § 78); and her husband's prefecture may have comprised all נפתוח ערב, Naphtoaḥ-arāb. See *Crit. Bib.*; also SALMAH. T. K. C.

TAPHON [AV] or TEPHON [RV] τεφων [Aℵ], τεφω [V], τοχοας [Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 1 3, § 15], *Cepho* [Vet. Lat.], Syr. ܬܦܘܣ). One of the 'strong cities' in Judæa fortified by Bacchides; 1 Macc. 9 50. The name is a corruption either of Tappuah (cp Josh. 16 8 𝔊B), in which case BETH-TAPPUAH (*q.v.*) may be meant, or of NETOPHAH (*q.v.*). The latter view (Grä. *Gesch.*(4) iii. 18, n. 5) is geographically possible, but is phonetically perhaps rather less natural.

TAPPUAH (תַּפּוּחַ; § 103, cp APPLE and FRUIT, § 12).

1. A place grouped with Zanoah, En-gannim, and Enam among the towns of the lowland of Judah (Josh. 15 34), and connected apparently with Hebron (1 Ch. 2 43). (In Josh. *ιλουθωθ*[1] [B?], *αδιαθαειμ*[1] [A], *θαφφουα* [L]; in 1 Ch. *θαπους* [B], *θαφφου* [A], *φεθρουθ* [L]). Perhaps, however, 'Tappuah and Enam' should rather be 'and Tappuah [of] Enam,' and the same place may be referred to in Gen. 38 14 (read 'at Tappuah of Enaim') and in Josh. 15 9 18 15 (read for 'unto the fountain of the waters of NEPHTOAH,' 'unto Nephtoah, or Tappuah, [of] Enam'). In all these passages there is most probably a geographical confusion due to the redactors—*i.e.* the place originally intended was in the Negeb (cp SOCOH, ZANOAH, ZORAH). Very possibly, too, Tappūah is a popular distortion of Nephtoah or Naphtoah, the name the present writer supposes to underlie the difficult 'Naphtuḥim' in Gen. 10 13. See MIZRAIM, § 2*b*, where Gen. 10 13 *f.* is explained in the light of the theory that מצרים is very often not Miṣraim, 'Egypt,' but Miṣrim, the Muṣri on the N. Arabian border of Palestine.

2. A place which appears once (see below) at a critical point of the history of Israel, situated on the border between Ephraim and Manasseh (see KANAH), Josh. 16 8 17 8. In 17 7 it is called EN-TAPPUAH, and *in the next verse we are told that the land or district of* Tappuah belonged to Manasseh, but Tappuah itself to the b'ne Ephraim. This is inserted to account for the expression in *v.* 7, 'and (then) the border goes along southward to the inhabitants (= the district) of En-tappuah.' Conder (*Hdbk.* 263) identifies En-Tappuah or Tappuah with a spring near *Yāsūf*, at the head of a branch of the *Wādy Kānah*, S. of Shechem and of Michmethath. Robinson, however, and formerly Conder (*PEFQ*, 1877, p. 48), connected it with *Kh. 'Aṭūf*, and Guérin (*Sam.* 1 259) with *'Ain el-Fāri'ah*, both NE. of Nāblus. In each case the identification depends on the situation assigned to the torrent KANAH. Probably enough there was a northern Tappuah; but the name (a distortion of Naphtoah) comes from the Negeb. It is historically unsafe to suppose that the northern Tappuah was the city so cruelly treated by Menahem in his hour of victory, 2 K. 15 16 (see TIPHSAḤ).

(𝔊 *ταφου, πηγὴν θαφθωθ* [*ναφεθ*, a, b, mg.], *θαφεθ* [B]; *εφφουε, πηγὴν θαθφωθ, θαφθωθ* [A]; *θαπφουε, πηγὴν ναφθωθ*, [*θαφωθ*] [L]). *Dillmann holds that the Ephraimite Tappuah was the* royal city of Josh. 12 17 (*αταφουτ* [B], *θαφφου* [A], *θαπφου* [L]). With the preceding name Bethel, the list of cities passes into central Palestine. The present writer thinks, however, that Josh. 12 7 *f.* has been recast by the redactor, and that the royal cities are really in the Jerahmeelite Negeb (cp SHIMRON-MERON, TIRZAH). T. K. C.

TARAH, RV **Terah** (תֶּרַח; ταραθ [BL], θ- [A] εκαραθ, εκθ. [F, the preposition εκ dittographed]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness; Nu. 33 27 *f.* See WANDERING, WILDERNESS OF.

Probably *a mutilation of Jeraḥmeel (cp* TERAH*)* [Che.]. Cp MAKHELOTH, TAHATH, MOSERAH.

TARALAH (תַּרְאֲלָה; θαρεηλα [B], θαραλα [A], θε. [L]; *therela, therama* [*OS*(2) 31 2 156 31; cp 261 25]),

schmar agrees with this, and finds in *v.* 17 a contemptuous reference to the sacrifices of the 'high places,' which gave forth to Yahwè no 'sweet savour.' Most see a reference to the *Baresma*, or bundle of branches of flowering trees, held by worshippers of the solar fire in the Parsee religion (see *Vendidad* 19 64, Spiegel, *Eran. Alterth.* 3 571). Cp a Cyprian parallel in Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, 137 *ff.* Clermont-Ganneau (*Études d'archéol. orientale*, 28 [1880]) supposes some rite in the mysteries of Adonis. This would require us to transfer the last clause of *v.* 17 to the end of *v.* 14.

[1] Though strictly the sister of Tammuz was Bilili.

[1] See ADITHAIM.

apparently a Benjamite place-name (Josh. 18 27), but really, like *ha-eleph* in *v.* 28, a corruption of יִרפּאל, IRPEEL (*q.v.*), or of ירחמאל, of which ירפאל may be a corruption (Che.). See ELEPH.

TAREA (תַּאְרֵעַ [Bä.], תַּאְרֵעַ [Gi.] in 1 Ch. 8 35; but תַּחְרֵעַ [Bä.], תַּחְרֵעַ [Gi.], EV TAHREA in 9 41†; θερεε, θαραχ [B and ℵ in 9 41], θαρεε, θαρα [A], θαραα [L]), a descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 35 = 9 41.

TARES (ζιζανια, Mt. 13 25 *ff.*). The Greek word, which does *not* occur in 𝔊, is plainly of Semitic origin. Its Syriac form *zīznā* is (as Lagarde says, *Sem.* 63) equivalent to *zinzan*, and so derived from √זן, which in Ar. means 'to be dry.' A kindred word is Ar. (and Pers.?) *zawān*, which denotes the seed of *dawsar*—*i.e.*, darnel. ζιζάνιον is, according to Suidas, ἡ ἐν τῷ σίτῳ αἶρα; the medicinal effects of αἶρα are described in Diosc. 2 122.

From the statements in Mishna and Talmud (see Löw, 133 *f.*) we learn that זונים, the post-biblical Hebrew equivalent of ζιζάνια, denoted plants closely resembling wheat, alongside of which they grew, and were indeed sometimes regarded as a degenerate form of wheat produced under unfavourable conditions from the same seeds. In view of these and other statements, it is generally agreed that the plant intended is *Lolium temulentum*, or darnel (Tristram, *NHB* 487, where there is a good account of the plant).

It is not improbable that 'darnel' has been associated with 'white crops,' especially wheat, from the earliest times. With imperfect methods of cleaning the seed-grain, the seed would be sown with that of the wheat. It grows to about the same height, and would naturally be regarded as a degenerate form. Darnel was long regarded as poisonous (cp Hooker, *Student's Flora*, 454); this, however, is now attributed to the ergot with which it is peculiarly prone to be affected. Its rarity in England, where it is only a 'weed of cultivation,' is due to greater care in the sowing. A native of Europe and N. Asia, it occurs throughout the Mediterranean basin. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

TARGET. (1) צִנָּה, *ṣinnāh*, 1 K. 10 16; see SHIELD, 1. (2) כִּידוֹן, *kīdōn*, 1 S. 17 6. See JAVELIN, 1, 5; SWORD.

TARGUMS. See ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 6; TEXT AND VERSIONS, § 65.

TARPELITES (טַרְפְּלָיֵא, Ezra 4 9†; ταραφαλλαιοι [B], ταρφ. [AL]; ܛܪܦܠܝܐ), according to most recent writers not an ethnic name, but miswritten for טַפְסְרָיֵא, 'tablet-writers' (from Ass. *dup-sarru*); cp Schr. *COT* on Jer. 51 27, but see SCRIBE. Cp also APHARSITES.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ; θαρσ[ε]ις [BℵA, etc.]—everywhere except Is. 2 16 [see below] and 23 1 6 10 14 [καρχηδων (BℵQT), χαρκ. (B* once, ℵ* twice)] where Qmg. twice has θαρσεις as the reading of Aq. Symm. Theod., and Ezek. 27 12 25 [καρχηδονιοι or χαρκ. (BAQ—A *v.* 25 adding θαρσος)] 38 13 [καρχηδονιοι (B); χαλκηδονος (A), θαρσεις (Qmg. vid.)]; thrice spelled **Tharshish** in AV [1 K. 10 22 *bis*, 22 48]). A son of Javan, Gen. 10 4 1 Ch. 1 7 (where mis-written תרשישה, under the influence of אלישה).

1. Biblical references.

In a relatively early passage (Is. 2 16) we find the phrase 'Tarshish ships'[1] as a synonym for large, sea-going vessels. We also find the phrase in 1 K. 10 22[2] (twice; 𝔊 ναῦς ἐκ θ. the second time), 22 49[3] Is. 60 9 Ps. 48 7 [8], and Ezek. 27 25. The information given us respecting Tarshish may be very briefly summed up. According to Jer. 10 9 (later than Jeremiah), silver was brought from it, and elsewhere, besides silver, iron, tin, and lead are specified among its riches (Ezek. 27 12; cp 38 13). It is mentioned with the *iyyīm* (אִיִּים) or 'coast-lands' (Is. 23 6 66 19 [with other countries], Ps. 72 10). Jonah, when fleeing from the presence of Yahwè, set sail for Tarshish from Joppa (Jon. 1 3 4 2; cp 2 Ch. 9 21 *bis* [πλοῖα ἐκ θ. once], 20 36 *f.*—where Tarshish ships have become, through the author's misunderstanding, 'ships that go to Tarshish').

The identification of the locality is difficult. Most scholars since Bochart have thought of Tartessus

2. Where? Tartessus?

(Ταρτησσός; but Polyb. iii. 24 2, Ταρσήιον) in S. Spain. This was the ancient and, as far as known to the OT writers, the remotest goal of Phœnician commerce (see GEOGRAPHY, § 12*b*). Herodotus (4 152) indeed places Tartessus beyond the Pillars of Hercules; cp Strabo 3 151; Plin. iii. 3 8. Elsewhere (2 148) Strabo, with whom Pausanias (iv. 19 3) agrees, makes Tartessus the name of the River Bætis (Guadalquivir), and also of a city in the delta of this river, the surrounding territory being called Tartessis. Diodorus (5 35 *ff.*) as well as Strabo speaks of the silver, iron, tin, and lead of Tartessus. The exact site seems not determinable, nor is it clear that the Hebrews knew it. Cp SILVER.

[The name Tartessus was extended to the whole of S. Spain. 'As far as the *terminus* Tartesiorum' is found in Avienus (462), and in the second treaty between Carthage and Rome we read that the Romans are forbidden Μαστίας Ταρσηίου μὴ λῄζεσθαι ἐπέκεινα (Polyb. iii. 24 3)—*i.e.*, they are not to go beyond the city of Mastia in the land called Tarseion = Tarshish. See E. Meyer, *GA* 2 687 (§ 425).]

What is likely is, that Tarshish is a Semitised form of the native name.

𝔊 in Ezek. and Is. 23 renders 'Tarshish' by 'Carthage.' In its ordinary sense this name is of

3. Carthage?

course unsuitable. But when the Carthaginians brought the Phœnician settlement of Mastia (see § 1, end) in the land of Tarseion (Tarshish?) under their rule, they made it a Ḳart-ḥadašt (= Carthage), so that 𝔊's rendering in a new sense appears to be defensible (Wi. *AOF* 1 445 *f.*).

Tarsus in Cilicia is the identification adopted by Josephus and Jerome, and in modern times by Baron

4. Tarsus?

Bunsen, Sayce,[1] and—for Gen. 10 4—by A. H. Keane (who takes 'a son of Javan' to mean 'an Asiatic Greek'; cp *The Gold of Ophir*, 92 *ff.*). The objections to this are (1) that the recorded foundation of TARSUS [*q.v.*] does not go back far enough, and (2) that its name, as given on coins and in Assyrian inscriptions, has *z* instead of *s*.

Le Page Renouf (*PSBA* 16 104-108 138-141) advocates the claims of the Phœnician coast, so that the phrase

5. Phœnicia?

'Tarshish ships' would be equivalent to 'Phœnician ships.' This is in accordance with W. M. Müller's explanation of the Egyptian phrase 'Kefto ships' as = 'ships built in the Kefto style,' *As. u. Eur.* 349, n. 2 (cp CAPHTOR). But plausible as this interpretation of 'ships of Tarshish' may be, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' has not been made out. It would appear as if this learned Egyptologist had read the text of Is. 23 10 too unsuspiciously. Of course, too, the sense 'Phœnicia' for 'Tarshish' cannot easily be made to agree with the biblical references (apart from the phrase mentioned) to the city or district of Tarshish.

Knobel (*Gen.*(2)) and Franz Delitzsch (*Gen.*(5)) separate the Tarshish of Gen. 10 4 from that of other passages,

6. Tyrseni?

and suppose it to mean the Tyrseni—*i.e.*, the Etruscans. This we may at once venture to reject; if Tyrseni are meant, it must be those of the Ægean (cp TIRAS). These famous sea-rovers appear in the Egyptian inscriptions as Tur(u)ša,[2]

[1] 𝔊, however, does not support the rendering 'Tarshish ships'; θαλάσσης in πᾶν πλοῖον θαλάσσης [BℵA, etc.] is an erroneous *transliteration*; for another case of this see Dan. 10 6 (θαλασσης [8 7] = θαρσεις [Theod.]; cp Vg.'s *maris* in Ezek. 1 16). In Talm. Jer. *Meg.* 74*a*, תרשיש = θαλάσσιος (Levy).

[2] Regarded as a redactional insertion (see Kittel, Benzinger). The Hebrew has אֳנִי ת׳ (collective).

[3] Stade, Kittel, and Benzinger agree that (following 𝔊) we should read here אניה and האניה (singular). Note נשברה (Kt.), 'was broken.' 𝔊B omits תרשיש whilst 𝔊A and 𝔊L have respectively in their insertion after 1 K. 16 28 ναῦν εἰς θ. and ναῦν . . . εἰς θ.

[1] In *Exp. T*, 1902, p. 179.

[2] 'It is safe to recognise in the Turuša, expressly mentioned by Rameses III. as a maritime people, Tyrsenian pirates who appear in the old Greek tradition—by no means the Etruscans' (E. Meyer, *GA* 1 313, § 260).

and if they are referred to at all in Gen. 10 4, it would be best to read there, not 'Tarshish,' but 'Turus' or 'Turuš.' If we take this step, it becomes possible that the phrase 'ships of Tarshish' may have been originally 'ships of Turuš' (תּוּרַשׁ?). In this case the expression would be very old, and be a monument of the times when 'ships of the Turuš' were no unfrequent sights. Later, Turuš might very possibly be confounded with the Tars implied in the Greek form Ταρσήιον = Tartessus (see § 2).

It has hitherto been assumed in this article that the Hebrew text of the passages referred to is on the whole correct, though the doubtfulness of Gen. 10 4 and Is. 23 10 has been alluded to. Now, however, we must proceed further, and take into account the fact that there is much corruption in the Hebrew text of the OT, and specially in the readings of the proper names. As a preliminary, we must separate the inquiry as to the signification of *ŏniyyôth Taršîš* (אניות תרשיש: EV 'ships of Tarshish') from that as to the meaning of תרשיש, where it stands alone, partly because most critics (*e.g.*, Stade, *GVI* 1 533, note) agree that 'Tarshish-ships' means 'ships of the largest dimensions,'[1] and partly because a close examination of the passages where the phrase אניות ת' occurs appears to show that the text is corrupt, 'ships' being, according to the text here adopted, nowhere referred to except in 1 K. 10 22 22 48 and 2 Ch. 9 21. Confining our attention in the first instance to these three passages, and more especially to those in Kings as primary, we are struck by the improbability of the language employed (as the text represents). In 1 K. 10 22 we have 'a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram'; in 22 48, 'ships of T. to go to Ophir for gold.' If we knew nothing about a place supposed to have been called Tarshish, should we not suppose that תרשיש represented something connected with naval architecture or management? Should this consideration seem to warrant emendation, no better one presents itself, perhaps, than מָשׁוֹט (Ezek. 27 29)—*i.e.*, the phrase 'ships of Tarshish' means, not our 'East-Indiamen,' but 'galleys with oars.' In Is. 33 21 we actually find almost the very phrase here taken as the original of א' ת', viz., אֳנִי שַׁיִט (EV 'galley with oars').

7. The N. Arabian Asshur?

Turning to the remaining passages in which the phrase 'ships of T.' is supposed to occur, we are struck by finding that here too there is frequently the appearance of corruption. In the passage which, if correctly read, is the earliest authority for this phrase (Is. 2 16), we cannot possibly avoid reading, at the end of the list of objects 'high and lifted up,' in lieu of 'ships of T.,' 'palaces of Asshur' (∥ 'dwellings of Jerahmeel'[2]); cp Am. 3 9, where, as Winckler has already seen,[3] 'Ashdod' should be 'Asshur.' Similarly in Ezek. 27 25 Is. 60 9 and Ps. 48 8, 'ships of Tarshish' should probably be 'tribes (אֻמּוֹת) of Asshur'. In all the other passages where this word occurs (the harmonising must be due to an early editor), תרשיש (Tarshish) should probably be emended into אַשְׁחוּר (Ashḥur) or אַשּׁוּר (Asshur); an interesting proof of this is suggested by Ezek. 38 13.[4] By 'Asshur' is meant, of course, not the famous rival of Babylonia, but a N. Arabian district of somewhat uncertain extent, also known perhaps as Geshur (see GESHUR, 2). That the Chronicler in the third century B.C. read תרשיש, and supposed it to be a comparatively distant maritime region, is no obstacle to the theory here maintained, whilst an objection drawn from Gen. 10 4 (Tarshish, a son of Javan) would imply that we possessed the Table of Nations in its original form (see TIRAS, § 2). See *Crit. Bib.*

F. B., § 1 *f.*; T. K. C., §§ 3-7.

[1] See, however, Benzinger's note on 1 K. 10 22.

[2] The Jerahmeelites also appear to be referred to in Is. 2 20 (see MOLE).

[3] *Alttest. Unt.* 185, where, however, Winckler supposes a reference to Assyria.

[4] We there find שְׁבָא וּדְדָן וְסֹחֲרֵי תַרְשִׁישׁ, where סחרי almost certainly represents אשחור, and at once suggests that the following word תר' (which has no ו) is a corrupt dittogram of the same N. Arabian name. Certainly 'Tartessus' does not suit at all.

TARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ). 1. One of the 'seven (?) princes' at the court of Ahasuerus (Esth. 1 14 MT). On the σαρσαθαῖος (σαρέσθεος) of 𝔊^{BℵAL β}, see SHETHAR. If the underlying story of the Jewish deliverance is N. Arabian (see PURIM, 3), 'Tarshish' probably comes from 'Asshur' or Ashḥur. See TARSHISH (above), and cp SHETHAR-BOZNAI.

2. b. Bilhan, of BENJAMIN (§ 9, ii. [*a*]), 1 Ch. 7 10 (ραμεσσαι [B], θαρσεις [AL]). Here, at any rate, 'Asshur' or Ashḥur is the underlying original.

'JEDIAEL,' the branch of Benjamin to which 'Bilhan' belongs, certainly comes from 'Jeraḥmeel'; so also probably does 'Bilhan' itself. Of Bilhan's sons, Je'ush (son of Aholibamah = Jeraḥmeel, Gen. 36 5) comes from 'Ishmael,' 'Benjamin' from 'Ben-jeraḥmeel,' EHUD (probably) from אבחר = בחרים (Baḥurim) = ירחמאל, 'Chena'anah' from 'Cheniah' (cp Coniah) = קיני ('Kenite'), 'Zethan' from Ṣarephath and 'Ahishahar' from 'Ashḥur' (see SHEHARIAH).[1] It will be understood that the ethnics may early have become corrupted, and that the corruptions may soon have attained an independent existence, and have become further corrupted. T. K. C.

TARSHISH, STONE OF (אֶבֶן תַּרְשִׁישׁ), Ezek. 10 9, RVmg. The text of EV has here 'the appearance of the wheels was as the colour (עַיִן) of a beryl stone'; the mg. gives a needful warning (cp TOPAZ) against trusting this too implicitly. More commonly, however, 'stone' (*ĕben*) is omitted, and the stone referred to is simply called in MT 'tarshish,' in EV 'beryl.' Thus in Ezek. 1 16 (nearly = 10 9*b*) EV has 'like unto the colour of a beryl' (כְּעֵין תַּרְשִׁישׁ), and in Cant. 5 14, 'set with beryl' (מְמֻלָּאִים בַּתַּרְשִׁישׁ). 'Beryl,' however, lacks justification (see BERYL), and in Cant. *l.c.* RVmg. suggests 'topaz' (see TOPAZ, end), whilst in Ezek. 28 13 AVmg. offers us 'chrysolite,' thus, as it were, connecting the Old and the New Testaments (see Rev. 21 20).

1. Occurrences.

'Chrysolite' rests on the authority of 𝔊, which, supported by Jos. (*Ant.* iii. 7 5 *BJ* v. 5 7), Aq. Ezek. 1 16 10 9 Dan. 10 6, and Vg. (except Ezek. 1 16 Cant. 5 14), thrice (Ex. 28 20 39 13 [36 20] Ezek. 28 13) renders תרשיש by χρυσόλιθος(ν). It should be added, however, that in Ezek. 10 9 𝔊 gives λίθος ἄνθρακος (אבן ת'), and that in Ezek. 1 16 Cant. 5 14 it is content to transliterate θαρσεις (cp Symm., Theod. Dan. 10 6 and Theod. Ezek. 10 9); also that Symm. in Ex. 28 20 Ezek. 1 16 10 9 Cant. 5 14 gives ὑάκινθος (cp Vg. Cant. 5 14, and see JACINTH); and that 𝔊 in Dan. 10 6 gives θάλασσα (cp Vg. Ezek. 1 15, and see TARSHISH).

The modern chrysolite is, of course, excluded. There remain the 'hyacinthus'—*i.e.*, the sapphire of the moderns (see JACINTH)—and the topaz, which Pliny's description of the chrysolite as 'aureo fulgore tralucens' (*HN* 37 42 *f.*) has led some (*HWB*(2), 334*b*, Del., Kraetzschmar) to identify with the chrysolite of the ancients (see, however, CHRYSOLITE). For the hyacinthus no plausible case can be made out. The chrysolite or topaz (?) has found some favour because Pliny speaks of a large chrysolite from Spain, and Tarshish is generally placed in southern Spain. But Pliny also states that chrysolites were found in Arabia, and it seems likely (1) that the Hebrews would have obtained precious stones chiefly from Arabia, and consequently (2) that if the name of the stone under consideration were derived from a country, the country would be some part of Arabia. Luther's identification of 'tarshish' with the turquoise would therefore be plausible if the name 'tarshish' could be traced to some ancient name of the Wady Maghâra in the Sinaitic Peninsula, where the turquoise-mines were worked. But the mere similarity of names is of course valueless, and the Sinaitic turquoises so quickly lose their colour[2] that they can hardly have been much in requisition. We must, therefore, look farther for a clue to the meaning of 'tarshish.'

2. Identifications.

Let us then, as we have done already in the case of the

[1] Cp 1 S. 6 19, where the original of 𝔊's text (note [οἱ] υἱοὶ Ἰεχονίου) must have run, וַיִּחַר אַף לִבְנֵי הַקֵּינִי בְּאַנְשֵׁי בֵּית כּוּשָׁם, 'and the Kenites were angry with the men of Beth-cusham. Cp SHIMSHAI.

[2] Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 137.

TARSUS

פִּטְדָה, *piṭdāh* (see TOPAZ), turn to the Assyrian lexicon.

3. The Assyrian êlmêšu? It is well known that to the Assyrians the precious stone *par excellence* was that called *êlmêšu* (etymologically identical with Heb. *ḥallāmiš;* see FLINT), which is hardly the diamond (Del. *Prol.* 85; *Ass. HWB s.v.*), but may perhaps be the white sapphire.

Here are two Assyrian passages given by Delitzsch in which the name occurs: 'Like a ring of êlmêšu may I be precious in thine eyes,' and 'a carriage whose wheels were of gold and êlmêšu' (cp Ezek. 1 16). It is, at any rate, possible that the 'tarshish-stone' should rather be the 'ḥalmiš-stone,'[1] and that the inferred Hebrew form חַלְמִישׁ (Ass. *êlmêšu*) is equivalent to the attested form *ḥašmal* in Ezek. 1 4 27 8 2 (cp AMBER, § 1).

Probably enough the ḥalmiš-stone is referred to again in Job 28 18*a*, where *rāmōth wĕ-gābīš* (ראמות וגביש) should perhaps be חלמִישׁ וארמ[י],[2] and in *v.* 19, where חלמיש should be read for כוש (see TOPAZ).

There is also, however, the possibility that [אבן] תרשיש or 'Tarshish [stone],' is a corruption of אֶבֶן אַשּׁוּרִית, 'Asshurite stone' or א' אַשְׁחוּר 'stone of Ashḥur' (cp TARSHISH, § 7). T. K. C.

TARSUS (ταρсοс, Acts 9 30 11 25 22 3; Ethnic, ταρсεγс, 2 Macc. 4 30 Acts 9 11 21 39).

Ταρσός (Attic, ταρρός) = 'wing,' or 'feather.' The town was said to have derived its name from a feather which fell from the wing of Pegasus (cp Juv. *Sat.* 3 118); but that was a legend based upon an etymological fancy. It is the תרז of late coins (with Aramaic inscriptions), and is mentioned under the name Tarzi by Shalmaneser (Black Obelisk Inscr. *l.* 138; Scheil, *RP*(2), 447; Wi. *GBA*, 196, 256) in the ninth century. For stories of its origin, see Ammianus, xiv. 8 3, and Strabo, 673, and on the name cp Jensen, *Hittiter u. Armenier* 1898, pp. 62 *f.*, 160 *ff.* [The Heracles of Tarsus was the Cilician god Sandan. Dio Chrys. calls him the ἀρχηγός of the Tarsians (2 23), and he may be identified with the Baal of Tarsus named on coins. He was worshipped by the periodical erection of 'a very fair pyre' (*ibid.*), a rite presumably analogous to that described in the *De Dea Syria*, ch. 49—WRS. See *RS*(2), 377, where Is. 30 33 is compared. On Sandan, WRS refers to K. O. Müller in *Rhein Mus.* 1829, and E. Meyer in *ZDMG*, 1877, pp. 736 *f.* On the identification, sometimes proposed, of Tarsus with Tarshish, see TARSHISH.]

1. Site and history. Tarsus the chief town of CILICIA [*q.v.*] was situated on the right bank of the ancient Cydnus in the wide and fertile plain between Mt. Taurus and the sea, thus commanding the passes leading from Cilicia into Lycaonia or Cappadocia. Almost necessarily also the route through Mt. Amanus into Syria involved passage by Tarsus. The city thus at an early date attained importance. Xenophon (who uses the plural form, Ταρσοί)[3] speaks of it, in 401 B.C., as a great and prosperous city (πόλιν μεγάλην καὶ εὐδαίμονα), the residence of Syennesis the king of Cilicia (*Anab.* 1 2 23). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the residence of a Persian satrap, who fled on his approach, so that the city surrendered without resistance. Alexander nearly died here from a fever aggravated by bathing in the icy waters of the Cydnus (Arrian, *Anab.* 2 4; cp Paus. viii. 28 3). After Alexander's death Tarsus usually belonged to the Syrian empire, and under the Seleucid kings Antiochus VII. to Antiochus IX. was one of the royal mints. For a short time under Antiochus IV. (175-164 B.C.) it bore the name 'Antioch on the Cydnus' (Ἀντιόχεια πρὸς τῷ Κύδνῳ; *Antiochia ad Cydnum*) as we find from the coins (see Head, *Hist. Numm.* 612 *f.*). For a time it was in the possession of the Ptolemies.

Coming down to Roman times, we find that in the Civil War Tarsus took the side of Cæsar, though it was to Pompeius that she owed her liberation from the sway of eastern rulers. Cæsar in consequence honoured the city with a visit, and its name was changed to Juliopolis (Cæs. *Bell. Alex.* 66; cp Dio Cass. 47 26). For this attachment Cassius ordered it to be plundered; but, on the other hand, Antonius rewarded it with municipal freedom and exemption from taxes (*i.e.*, it became a *civitas libera et immunis*). But none the less it was the seat of a *conventus*—*i.e.*, periodical assizes (cp Acts 19 38) were held within it by the Roman governor (Cic. *Ep. ad Att.* v. 16 4, etc.), though in strict theory a 'free city' was outside the province and the governor's jurisdiction (see further, with reference to Tarsus, Philostr. *V. Apoll.* 1 12, ἐν Ταρσοῖς δὲ ἄρα ἀγορὰν ἦγεν; and Momms.-Marq. *Röm. Staatsverw.* 1 80 n. 3).[1] Like Thessalonica, the legal position of which was similar, Tarsus was the headquarters of the Roman governor.

The freedom (*libertas*, αὐτονομία) or self-government which Tarsus enjoyed is expressly attributed to Antonius (App. *Bell. Civ.* 5 7). It was at Tarsus that Antonius received Cleopatra in 38 B.C. when she sailed up the Cydnus in the character of Aphrodite (Plut. *Ant.* 25 *f.*). But others attribute the status to the bounty of Augustus (Lucian, *Macrob.* 21; cp Dio Chrysos. 2 36 R, κἀκεῖνος [*i.e.*, Augustus] ὑμῖν παρέσχε χώραν νόμους τιμὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ ποταμοῦ τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς καθ' αὐτούς, thus summing up municipal independence, freedom from taxation and control of internal sources of revenue). Probably Augustus confirmed in this respect the action of his rival. Note that it by no means followed that Paul's possession of *Roman* citizenship (Acts 22 28) was a consequence of the autonomy enjoyed by Tarsus. The citizenship of Tarsus possessed by all Tarsians who came within the prescribed conditions, could never carry with it *Roman* citizenship (cp Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 30 *f.*).

2. NT references. It is not easy to estimate the influence exerted upon the intellectual life of Paul by the peculiar surroundings and circumstances in which he was placed at Tarsus. Tarsus was indeed renowned as a place of education under the early Empire. Strabo (673) even ranks Tarsus above the other two great 'University cities' of his time for love of learning. It was the home of eminent Stoics, like Athenodorus the tutor of Augustus, and Nestor, who taught Tiberius (Strabo, 674). A remarkable feature was that this zeal for learning was not an extraneous characteristic, but was due to natives of the city itself (Strabo, *l.c.*), so that Tarsus rather sent teachers to the rest of the world, then received students therefrom. It would doubtless be very satisfactory to have been able to trace in Paul's writings (as, *e.g.*, in the case of the writer of Lk. and Acts) some tinge of Hellenic culture, some echo from the lecture-rooms of Tarsus; but the attempt must be abandoned. The three references to Hellenic literature (Acts 17 28 1 Cor. 15 32 Tit. 1 12) by no means bear out this imagination, but are merely floating sentiments of a popular character. Passages like 1 Cor. 1 20 or Col. 2 8 would hardly favour the probability of finding a tinge of classical culture or philosophy in Paul. Even the speech in Athens, if its historicity is to be accepted as beyond dispute, cannot on an unbiassed view be made to support the somewhat extravagant claims made on Paul's behalf by some modern commentators. Seeing that Paul's teacher Gamaliel was inclined to encourage Greek studies, the fact that so little trace of such can be found in Paul is itself an argument against attaching undue weight to the Hellenic influences which surrounded his early life[2] (see ATHENS).

This verdict, on the other hand, by no means implies the denial of the formative influences of Tarsian life upon Paul. In a city which was in contact, both in the philosophic schools and in its harbour, with both the eastern and the western world; which entered intimately into the general life of the Roman provincial organisation to which it belonged, but also retained the vestiges of that vigorous municipal life which was so characteristically Greek—in such a town Paul could not fail to gain that

[1] *I.e.*, ח and ת, ל and ר, ם and ש (cp old Hebrew script) have been confounded.

[2] So, at least, if ת in ראמות represents ל in חלמיש. Otherwise ראמות may spring from ראמי, which became first ראמו and then ראמו׳ (with stroke of abbreviation). There is no inducement to make ראמות come from רעמתי (the 'Ra'amathite stone').

[3] Pausanias calls it Ταρσεῖς. Other forms are Τερσός, or Θαρσός.

[1] On the constitution of Tarsus under the Romans, see the details given in Dio Chrysos. 2 43 R.

[2] [WRS, *EB*(9), 23 67 *b*, presumes that Paul 'formed no higher opinion of the culture of Tarsus than did his contemporary Apollonius of Tyana, whose testimony as to the character of the citizens (*Vit. Ap.* 1 7) is confirmed by Dio Chrysostom.' He thinks that 'sensuous Eastern religion had more attraction for the inhabitants than the grave philosophy of the Porch.']

familiarity with cosmopolitan ideas, that knowledge of the working of complex organisations, and that grasp of Roman ideas and methods, which runs through his life and work. In short, it is the Roman, rather than the Greek, that we find in Paul.

After his conversion, Tarsus became once more Paul's home when he was obliged to quit Jerusalem (Acts 9 30). Here he remained until brought by Barnabas to Antioch (Acts 11 25). This period of residence and preaching in Tarsus and other Cilician towns (cp Gal. 1 21) extended over several years. Doubtless Tarsus was again visited on the second missionary tour (Acts 15 41); for the Roman road ran from Tarsus through the 'Cilician Gates,' in Mt. Taurus, giving access to Lycaonia (cp Acts 16 1). Similarly, on the third missionary tour, Acts 18 23 conceals a visit to Tarsus, on which occasion, so far as the record goes, Paul looked for the last time upon the busy quays and market-squares of his native town.

Tarsus is now *Tersus*. The ruins of the old town are concealed 15 or 20 feet deep in the silt of the river and no systematic excavation has yet been made. See Murray's *Hdbk. to AM* 184 *f.* The chief coin-type resembles that of Antioch, being the Tyche of Tarsus seated, with the river Cydnus swimming at her feet. The imperial coinage shows great variety of subject. Among the titles are Μητρόπολις, Ἐλευθέρα, Νεώκορος, and Πρώτη μεγίστη καλλίστη γράμματι βουλῆς. W. J. W.

TARTAK (תַּרְתָּק; θαρθακ [BAL]), the god of the people of Avvah (imported into Samaria), 2 K. 17 31. Perhaps Tartaḫu, the 'lance-star' of the Babylonians (cp תרתח, 'lance,' Job 41 21; MT תותח), identified by Jensen[1] with Antares, and by Hommel[2] with Procyon, and regarded by the Babylonians as the star of the god Ninib. By a textual error[3] תרתק became נבחז, or (perhaps better, see NIBHAZ) נבחן, and by another error, similar to that which has duplicated the deity of Sepharvaim, made its way into the text, and was even in one form of the text (see 𝔊[L])[4] assigned to the people of the imaginary city of HENA [*q.v.*] in order to leave Nibhaz for the Avvites.

If, however (cp SUCCOTH-BENOTH), the colonists of שמרון, Shimron, came from the non-Israelite Negeb, both Nibhaz (Nibharu?) may be a corruption of Jerahmeel and Tartak of Terah (a distorted form of Jerah = Jerahmeel (see *Crit. Bib.*). T. K. C.

TARTAN (תַּרְתָּן; in 2 K. θανθαν [B], θαρθ. [A], τανθ. [L]; in Is. τανaθαν [Bℵ[c. a, d. a, al] Q*], ναθαν [ℵ*A], θαρθᾶ [Q[mg.]]; *Tharthan*) is an exact reading of the familiar Assyrian title, *tartânu*, *turtânu*, *tartan*, which occurs in 2 K. 18 17, and Is. 20 1.

In Assyrian historical times, the Tartan was the commander-in-chief of the army, and ranked next to the king. The office seems to have been duplicated, and there was a *tartânu imni* or 'tartan of the right,' as well as a *tartânu šumêli* or 'tartan of the left.' In later times the title became territorial; we read of a tartan of Ḳummuḫ, or Commagene. The title is also applied to the commanders of foreign armies; thus Sargon speaks of the Tartan Muṣurai, or Egyptian Tartan. The Tartan of 720 B.C. was probably called Ašur-iska-danin; in 694 B.C., Abda', and in 686 B.C. Bêl-êmurâni, held the title. It does not seem to have been in use among the Babylonians. C. H. W. J.

TARTARUS, a term for 'hell' (so EV text) in RV[mg.] of 2 Pet. 2 4. The Greek, however, has ταρταρώσας = εἰς Τάρταρον ῥίψας. Sextus Empiricus (about 200 A.D.), speaking of the expulsion of Kronos by Zeus, has κατεταρτάρωσε.

Τάρταρος occurs twice in Job, viz. (*a*) in 40 15 [20], where, however, τετράποσιν ἐν τῷ ταρτάρῳ must be an error for τετ. ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ (so Grabe, ap. Schleusner), the initial ταρ being dittographic, and τ (T) miswritten for γ (Γ), and (*b*), in 41 23 [24], where τὸν δὲ τάρταρον τῆς ἀβύσσου may represent קרקע תהום 'the bottom of the abyss' (see OINTMENT, 3, with n. 1).

[1] *Kosmol.* 49 *ff.*; cp 150 53.
[2] *Exp. T* 9 331; *GBA* 666.
[3] The error may have been partly due to a reminiscence of Nergal (נרגל); נבחז springs out of נרחז.
[4] καὶ ἄνδρες αιωνειμ ἐποίησαν τὴν θαρθακ καὶ οἱ ευαῖοι ἐποίησαν τὴν εβλαιεζερ.

Upon Job 41 23 [24], among other passages, is based the theory that BEHEMOTH AND LEVIATHAN [*q.v.*] belong primarily to mythological zoology. Leviathan is in fact a reflection of Tiâmat, the chaos-dragon (cp DRAGON, § 7), and, according to one form of the creation-myth, was cast into the abyss under ward. But Tartaros was not properly a watery abyss; it had, according to the Greek myth, 'a gate of brass and a threshold of bronze.' The essential parts of the conception are depth of situation and (of course) darkness. Tartaros was 'as far beneath Hades as heaven is high above the earth' (*Il.* 8 13 *ff.*; cp Hes. *Theog.* 807), and the Titans are even described as 'below Tartaros' (τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους), *Il.* 14 279. Analogous to the fate of Kronos and the Titans was the fate of the fallen angels, who, according to 2 Pet. 2 4, were 'committed to pits of darkness' (σιροῖς ζόφου[1]), having been 'hurled into Tartaros.' The allusion may be to the passage on the punishment of AZAZEL [*q.v.*] in Enoch 10, where the vigorous Greek version (Syncellus) gives, ἔμβαλε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ σκότος . . . καὶ ἐπικάλυψον αὐτῷ σκότος. For a more remote parallel see Rev. 20 2. See ABYSS; ESCHATOLOGY, § 89. T. K. C., § 5.

TASK, TASKMASTER, TASKWORK. See TAXATION, § 5.

TASSELS (צִיצִת), Nu. 15 38 RV[mg.], EV FRINGES.

TATAM (τατaμ [BL], -μι [A]), Josh. 15 59, 𝔊 Between KULON and SORES.

TATNAI, or rather (RV) **TATTENAI** (תַּתְּנַי; τανθαναιος [L]; Ezra 5 3 θανaναι [B], θαθθ. [A], 5 6 θανθανας [B], θαθθανας [A], 6 6 Δωσετε [BA]; *v.* 13, τανθαναι [B], θαθθαναι [A]), the 'governor of the region beyond the river' (see GOVERNMENT, § 25, Ezra 5 3 6 6), called in 1 Esd. SISINNES (*q.v.*). We shall assume here that the present form of the text is original (see, however, *Crit. Bib.*, where this and other names are disputed). According to Meissner (*ZATW*, 1897, p. 191 *f.*), this Persian official is mentioned in neo-Babylonian contracts. Here, in texts of the first and third years of the reign of Darius, is mentioned a certain Uš-ta-an-ni or Uš-ta-nu, satrap of Babylon and Syria. The dates agree, and also the titles (פחת עבר נהרא, *piḫat ebir nāri*). The name corresponds to old Pers. Vištana, and appears in a Greek form as Βισθάνης (Arr. iii. 19 4), Ἱστάνης (Arr. vii. 6 4), and Ὑστάνης (Herod. 7 77). On the other hand, it is a much easier transition to תתני from old Pers. Thithina (a form assumed by Marq. *Fund.* 52, and E. Meyer, *Entst. des. Jud.* 32) than from old Pers. Vištana, for we have, on Meissner's hypothesis, to suppose that תתני was corrupted from ושתני. According to Arrian, however (vii. 6 4), there were two contemporary persons named respectively Sisines and Histanes. May not the document from which the name of the Syrian satrap in Ezra and Nehemiah is derived have confounded the two names? As to the historicity of what is told us of Tattenai and Shetharbozenai, we must draw a distinction between the narrative and the inserted documents on which the narrative is supposed to be based. According to Wellhausen (*GGA* 1897, no. 2), the official correspondence is but an invention for dramatic effect. Sisines (Tatnai), for instance, attempted to get the building of the temple interrupted, and failed. But the Jewish writers had no access to official archives. The same view is taken by Kosters (*Herstel*, 29). Marquart, however (*Fund.* 49), thinks that the 'kernel' of the decree of Darius may be genuine, whilst Meyer (*Entst. des Jud.* 41-53) maintains that the documents are almost entirely genuine, and the narrative therefore in the highest

[1] Cp Jude 6, ὑπὸ ζόφον, 'under darkness' (cp Enoch 10 5, above). The reading σειραῖς ('chains') is not accepted by editors (see *Var. Bible*), though both Jude 6 and the foundation-passage in Enoch speak of bonds.

degree trustworthy. The only passage in the documents to which this scholar takes exception is Ezra 6 12*a*, which is certainly not the language appropriate to an imperial decree. This criticism seems hardly keen enough. Even the name Sisines, on which Meyer relies so much, is very doubtful, and Kosters' and Wellhausen's criticisms are not altogether baseless. Cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 6. T. K. C.

TAXATION[1] AND TRIBUTE

The modern sheikh (§ 1).	Tithe (§ 9 *f.*).
Religious dues (§ 2).	Firstlings (§§ 11-13).
Monarchical idea (§ 3).	Levitical cities (§ 14).
Political taxation (§§ 4-7).	Expenses of worship (§ 15).
Sanctuary dues (§ 8).	Priests' revenue (§§ 16-18).

1. The modern sheikh. The nomads of the Arabian desert know nothing of tax or tribute, either to their sheikhs or to Allah; so far indeed from finding a source of revenue in their people, the sheikhs are under obligation to spend their own private fortune for the public good. It is expected of a sheikh that he entertain strangers and visitors better and more sumptuously than an ordinary member of the tribe possibly can; his duty is to support the poor and to share what he has with his friends (Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, 1830). Often enough it happens that, even with a rich sheikh, this ends in poverty; but a reckless hospitality always brings high repute. The means for such hospitality have to be found in war and pillage. The Syrian towns and villages on the borders of the settled land have to pay their regular 'brotherhood' (*ḫuwwe*) to the Bedouins. By ancient custom a special share of the booty taken in war falls to the commander; he has the first choice, and in old Arabia was entitled to a fourth of the whole. In ancient Israel the practice was similar. The only due, if we may so call it, falling to the chief is a larger share of the spoil; Gideon, for example, receives the golden 'crescents' of the Midianites (Judg. 8 24; cp 5 30). David sends his share in the spoil (*šālāl*, שָׁלָל, τῶν σκύλων[2]) from the Amalekite raid in presents to his friends in Judah (1 S. 30 26 *f.*).

2. Religious dues. The offerings also which were presented to the god did not originally come under the category of dues which were demanded and had to be paid. When a beast from the flock or herd was slaughtered, there was no question of a definite tax or tribute; it was a case of voluntary giving. Indeed in the most ancient Semitic ritual the notion of giving to a deity at all has no place, or at best only a very subordinate one; the root-idea being that the blood poured out and the sacrificial meal are fitted to renew and strengthen sacramentally the mystic bond in which the deity and his worshippers are united (on this subject cp SACRIFICE).

A solitary exception would seem to be found in the paschal offering. Following Wellhausen (*Prol.*(4)) and Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2), 463 *f.*), most recent scholars explain it as an offering of the firstborn of the flock. If this be right, its character as a due payable to the deity can hardly be denied; and it is certain that the paschal offering was, in the later period at least, so regarded. Robertson Smith, indeed (*loc. cit.*), seeks the original explanation of this sacrifice of firstlings in another region of thought; the exact parallel to the sacrifice of the firstlings of cattle he finds, not in the yearly offering of the first-fruits of the field generally, but in the law of Lev. 19 23 *ff.*, according to which the fruits of a newly planted field for the first three years may not be eaten. 'The characteristic feature of this ordinance, from which its original meaning must be deduced, is the taboo on the produce of the first three years, not the offering at the temple paid in the fourth year.' This same conception of a taboo is what he finds underlying the sacrifice of the firstlings of the flock. That which is taboo has supernatural attributes which forbid its being appropriated to common uses. This character of taboo attached, he thinks, in the oldest times, in a certain measure to all domestic animals, and naturally therefore in an intensified degree to the firstborn. It is, however, hardly necessary to have recourse to this line of explanation. Certainly no other instance of an offering of firstlings besides the passover can be adduced for the earliest Hebrew period before the settlement in Canaan. And the passover itself, as is shown in more detail elsewhere (FEASTS, § 2, PASSOVER, §§ 9-11) was not originally, or before the settlement, a sacrifice of the firstborn. The passover ritual points clearly to the contrary, and shows that under this sacrifice lay the same fundamental ideas as under all the other sacrifices, namely, that the blood of the victim was to renew the communion with the deity, and thereby, in this particular instance, be a powerful protective against pestilence and the like. It was only in the course of the subsequent development that the passover was brought into connection with the sacrifice of the firstborn, or sought to be explained as such.

As already said, the sacrifice of the firstborn cannot be proved, in the Hebrew domain, for the oldest period; all the probabilities point rather to the other conclusion—that it was a secondary development; out of the custom of offering the first-fruits of the field arose the other of offering those of the flock and of the herd, and here accordingly we have only the extension to animals and men of the deity's original claim to be presented annually with the first-fruits of the field.

The entire conception of sacrifice as being a tribute due to God is in Hebrew religion subsequent to the settlement in Palestine, and on internal evidence must be regarded as impossible in the earlier time, for it had its origin in the complete revolution in the idea of God which followed upon the settlement. The tribal and national god became thereby a territorial god, and thus came into the position which the Canaanites had assigned to their Baal; he himself became the 'baal,' that is, 'lord' of the land,—in the sense, especially, that he was lord of the soil, and that the produce of the soil was regarded as his gift (see BAAL). This whole view of the deity as the bestower of all the gifts of nature is, it is obvious, possible only for an agricultural people. As soon as this view had become the prevailing one, however, the next step was exceedingly simple, nay, it was inevitable; thanks were offered to the deity for the gifts of the soil, and he was acknowledged as the giver by having the firstlings and the best of the fruits of the earth returned to him in sacrifice. The Canaanites had already come to this view of their offerings, and the Israelites took it over from them, as we see very specially in their adoption of the originally Canaanite yearly festivals. All these festivals are agricultural in character: they are intimately associated with harvest, and the idea they express is that the harvest is sanctified by the festal offering.

3. Monarchical idea. In the further development in Israel a new thought came to be added. Once the monarchy had become established, the monarchical idea was applied to Yahwè also, and he was thought of as the supreme king of his people (cp MESSIAH, MOLECH). But among the rights of kings one of the first was that of levying tax and tribute; and, as we shall see later, it was exercised very

1 The verb *he'ĕrīk* (הֶעֱרִיךְ) is rendered 'tax' in 2 K. 23 35 EV; in Lev. 27 8 12 'value,' and 27 14 'estimate.' The subst. *'ērek* (עֵרֶךְ) is 'taxation' in 2 K. 23 35; it occurs frequently in P (Lev. 27 3 Nu. 18 18, etc.), where RV regularly has 'estimation.' For the 'raiser of taxes,' Dan. 11 20, *nōgēś* (נֹגֵשׂ), cp EXACTOR.

On the 'taxing, RV 'enrolment' (ἀπογραφή), of Lk. 2 2 Acts 5 37, cp QUIRINIUS, JUDAS, 10. The verb ἀπογράφεσθαι occurs in Lk. 2 1 3 5 Heb. 12 23; ἀπογράφειν in 1 Esd. 8 30 (𝔊L, in 𝔊BA ἀπὸ γραφῆς, see Swete).

2 *šālāl* is also προνομή, *e.g.*, in Nu. 31 32, and ἁρπαγή [BℵA] in Is. 10 2. For other terms used see SPOIL.

TAXATION AND TRIBUTE

early (David, Solomon); cp GOVERNMENT, § 19. A main duty of subjects was and is the payment of the king's dues; this principle was applied to the deity and to his worship in sacrifice, as soon as he came to be regarded as the king of his people. How nearly related are the two things—secular taxation and sacred tribute—is instructively shown by the instance quoted by Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2), 246); at Tyre tithes were paid to Melkarth as 'king of the city.' The same thing is seen in the motives assigned for sacrifice by the later Hebrews. The offerings brought voluntarily to the altar are regarded as a tribute to the deity on quite the same footing as the presents voluntarily brought to an earthly king. To the sacrifices offered during the Hebrew monarchy equally apply the words of Homer:

δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας.

One does not come into the king's presence empty-handed (Judg. 3 17 *f.* 1 S. 10 27), but, if one has aught to ask, brings a gift of homage; so, in like manner, when one 'seeks the face' of God (Mal. 1 8). Precisely similar is the ancient Greek conception of sacrifice as being the tribute and homage due to the divinity on whom a man is dependent (Nägelsbach, *Homerische Theologie*, 186). In the last resort, the offering comes to be expressly called 'a gift' to the deity; *minḥah* (Gen. 4 3 *f.* 1 S. 2 17, and often) or *ḳorbān*.

Such in general is the course of the development. As to the development in detail of taxation and tribute

4. Political taxation: Saul.

as political institutions the deficiency of our sources leaves us very much in the dark. Under Saul we hear nothing of special dues levied by him; he had no capital and no special court, but lived on his ancestral holding at Gibeah. Nor had he any state officials to govern the land under his orders and receive their pay from him. We may take it for granted as self-evident that, in accordance with ancient custom, he claimed and received his special share of the spoils of war, as we are expressly told that David at a later time did (2 S. 8 11 12 30). We hear of gifts of homage, as, for example, when he was elected to be king (1 S. 10 27), or when his favour was specially sought (1 S. 16 20). It is easily conceivable that this source of income, added to the revenue derived from his property at Gibeah, may have been amply sufficient for the modest requirements of his throne. At any rate, it is not safe to draw from what is said in 1 S. 17 25 strict inferences as to the existence of certain specified exactions in Saul's day. The passage promises freedom from taxation to the slayer of the giant and to his house, thus presupposing the existence of fixed taxes. But this is evidence only for the much later period of the author, or editor, to whom it appeared self-evident that such must have arisen as soon as a monarchy had come into being. The same observation applies to the so-called 'manner' or constitution of the monarchy as set forth to the people by Samuel (1 S. 8 10 *ff.*, esp. *v.* 15), where also taxes, and, in particular, tithes of the field and the vineyard are mentioned.

Under David, and still more under Solomon, we see the system growing. Under David, in addition to

5. David, Solomon.

the king's share of booty (2 S. 1 10 12 30), prominence is given to the tribute received from subjugated peoples (1 K. 5 1 [4 21] 2 K. 3 4), and the voluntary gifts of subjects still continued to come in (1 K. 10 25). We may, nevertheless, conjecture with some degree of probability that David's numbering of the people (2 S. 24 1 *f.*) was connected with the levying of taxes, and was intended to be used in regulating their incidence and the exaction of military service. The duties of the 'governors' (נְצִבִים, *nĕṣībīm*, EV 'garrisons,' 2 S. 8 14) also, whom he set over conquered territory, must essentially have consisted in the collection of tribute. We are expressly told, at all events, that this was the object of Solomon's division of the kingdom into districts. If the text (1 K. 4 7-19) is correct, it would seem that the king's own tribe (Judah) was exempt from dues and imposts (but see GOVERNMENT, § 19). However this may be, the purpose of the division is given with substantial correctness in the text as it stands (see special articles on the names of the 'officers'). The statement that each 'officer' (or 'prefect') had to provide victuals for the king and his household for a month in the year may owe its form to a desire to show the glory of Solomon's court; but in substance the narrative is undoubtedly correct: the chief object of the division into districts had reference to taxation, and in connection with this to the 'task work' or personal service which was exacted (1 K. 5 25). We also hear that Solomon levied toll on the caravans travelling by the trade-routes through the kingdom (1 K. 10 15). The complaint made by the people after his death leaves the impression that his system of taxes, besides being grievous in itself, was objected to as something new and unaccustomed.

We find hardly any other references to regular taxes in pre-exilic times; but the 'king's mowings' are men-

6. Later kings.

tioned in Am. 7 1 (see GOVERNMENT, § 19; MOWINGS; and, on the text, LOCUSTS). From the fact that in post-exilic times tithe appears from the first as an established institution, we may perhaps infer that it was of pre-exilic origin. The narrator of 1 S. 8 14 *f* regards it as an ancient institution. With this would harmonise the fact that Am. 4 4 knows of a tithe paid to the sanctuary. For the rest, in the ideal state as constructed by Ezekiel we find no such thing as taxes; the prince maintains his court and officers out of the revenue of the princely domains. He gives the princely domain to his officers in fief. This also is an arrangement which we may unhesitatingly presume to have existed in the earlier times (1 S. 8 12). A property-tax was imposed only for extraordinary emergencies, not regularly (2 K. 23 35). See GOVERNMENT, § 20.

In post-exilic times a heavy tribute was exacted, of course, by all the overlords of the country. Unfortu-

7. Post-exilic.

nately we are without information as to the nature of the taxes or how they were levied. On the latter point, however, it is practically self-evident that the Persian rulers, like the Syrian and Roman after them, availed themselves of the local Jewish administrations for assessment and collection. The land as such paid, doubtless, a definite composition as tribute. Moreover, when it had a governor of its own, the community had also to pay for his support, as well as make a contribution towards that of the resident Persian official in Samaria under whom it was placed. That these burdens were not trifling can be seen from such a passage as Neh. 5 14: the governor drew 40 shekels a day besides what the 'rulers' and their subordinates extorted from the people. If we find a Nehemiah in public discourse to the people characterising this as severely oppressive and taking merit and credit to himself for having drawn nothing from the people, but on the contrary, having met all charges out of his own private means, we may safely conclude that the pressure of these dues was not regarded as light.

Besides these direct taxes were the indirect ones levied by the Persian court: rents, customs, tolls, etc. (Ezra 4 13 20 7 24); unfortunately, we are very insufficiently informed as to the meaning of the various technical expressions here.[1]

Over and above these were the requirements of the internal administration, and even if these may on the

[1] [Of the three terms in Ezra 4 13 20 7 24 (Bibl. Aram.), *mindāh* (מִנְדָּה, AV 'toll,' RV 'tribute') is quite general, a tax for every one (Ass. *mandattu*), *bĕlō* (בְּלוֹ, AV 'tribute,' so RV 'custom'), lit. what is brought (Ass. *biltu* = √יבל), and *hălāk* (הֲלָךְ, AV 'custom'), a 'toll' (so RV) exacted of travellers. From the Ass., also, comes Aram. *maksa*, 'toll,' and *mākĕsā*, 'toll-gatherer' (publican).]

TAXATION AND TRIBUTE

whole have been relatively light, nevertheless the maintenance of the temple, of the sacrificial system, and of the priests and Levites, must have cost considerable sums. The voluntary gifts of worshippers were not enough, and soon (under Ezra; cp Neh. 10 33 *f.*) a fixed poll-tax, besides other payments in kind, had to be established (see below, § 15). On other accounts, also, heavy demands were from time to time made on the community, as, for example, for temple restoration and wall-building; in the latter connection also in the form of *corvée*, even if in both cases, as it would seem, the voluntary character of the service was formally retained.

The priests and Levites, and the whole personnel of the temple, were declared wholly exempt from taxation by decree of the king of Persia to Ezra (Ezra 7 24). On the rest of the people the burden of taxation pressed all the more heavily as the community, broadly speaking, was a poor one. Thus, in Nehemiah's time, the complaint was raised by many that in order to pay their taxes they had been compelled to borrow money and mortgage their property, thus coming into great straits (Neh. 5 4 *f.*).

Nor did matters improve after Alexander, in the days of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. The principal burden was the poll tax (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 1) of which we learn more particularly from (Ps.-) Aristotle (*Oeconom.* ii. 1 4) that in the Syrian kingdom, as distinguished from the Egyptian-Roman, it was, strictly speaking, a kind of trade-tax, a percentage that varied according to the nature of the work and the means of the individual, not a personal tax, uniform and unchanging.[1]

In addition to this there were now also other taxes, presumably indirect, which Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3 3) refers to but does not name. A characteristic example of the manner in which new dues arose out of voluntary gifts is seen in the crown tax which grew out of the voluntary gift to the sovereign of a golden crown of honour. The priesthood of Jerusalem were exempted from all such dues and tribute from the time of Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3).

The method of collecting was by farming to the highest bidder (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 1 *ff.* 5 1 Macc. 11 28 13 15) and, indeed, according to the same authority (*loc. cit.*), the taxes of each individual city were let from year to year. Elsewhere it appears that there were also farmers-general of taxes for the whole land (see below). This system was widely spread throughout the whole of antiquity, and was adopted also under the Roman Empire. Even at present it is in the Turkish Empire the usual method of raising certain dues. The advantages and disadvantages of the system can easily be seen in actual operation there. That it is the least favourable of all for the taxed needs no showing; at all times the farmers have known how to enrich themselves at the expense of the taxed, since any surplus naturally falls to them.

A classical instance, in fact, is one that comes to us from Judæa. A certain Joseph b. Tobia, who, it ought to be mentioned, had the reputation of being very lenient with his own countrymen, had acquired the taxing rights under Euergetes and Philopator by bidding twice as much as any other competitor, and paid the (for those times) enormous yearly sum of 16,000 talents, nevertheless accumulating vast wealth during his twenty-two years' tenure.

The question of immunity from taxes played a great part, naturally, from the Maccabæan period onwards, in all the dealings between the Jewish leaders and their Syrian overlords; it was more or less identical with the entire question of dependence or independence. Jonathan was able to secure immunity from Demetrius II. (1 Macc. 11 34-37; see ISRAEL, § 26), but this privilege does not seem to have been long maintained, for at a later date Simon had to demand it anew for all time to come (cp ISRAEL, § 78). We are unable to say, it must be added, how great a relief, if any, this meant for the subjects concerned. Fundamentally, it meant nothing more than a change in the taxing authority; the continued wars in any case were enormously costly.

When the country became tributary to the Romans (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4 4 *BJ* i. 7 6) they at once took in hand the system of taxation. Gabinius divided the country into five districts—probably taxation areas after their usual practice in subject provinces (Schürer, *GJV* (3), 1 340; cp ISRAEL, § 85)—in which the local authorities were at the same time the leviers of taxes. Here also Cæsar showed his friendly disposition towards the Jews by respecting the sabbatical year as regarded taxation. The Roman census and the Roman system of taxation as a whole do not seem, however, to have been introduced for some considerable time, the raising of the taxes being left in the hands of the native authorities. Herod the Great, at least, paid sometimes (whether always is doubtful) a definite tribute to the Romans, but as regarded the raising of this sum he could exercise independent authority as *rex socius*. Thus, he could remit taxes wholly or in part (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 10 4 xvi. 2 5 xvii. 2 1). We nowhere hear of a Roman tax during his reign (cp ISRAEL, § 87, end). The situation changed when, after the time of Herod and Archelaus, the land was administered by procurators; the Roman taxes, including the personal tax of the census, were now introduced. The new division of the land into eleven toparchies, like that formerly made by Gabinius (see above) doubtless had reference primarily to taxation. The procurators levied these taxes through native commissions. The indirect taxes were now also farmed to the publicans (see PUBLICAN). From the NT (Lk. 19 1 and elsewhere; cp Jos. *BJ* ii. 14 4) we learn that these were mostly Jews; intelligibly enough, they were not popular: in the NT 'publican' and 'sinner' are virtually synonymous (cp ISRAEL, § 90).

On the whole subject of Roman taxation see Schürer, *GJV* (3), 1 508 *ff.* and the copious literature there referred to; cp QUIRINIUS, § 2 *f.*

8. Sanctuary dues.

Sanctuary dues fall under two categories: (1) the regular offerings at the sanctuary prescribed by custom or by law; (2) the occasional gifts which the priests received for their services on each sacrificial occasion.

As for the first of these two classes, it has been already observed that in the old times no other dues were known beyond the offerings themselves, as also that it was only in a secondary way that the offerings assumed the character of dues. To this class of dues, in the strict sense of the word—that is to say, regular offerings definitely fixed by custom or law, as distinguished from free gifts presented on all or any of the various occasions of public or private life—belong the offerings of the first-fruits of the ground and of the firstlings of cattle. To both these Yahwè from an early date set up, so to say, a legal claim.

Even in the oldest decalogue (Ex. 34 26 J) it is made a legal injunction that the Israelites are to bring to Yahwè 'the best, the first-fruits of thy ground' (רֵאשִׁית בִּכּוּרֵי אַדְמָתְךָ, *πρωτογενήματα*).[1] The Book of the Covenant (Ex. 22 29 [28]) has the ordinance: 'thou shalt not delay (to offer) thine abundance and the best of thy winepress'; the exact meaning of the expression is doubtful,[2] but the idea of first-fruits is not directly con-

[1] It has been recently maintained by Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 52-58) that under the Seleucids the poll-tax was still a thing unknown, that it was not introduced until the time of Augustus. As against this, see the evidence marshalled in Schürer, *GJV* (3), 1 229 *f.*

[1] *Bikkūrīm* being always a relative idea, it makes little material difference whether we translate 'the best, that is to say, the first-fruits of the ground,' or 'the best of the first-fruits of the ground.' Still, as in *v.* 22 (cp 23 16) the harvest festival is designated as the feast of first-fruits, the expression *bikkūrīm* ought, doubtless, to be taken as referring to the first-fruits that are offered and not to the first-fruits generally, and thus equivalent to *rēšîth*.

[2] On the meaning of מְלֵאָתְךָ וְדִמְעֲךָ see the commentaries. 𝔊 has **ἀπαρχὰς ἅλωνος καὶ ληνοῦ**, thus taking it to mean the first-fruits. Doubtless it was led to this rendering by the parallel clause: 'thy firstborn son shalt thou give unto me,' etc.

tained in the words themselves at any rate, and neither is the injunction in substance quite the same as that of the old decalogue. There only the first-fruits of the field are spoken of, whilst here, in all probability, oil and wine also are intended; there an offering to God at the harvest festival is intended, here no such fixed date is given. Most probably the two laws were intended to run concurrently; alongside of the precept to offer the first-fruits of the harvest at the harvest festival stood the other injunction not to be niggardly towards Yahwè with the fulness wherewith he had blessed floor and press.

Nothing is said as to the amounts of such offerings. Apart from the offerings definitely provided for in the ritual of the old feasts, it is clear that the amount of first-fruits to be offered was left to the free will of the individual offerer. In particular, JE has no hint that at that early date it was already the custom to give to God the tenth part of the produce. Not until D is this expressly laid down by law. As the taxes and tributes payable to the king were, throughout, of older date than those payable to the temple, so also the tithe was first of all exacted by the state, and not till afterwards took its place among the dues of the sanctuary.

Indeed, in the time of the old decalogue and of the book of the covenant there is as yet no word of dues at all in the strictest sense of the word, but only of definite offerings fixed by custom. Men offered the first-fruits to Yahwè in sacrifice, and in the sacrificial meal became Yahwè's guests. This custom is presupposed in D as still maintaining its ancient standing (see below). Accordingly we have not in D, as in later times, to do with a tax designed to fill the temple treasury, to defray the cost of the temple worship, and the like. The maintenance of the temple in Jerusalem, and of the regular worship there, was the king's affair; the priests derived their income from the offerings that were brought (see below, § 16), and thus there was no occasion for levying on behalf of the temple any regular dues over and above such voluntary offerings as might be made at the sanctuary (cp 2 K. 12 5 *ff.*). Further, in bringing his first-fruits the idea in the mind of the pious Israelite in early times was not at all that Yahwè had a claim to the fruits as being the giver of them; his action was dictated by the consideration that his whole harvest, and all the bread which he enjoyed from year to year, was pure and hallowed only if some part of it had been received by Yahwè. It is one of the heavy punishments with which the nation is threatened by Hosea, that in its exile Israel shall have only 'bread of mourners' to eat, bread that is unclean, inasmuch as no portion of it can be brought into the house of Yahwè (Hos. 9 4).

9. Tithe. The sanctuary tithe is first met with in Am. 4 4, which passage shows that in the northern kingdom it was customary, in the yearly pilgrimages to the sanctuary, in addition to the daily offering to bring tithes on the third day. The narrative of E, dating from somewhere about the same period, tells of Jacob's vow to pay the tithe at the sanctuary at Bethel (Gen. 28 22).

D makes it quite evident that the tithe intended simply means the first-fruits, of which the proportion, roughly speaking, of a tenth had been gradually fixed by custom. For in Deuteronomy (14 22 *ff.*) it is enjoined that the produce of the field (corn, wine, oil) is to be tithed; but, exactly as in the earlier time (see above, § 8), in such a manner that this tithe is not to be paid, so to say, into the sanctuary, but simply to be laid out in a sacrificial meal at the sanctuary. Should the distance from Jerusalem, however, be so great as to make it impossible to carry thither the tithe in kind, then (*v.* 25 *f.*) 'thou shalt turn the tithe into money and carry the money with thee and go to the place which Yahwè will choose, and there thou shalt bestow the money for whatever thou desirest, oxen or sheep, or wine or strong drink, or whatsoever thy soul asketh of thee, and thou shalt eat it there before Yahwè thy God, and rejoice, thou and thy household and the Levite that is within thy gates.' Now, this tenth is actually called the first-fruit (*rēšîth*, רֵאשִׁית) in Dt. 26 2, and is accompanied by a further regulation as regards ritual, which may very well have been in accordance with ancient custom, although the text itself appears to be a later addition (see Steuernagel, *ad loc.*): the regulation, namely, that the Israelite who makes the offering is to put a small portion of the tithe into a basket, and set it down before the altar of Yahwè, and in doing so to make use of a prescribed form of prayer.

10. Third year tithe. Along with these general regulations regarding the tithe D gives also a special one for the tithe of every third year (14 28 *f.*); every third year the entire tithe is to be expended at home on the poor and indigent, in which category the Levite also is included in D, no part of it being applied to a sacrificial meal in the sanctuary. In devoting the tithe to this purpose, also, a special prayer is to be used, which is given in Dt. 26 12 *ff.* This tithe constitutes one of the main sources of income of the rural priesthood (see below, § 17). This shows that by 'the third year' we are to understand not a fixed date holding good for the whole country, but a relative one, falling differently in different places or with different families, yet always in such a way that every year some portion of the Israelite nation was paying its 'tithe of the third year' for the poor and similar objects. It is a debatable question whether by this tenth of the third year we are to understand a second tithe every third year over and above the yearly tithe that has already been spoken of. The precept was interpreted in this sense by 𝔊, which gives 'the second tithe' (τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδέκατον) for שנת המעשר, 'in the year of tithing,' in Dt. 26 12, and the same view is taken by some modern scholars (*e.g.*, Steuernagel). For various reasons, however, it seems highly improbable. In the first place, we should have expected in the text of the law some kind of explicit indication that quite another tithe than the preceding—a second tithe, in fact—is being spoken of; but of this there is no hint. Moreover, the imposition of a due of two-tenths of the whole produce of the field over and above the various payments exigible by the state would be something quite unusual and unheard of, and not at all in harmony with the general spirit of Deuteronomy. It is not permissible to evade this argument by answering that the yearly tithe paid in Jerusalem was not a tenth reckoned with any precision. The exact opposite would seem to be the fact, if it is remembered that the 'renewal' in D, as contrasted with the old law, consisted precisely in this, that for a sacrificial offering to be made at discretion was substituted an offering of which the amount was precisely determined by law, and that amount fixed at one-tenth of the total produce.

A later decision in Dt. 18 4 further enacts that the priest has a claim to the best of the corn, the wine, and the oil, as well as of the sheep-shearing; over and above the tithe the *rēšîth* also. This again is not in the spirit of D, which regards the *rēšîth* and the tithe as identical (see above, § 8). We have here again an expression of the growing claims of the priests, who in other directions also were dissatisfied with the revenues assigned to them by D (see below, § 13).

11. Firstlings. The course of the development of the offering of the firstlings ran parallel with that of the offering of first-fruits. For its origin, see above, § 2. The law of the older decalogue in Ex. 34 19 *f.* runs, 'every firstborn is mine, and all the cattle that is male, the firstlings of ox and sheep. But the firstling of an ass thou shalt redeem with a sheep, or, if thou wilt not redeem it, then thou shalt break its neck. All the firstborn of thy sons thou shalt redeem.' The expression *péter réḥem* (פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם) means the first offspring

of the mother, not the earliest of the animals born year after year (cp WRS *Rel. Sem.* 462 *f.*). Here, accordingly, even at this early date the demand is extended to human beings and to animals that cannot be offered in sacrifice. This is, in point of fact, however, quite secondary; the original precept had reference only to sacrificial animals. For it may be taken as certain that genuine Yahwism was always opposed to human sacrifices, and therefore that in the law of the redemption of the human firstborn we are to see not a toning down of an ancient custom which had demanded human sacrifice, but only an expedient for extending the precept relating to firstlings so as to include men and non-sacrificial animals. We should also take note of the parallelism with the first-fruits of the ground, and consider how opposed to such sacrifices is the entire character of the sacrificial system in ancient Israel so far as we know it. Literary analysis also shows that the words in question are secondary. In the original ten short words (see DECALOGUE, col. 1050) the precept probably ran, 'every first birth is mine'—a law which, as matter of course, applied only to animals capable of being offered. See further, FIRSTBORN; SACRIFICE, § 3; also ISAAC, § 4.

In the Book of the Covenant also, Ex. 22 29 [28], the claim to the human firstborn is made; but here, too, the originality of the clause is highly questionable. To begin with, the position of the firstborn of men—between the fruits of the field and offerings from the herd—is remarkable. Moreover, it would be unnatural to understand the requirement literally; it must be supplemented by the precept of redemption; but this highly important point is not mentioned, although in view of the inclination occasionally shown by the people to offer human sacrifices, it could hardly be omitted as too self-evident. With reference to offerings of the firstborn there is added the further detail that the animals are to be sacrificed on the eighth day after birth.

We know not at what date it was that the law relating to human firstborn first became general. The deuteronomistic passage in Ex. 13 11 *f.* presupposes it as a settled custom. D itself (Dt. 14 23 15 19) has nothing to say on the subject; D plainly has no intention of laying down a complete law about offerings of firstborn, but only of settling points where traditional custom had necessarily to be departed from in consequence of the centralisation of worship. The chief stress accordingly is laid upon the injunction that this offering is to be made year by year at the place which Yahwè will choose. This, but still more the further command not to do any work with the firstling of cattle or to shear the firstling of the flock (Dt. 15 20 [19]), shows that, according to the intention of D, the animal was not to be offered exactly on the eighth day after birth. That the offering of the firstborn was to be made precisely at the Passover feast is nowhere expressly laid down; but the connection into which the two are brought in the narrative of the exodus (Ex. 13 11 *ff.*) shows that their union had already been accomplished at the time when that account was written (cp PASSOVER). Since blemished animals could not be offered in sacrifice it is enjoined that they are to be consumed as ordinary food under the same conditions as those applied to ordinary slaughtering in D (Dt. 15 21 *ff.*). Substitution, or redemption of such animals, is not required; but this does not exclude the possibility that the custom nevertheless existed, since D, as already remarked, does not start with the intention of giving a complete law on this subject. From all these considerations it is plain that here also there is no question of a 'due' in the strict sense of that word, but only of an offering. Like the first-fruits so also ought the firstlings to be set apart for a sacrificial meal in which of course the priest has his usual share (see below, § 16).

12. In D.

It is on this last point that P makes a characteristic change affecting principle; all offerings of firstlings are now, for the first time, converted into simple dues payable to the priests, the fixed offerings become mere taxes. Even Ezekiel (44 30) had demanded for the priests the first of all firstlings of everything (רֵאשִׁית כָּל־בִּכּוּרֵי כֹל). But the Priestly Code claims not merely a portion but the whole of the firstlings for the priests; all the first-fruits of corn, wine, and oil are handed over by Yahwè to the priests (Nu. 18 12 *ff.*). The entire tithe belongs to the Levites, who, in turn, have to make over their tenth part of this to the priests (Nu. 18 20 *ff.*). The firstlings of clean beasts are offered in kind; after their blood has been sprinkled on the altar and the fat burnt, the flesh falls to the priests. The firstborn of unclean beasts, and of man, must be redeemed. The redemption money belongs to the priest (Nu. 18 15 *ff.*, cp Neh. 10 37). The amount of the redemption money is in the case of human firstborn fixed at five shekels (Nu. 18 16; cp Dillmann, *in loc.*). In the case of unclean beasts the estimated value is to be paid with addition of a fifth (Lev. 27 26 *f.*; certainly secondary).

13. In P.

Apart from this change in the scope of the law, P shows a quite extraordinary advance in the amount of such payments. The firstborn is given to the priests; but the Passover remains unaffected by this. In the case of fruits of the earth the payment of the *rēšīth* is retained as well as that of the tithes already enjoined in D (see above, § 9; Nu. 18 12 20 *ff.*), and, besides the 'best' of the winepress and the threshing floor, there is demanded payment of the first-fruits (*bikkūrīm*, בִּכּוּרִים) of all that grows in the field. What we are to understand by this expression is not quite certain. The most probable interpretation still is that which takes it as referring to the fruits that have come earliest to maturity (Nu. 18 13, EV 'first-ripe'; cp the commentaries). Over and above all this we find in Nu. 15 17 *ff.* the further demand that the first of the עֲרִיסָה, *'ărīsāh* ('dough' [EV]? 'coarse meal' [RVmg.]? 'kneading trough'? see FOOD, § 1 *a*), a cake, must also be given. In accordance with this the post-exilic community drew a distinction between *rēšīth* and *bikkūrīm*, and paid on both. In Neh. 10 36-38 the entire community comes under a solemn obligation to bring the *bikkūrīm* of all fruits of the tilled land and of all trees to the temple, and moreover to pay to the priests the *rēšīth* of the wine and oil and tree fruits, and also of the *'ărīsāh*—all this to be, along with the tithe, the portion of the Levites (cp Neh. 12 44 13 5 2 Ch. 31 5 12). Finally, Lev. 19 23 enjoins that the fruit of newly-planted trees must not be eaten within the first three years, and that in the fourth year the entire yield must be given to Yahwè—that is, to the priests.

Nor is even this enough; the decision preserved in Lev. 27 32 *f.* includes cattle also in the tithe; the offerer in rendering this tithe must not select the animals: each tenth head at the counting belongs to Yahwè. If, however, it should so chance that one animal has been changed for another, both shall belong to the sanctuary. Even in Neh. 10 37-39 (cp 12 44-47 13 5 12) there is no allusion to any such law. It must, therefore, have come into existence at a later date.

In real life such a tithing of cattle is impracticable. But the legal theorist did not concern himself about any such consideration as that; he was able, therefore, to put the copestone on his system by that extraordinary enactment which assigns to the tribe of Levi forty-eight cities, each having a territory of 2000 cubits square (cp LEVITES, § 6). The impossibility of carrying out such a theory is demonstrated by any map of Palestine. But nothing can better reveal the spirit underlying such legislation than the fact that the lawgiver in the same breath in which he assigns these forty-eight cities to the Levites alleges, as a reason for the dues he is imposing, that the Levites had received no inheritance in land like the other tribes.

14. Levitical cities.

Another point deserves notice: in Ezekiel the people

already pay their dues as a tax to the prince, who, however, has laid upon him in return the responsibility for the expenses of the public worship (Ezek. 45 13 *ff.*). In P it is the priests who receive these taxes; but they keep them to themselves: the support of the regular cultus is not their concern. On the contrary, a further tax has to be levied for that purpose; a poll tax of half a shekel has to be exacted (Ex. 30 11 *ff.*). With the spread of the Persian monetary system the third of a shekel found its way into Palestine, and accordingly in Neh. 10 32 [33] we find the temple tax fixed at that amount. The coinage of the Maccabees reverted to the older type, and thus in the time of Jesus we find the temple tax again fixed at half a shekel (Mt. 17 24 27; cp Benzinger, *HA* 193).

15. Expenses of worship.

As to the manner in which priestly service was paid in the early period we know very little. At first the priest was not so much a sacrificer as a guardian of the image and giver of oracles whose business it was to impart Yahwè's *tōrāh* or oracle to those who consulted him (see PRIESTS). It may with safety be assumed that the priest received payment for communicating the oracle, precisely as did seers such as Samuel, Ahijah, and the like (1 S. 9 7 *f.* 1 K. 14 2 *f.*). When a sacrificer came to the sanctuary and arranged a sacrificial meal, he naturally invited the priest to it, or gave him some portion of the flesh for such service as he had rendered. But these gifts were voluntary, and regulated not by law but by custom.[1] The priests' right to a definite share is not recognised; this is proved by the story of the sons of Eli (1 S. 2 13 *ff.*), who demand a tribute of flesh, and even take it by force instead of accepting what is voluntarily given, but in doing so show themselves to be 'sons of Belial,' heedless of law and priestly duty, thus bringing the offering of Yahwè into contempt.

16. Priests' revenue.

It is clear that at the greater sanctuaries, and particularly at Jerusalem, a fixed practice gradually established itself in regard to this, with the result that a definite share of the offering and certain other perquisites fell to the lot of the priests. As early as in David's time, we learn that the shewbread loaves in the sanctuary were the priests' perquisite, although they could also be eaten by ceremonially pure laymen (1 S. 21 3 *ff.*). With regard to a considerably later period we find that the fines paid to the sanctuary for various (presumably ceremonial) offences also fell to the priests (2 K. 12 16 [17]). On the other hand, the income from voluntary gifts and votive offerings was to be applied to the maintenance of the temple; the control of this money was taken from the priests because they applied the whole of it to their own uses (2 K. 12 4 [5] *ff.*). This was by royal ordinance; possibly tradition had previously sanctioned such an application of the revenues. Finally, we gather from 2 K. 23 9 that the unleavened bread, or meal offering, with which no sacrificial meal was associated, fell to the priests.

17. In D.

The priestly revenues are legally regulated for the first time in D. It is not impossible that the practice in Jerusalem lies at the basis of its provisions. In any case the legislation had a very special motive for thus disposing of the questions involved. For by the centralisation of the worship the priests of the high places and rural altars were made penniless. To remedy this, D gives the Levites the right to discharge priestly functions in the sanctuary at Jerusalem, and to share in the temple revenues (Dt. 18 6 *f.*). But if all priests were thus relegated to the sanctuary at Jerusalem it is easy to see that the dues for offerings there required to be strictly regulated and perhaps also raised. The right of the priests as towards the people who sacrificed in the temple now became definite (Dt. 18 3); the shoulder, the two cheeks, and the maw of every animal sacrificed belonged to the priests. That such a provision was wholly inadequate in view of the increased number of clergy and the diminished number of offerings in consequence of the centralisation, was seen by the Deuteronomist himself. The rural priests, accordingly, are bidden to look specially to the sacrificial meals set on foot by the offerers; but at the same time details as to this are left to the charitable disposition of the worshippers (Dt. 12 12 18 *f.*). For the tithe of the third year (Dt. 14 28 *f.* 26 12 *ff.*) and for the *rēšith* assigned in a subsequent decision to the priests (Dt. 18 4), see above, § 9 *f.*

[1] 1 S. 2 28, where 'all the offerings of the children of Israel made by fire are assigned to the priests, is of post-deuteronomic origin; cp Dt. 18 1.

18. Later.

These dues to the priests increased in amount also, like the other dues, in process of time. In Ezekiel (44 28 *ff.*), besides the minḥah, the sin-offering, the guilt-offering, and 'every devoted thing' are handed over to the priesthood. According to P the priests receive, in addition to the dues mentioned above (first-fruits, etc.), 'the most holy things'—*i.e.*, the minḥah, the sin-offering, and the guilt-offering in so far as these are not burnt; they may be eaten only by males of the family of Aaron, and that only 'in the holy place'; what is left over must be burnt (Nu. 18 8 *f.* Lev. 10 12 *f.*, cp Ex. 29 32 *ff.*). So also with the shewbread (Lev. 24 9). Of the burnt-offering, the skin of the animal sacrificed belongs to the priest (Lev. 7 8; this may perhaps have been an ancient custom), of the peace-offerings the right thigh and the breast (Lev. 7 34 Ex. 29 27 *f.*), and, besides, one cake of each meal-offering, of whatever kind, offered along with these (Lev. 7 13). With the breast of the peace-offering which belongs to the priest is performed the peculiar ceremony of waving; that is to say, the priest swings it upon his hands towards the altar and back again, a symbolical representation of the idea that this portion is presented to Yahwè as a gift, but by him delivered over to his servant (Lev. 7 30-34 9 21 10 14 Nu. 6 20). The thigh pertaining to the priests is always designated as 'the heave thigh' (Lev. 7 34). This expression presumably does not refer to any special ceremony analogous to that of waving, but is intended to denote that the part in question is 'lifted up' from the offering as the priests' perquisite (cp SACRIFICE, §§ 14, 21 *a*, 29 *a*). The last-named portions of the burnt-offerings and peace-offerings may be consumed by the male and female members of the priests' families alike, and in any clean place—and thus, without the sanctuary (Lev. 10 14 *f.* Nu. 18 9). The slaves also of the priest may eat of it; but not (for example) daughters married to 'strangers'—*i.e.*, to men who are not priests. And if a 'stranger'—say, for example, a hired servant of the priest—'unwittingly' eat of it, he shall pay to the priest the value of the holy thing with an added fifth (Lev. 22 10 *ff.*).

With further detail as regards the rights of priests it is laid down that the guilt-offering and the sin-offering, as well as the skin of the burnt-offering, shall belong to the officiating priest (Lev. 5 7 *f.*); of the meal-offering he is entitled to all that is 'baked in the oven or dressed in the frying-pan and in the baking-pan'; the rest shall belong to the priesthood as a whole (Lev. 7 9 *f.*); of peace-offerings the wave breast seems to have pertained to the priesthood in general, whilst the acting priest received the shoulder and the cakes (Lev. 7 31; cp 7 33 14).

The more detailed regulations of post-biblical times will be found collected in a series of tractates in the Mishna: *Tĕrūmōth*, *Ma'ăśērōth*, *Ma'ăśēr shēnī*, *Challā*, *'Orlā*, *Bikkūrīm*, *Shĕḳālīm*, *Bĕkōrōth*. See, further, Wellh. *Prol.*(4), 149 *ff.* and *passim*; the archæological text-books of De Wette, Ewald, Keil, Schegg, Benzinger, Nowack, and the articles 'Erstgeburt' and 'Erstlingsopfer' in *PRE*, Winer, Schenkel, and Riehm. I. B.

TEACHER.[1] In the earliest stage of the Christian Church the two most striking figures are those of the apostle and the prophet. In several important passages a third figure is found in their company, that of the teacher (διδάσκαλος).

[1] In the OT Hab. 2 18, etc., the word is מוֹרֶה; for later terms see EDUCATION, §§ 15-17.

Thus in 1 Cor. 12 28, Paul declares that 'God hath set in the Church first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers. . .' In his enumeration of gifts in Rom. 12 6-8 we have the order 'prophecy,' 'ministry' (διακονίαν), 'he that teacheth,' 'he that exhorteth,' and so forth. And in Eph. 4 11, 'apostles,' 'prophets,' 'evangelists,' 'pastors (ποιμένας) and teachers' are among the gifts of Christ to his Church. In Acts 13 1 we read of 'prophets and teachers' as belonging to the church in Antioch.

These notices taken together suggest a class of men endowed with a spiritual gift for the instruction of the Church, and taking rank next after the apostles and the prophets. Their function probably consisted in a Christian exposition of the OT scriptures and an application of the Gospel to the needs of common life, and stood in contrast with the enthusiastic utterances of the prophets. The vagueness of the term 'teachers' might suggest that it included any who gave instruction, and that the word denoted a function rather than a permanent office. It is quite likely that this was so at first. The use of the word as a title, however, is assured by the evidence of the *Didaché*, where, although teachers are far less prominent than prophets, they are joined with them as a cognate class, and honour is claimed for 'the bishops and deacons' on the ground that 'they too minister the ministry of the prophets and teachers.'

In the African church the title remains to the beginning of the third century, and is found in conjunction with that of 'presbyter.' Thus we have in the *Passion of St. Perpetua* (ch. 13) a mention of 'Aspasius the presbyter-doctor' (cp Cypr. *ep.* 29). About the same time Origen as a layman at the head of the Christian school in Alexandria affords the most illustrious example of the exercise of the gift of teaching apart from the regular orders of the ministry.

Of these three grades of what was pre-eminently 'the ministry of the word,' in contradistinction to official administration, each in its turn ceased to exist as a separate order. The apostles are the first to disappear. The Twelve and Paul passed away by death, and in the next generation the title was already becoming sacred to them; the apostles of the *Didaché* are a survival, destined immediately to disappear. The prophets on the contrary are still in full power, at any rate in certain localities. Yet even they show premonitory symptoms of decay; and the failure of the Montanistic movement to re-establish them as a permanent order in the Church led to the final disappearance of prophecy as an institution. The teachers fulfilled a ministry which would naturally grow in importance as the authoritative voices of apostles and prophets were ceasing to be heard, and as the inroad of heresy increased the demand for the grace of true teaching. That they too ceased to be a distinct class in the Church was due to the fact that their duties were taken over more and more by the administrative order, which gathered round its chief representatives many of the functions and much of the prestige of apostles, prophets and teachers alike. Cp MINISTRY, § 39.

J. A. R.

TEBAH (טֶבַח; ταβεκ [AD], -χ [L]), a son of NAHOR by Reumah (a corruption of Jerahmeel), Gen. 22 24. The names in the Nahorite genealogy (*vv.* 20-24) make a southern (*i.e.*, N. Arabian) connection very plausible. Against this we must not quote 'Aram,' for 'Aram' (*i.e.*, Jerahmeel) is *primarily* a N. Arabian name. The brethren of 'Ṭebaḥ' are Gaham (rather, Naḥam, ג and נ being confounded), Taḥash (*i.e.*, Ḥushah = Cushah ?), and Maacah. Nor can we safely urge that BETAH in 2 S. 8 8 (which, if 𝔊 may be trusted, is miswritten for Ṭebaḥ) or Ṭibḥath in 1 Ch. 18 8 (for which Pesh. has טבח) was a city of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah; for it is maintained elsewhere (ZOBAH) that the wars of David referred to were in the S., not in the N., and that for 'Hadad-ezer, ben Reḥob, king of Zobah,' the original narrative had 'Hadad, ben Reḥob[oth], king of Miṣṣur.' We can now for the first time, as it seems, give an altogether satisfactory explanation of 2 S. 8 8 and the ‖ 1 Ch. 18 8, as well as of 1 K. 7 45 *f.* (with ‖ in Ch.). Beṭaḥ turns out to be nearer the truth than Ṭebaḥ. The Sam. passage should run thus, 'And from Reḥoboth, the city of Hadad, king David took brass in great abundance,' while in the latter the name of the city should be 'Reḥoboth-jeraḥmeel.'[1] It would seem that there was more than one Jeraḥmeelite city called 'Jeraḥmeel,' at least if we are right in supposing that the city, whose capture by David is described in 2 S. 12 26 *ff.*, was not 'Rabbath' but 'Reḥoboth (of the Jeraḥmeelites).'

Had the redactor who is responsible for the present form of the narrative in 2 S. 8 3 *ff.* a conception such as is geographically possible of the geography of David's 'Aramæan' campaign? In order to answer in the affirmative we should have to emend 'from Beṭaḥ and from Berothai' (מִבֶּטַח וּמִבֵּרֹתַי) into 'from Ṭebaḥ and *from Ṭabbur*' (מִטֶּבַח וּמִטַּבּוּר). Ṭebaḥ might be the Tubiḫi of the Am. Tablets (127, 5, 14, etc.), the Dibḫu of the List of Thotmes III. (*RP*(2), 5 43; Sayce, *Acad.*, Feb. 21, '1891; WMM *As. u. Eur.* 173 396). In the 'Travels of an Egyptian' (*RP*(2), 109 111; Brugsch, *Gesch. Æg.* 340) Kadesh on the Orontes, Tubiḫi, Tiḫis (see THAHASH), and Dapuru appear as neighbouring places.

We now turn to 1 K. 7 45*b*-47, the difficulties of which neither Benzinger nor Kittel appear to have altogether removed; the help which the former scholar derives from 𝔊L is illusory. It should be noticed that the current rendering, 'of burnished brass,' for נחשת ממרט, puts an undue strain on the root-meaning of מרט. We cannot pause to investigate Is. 18 2 7 Ezek. 21 14-16 [9-11], but may suggest that even the RV must not be followed blindly. The key to 1 K. *l.c.* (and the ‖ 2 Ch. 4 16 *f.*) is furnished by 1 Ch. 18 8*b*, which shows that the original narrative of Hiram the artificer stated that the brass came from a city of Hadad, king of Miṣṣur. In short, the ממרט of K. and the מרוק of Ch. come respectively from מִבֶּטַח and מֵרְחֹבוֹת, and the second of these readings is the better. בככר and הירדן which follow are corrupt forms of a dittographed ירחמאל (see JORDAN, § 2 [2]).

The result is that 1 K. 7 46 2 Ch. 4 17 should run thus, 'Of brass from Reḥoboth-jeraḥmeel did Jeraḥmeel [*i.e.*, 'Hiram'; see HAMMELECH] cast them, in Maacath-aram, between Maacath and Zarephath' (cp SUCCOTH, ZARETHAN). An imaginary place 'Ṭebaḥ' has in fact usurped a part of the honour which rightly belongs to REHOBOTH [*q.v.*]. Cp the commentaries.

T. K. C.

TEBALIAH (טְבַלְיָהוּ, perhaps for Tobliyyahu, 'Yahwè is gracious to me,' § 38; ταβλαι [B], ταβελιας [A], ταβεηλ [L]), a Merarite doorkeeper (1 Ch. 26 11). But (in spite of 𝔊) the name should possibly be read טוֹבִיָּהוּ (perhaps from טבויהו misread טבליהו); cp TOBIJAH, 1, also TABEEL.[2]

S. A. C.

TEBETH (טֵבֵת), Esth. 2 16. See MONTH, § 2.

TEHAPHNEHES (תְּחַפְנְחֵס), Ezek. 30 18. See TAHPANHES.

TEHINNAH (תְּחִנָּה, as if 'supplication,' § 74; cp *OS* 166 6 θανα χαρις), father of IR-NAHASH, 1 Ch. 4 12† (θαιμαν [B], θανα [A], θεεννα [L]).

If RECAH (*q.v.*) is rightly corrected to Recab, Tehinnah should almost certainly be קִינָה, KINAH[3] (Josh. 15 22), *i.e.*, a settlement of the Kenites. See IR-NAHASH.

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[1] In 2 S. *l.c.* בטח and ברתי are both fragmentary representations of רחבות (Reḥoboth), and in 1 Ch. *l.c.* טבחת ומכון represents רחבות ירחמאל (Reḥoboth-jeraḥmeel). For the latter emendation, cp probably קמון miswritten in Judg. 10 5 for ירחמאל. Note, however, that 𝔊BNAL's ἐκλεκτῶν implies בחרות, which is virtually רחבות, a correction of טבח; ומכון is not represented. Cp MEROM.

[2] According to Cheyne, the name is probably either from תֻּבָלִי, 'a man of TUBAL' (*q.v.*), or, if יהו is correct, from תבל ירחמאל, Tubal-jeraḥ[meel] (cp תובל קין, 'Tubal-ḳain'). Cp ZEDEKIAH, § 1.

[3] When ק had become ת, it was natural for a pious scribe to prefix ת, and so get the meaning 'supplication.'

Pesh. has, 'he begat Ja'azer,' for which reading there is no obvious reason. T. K. C.

TEIL TREE (אֵלָה), Is. 6 13 AV, RV TEREBINTH (*q.v.*).

TEKOA or **TEKOAH** (תְּקוֹעַ, תְּקוֹעָה,[1] hardly = 'settlement,' from √תקע, to strike [tent-pegs into the ground]; θεκωε[2]), gentilic **Tekoite** (תְּקוֹעִים[ו], θεκω(ε)ιτης[3]), 'woman of Tekoa' (תקועית, θεκωειτις [BA] -κουι. [L]), a city S. of Bethlehem, on the borders of the wilderness to which it gave name (מדבר תְּקוֹעַ, 2 Ch. 20 20, την ερημον θ., 1 Macc. 9 33). Assuming that the same place is always meant, we find it mentioned as the residence of a 'wise woman' who interceded for Absalom; as one of the towns fortified by Rehoboam; and as the birthplace of the prophet Amos (2 S. 14 2 1 Ch. 2 24 2 Ch. 20 20 Jer. 6 1 Am. 1 1). It is also mentioned in Josh. 15 59 𝔊[BAL] (*θεκω*) where it heads the list of eleven towns wanting in MT (Tekoa, Ephrathah which is Bethlehem, Peor [see under ETAM, 1], Etam, Kulon [*q.v.*], Tatam, Sores [see SEIR, 2], Karem [*q.v.*], Galem [*q.v.*], Bether [*q.v.*] and Manocho [see MANAHATH, 3]). It comes also into an obscure genealogy in 1 Ch. 4 5-8 where Tekoa (cp 1 Ch. 2 24) figures as son of ASSHUR and (if for COZ we ought to read Tekoa) as father of Anub and Zobebah, and the families of Aharhel[4] (ἀδελφοῦ Ρηχαβ) son of Harum (*i.e.*, Jearim; see 𝔊[BA]). Still assuming that there is only one Tekoa, we may identify it with the modern *Teḳû'a*, which lies six miles S. of Bethlehem, on an elevated hill, not steep, but broad at the top, and covered with ruins to the extent of four or five acres. These consist chiefly of the foundations of houses built of squared stones, some of which are bevelled. The middle of the space is occupied by the ruins of a Greek church. The site commands extensive prospects (cp AMOS, § 3), and towards the E. is bounded only by the level mountains of Moab. Before and during the Crusades Tekoa was well inhabited by Christians; but in 1138 A.D. it was sacked by a party of Turks from beyond the Jordan, and nothing further is known of it till the seventeenth century, when it lay desolate, as it has ever since done.

It is, however, by no means certain that all the references to 'Tekoa' mean the same place. In Jer. 6 1, for instance, a more southerly place is meant (see TEL-HARSHA). It is contended elsewhere (see PROPHET, §§ 26, 40; ZAPHON) that it is a Jeraḥmeelite invasion that is most probably apprehended; the places mentioned should be sought in the Negeb. Amos too was hardly a native of the Tekoa, S. of Bethlehem (see PROPHET, §§ 10, 35). And in 1 Ch. 4 4 *f.*, just as 'Beth-lehem' is not the place in Judah so called but Beth-jeraḥmeel in the Negeb, so 'Tekoa' is more southerly than the best known place of that name.

T. K. C.

TEL-ABIB (תֵּל אָבִיב[5]; μετεωρος, see below; [*ad*] *acervum novarum frugum*), the seat of a colony of Jewish exiles (Ezek. 3 15†). To a Hebrew ear the name meant 'Mound (hill) of ears of corn' (cp ABIB). As, however, Friedrich Delitzsch has pointed out,[6] if it

[1] The ending is hardly locative; תקועה in 2 S. 14 2 is probably a corruption of בֵּית מַעֲכָה 'Beth-maacah' (= Beth-jeraḥmeel, see SAUL, § 4), a 'wise woman' of which place is mentioned in connection with Joab in 2 S. 20 15 *f.* Very possibly too, we may explain תקוע itself as a primitive popular corruption of בית מַעֲכָה.

[2] The variants are: 2 S. 14 2 *θεκουε* [L], 1 Ch. 2 24 *θεκως* [A], 4 5 *θεκωμ'* [A], Jer. 6 1 Am. 1 1 *θεκουε*.

[3] The variants are: 2 S. 23 26 *θεκεϊ* [L], 1 Ch. 11 28 *ὁθεκω* [Bא], *ὁ θεκωι* [A], 27 9, *θεκωνειτης* [B], Neh 3 5 27 *θεκωειμ* [אAL], *-ειν* [B and א in *v.* 27], *θεκωῖται* [L *v.* 27].

[4] Surely אחרחל is one of the numerous distortions of ירחמאל. Grüneisen's pointing אַחַרְחֵל (*Ahnencultus*, 257), leads to no satisfactory explanation. Cp 𝔊[L], τῆς τοῦ αραιηλ ἀδελφοῦ ρηχαβ.

[5] 'Tel' (Ass. *til*[*l*]*u*), in ancient, as in modern times, formed the first part of the name of many Babylonian places situated near a mound of ruins of a previous settlement (cp תֵּל, Dt. 13 17 [16] Josh. 8 28). Cp TEL-HARSHA, TEL-MELAH, and TELASSAR (Tel-Asshur).

[6] *Calwer Bib.-Lexikon*(2), 901 *a*.

is a Babylonian place-name, the right form ought to be Tel-abub (*Til-abubi*). Abûbu ('flood-storm' or 'storm-flood'?) is the proper Assyrian word for the Deluge (see DELUGE, § 13, n. 1); Til-abubi, as a Babylonian name, might mean either a mound of ruins so ancient (cp חרבות עולם) that it was called a Deluge-mound, or one that had been produced by the rushing in (possible at any time) of a cyclone from the Persian Gulf. There is a common phrase in the Assyrian inscriptions, 'I made (or, destroyed) the city like a *til-abubi*.'[1]

If, however, the view advocated in PROPHET, § 27, is correct, and Ezekiel together with Jehoiachin and his fellow-exiles resided in N. Arabia, we must look out for another explanation. And it so happens that this view (the 'Jeraḥmeelite theory') supplies the only key to the manifold corruptions of the single passage in which Tel-abib occurs (see *Crit. Bib.*). The text of Ezek. 3 14 *f.* which results from the application of this key runs thus:[2]—

(14) 'And (the) spirit lifted me up and took me to Maacath of Jeraḥmeel, and the hand of Yahwè upon me was strong. (15) And I came to the company of exiles, to Tel-arab [Ishmael, by the river of Jeraḥmeel], and to Tel-asshur [Jeraḥmeel, Ishmael], and there for seven days I dwelt among them astonished.'

The text which underlies 𝔊 is only slightly different; *μετέωρος* = ירחמאל = רָם; *καὶ περιῆλθον* = ואסוב = ו[תל]אשור. Probably we may restore it thus in *v.* 15:

'And I came to the company of exiles, to Tel-jeraḥmeel and Tel-asshur [Ishmael, by the river of Jeraḥmeel, Ishmael].'

Thus, combining MT and 𝔊, we are led to suspect that Tel-arab and Tel-jeraḥmeel were two names for the same place. We know of a 'valley (גיא) of Jeraḥmeel' (see SALT, VALLEY OF) and also, probably, of a 'wādy' (נחל) of 'Arab.'[3] We also find a Tel-melaḥ or Tel-jeraḥmeel in Ezra-Neh. (see TEL-MELAH), and, as a probable equivalent of Tel-asshur, Tel-harsha or Tel-ashḥur (see TEL-HARSHA). Very possibly, however, a further result awaits us. תל, wherever it occurs in compound names, is simply a short way of writing תובל, TUBAL (*q.v.*). See *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

TELAH (תֶּלַח, θαλεες [B], θαλε [A], θαλα [L]), mentioned in the list of the b'ne Ephraim (1 Ch. 7 25).

There are, however, several corrupt repetitions in this section (1 Ch. 7 20 *ff.*), and it is probable that תלח is a corruption of שותלח; cp Wellhausen, *Prol.*(4) 214. See EPHRAIM, § 12, SHUTHELAH.

TELAIM (טְלָאִים), 1 S. 15 4, and **Telam** (Heb. מֵעוֹלָם), 1 S. 27 8 RV[mg.]. See TELEM.

TELASSAR (תְּלַ[א]שָּׂר; θαεσθεν [B], θαλασσαρ [AL] in Ki., *ἐν χώρᾳ*, *θεεμα* [א* (sup ras ε 2° fort ο)], *-θ* [B], *θεμαν* [א[c]], *θαιμαδ* [A], *θαι* [*μα*]*θ* [O[vid]], *θαιμαν* [Q]; *thelassar*).

Telassar is named in 2 K. 19 12 (Is. 37 12) as the location of the 'children of Eden.' The places Gozan, Haran, and Rezeph named before Telassar follow an order from E. to W. This suggests that 'the children of Eden' once dwelt nearer to Palestine (Judah?) than Rezeph, which was W. of the Euphrates. The conquest of these cities is ascribed to the kings, 'my fathers,' who had preceded Sennacherib.

The identification of 'the children of Eden' with the Bît Adini of the Assyrian Inscriptions already made by Schrader (*KAT*(2), 327) has more or less difficulty (cp BETH-EDEN) according to the situation in which this widely scattered Aramaic folk are supposed to be located. The Bît Adini of the earlier times formed a powerful race inhabiting the district S. of Edessa, over Ḥaran between the Balîkh (on the E. of which lay Gozan) and the Euphrates. But it also included a wide strip on the W. bank of the Euphrates, in which lay many large cities. This country made strong resistance to Asur-nâṣir-pal (*KB* 1 64, 102, 104, 116), but was finally conquered by Shalmaneser II. (858 B.C.). Shalmaneser changed many of the city names, among others giving to Nappigi (Ṃabbûg, Bambyke) the name of Lita-Ašur (*KB* 1 132 156 162). There was also

[1] Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'abubu'; Schr. *KAT*(2) 234 (29), 262 (1).

[2] It will be understood that the words in [ ] are presumed to be glosses. Arabia, Ishmael, Jeraḥmeel, and Asshur were in fact, as, in the present writer's view, the phenomena of the Psalms abundantly show, practically synonymous to the later writers.

[3] In Am. 6 14 חמת is probably a corruption of Maacath (a Jeraḥmeelite name) and נַחַל הָעֲרָבָה of נ׳ עֲרָב = נ׳ עַרְבִים (so read) in Is. 15 7. See *Crit. Bib.*

a branch of the Aramaic Bît Dakkûri who lay E. of the Tigris in Babylonia. A third settlement of the Bît Adini is associated by Tiglath-pileser III. with Ḥaurān, 'Azaz, and Aribua, in Syria, which may possibly be the 'house of Eden' referred to in Amos 1 5 (Winckler, *AOF* 1 104). Whether the children of Eden had their home in Telassar and were now deported elsewhere, or whether they had been deported to Telassar will depend on the identifications adopted.

It is tempting to recognise in Telassar the Tîl-Aššuri of Tiglath-pileser III. (Tiele, *BAG* 231); and of Esarhaddon (*KB* 2 128 144). But these passages show that there were two different places of that name. The first was certainly in Babylonia; but there is no indication that the Bît Adini were settled there. The second was inhabited by an Aramaic people, the Bît Parnaki, and Esarhaddon says that the place had native names Miḥrânu and Pitânu. Miḥrânu suggests Tell Machrê, which would place it NE. of the Tigris (?). But unless the Bît Parnaki were a branch of the Bît Adini, there is nothing to connect this Tîl-Aššuri with 'the children of Eden.'

On the one hand, Tîl Aššuri may have been one of the names conferred by Shalmaneser on one of the conquered cities of Bît Adini, or Tel-Assar may be a corruption of Lita-Ašur, or of Tîl-bašerê a city in Shalmaneser's Bît Adini; or, on the other hand, the name Telassar may be derived from a totally different name, not yet recognised.

[The closing sentence of the preceding article opens the door for a renewed examination of the question from the point of view of SENNACHERIB, § 5. 'Rezeph' and 'the b'ne Eden in Telassar' are easily explicable if it is a king of the N. Arabian Ashḥur whose victories are referred to in 2 Ki. 19 12 (Is. 37 12). 'Eden' was a district of the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb (see PARADISE, § 7), and Tel-ashḥur is a very probable name, if we should not rather read Tubal-ashḥur. See TELHARSHA.—T. K. C.]

C. H. W. J.

TELEM (טֶלֶם), a city in the Negeb, mentioned between ZIPH and BEALOTH (Josh. 15 24; τελεμ [AL], μαιναμ [B?]). This may be the TELAIM (טְלָאִים), or perhaps rather טְלָאִם (Telam), where Saul mustered his warriors before fighting with the Amalekites. 1 S. 15 4 (MT assumes the article, בַּטּ׳; cp Vg. *quasi agnos*). Apparently there was an ancient clan called Telem, with which name the real or assumed personal names ṬELEM (טֶלֶם), ṬALMON (טַלְמוֹן), and even TALMAI (תַּלְמַי) should undoubtedly be grouped, and the importance of which may be estimated from the fact that 'Talmai' stands beside 'Sheshai' and 'Ahiman' (corruptions probably of 'Cushi' and 'Jeraḥmeel') as representing the primitive population of Kirjath-arba (rather K.-'arâb), otherwise called Hebron (rather Rehoboth). Observe too that 'Ṭalmon' occurs in 1 Ch. 9 17 beside 'Aḥiman' (Jeraḥmeel) as the name of a family of *šô'ărîm* (EV 'porters'), or rather *'aššûrîm*[1] (Asshurites), and that בעלת (Bealoth), beside which טלם (Ṭelem) occurs in Josh. 15 24, is probably miswritten for the ancient clan-name Tubal (see TUBAL-CAIN).

The place called Ṭelam must have been situated not very far from the נחל or wādy which separated the Judahite from the Amalekite territory. For the first movement of Saul was towards the cities (*v.* 5: 𝔊BL ἕως τῶν πόλεων) of Amalek on the other side (read ויעבר) of the wady (*v.* 5). Possibly there was near it a place called Gilgal (a popular corruption of Jeraḥmeel), for 𝔊BAL in 1 S. 15 4 gives 'in Gilgal' (ἐν Γαλγάλοις) instead of 'in Ṭelam.'[2] We can hardly venture to go further, and suppose that Ṭelam was regarded as itself the boundary between Judahite and Amalekite land. This supposition has indeed actually been made, and the text of 1 S. 15 7 (MT מחוילה) and 27 8 (MT מעולם) been emended accordingly.[1] This, however, implies inadequate criticism of the proper name חוילה (Ḥavilah), and the same objection may be made to Winckler, when he emends מחוילה in 15 7 into מֵעוֹלָם, in accordance with 27 8.[2]

A place called 'Olâm is highly problematical, and a better way out of the critical difficulty ought to be found. As is pointed out elsewhere (see SHUR), חוילה, like חכילה in 1 S. 23 19,[3] is miswritten for 'Jeraḥmeel.'

In 1 S. 27 8 γελαμ in γελαμψ(σ)ουρ of BA has been thought to represent Telam, which indeed a number of cursives attest. But τ may be a corruption of Γ. Klostermann ingeniously extracts נחל הבשר, 'the wady of BESOR' (*q.v.*). Cp *Exp. T* 10 239 [1899].

T. K. C.

1 See *Amer. Jour. of Theol.*, July 1901, p. 439.

2 It is also possible, however, that Γαλαλοις is a very early alteration of Τεχεμ, the better known place being substituted for the more obscure.

TELEM (טֶלֶם; τελημ [B], τελλημ [ℵAL]), a door-keeper, Ezra 10 24. In 1 Esd. 9 25 TOLBANES (τολβανης [BA]). See TELEM, 1; and cp TALMON.

TEL-HARSHA, RV for **Tel-haresha** [Neh.] and **Tel-harsa** [Ezra] (תֵּל חַרְשָׁא; Ezra θααρησα [B], θελαρ. [A], θελααρησσα [L]; Neh. αρησα [Bℵ], θελαρσα [A], θελλαρης [L]; 1 Esd., THELERSAS [EV], θελερσας [B], θελσας [A], θαλαα [και ρησα] [L]).

A place from which, according to the great post-exilic list, came certain families of doubtful origin (Ezra 2 59 = Neh. 7 61 = 1 Esd. 5 36†). The name in Hebrew might mean 'mound of the forest'; but *ḫuršu* (or *ḫursu*) in Assyrian means 'mountain-range,' whence Friedrich Delitzsch[4] proposes to explain as if *til ḫurši*, 'hill in the mountains.'

If, however, we adopt the theory (cp PROPHET, § 27) that the Israelites who returned from exile came chiefly from the Jeraḥmeelite region in N. Arabia (including the Negeb) we shall have to seek for some other explanation. In this case, חרשא will almost certainly be miswritten for אשחר—*i.e.*, Ashḥur. In 1 Ch. 2 24 Ashḥur is called the father of Tekoa, where 'Tekoa' is probably not the modern Teḳū'a, 2 hrs. S. of Benjamin, but some place farther south; cp Jer. 6 1, where 'Tekoa' is mentioned with 'Beth-haccerem,' or rather 'Beth-jeraḥmeel,' and both places are near the land of Zaphon (צפון), which apparently included Kadesh and the sacred mountain of Yahwè (see ZAPHON). On the possible identity of Tel-ashḥur with the so called Telassar, see TEL-MELAH.

T. K. C.

TEL-MELAH (תֵּל מֶלַח; θερμελεθ [B], θελμελεχ [L], μεχελ [A]), a place from which, according to the great post-exilic list, came certain families which could not prove their Israelitish origin, Ezra 2 59 = Neh. 7 61 (θερμελεθ [ℵ], θελμ. [B], θελμελεχ [AL]) = 1 Esd. 5 36 (THERMELETH [EV]; θερμελεθ [A], θελμελεΓ [L]). The name is generally supposed to be Babylonian, and since, in this case, the explanation 'hill of salt' is impossible, Friedrich Delitzsch (*Calwer Bib.-Lex.*(2) 901) would give the name as *Tîl-malaḫi*, 'sailors' hill,' on the analogy of TEL-ABIB (*q.v.*).

If, however, we follow the analogy of the names ניא מלח or ניא הַמֶּלַח, and עִיר הַמֶּלַח (see SALT, VALLEY OF, and SALT, CITY OF), Tel-melaḥ will mean 'hill of Jeraḥmeel,' and will become part of the evidence for the theory (cp PROPHET, § 27) that the Israelitish exiles who returned came mainly from the region called Jeraḥmeelite in N. Arabia (including the Negeb). The names with which Tel-melaḥ is grouped are Tel-ḥarsha and Cherub-addan-immer or 'Cherub, Addan (Ezra) or Addon (Neh.), and Immer' (וְאִמֵּר, Neh.). Two of these—viz., Cherub and Immer—at once become intelligible, if we may venture to set aside the prejudice of a Babylonian connection; both are of the same type as numerous corruptions of 'Jeraḥmeel.' Addan or Addon, too, is very possibly N. Arabian, and in spite of the initial א in Ezra-Neh., may be another form of עדן—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian 'Eden,' which is very possibly referred to (1) in the story of Paradise (see PARADISE, § 7), and (2) in the otherwise enigmatical phrases 'Beth-eden' (Amos 1 5) and 'the b'nē Eden who were in Telassar' (2 K. 19 12 = Is. 37 12). Probably we should read, for 'Cherub-addan-immer,' 'Eden of Jeraḥmeel' (עדן ירחמאל), 'cherub' and 'immer' being variants for the fuller and truer form Jeraḥmeel. TEL-HARSHA (*q.v.*) probably

1 H. P. Smith accepts מִטְּלָם in 27 8, but not in 15 7; Driver holds himself in suspense. We., Bu., and Ki. read מטילם, or מטלם, in both places. Löhr resists the temptation to change; Klost. retains MT in 15 7, but strikes out a new path in 27 8.

2 *Muṣri*, 2 (*MVG*, 1898, 4), 6.

3 Glaser needlessly emends חוילה in 1 S. into חכילה.

4 *Heb. Lang.* 16 *f.*; *Calwer Bib.-Lex.*(2) 901 ('Waldhügel' can hardly be right; cp *Ass. HWB* 293 *b*).

= Tel-ashhur, and notice again the significant phrase 'the b'nē Eden who were in Telassar,' where Telassar, the meaning of which is otherwise scarcely a soluble problem, is probably a corruption of Tel- or Tubal-ashhur. See TELASSAR (end).

T. K. C.

TEMA (תֵּימָא, and once תֵּמָא [Job 6 19]; θΑΙΜΑΝ [BℵAQΓL]), son of Ishmael (Gen. 25 15 θΗ. [DE]; 1 Ch. 1 30). The name appears as early as Jeremiah (25 23; θε. [ℵc.a] θωμεαν [ℵ*]), also in a prophetic fragment on Arabia ('land of Tema,' Is. 21 14). In both these passages it is associated with DEDAN (*q.v.*).[1] In Job 6 19 the 'caravans of Tema' (θαιμανων) are parallel to the 'companies of Sheba.' For its geographical position see ISHMAEL, § 4 [6]. In the cuneiform inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III. its people are spoken of as (*alu*) *Te-mai*—*i.e.*, belonging to the city Tēma'u (cp Schrader, *KGF* 261 *ff.*; Del. *Par.* 301 *ff.*). Its modern name is *Taimā*. The explorations of Euting have brought to light some important Aramaic inscriptions, dating from before the Persian period, which testify to the existence of a highly developed culture among the ancient Arabs of Tema (see ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2).

Special mention is made in one of them of the אלהי תימא, 'the gods of Tema,' one of the most important of whom bore the name צלם (*CIS*, 2 113 114), cp צלם שזב the name of one of his priests ('צלם saves,' a name perhaps ∥ to the biblical מְשֵׁיזַבְאֵל); see Baeth. *Beitr.* 80 *f.*, and cp ZALMUNNA.

TEMAH (תֶּמַח), the family name of a company of (post-exilic) Nethinim: Ezra 2 53 (θεμα[α] [BAL], AV THAMAH) = Neh. 7 55 (ημαθ [Bℵ], θημα [A], θεμαα [L], AV TAMAH) = 1 Esd. 5 32 THOMOI, RV THOMEI (θομθει [B], θομει [A], θεμαα [L]).

TEMAN (תֵּימָן, √ ימן, 'what is on the right hand'?—*i.e.*, 'south'; θαιμαν [BADQL], occasionally θεμ. in ℵADEQ: Vg. *Theman*, except Ezek. 25 13 Hab. 3 3, *Auster* and Ob. 9 *Meridies*; gentilic תֵּימָנִי, EV TEMANITE, in Job 22 1, תמ׳; θαιμαν(ε)ίτης, or θεμ.; occasionally θαιμανης, θεμανης, θεμανιτις [A Job 15; cp 42 17*d*]; *Themanites*).

Teman was originally the name of a clan and district (cp NAMES, § 55) of Edom, no doubt one of the oldest and most important, and is genealogically described as the eldest son of Esau's first-born son Eliphaz (Gen. 36 11 15 [θαμναν E] 1 Ch. 1 36). In Gen. 36 42 (1 Ch. 1 53) Teman is counted among the 'dukes' (*'allūph*), or clans (*'éleph*), of EDOM (*q.v.* § 4), not, however, heading the list. In the list of ancient Edomite kings we find a king called 'Husham, of the land of the Temanites (Gen. 36 34).' In Ezek. 25 13 the prophet threatens destruction to Edom 'from Teman even to Dedan.' Later writers use 'Teman' as a poetical synonym for 'Edom' (Amos 1 12 [on date, see AMOS, § 9], Ob. 9 [cp. Jer. 49 22], Jer. 49 20 Hab. 3 3 Bar. 3 22 *f.*); but in Jer. 49 7 we seem to find Teman recognised as the name of a district. 'Is wisdom no more in Teman?' must be taken in connection with the description of the oldest of Job's friends as 'the Temanite' (Job 2 11 etc.). 'Eliphaz the Edomite' would have been an insufficient description; 'Temanite' must refer to the district best known for proverbial wisdom. As to the locality intended by 'Teman,' Ezek. 25 13 (already quoted) entitles us to assume that Teman was in the N. (NE.), for the land of Dedan was certainly to the S. (SE.) of the land of Edom. (This suggests a comparison of the name with Jamin = Jerahmeel.) See Amos 1 12, where Bozrah is mentioned as the capital of Teman. Bozrah being situated in the district of Gebal (Ps. 83 8), northward from Petra, we may perhaps venture to regard the district of Teman as having much the same limits as the later district of Gebal[1] in spite of the fact that Teman and Bozrah in Amos 1 12 are the names, not merely of a district and its chief town, but of the land of Edom and its capital.

Cp Kautzsch. in Riehm, *HWB*², 1648; Buhl, *Edomiter*, 30 *f.*; Lury, *Edomiter*, 26. Trumbull (*Kadesh-barnea*, 117 *ff.*) takes a different view: Teman 'was probably the portion of Edom which lay directly S. or Teman-ward, of Canaan.' Trumbull even finds a trace of the old name in the Naḳb ('pass') *el-yemen*, which goes northward from Wādy Fiḳreh 'over against ancient Teman'; and in Josh. 15 1 he would render the closing words מִקְצֵה תֵימָן (RV 'at the uttermost part of the south') 'from the extremity of Teman' (so, too, the pioneer British critic Geddes). Greene too (*Heb. Migration*, 145) regards Teman as the southern part of Edom, now known as *eš-šera*, as distinguished from the northern (Gebalene), and including the Idumæan range as far N. as Mt. Hor. According to Eus. and Jer. (*OS* 260 96; 155 32), Thaiman was the name of a village distant 15 (Jer. says, 5) R. m. from Petra, and the seat of a garrison. T. K. C.

TEMENI (תֵּימְנִי [Baer], תֵּימְנִי [Gi.], and תֵּימָנִי; cp TEMAN), son of ASHUR, of the tribe of Judah; 1 Ch. 4 6 (θαιμαν [BA], -νει [L]). Probably miswritten for תִּמְנִי, Timni, the gentilic of Timnah. See TIMNAH i. T. K. C.

TEMPLE, TEMPLE-SERVICE

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I. THE TEMPLE

1. Meaning. For the ancient Israelites, as for the ancient Semites in general, a 'temple' was the abode of a deity—a *bêth-'ēl* (בֵּית אֵל)—in the strictest meaning of the word, and not solely in the sense in which we also speak of Christian places of worship as houses of God. A temple in antiquity was not, in the first instance, a place of meeting for the worshippers of the deity; many ancient temples were accessible to none but the priests, and the altar—the place of worship in the fullest sense of the expression—was usually situated, not within, but without the building known as the temple. The temple, rightly considered, is the dwelling-house of the deity to whom it is consecrated, and whose presence is denoted by a statue, it may be, or some other sacred symbol. The erection of temples, accordingly, can always be regarded as already indicating advanced development of the religion concerned. For the temple is never the original dwelling-place of the deity. In the most primitive phase of religion, and particularly in the case of the oldest forms of Semitic religion, the deity was found, in the first instance, in certain natural objects and features which impressed

[1] Cp Gen. 25 3 𝔊 (θαιμαν [AD], θεμ. [E; om. L], brother of Dedan).

[1] GEBAL (*q.v.*) is a late name of Arabic origin.

the primitive worshipper (see NATURE-WORSHIP); high mountains, rocks of peculiar formation, wide-spreading trees, shady groves, springs of water and the like were regarded as seats of deity and places where his servants could meet with him, and bring him their gifts, though temple building of any sort there was none. Such natural objects, where human intervention and labour were unnecessary, are everywhere older than images and suchlike accessories. In the primitive Hebrew worship, in particular, temples played but a subordinate part. Ordinarily they were wholly superfluous. Sacrifice was offered under the open sky. The natural objects which were regarded as seats of deity required no protecting covering.[1] Often they had no need of an altar even; the sacred rock was itself an altar; cp Gen. 28, where Jacob anoints—that is, presents his offering of oil upon—the stone which sheltered the deity. At the sacred springs, wells, and caves the gifts of the worshippers are simply dropped in, as, *e.g.*, the well of Zemzem at Mecca (cp ALTAR, NATURE-WORSHIP).

The situation changed as soon as men began to make images of the deity. Wherever such an image had come into existence, there naturally arose also the need for a house to shelter it. In the case of a costly image, too, theft had to be guarded against (cp Judg. 17 *f.*); someone was required to watch and tend it; but here again we observe that, in principle and to begin with, nothing more is required than some simple housing, such as the worshipper is ordinarily in the way of constructing for himself. A modest apartment in the family dwelling-house sufficed, as the story of Micah's graven image shows (Judg. 17). Here again it is not a place of worship—a meeting-house for worshippers—that has to be provided, but simply a dwelling-place for the image, or, if you will, for the deity. Still less was any spacious apartment or stately palace required, because according to the ancient Hebrew conception the deity chose rather to have his dwelling in [thick] darkness. Even in Solomon's temple the apartment occupied by the deity, the so-called Holy of Holies, was quite small, plain and dark (see below, § 7 end).

2. Oldest Israelite temples.

In accordance with this is the fact that in the OT we read of temples only where there is an ephod. Micah had a house for his ephod (Judg. 17 5); at Dan this same ephod afterwards had a temple, as doubtless also had Gideon's ephod at Ophrah (Judg. 18 8 24 *ff.*). Similarly, at Nob there was a great temple with a numerous priesthood in connection with the famous oracular image there (1 S. 21). The sacred ark, the most sacred object in Israel, stands in this respect in the same category with the image as representing the deity. It, too, naturally requires to be housed; it cannot be left simply in the open. The house assigned to it was the same in kind as those its worshippers lived in. As long as these lived in tents, the ark also remained in a tent. After the settlement in Canaan, it received a house of stone at Shiloh. But even then it was not absolutely necessary that it should have a house of its own, entirely to itself. After the temple at Shiloh had been destroyed, no one for a long time thought of getting a new house built for the ark. After it had been brought back from Philistia it wandered about from place to place, finding a temporary resting-place now in the house of a prominent citizen, now in that of a royal official, until at last within the precints of David's palace it found shelter merely in a simple tent (see ARK OF THE COVENANT).

We know nothing in detail as to the arrangement of the oldest Israelite temples. We can only conjecture that they were built on the same model as those of the Canaanites, for here also the conquered were doubtless the teachers of the conquerors. The Canaanites at that period already had large temples of their own. The temple of El-Berith at Shechem was, we know, the place of refuge of the Shechemites in times of danger, and must therefore have been large and strongly built (Judg. 9 46 *f.*). At Gaza there was a great temple with a hall, the roof of which was

[1] The *ka'ba* of Mecca, even, is no *bēth-ēl* (house of God), 'household god,' no covering for the black stone worshipped there. The stone in question is, in fact, visible from without, let into the wall, and the entire *ka'ba* is merely an expansion of the stone; cp Wellh. *Heid.*(1) 3, 69, (2) 73.

supported by two pillars (Judg. 16 29). Here, too, it need hardly be pointed out, the fundamental idea was the same; the principal thing was the sanctuary, the apartment for the image or other sacred object; in connection with this there ultimately arose also another apartment or hall to which the worshippers of the god had access, and in which they had audience of him.

In what sense Solomon's temple can be spoken of as something new, may easily be judged from what has already been said. In their general arrangement and details temple and palace were alike wonders to Solomon's subjects, such as had never been seen before; but the conception of a temple of Yahwè was not in itself any novelty. Tradition assigns the original idea to David; according to our present books of Samuel, it was David who first thought of building a temple for the ark, inasmuch as it seemed unbefitting that he himself should be dwelling in a palace whilst the ark of Yahwè remained in a mere tent. Yahwè, however, the narrative goes on to say, would not suffer this. Not David was to build a house for Yahwè, but Yahwè was to build a house for David, by assuring the permanence of David's dynasty (2 S. 7). The Chronicler develops the idea further: David himself indeed cannot build the temple, but he can make everything ready for it; and this he does in such a manner that little is left for Solomon to do. The latter receives from David plans and models for this temple and all its furniture; the stone and timber are all hewn and prepared, the workmen engaged and trained, the gold and silver collected, the whole temple service organised (1 Ch. 22 *ff.*). All this, however, belongs to the latest strata of the narrative. There is no historical probability that David had thoughts of building a temple. Had it been otherwise, it is not easy to see what should have prevented him from carrying out the idea. But the conditions under which such a purpose might be formed were absent. When David was building his palace he had no need for a splendid sanctuary also in his citadel. The ark, of course, he wanted to have there; but the genuine old Israelite idea was that in view of its origin and significance the appropriate lodging for the ark was in a tent. This comes out quite clearly still in the words of Nathan when he asks (2 S. 7 5 *f.*; cp 1 Ch. 17 6):

3. Solomon's temple: David's preparations.

> Has Yahwè ever spoken a word to any of the judges of Israel saying, Why have ye not built me a house of cedar?
> I have not dwelt in an house since the day that I brought up the children of Israel out of Egypt, even to this day.

Such was the normal order of things. It is easy to understand, however, how after the temple of Jerusalem had acquired its importance, the people of a later time found it difficult to understand wherefore the pious David had not built the temple. The cause cannot have lain, for him, in religious indifference; and it was necessary to find another explanation. Hence the whole theory now before us.

In Solomon's case again we need not seek too exclusively for purely religious motives. It was by no means his intention, as tradition represents it to have been, to provide the Israelites with one solitary sanctuary, legitimate and central, and so to bring to an end the worship of the high places, and such-like practices. His motives were more political than religious. He was a splendour-loving prince to whom the old palace of David no longer seemed good enough, and who wished to have a new and magnificent residence similar to those of neighbouring sovereigns. In his complex of new buildings a fine house of cedar for the venerable and sacred ark was also included, since a simple tent seemed no longer to suffice for a royal sanctuary. It was a citadel-sanctuary for himself, not a temple for Israel that he built.

4. Solomon's motives.

Only thus can we understand the mistrust and even

antipathy with which large masses of the people regarded the work of Solomon. The citizens of the northern kingdom still adhered to the ancient sanctuaries and went on making pilgrimages to Beersheba and Gilgal, to Dan and Bethel, the places where their fathers of old had paid their devotions. In the southern kingdom, too, the 'innovation' was far from finding unanimous approval. Ultimately, indeed (in Deuteronomy), the prophets came to recognise the temple as the lesser evil when compared with the worship of the high places. Yet, at the bottom of their hearts they put it on a level with the other sanctuaries of Samaria or Shiloh (Jer. 7 12 Mic. 1 5). In fact, in religious circles the luxury of the temple of Solomon came under very severe censure as out of keeping with the true Israelite character (cp the law concerning the altar in the Book of the Covenant). To lift a tool upon an altar stone is to pollute it; so also to go up to it by steps is a desecration (Ex. 20 24 *f.*). A more pointed condemnation of the altar of Solomon, which was raised high after the fashion of heathen altars and covered with brass, can hardly be conceived (cp 2 K. 16 10 *ff.*).

On the site of Solomon's temple cp PALACE, JERUSALEM, § 19. We may regard it as settled that it stood on the eastern hill. The architectural history of the place shows that a sanctuary always stood there, within the limits of the present Ḥaram. The temple of Jupiter built there by Hadrian stood, as we have reason to believe, upon the site of the temple of Herod, which in its turn was only a reconstruction of the second (post-exilic) temple, and this again, of course, can only have been raised on the site of that of Solomon. It is only as regards the particular spot within the Ḥaram area that any dispute is at all possible. For example, Fergusson, Trupp, Lewin, W. R. Smith and others, have placed it in the south-western angle of the modern Ḥaram. This is, however, in view of the lie of the ground, quite impossible. The south-western angle of the Ḥaram, when strictly considered, lies not upon the eastern but upon the edge of the western hill. The temple, in that case, must be held to have stood on the steep slope of the hill towards the Tyropœon valley, entirely on artificial substructions. In fact, the southern half of the place cannot be thought of in this connection at all, for the site did not receive its great extension southwards until the time of Herod (see below, § 30).

5. Site of the temple.

W. R. Smith (*EB*(9), *s.v.* 'Temple') also starts from the assumption that the whole Herodian temple-complex lay in the SW. of the present Ḥaram. Now it is indisputable that the S. wall and the southern portion of the western wall of the Ḥaram are precisely those parts of the wall the external features of which betray a Herodian origin. Smith's contention, further, that the dimensions of the Herodian temple as given by Josephus, entirely exclude the sacred rock from the temple limits can hardly be maintained, as will presently be shown. Moreover, apart from any other consideration, his argument fails in view of the lie of the ground, as can very well be seen from his own map: between the SW. corner and the NW. corner of his temple area there is a difference of level of 50 ft.; between the SW. and NE. corner of his temple court, a similar difference of 90 ft. In other words: his temple stands entirely on the steep south-western slope of the hill, and numerous substructions would have been necessary in order to secure even the small area that was necessary; no less improbable is it that the temple should have stood on a level so considerably below the summit of the hill with the sacred rock where there was a fine level plateau.

On the other hand, considerations suggested by the history of religion speak very strongly in favour of the site of the present dome of the rock. In the East, from the remotest antiquity down even to the present day, sacred sites have always maintained themselves with unyielding tenacity through all religious changes. Thus there is a high degree of probability that what is to-day regarded as the centre of the whole, the sacred rock in the mosque of 'Omar, the second holiest site in all Islam, should from the first have been a particularly sacred point. The rock is doubtless to be regarded as the scene of the angelic appearance in 2 S. 24, which marked the place as a site of a sanctuary of Yahwè (cp Judg. 6 11 *f.* 13 19). The statement of the Chronicler that Solomon built his temple here at the threshing-floor of Ornan, has every probability in its favour. That the sanctity of the place goes back to a still earlier time is not unlikely.

In this case there arises only the question as to the place more precisely where the temple stood with reference to this sacred rock. Several scholars (Rosen, Schick, and others) have supposed that the rock was in the Holy of Holies and that the ark stood upon it. This is also an old Christian and Mohammedan tradition; that such a tradition was current among the Jews in NT times is evident from the Talmudic legend that in the Holy of Holies the place of the lost ark was taken by a stone called the 'foundation stone' (אבן שתיה, *Yōmā* 5 2). Further, this stone was identified with Jacob's stone at Bethel (cp Rashi on Gen. 28 and Breithaupt's notes). Both Mohammedans and Christians transferred these legends to the Ṣaḥra, which the former accordingly venerated as 'a gate of heaven' (Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *'Iḳd*, 3 369). Mohammedan sources enable us to trace back this identification to the Moslem Jew Wahb ibn Monabbih, who enriched Islam with so many Jewish fables and died a century after Jerusalem was taken by the Arabs (Ṭabari 1 571 *f.*; Ibn al-Faḳīh 97 *f.*). Eutychius, on the other hand, who is the first Christian writer to apply the Jewish legend to the Moslem Saḥra, avers that the tradition was communicated to 'Omar by the Christian patriarch Sophronius on the taking of Jerusalem, and guided the caliph in the choice of a site for his mosque. This identification, however, is impossible, were it only by reason of the dimensions of the rock which is about 59 ft. [17.7 metres] long, 51¾ ft. [15.5 metres] broad, with a height above ground of 4 ft. 1¼ in. to 6½ ft. [1.25-2 metres]. The Holy of Holies, which was a cube of 20 cubits[1] was too small to contain it.[2] In other respects also the suggestion is attended with great difficulties on account of the conditions of space; the altar of burnt-offering would have to be moved considerably to the E. of the rock, thus leaving very little room for the court which was to accommodate the worshippers—unless great substructions on the E. be assumed, which is inadmissible (see PALACE, § 4).

In a word, there is everything in favour of, and nothing against, the theory that this rock was the site of Solomon's altar of burnt-offering (§ 18). This would fit in with the view that it was here the angel stood at the theophany. Further, on the rock there has been discovered a channel which may perhaps have served to carry off the blood (cp also Ebers and Guthe, *Palästina*, 1 66). This channel was connected with a hollow under the stone. Further examination has not been hitherto permitted; but it is extremely probable that this hollow is really a cistern connected with the general system of conduits (cp CONDUITS, § 3). If in accordance with what has been said we may regard this rock as being the site of Solomon's altar of burnt-offering, then the temple, properly so called, lay to the westward of this, and its site is determined with tolerable accuracy.

On the text of the description of Solomon's temple, cp what is said elsewhere with reference to the description of his PALACE, § 2. In the present case, also, after the many later additions have been separated out, we arrive at no clear account. Much that would be of importance is wanting; perhaps its disappearance is in some measure due to the frequent redactions. How manifold these were can be seen in the Commentaries (*e.g.*, Benzinger, *Könige*, 16 *f.*). For a reconstruction of the buildings some help can be obtained from the description of Ezekiel's temple (40 *ff.*). True, his temple is primarily a work of the imagination; but, on the other hand, his description, broadly speaking, agrees with 1 K. 6. That, as a former priest, he was familiar with the first temple may be taken for granted; there is also an *à priori* probability that in his description he would follow the lines of the old temple. Such changes as he does introduce are on the one hand occasioned by his desire for a scrupulous symmetry in the plan of his temple, and partly by his determination to remove the dwelling

6. The main buildings.

1 [It is assumed throughout this article that the longer cubit of 20.67 in. is meant; see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 1.]

2 The threshing-floor of Ornan cannot have been on the rock, which has an irregular, not level, surface.

of the prince from the temple hill. The features that may be traced to the working of his free fantasy are in particular the specifications regarding the courts and the buildings contained in them. In matters where these points do not come into question we shall for the most part be safe in transferring his data without hesitation to the earlier temple.

The temple-complex fell into two divisions—the main building, the 'house of God' properly so called, and the subsidiary buildings by which it was surrounded.

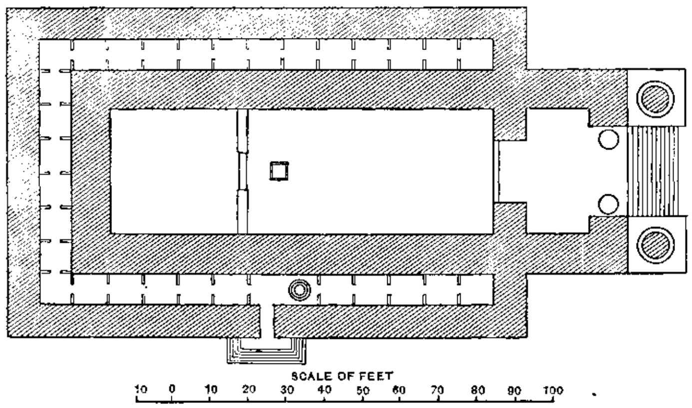


FIG. 1.—Ground-plan of the Temple.

The main building was a rectangular structure 60 cubits in length, 20 cubits in breadth, and 30 cubits in height, corresponding, on the basis of the cubit of 20.7 inches, in round numbers to 104, 35, and 52 feet respectively. It lay E. and W., with entrance from the E. The measurements given above are, as appears from the description of the *dĕbīr* (1 K. 6 16*a*, cp *v.* 20), and as is confirmed by Ezekiel's account, the internal dimensions.

On this assumption, indeed, we must suppose that either the total length (60 cubits) or one or other of the detailed figures for the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies is incorrectly given, as the dividing wall between the two must of course have taken up some space. The thickness of the walls is given by Ezekiel (41 15) as 6 cubits, a measure that may also be taken as applying to the old walls. At all events the walls, to begin with, were of considerable thickness as appears from the circumstance that for the second and third stories successively they were made thinner by rebatements of half a cubit, or it may be of a whole cubit (but see below, § 11).

Before the *hēkāl* (הֵיכָל), the Holy Place, eastward, stood a porch. Its length was the same as the breadth

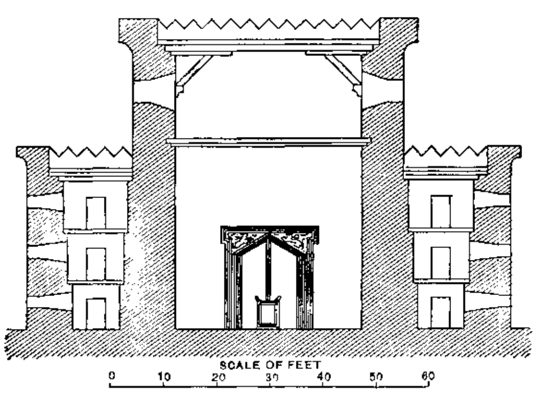


FIG. 2.—Section of the Temple.

of the house (20 cubits) and it was 10 cubits in depth; but its height is nowhere given either in Kings or in Ezekiel. The parallel place in Chronicles (2 Ch. 3 4) mentions 120 cubits, which is a sheer impossibility. The text is hopelessly corrupt; the 20 cubits of 𝔊A, Pesh., and Arab. are incorrect as appears from the data as to the height of the pillars (see below, § 12); these can hardly have been taller than the porch. Our most natural course will be to suppose for the porch a height equal to that of the temple itself, viz. 30 cubits. Perrot and Chipiez, and others with them, have sought to justify the 120 cubits in Chronicles by suggesting that the porch was similar to the pylons of the Egyptian temples; but neither the word *'ūlām* (אוּלָם) nor yet the other measurements would be appropriate to a gateway of this sort. In Ezekiel's temple one ascended to the porch by ten steps. This, we may take it, will have been in agreement with the actual facts.

7. Internal arrangements.

The internal space was divided, as already said, into two apartments, the larger in front and the smaller behind. The wall which separated them has, in Ezekiel's temple, a thickness of two cubits. From the description of the door it is clear that in Solomon's temple also the partition consisted of a solid wall, not of a curtain merely.[1] The door was made of olive wood and was pentagonal—*i.e.*, the lintel was not horizontal but formed an angle as Thenius rightly explains, 1 K. 6 31 (cp St. *ZATW* 3 148).[2] In Ezekiel's temple a breadth of 6 cubits is given to this door (Ezek. 41 2); whether this figure is applicable to Solomon's temple also we have no materials for determining. All that we learn further about it from our present texts is that it was a folding door, was decorated with carvings of cherubim, palm trees, and open flowers, and overlaid with gold. This notice, however (1 K. 6 32), does not belong to the old architectural description. If the walls of the *hēkāl* and of the *dĕbīr* were unprovided with carvings, we can hardly suppose that the doors were otherwise treated; and as for the overlaying, we learn from 2 K. 18 16 that it was Hezekiah who first overlaid the temple doors with gold.

The inner apartment (*dĕbīr*) was lower than the main building—being only 20 cubits in height. It thus formed a perfect cube, 20 cubits in the side. As we can hardly picture to ourselves the Holy of Holies as being merely a sort of low annex to the temple, we must suppose that above it there was an upper chamber of 10 cubits in height, and that thus the temple roof had a uniform height of 30 cubits from the ground. From 1 K. 8 12 *f.* (see Benz. *ad loc.*) we may venture to infer that the inner room was perfectly dark. This adytum, called later the Holy of Holies, was the most essential part of the temple. It was the dwelling-place proper of the

[1] According to 2 Ch. 3 14 there was a curtain before the entrance to the *dĕbīr*. This would not be improbable in itself; but there is no mention of it in the old description of the temple in Kings. Thenius, Riehm, and others indeed have found a curtain in 1 K. 6 21: 'he drew [the curtain] across with chains of gold,' etc.; but if these words belong to the original text they must relate to the altar; cp Benz. *ad loc.*

[2] The other interpretation (Ges., Bähr, Keil, and others) explains the חֲמִשִׁית of 1 K. 6 31 as meaning that the area of the door was a fifth of the entire superficial area of the wall. So also Klostermann with emendation: the lintel was a fifth—*i.e.*, of the transverse wall, which is equivalent to saying that the breadth of the doorway was a fifth of that of the house,—in other words 4 cubits. Both explanations are very forced. חֲמִשִׁית stands in contrast with רְבָעוֹת, 'square,' in 1 K. 6 23 7 5.

deity, whose presence here was represented by the sacred ark.

The walls of the *dĕbīr* were panelled with cedar; the floor was of cypress wood. According to the present text the walls were also overlaid with gold (1 K. 6 20); this, however, is a later addition to the text (see below).

The anterior apartment, the *hēkāl*, afterwards known as the Holy Place, was, as already mentioned, 40 cubits long, 20 broad, and 30 high. It also was floored with cypress and panelled with cedar, so that of the mason work nothing was visible.

8. The Holy Place.

Here again the statements as to the walls having been overlaid with gold (1 K. 6 21 22 *a* 30) are quite late additions to the text (see below, § 9). This apartment also was not particularly well lighted. Since the building that surrounded the house was 15 cubits in height and the *dĕbīr* had probably no window at all, we must suppose that such windows as the apartment had were situated above the 20 cubit level of the *dĕbīr*. We must further take into account the thickness of the walls which was such that even if the windows were made so as to widen inwards after the manner of embrasures (cp 1 K. 6 4 RVmg.), they could not have admitted much light. Add to this that they were provided with wooden lattices like the windows of dwelling-houses generally; so at least we are to interpret the expression *'ăṭūmīm* (אֲטֻמִים; cp Benz. on 1 K. 6 4). We learn further that the windows were casement windows—furnished, that is to say, with wooden frames and not mere openings in the stone wall, a refinement which was unknown in ordinary dwelling-houses. Also the doorway leading to the anterior room was provided with posts of olive-wood, and, in contrast to that leading to the Holy of Holies (see above), was rectangular in shape. The door was of cypress and either half consisted of two folding leaves which were so connected in some way with each other, by means of double hinges or charnières, that in entering one did not requre to open the whole door, but only the two inner leaves.[1] The width of the doorway is not stated; in Ezekiel's temple it was 10 cubits (Ezek. 41 2). Here also are repeated the statements as to overlaying with gold (1 K. 6 35). More particularly it is here stated that the covering of gold was fitted exactly on to the engraved design (מְיֻשָּׁר עַל־הַמְּחֻקֶּה). Thus the decorative work in question did not consist of figures carved in relief (Reliefschnitzereien), but of figures outlined on the flat (Konturenzeichnungen).

Stade (*ZATW* 3 140 *ff.*) has shown that the various statements as to the overlaying of the walls of the *dĕbīr* (1 K. 6 20), of the walls of the *hēkāl* (*vv.* 21 22*a* 30), of the doors (*vv.* 32 35), of the cherubim (*v.* 28), and of the altar in the *hēkāl* (*v.* 22*b*) with gold are all very late additions to the text.

9. Ornamentation and decoration.

From the point of view of literary criticism they can be shown to be such by the circumstance that they come in at the wrong place and moreover that, in part at least, they are absent from 𝔊. Besides, their incorrectness in point of fact appears from certain other data of the OT.

On the occasions when the temple is despoiled, the foreign foes and King Ahaz when in financial straits take everything of value, but the covering of gold is not mentioned, though this certainly would not have been left untouched had it existed (1 K 14 26 2 K. 14 14 16 17). On the other hand we are told of Hezekiah that he overlaid the doors and doorposts of the *hēkāl*; but it was not with gold (2 K. 18 16). Moreover, strictly speaking a covering of gold must be regarded as incompatible with the carving on the walls. The whole is taken from the description of the Tabernacle with its wealth of gold and transferred to the temple of the wealthy king, which, it was thought, was certainly not less costly (see Benz. on 1 K. 6 20).

That the temple walls were adorned with carvings is more credible. In Ezekiel's temple (41 17 *f.*) we read that the whole wall was in like manner decorated with carved cherubim and palms, a palm between two cherubs. Here, however, great suspicion cannot but be aroused by the fact that the relative notice (1 K. 6 18) is wanting in 𝔊, that the verse disturbs the connection in the most violent way, and that with its statement that 'all was of cedar' it is inconsistent with what has been said in 1 K. 6 15. Nevertheless, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the temple walls were at a later date decorated with carvings (as we are led to infer from Ezekiel). Elsewhere, also, we read of later adornments of the temple (2 K. 12 8 *ff.* 29 16 10 *ff.* 23 4 11 *f.*). Thus we may safely regard the carvings as having been the work of a later king.

We are not told anything as to the construction of the roof of the building. Many scholars, such as Lund (see *Die alt.-jüd. Heiligthümer*), Hirt (see *Der Tempel Salomos*), Schnaase (*Gesch. d. bildenden Künste*, 1; 1843), take it to have been gabled; but according to 2 K. 23 12 2 Ch. 3 9 this cannot have been the case; the roof was flat.

10. Roof.

It is highly probable that, as in the case of the house of the forest of Lebanon (see PALACE), it was made of beams and planks of cedar. Upon this we may suppose to have been laid, for protection against the weather, a coating of clay, according to ancient custom, or perhaps even slabs of stone. The usual railing or battlement ran round it (cp Dt. 22 8). We must assume some sort of subsidiary arrangement for the support of the beams, since cedar beams of the length specified must have bent if unpropped. The text says nothing of this; but in the case of the house of the forest of Lebanon, where the span was much less (only 12½ cubits, about 21½ ft.), we hear of struts (lit. shoulder-pieces 1 K. 7 2 *f.* 𝔊, see Benz. *ad loc.* and PALACE, § 5, with illust.) on the pillars which served as supports for the beams of the roof. We must think of similar supports projecting from the walls in the case of the temple building.

The main building was surrounded on three sides (N., W., and S.) by a side building, or *yāṣūă'* (יָצוּעַ, AV 'chamber,' RV 'story') in three stories containing 'side chambers,' *ṣĕlā'ōth* (צְלָעוֹת AV 'chambers'; cp Ezek. 41 5 *f.*).

11. Side-buildings.

The under story was 5 cubits broad, the middle one 6 cubits, and the upper 7. The increasing width seems to have been obtained by narrowing the temple wall, which diminished in thickness by successive steps or rebatements on the outside (1 K. 6 6 RV). Thus the cedar beams which formed the floors (and the roofs) of the side chambers were not built into the temple wall but rested upon the rebatement (cp fig. 2).

Stade has conjectured—what is not at all improbable—that this was also the case with the exterior wall of the side-building. In that case the differential breadth of 1 cubit falls to be divided between the two walls; the thickness of the temple wall therefore diminished with each story by only half a cubit, which is much the more probable view. On this basis we shall have to suppose that the temple wall at the base of the middle story was still 5½ cubits thick, at the base of the upper story 5 cubits, and above the upper story 4 cubits thick (see fig. 2). The thickness of the external walls of this subsidiary building is not given in 1 K. Ezekiel gives it as 5 cubits, and this will doubtless have been the old measurement (Ezek. 41 9).

The height of each story from floor to ceiling was 5 cubits (1 K. 6 10), and thus the height of the whole structure over 15 cubits (3 × 5 cubits, plus the thickness of floors and roof). The number of the side chambers is not stated in Kings, but in Ezekiel it is given as 30 (or 33) for each story (cp Cornill and Bertholet on Ezek. 41 6). Thus they were very small; but this need not cause us any difficulty, as they were not used as living-rooms but only for storage of temple furniture and the like. We are left entirely without information as to the windows of the side building. On the other hand, with regard to the only door we learn that it was on the S. side (1 K. 6 8). The passage from one story to another was by means of steps, or more probably ladders, through openings in the roof (1 K. 6 8).[1] That

[1] Ewald, Keil, and others think of the doors as horizontally divided each into an upper and a lower half, of which only the lower had to be opened on entering. Against this cp Thenius on 1 K. 6 34.

[1] *Lūlīm*, לוּלִים is usually rendered as meaning a winding staircase. For this rendering reliance is chiefly placed on 𝔊

the several chambers of a story communicated with each other by means of doors may be taken for granted.

In front of the porch of the temple stood at the entrance two bronze pillars cast by Huram-Abi, a Tyrian artificer (see HIRAM 2); for further details see below, also JACHIN AND BOAZ. We are told that Jākīn was the one on the right—*i.e.* S.—Bō'az that to the left or N.; but what the names mean we do not know. Their precise position is a much disputed point. Many scholars, including Nowack (*HA* 2 33 *f.*), hold that they were engaged in the portal of the porch itself and that the lintel rested upon them. For this view reliance is placed mainly on Ezek. 40 49, where two columns to right and left of the entrance are mentioned over and above the pillars of the porch. This evidence, however, is not conclusive. To begin with, the very circumstance that Ezekiel does not give the columns the names handed down by tradition is in itself noticeable. It is very questionable, too, whether Ezekiel has these columns in his mind at all, and whether he has not rather dropped them altogether as he has done in the case of the brazen sea and the lavers. In 𝔊 (1 K. 7 45) is preserved the information that there were yet other pillars in the temple; these cannot well have stood anywhere else than in the porch where those of Ezekiel also are found; or, if we are to identify the latter with Jachin and Boaz, it still remains very possible that he deliberately not only suppresses their names but also assigns to them a quite different place which deprives them of all special significance. Some special significance they must certainly have had originally; the mere fact of their having special names would be enough to prove this: there would be no point in it if they were architectural ornaments merely. Nor is it possible to assign to them a structural value as supporting the roof, for it is certain that they did not stand in the inside. There is to be considered also the further circumstance that there were quite analogous pillars in other Semitic temples as well. In temples of Baal they are quite usual; the sanctuary of Melkarth at Tyre for example had two costly pillars in which Melkarth was worshipped (Herod. 2 44). The annexed figure, representing the temple at Paphos on a coin, exhibits the two pillars standing wholly detached to the right and left of the entrance. In front of the temple at Heirapolis, also, were similar pillars (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 208, 488). Since the temple of Solomon was assuredly affected by Syrophœnician influences it is natural to conjecture that in it Jachin and Boaz had a significance analogous to that of the other pillars just alluded to; namely, that they were symbols of the deity. In that case their origin will have to be sought in the ancient ***maṣṣēbōth*** which used to be customary objects in all Semitic sanctuaries, including those of ancient Israel (see MASSEBAH; also Benz. *HA* 379 *f.*; WRS, *Rel. Sem.*[2] 191, n. 1).

12. The pillars of bronze.

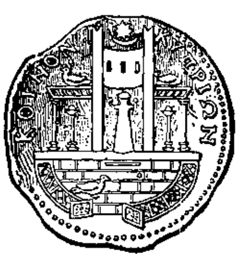


FIG. 3.—Coin representing temple at Paphos.

(ἑλικτὴ ἀνάβασις). This, however, is not a translation of לוּלִים but proceeds upon another reading (Benz. *ad loc.*). In buildings of the ancient E. no trace of winding staircases has anywhere been found, and it is therefore very improbable that they are mentioned here. Levy (*NHWB*) points out that the openings in the roofs of the Holy of Holies by which the workmen were let down (see below, § 33) are called לוּלִין (cp *Middōth*, 4 5). Thus, as Stade has rendered probable, we shall most likely have to think of openings provided with trap-doors and reached by ladders or trap-stairs.

TEMPLE, TEMPLE-SERVICE

This is not equivalent to saying that as late as Solomon's time these pillars were still regarded as symbols of Yahwè; we can equally well suppose that they were set up in accordance with an ancient custom no longer understood, or simply in imitation of Phœnician models. If the view just taken be correct, it becomes easy to understand why Ezekiel should have ignored them, or have sought to disguise their original meaning by reducing them to mere supports of the roof. And if so it also becomes highly probable that the Chronicler is right in assigning them a position in front of the temple (עַל־לִפְנֵי הַהֵיכָל). It would not be easy to guess how he could have come to place them so unless he had some old source to go upon, for the meaning of the pillars offered above was certainly unknown to him.

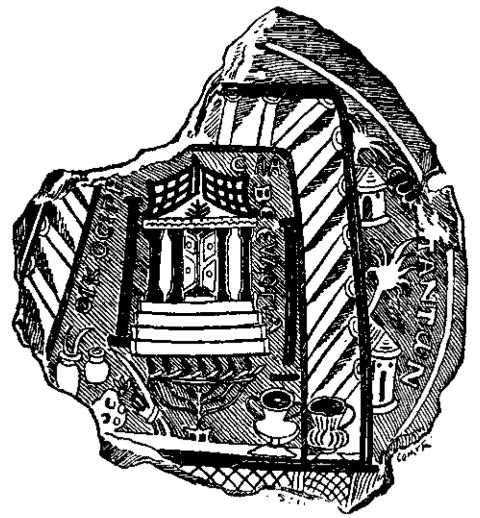


FIG. 4.—Glass bowl with representation of Temple.

The view that they occupied detached positions in front of the temple is confirmed by the interesting representation of the Jewish temple found upon a glass bowl of the third or fourth century A.D. which shows two

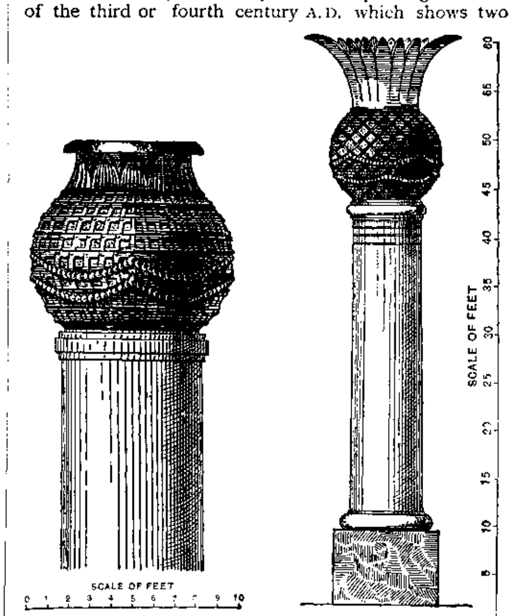


FIG. 5—Brazen pillars.

quite detached pillars near the entrance. The detailed description of the pillars has been preserved in a threefold form (1 K. 7 15-22 41 *f.* 2 Ch. 3 15-17 Jer. 52 21-23

2 K. 25 17), in accordance with which Thenius was able to restore the text of the account with considerable accuracy. Each of the pillars was 18 cubits (about 30 ft.) in height, and 12 cubits (𝔊 wrongly 14 cubits) in circumference. They were hollow, the brass being 4 finger-breadths in thickness. Each was surmounted by a molten chapiter, or capital, 5 cubits in height. The capitals were covered with bronze net-work which was surrounded by two rows of pomegranates. The one questionable datum is that of 1 K. 7 19 where the meaning can be either that the capitals were curved outwards at the top after the fashion of lilies (as is also said, for example, of the brazen sea), or that above the capitals there were lily-shaped additions (cp Benz. on 1 K. 7 15).

13. Court and gates. The temple was surrounded by a court, called the 'inner' court, as distinguished from the great court enclosing the entire citadel. This inner court was surrounded by a wall of three courses of hewn stone surmounted by a course of cedar beams (1 K. 6 36). As to the dimensions of the court, its entrances, or any other architectural details the description in 1 K. says nothing. The measurements in Ezekiel (100 × 100 cubits) are not to be transferred to the old temple, since with that prophet the court had quite a different function. He makes it accessible to the priests alone; whence the Chronicler actually describes it simply as the 'Court of the Priests' (חֲצַר הַכֹּהֲנִים; 2 Ch. 4 9). In ancient times and down to Ezekiel's day everyone had free access to it; it was a place of public assembly as we can see from such passages as Jer. 35 1 *ff.* 36 10 2 K. 12 12. For the position it occupied in the complex of buildings, see PALACE, § 3. In Jer. 36 10 it is quite rightly designated as the 'upper forecourt' as it was higher up than the great palace court. By the 'new gate' one went down from it to the king's house (Jer. 26 10 36 10). This designation 'new gate' tells us that it must have been restored by some later king; for of course there can be no question of an entirely new gate, such as had never stood there before; there must always have been some way by which the king could pass northwards from his palace to the sanctuary. The same will hold good also of the 'upper' gate which according to 2 K. 15 35 was built by Jotham; here also we have to do merely with a restoration of an ancient gate. We may with considerable confidence seek for this gate on the upper, that is on the northern, side of the court, and thus identify it with Ezekiel's 'north gate' (8 3 9 2) and with Jeremiah's 'upper gate of Benjamin' (20 2), since the road to Benjamin lay northward. If this N. gate is called the gate of the altar in Ezek. 8 15 we shall best explain the designation as referring to the fact that it was the people's usual way of access to the altar. Other expositors (such as Graf) think of 2 K. 16 14 where we are told that Ahaz set up the old altar on the N. side of the forecourt. This N. gate appears also in Ezekiel's temple as the chief entrance (46 9 40 38 *ff.*). Whether Solomon's temple had a third gate—to the E.—is not certain; but it is probable. Ezekiel's temple has one such gate which is opened only on Sabbath and feast days and reserved for the prince (Ezek. 46 *ff.*). But in the old temple, where the royal palace stood immediately to the S. of the court, the king of course approached the sanctuary direct from his house. If, accordingly, the Chronicler (1 Ch. 9 18) speaks of a 'king's gate,' there are only two possibilities; either he means the S. gate and is to this extent aware of what the ancient conditions were, or he means the E. gate, in which case he is simply transferring without criticism to the older period the circumstances which existed in his own time. On the other hand, in Jer. 38 14 we read of a third entrance, and such a third gate can best be looked for on the E. side. The mention also of three 'keepers of the threshold' (2 K. 25 18 Jer. 52 24) points to the existence of three gates. We further learn of the temple court that it was already paved in the pre-exilic time (2 K. 16 17). So also that in the same period there were 'chambers' in it. Jer. 35 4 mentions a 'chamber of the princes' (*liškath haś-śārīm*, לשכת השרים) which was above a 'chamber of Maaseiah, the keeper of the threshold,' and adjoined that of the 'sons of Hanan.' According to Jer. 36 10 Baruch read the book of the words of Jeremiah in the chamber of Gemariah, which was situated at the entry of the New Gate. Here we are doubtless to understand partly chambers which served as lodging for various officials, partly store-rooms for temple equipments. In the temple of Ezekiel a series of cells are provided for the priests on the N. and S. side of the court (Ezek. 40 44 *ff.* 42 1 *ff.*).

14. Equipment: the ark. The sacred object *par excellence* in this royal seat of worship was the ark of Yahwè (see ARK) which had its place in the Adytum (דְּבִיר *dĕbîr*), the dark inner chamber, and in the ancient view represented the presence of the deity. It is remarkable to find in the temple of Solomon this special significance of the ark weakened by the addition to it of two cherubim. These stand 10 cubits high, their wings each measure 5 cubits; the wings stretching inwards touch one another in the middle of the house, those stretching outwards touch respectively the N. and S. walls of the *dĕbîr*. Their faces are turned towards the E. Beneath the wings that touched one another was the ark. On the form, origin, and meaning of these figures see CHERUB (cp also Benz. on 1 K. 6 30). What is of special interest to note here is that the cherubs are the bearers of Yahwè, the signs and witnesses of his presence (Ezek. 18 10 19 *f.*); it is on this account that we read of Yahwè as throned above the cherubim (Ps. 18 10 [11]), and the name Yahwè, the Lord of hosts, now receives the addition 'who sitteth upon the cherubim' (1 S. 4 4 2 S. 6 2). In accordance with this the *dĕbîr* is regarded as an extension of the ark just as the *Ka'ba* at Mecca is an extension of the sacred stone (see above, § 1 end, n.).

15. The brazen serpent. Another quite peculiar symbol of deity which had not its like at the other sanctuaries was the brazen serpent, Nehuštan. It stood in the temple—whether in the Holy of Holies or in the outer chamber we are not told. Down to Hezekiah's reformation incense was offered to it. On its origin and meaning, cp NEHUSHTAN. The absence from the accounts of the temple which have reached us of any reference to this, which a later age had learned to regard as an idolatrous object, is easily intelligible; and, besides, it is not to be assumed off-hand that this serpent had its place in the temple from the first.

16. Table of shewbread. In the outer chamber of the *hēkāl* stood, in front of the entrance to the *dĕbîr*, the table of shewbread (1 K. 6 20). This was an altar of cedar wood which is not further described in the account of the temple in 1 K., but Ezekiel's description of the corresponding object will doubtless apply here.

According to this, it was 2 cubits in length and breadth and 3 in height; doubtless, therefore, there were steps up to it. Further, it had, as was usual with altars, 'horns'—*i.e.*, corner-pieces resembling horns (Ezek. 41 21). According to 1 K. 6 20 *f.* it was overlaid with gold; but to this statement will apply what has already been said of the corresponding statements elsewhere (§ 9); it is a later addition. The table of Ezekiel is plain cedar. The use of the table is for offering the so-called shewbread (see SACRIFICE, §§ 14, 34 *a*). In order to be able to make out from Solomon's temple the existence of an altar of incense not otherwise mentioned, Keil and others will have it that this is the altar in question. A table of cedar, however, even if thinly plated with gold, would be useless for the purpose of burning incense. Moreover, the offering of shewbread indeed is attested from an early date (cp 1 S. 21), but there is no evidence of any regular offering

of incense such as would have demanded a special altar. In 1 K. 7 48 an altar of incense is mentioned along with the table for the shewbread; but both this verse and that immediately following it are later additions to the account of the temple (see Benz. *ad loc.*). In ch. 6 there is nothing of any such altar, which indeed makes its appearance only in later strata of P.

Similarly, it is only in a late appendix (1 K. 7 49) that the golden candlesticks said to have been made by Solomon are mentioned. When this is said it is not of course meant that there were no candlesticks at all in the temple. It is an ancient custom to keep a light or lamp constantly burning in dwellings; if at the present day in conversing with fellahin or bedouin of Palestine one says 'He sleeps in the dark,' what is meant is that he is so poor that he cannot buy himself a drop of oil. The Hebrew expression that speaks of a man's lamp as having gone out, meaning that he and his family have disappeared, is analogous (cp Jer. 25 10); see LAMP. This custom makes it probable that a light was also burnt in the sanctuary, the dwelling-place of Yahwè; according to 1 S. 3 3 this was the case during the night at all events. From what has been said above (§ 7 *f.*) as to the lighting of the *hēkāl* it will also be apparent that the use of artificial light in the temple cannot have been out of place; we shall not err therefore if we suppose that Solomon caused lampstands to be made by Huram-Abi—of bronze, however, not of gold. The number 10, too, can hardly be right; as the tabernacle had only one candlestick it would probably be nearer the truth to assume but one for the temple also. That there is no mention of the candlesticks in 2 K. 25 14 *f.* may be due to accident merely (cp Jer. 52 19, which verse, however, is regarded by Stade, in view of Ex. 25 29, as an interpolation; see *ZATW* 3 [1883] 173 *f.*). Cp CANDLESTICK.

17. The candlesticks.

In 2 Ch. 4 8 mention is also made of ten tables, five on the S. and five on the N. side of the sanctuary. These are often explained (as for example by Keil) as having been intended for the shewbread, but certainly not correctly (see above, cp 2 Ch. 13 11 29 13); they are rather to be placed in the same category as the ten candlesticks (see Bertheau on 2 Ch. 4 19).

To the temple service also pertained of course a variety of minor furnishings, such as knives, forks, dishes, and the like. In 1 K. 7 48 *ff.* these are introduced by a later hand and represented as having been of gold. In the original description they were either passed over without mention, or they have been removed from it to make room for this later notice.

18. The bronze altar.

In the forecourt, due E. from the temple entrance, stood the great altar of burnt offering. In our present text this is left wholly undescribed. But that a description of it once stood in this place, and that Solomon caused an altar of bronze to be made by the same Tyrian artificer who cast the other pieces, are facts attested by 1 K. 8 64, cp 2 K. 16 10 *ff.* A later redactor stumbled at this, for in his view there already existed in connection with the tabernacle an altar which was now transferred to the temple. Here also we may, generally speaking, suppose Phœnician influences to have been at work. The mere fact that the altar was of bronze shows this, for in old Israelite practice altars were made of earth or unhewn stone: cp the law of the altar as laid down in Ex. 20 24 *ff.* In 2 Ch. 4 1 some additional data are given as to the size of this altar; it is represented as having been 10 cubits in height and 20 in length and breadth. These are the measurements of Ezekiel's altar, and may safely be presumed to have been taken from the ancient altar, which in other respects also must have been the prototype of that of Ezekiel. The dimensions given (20 × 20 cubits) will therefore apply to the area of the base, from which the altar rose in three successive stages each diminishing by 2 cubits; the lowest was 2 cubits and each of the other two was 4 in height. The actual hearth was 12 cubits square, and it was reached by means of steps. Cp further ALTAR.

TEMPLE, TEMPLE-SERVICE

To the service of the altar belonged a variety of utensils which were also cast by Huram-Abi. See Benzinger on 1 K. 7 40 45; ALTAR, § 9.

19. The brazen sea and lavers.

Between the altar and the porch, to the SE. of the temple building, stood the great brazen sea (1 K. 7 23-26), as to probable shape and significance of which see SEA (BRAZEN). To this brazen sea belong the ten wagons (AV bases, מְכֹנוֹת, *mĕkōnōth*) with lavers, which were arranged, five on the S. side and five on the N., of the temple (1 K. 7 27-39).

The text of the description of these lavers is extraordinarily corrupt, and inasmuch as the parallel description of the Chronicler is no longer extant, whilst the LXX offers but few data on which a restoration could proceed, it is by no means easy to amend it satisfactorily, and many details in the description, after every effort, still remain obscure.[1] The following description rests on the reconstruction of the text upon which Stade proceeded in 1883 (so also Benz. *ad loc.*); in many details Stade has since (1901) preferred a different interpretation. The various particulars cannot be discussed here.

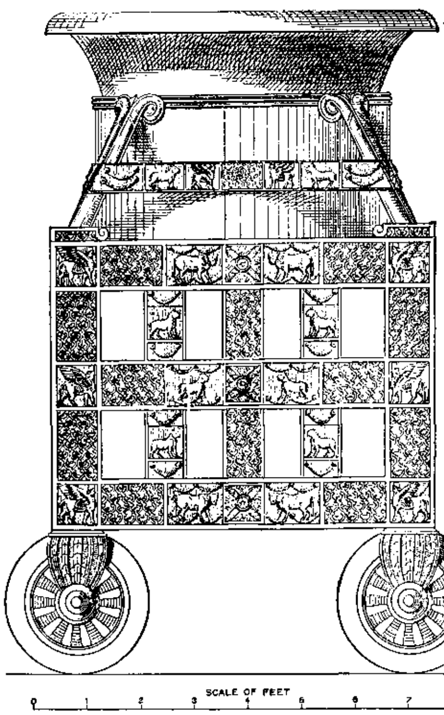


FIG. 6.—The brazen laver.

The wagons which support the lavers are 4 cubits in length and breadth and 3 in height. Their sides are not of massive plates but consist of a brazen framework ornamented with ties or cross-pieces of brass (*misgĕrōth*, EV 'borders'). The ties were subsequently removed by Ahaz for the sake of the metal, so that the frames alone were left (2 K. 16 17). Frames and ties were decorated with lions, oxen, and cherubim. The whole structure was carried on brazen axles and wheels. Upon each stand rested a brazen laver, of 40 baths capacity (see WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3 [ii.]), having a diameter of 4 cubits (equal to the length and breadth of the stand). The statement as to the cubic capacity accords with the diameter given (see SEA [BRAZEN]), but the lavers were certainly shallower, and we must also allow for the thickness of the metal. As for the manner in which the lavers were mounted in the stands

[1] Cp Ewald, *Gött. Gel. Nachr.*, 1859, pp. 131 *ff.*, *Jahrbb. f. bibl. Wissensch.* 10 273, and *GVI*(3) 3 333 *f.*; Stade, *ZATW*, 1883, and 1901, 145 *ff.*; Benz. in *KHC* (*Kön.*); Kittel in *HK* (*Kön.*), and art. LAVER.

the most probable conjecture seems to be that a sort of hollow cylinder rested upon the stand and was firmly fixed to it by means of ties and struts; the upper end of this cylinder supported the laver. At a later date these lavers proved stumbling blocks as well as the brazen sea. They are absent alike from the temple of Ezekiel and from the tabernacle of P. In lavers and sea alike we may therefore safely conjecture the original meaning to have been a symbolical one. The cherubims and animals with which they were adorned had at first assuredly a mythological significance. Nowack and others with some probability bring the lavers into connection with the chariot of the cherubim in Ezek. 1; there the cherubs are the bearers of the cloud-throne, here of the collected waters. Kosters (*Th. T.* 1879, p. 455) explained them as symbolising the clouds. This is possible (see SEA, BRAZEN), but cannot be made out with certainty. The Chronicler disposes of any difficulty of this kind connected with these vessels by assigning to lavers and sea alike a highly prosaic function, that of supplying the water required in connection with the sacrifices. It can hardly be said that they were conspicuously well adapted for any such purpose.

20. Meaning and origin of temple plan.

If we proceed next to a consideration of the meaning and origin of the whole temple plan, it is plain at the very outset that it reproduces the fundamental type of the Semitic sanctuary, viewed as the abode of the deity in the sense already set forth (see § 1). The essential feature is the little cella, the *dĕbīr*, where the deity himself is conceived of as present in mysterious gloom. In front of this is a greater hall, comparable to the audience-chamber of human kings, where the deity receives the adoration of his worshippers. Finally, in front of the building is an open space with its altar, where the people can gather together around the sacrifice in reverential stillness.

This ground plan—the tripartite—is common to the temples of various peoples. It is seen particularly clearly in Egyptian temples, which has led many scholars (Benz. *HA*, 385) to think of a preponderant Egyptian influence here. There are other considerations, however, which serve to render this less probable. In the case of the other Solomonic buildings Syro-phœnician influence is quite unmistakable (cp PALACE). Phœnician architects built temple as well as palace, and can hardly fail to have embodied their ideas in both. In point of fact all the noteworthy features of a distinctive kind in the temple buildings of Solomon have been discovered also in the temples of the northern Semites. Puchstein (*Jahrb. d. kaiserl.-deutschen archäol. Inst.* 7 13), on the basis of a comparative survey of the extant architectural remains, thus characterises the Syrian temple: 'To judge by the (as yet not very numerous) certain examples of Syrian temple-architecture, a complete old Syrian temple consisted of portico, cella, Holy of Holies, and side-buildings. Portico and side-buildings are to be regarded as capable of being dispensed with according to circumstances. The Holy of Holies can be open or closed, on a level with the cella or above it, semi-circular or angular, and the side-buildings can be either divided or undivided.' Robertson Smith (art. 'Temple' in *Ency. Brit.*(9)) points especially to the temple at Hierapolis (*Mābūg*), which, as described by Lucian, offers an exact parallel. It faced the E. and had two cellæ and a *pronaos*. In front of the door stood a brazen altar in a walled court. This walled court is also one of the characteristic peculiarities of the Syrian temple (cp T. L. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica*, London, 1859; Renan, *Mission de Phénicie;* Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Jud.*). On details of decoration, cp CHERUB. The palm tree, likewise so prominent a *motif* in the temple, is also one of the commonest symbols in Phœnician art.

When Solomon built his temple, it was as a royal private chapel, one sanctuary among many, and not even the most famous of these; the ancient sanctuaries of Bethel, Beersheba, Dan, etc., long continued to rank far above it in the popular estimation.

21. History of Solomon's temple.

The development in the standing of the temple and its importance in the history of Israel need not be dwelt on here (see DEUTERONOMY, § 13; ISRAEL, § 33 *f.*; LAW LITERATURE, § 13); but it falls within the scope of the present sketch to trace the external history of the temple building itself. Unfortunately, here also our sources are far from copious, and sometimes what has reached us is far from clear. Of Jehoshaphat the Chronicler relates (2 Ch. 20 5) that he built an outer court. The form of the notice—that it is with an 'outer' court that we are now concerned (see above § 13)—is due to the Chronicler; but the fact itself need not on that account be questioned. Under Joram, Ahaziah, and Athaliah the sanctuary must have been greatly neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair; under Joash at least extensive repairs had become necessary (2 K. 12 4 *ff.*). Jotham built a new gate, the 'upper gate' of the minor forecourt (2 K. 15 35) already referred to. The 'godless' Ahaz also beautified the sanctuary, although, indeed, this is set down by the narrator to his discredit; he caused a new and more magnificent altar after the pattern he had seen at Damascus to be set up in place of the old. Afterwards indeed he found himself in such monetary straits that to meet the demand of the king of Assyria he found himself compelled to strip off the ties (EV 'borders,' *misgĕrōth*) of the lavers, and to melt the oxen of brass which supported the brazen sea (2 K. 16 14 *ff.*)—an incidental illustration of the freedom with which the kings acted within their own private sanctuary. In the spoiling of the temple it was no other than the pious Hezekiah who followed the example Ahaz had set; after having in prosperous days overlaid the door-posts and doors of the temple with gold, he found it necessary to strip them again to meet the demand of the Assyrian king (2 K. 18 16). The structural changes made in the temple by Manasseh were connected with his introduction of foreign eastern cults; on the temple roof and in the court he set up altars to the 'host of heaven' (2 K. 23 12); the houses for the hieroduli and the accommodation for the horses of the sun (2 K. 23 7 11) are doubtless also to be assigned to Manasseh's reign. Josiah removed all this, and took in hand extensive restorations of the temple fabric (2 K. 23 5 *ff.*).

According to our present accounts the temple was plundered by foreign foes four times before its final destruction by the Babylonians.

First by Shishak in Rehoboam's time (1 K. 14 26); again, under Joram's reign, by the Philistines in conjunction with Arab tribes (Joel 3, cp 2 Ch. 21 16 *f.* 22 1); a third time under Amaziah by Joash, king of Israel (2 K. 14 14); and a fourth time under Jehoiachin by Nebuchadrezzar (2 K. 24 13). These all contented themselves with robbing the temple of its treasures, without carrying the work of destruction farther so far as we know.

It was not till eleven years after the first appearance of Nebuchadrezzar that the building itself was burnt to the ground, after it had been stripped of everything valuable,—whether of gold, silver, or bronze,—the pillars also being broken up and carried away (2 K. 25 8 *ff.* Jer. 52 12 *ff.* 2 Ch. 36 18). This was according to the MT of 2 K. on the seventh of the fifth month, according to Jer. on the tenth day of the fifth month, and according to $\mathfrak{G}^L$ of 2 K. 25 8 on the ninth day of the month. The Talmud harmonises:—on the seventh day the Chaldæans forced the temple, on the evening of the ninth they set fire to it, and on the tenth it was destroyed.

Ezekiel's temple (Ezek. 40-43)[1] never got beyond the

[1] The text of Ezekiel's description of his temple is very corrupt. It is impossible therefore to reconstruct it with exactitude. Consult especially Cornill's edition of the text; as also the commentaries of Smend and Bertholet, and the Archæologies of Benzinger and Nowack. On Ezekiel's altar cp *ZKWL*, 1883, pp. 67 *ff.* 458 *ff.*, 1884, pp. 496 *ff.*

theoretical stage, and remained always an imaginative construction merely. It demands some notice here, however, as giving expression to a new conception of the sanctuary and its significance—new or at least differing from that which finds expression in the temple of Solomon. On the other hand, as already remarked, the later representation is, as has been pointed out above, in many respects fitted to be of use to us in our reconstruction of the earlier temple. The fundamental conception of the entire structure is the strict separation of sacred from profane. The whole temple area is sacrosanct, and no secular building of any description, whether royal or official, is allowed a place within its precincts. The whole eastern hill is set apart for its exclusive occupancy. A protective area, the land of the Zadokites, encloses it and shuts out the rest of Jerusalem. At no point are the city walls allowed to be in immediate contact with this land of priests. A similar determination to separate sacred from profane dominates the internal arrangements. It is with this purpose in view that the temple has two courts (whereas the pre-exilic temple had but one); the inner court is accessible only to the officiating priests and their servants the Levites. The laity are restricted to the outer court.

22. Ezekiel's temple.

Another characteristic feature of the whole arrangement is the strict symmetry observed throughout. The fundamental unit of measurement is the length of 50 cubits; the buildings exhibit by preference the proportion of 1 : 2; the gateways are 25 cubits in width and 50 in length, the temple proper 50 cubits (from end to end 100), the open space surrounding the altar is 100 cubits square, and so forth. The entire temple area is 500 cubits square, enclosed by a wall 6 cubits in height and thickness. Outside this wall a further strip, 50 cubits in breadth, is still reckoned to the holy territory, and must not be cultivated even by the priests. The northern, eastern, and southern sides are pierced at the middle by great gateways (25 × 50 cubits), each with siderooms and a gateway. These lead into the outer court which surrounds the inner to a breadth of 150 cubits on the northern, eastern, and southern sides. On each of these three sides are 10 cells—making a total of 30—intended to be used by the people for miscellaneous purposes such as refreshment and the like (cp Ezra 10 6 Neh. 13 4 *f.*). In the four corners are lesser courts separated off by partitions; here are the kitchens where the Levites cook the offering of the people. Gateways corrresponding exactly to the three gates just mentioned lead on the three sides from the outer to the inner court. Within and in close proximity to the eastern gate stand the tables for slaughtering the sin- and trespass-offerings (or burnt offerings and peace-offerings). At the N. and S. gates are chambers for the officiating priests. Exactly in the middle of the square in front of the temple stands the altar of burnt offering. The temple building itself, which stood on a higher level reached by ten steps, consisted of a porch (20 cubits in width and 12 in depth), the Holy Place (40 × 20 cubits, inside measurement), the Holy of Holies (20 × 20 cubits) and the three-storied side-building. The thickness of the walls was, in the main building, 6 cubits, and in the side building 5; the width of the chambers was 4 cubits, the total breadth thus amounting to 50 cubits. The total length, including the porch, was 100 cubits, outside measurement.

23. Zerubbabel's temple.

As the Chronicler relates, the first care of the exiles on their return was the restoration of divine worship. In the first instance, however, they contented themselves with setting up a new altar of burnt offering on the site of the old (Ezra 3 3; cp Hag. 2 14). So much indeed was evidently indispensable; without an altar there could be no sacrifice, without sacrifice no worship, without worship no Jewish community. A considerable time elapsed before the returned exiles proceeded to the building of a temple proper. In our present book of Ezra indeed it is made out as if the work was begun with great zeal immediately after the return. It has long been recognised, however, that the representation in Ezra in its essential features is unhistorical (see EZRA-NEHEMIAH, §§ 6 *f.*, 10, 16 [1], 17; HAGGAI, § 3 (*b*); ISRAEL, §§ 53 *ff.*).

24. Measurements, etc.

As regards the build ng itself the OT supplies us with only a few fragmentary notes, which are but sparingly supplemented by Josephus and Pseudo-Hecatæus (ap. Jos.). The dimensions of the whole temple area are given by Hecatæus (ap. Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22), in so far as he tells us that the court was 5 plethra (*i.e.*, 500 Gk. ft. = 485½ Eng. ft.) in length, and 100 Gk. cubits (= 145½ ft.) in breadth. The gates had double doors. Within the court stood the altar which now was in exact accordance with the precepts of the law, being constructed of unhewn stones (1 Macc. 4 44). Doubtless also it was reached by a sloping ascent instead of steps. According to Hecatæus it was as large as that of Solomon. In like manner, in accordance with the description of the tabernacle arrangements, there was but one laver in the court (*Midd.* 3 6; Ecclus. 50 3: the latter passage is certainly very corrupt). Of the gates mention is made in Neh. 3 31 of the Miphkad Gate, and in Neh. 12 39 of the Prison Gate, which last doubtless was on the southern side. Whether the cells and store-rooms (*liškōth*; παστοφόρια) of which we incidentally hear, were in the court or in the side-building of the temple itself we do not know.[1] Over the Tyropœon valley was a bridge from the temple area which was broken down by the Jews during the siege of Jerusalem by Pompey; its position is indicated by the so-called Wilson-arch. When it was erected we do not know (Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 4 2; *BJ* i. 7 2 ii. 16 3 vi. 6 2). Like Ezekiel's temple this also had two courts (αὐλαί, 1 Macc. 4 34 48): only—the point of chief importance—the laity had in this case access to the inner as well as the outer court and to the altar. When on one occasion Alexander Jannæus did something that was contrary to to the sacrificial ritual, the multitude pelted him with palm branches and citrons. It was only in consequence of this incident that he afterwards caused a wooden enclosure to be set up round the altar, the space within which was thenceforth accessible to the priests alone (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 5). The whole account of Josephus presupposes that until that time the laity had unhindered access to the inner court and altar. In this most essential matter of the strict exclusion of the laity from the sanctuary proper, accordingly, we see that the demands of Ezekiel and P were not carried out immediately but only gradually made way.

The temple building itself, according to Ezra 6 3, had a breadth and height of 60 cubits. But this statement has no satisfactory sense. It is all the less credible because we are expressly informed that this second temple came so far short of that of Solomon that in the eyes of those who had seen the first it appeared as nothing (Hag. 2 3). Certainly, therefore, it cannot have been so very considerably larger than the other. The text of the passage is hopelessly corrupt (cp also Ryssel and Bertholet *in loc.*).

25. Internal arrangements.

As regards the internal arrangements, we know that the Holy of Holies was empty; the ark no longer existed. A stone three fingers in height was laid in the place of the ark, so that the high priest on the Day of Atonement could set down his censer upon it. It was the foundation stone (*ében šĕthiyyāh*) already referred to in § 5; cp Jos. *BJ* v 5 5, *Yōmā* 5 2). The Holy of Holies were separated from the Holy Place by a curtain (1 Macc. 1 22 4 51).

The Holy Place, in like manner, was closed by a curtain (1 Macc. 4 51); within it stood, as in the former

[1] Cp 1 Macc. 4 38; Jos. *Ant.* xi. 4 7 xiv. 16 2; Ezra 8 29 10 6 Neh. 3 30 10 37 *ff.* 12 44 *ff.* 13 5 *ff.*

temple, a table of shewbread. The place of the ten candlesticks (see § 17) was taken by one with seven branches which was removed by Antiochus (1 Macc. 1 23). It was restored by Judas the Maccabee. The Holy Place also contained the golden altar of incense. As already mentioned, this was a quite recent arrangement, resulting from a duplication of the golden table. It is interesting to notice that the accounts continue to vacillate down to a quite late date; Hecatæus and the author of 2 Macc. 2 5, each naming two pieces of furniture in the sanctuary: the former (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22) the βωμός and the candlestick, the latter the incense altar and the candlestick. On the Arch of Titus, also, only two pieces are shown.

26. A priestly temple. The first temple resembled other temples of antiquity in being built to contain a visible symbol of the presence of the deity, namely, the ark, which stood in the inner chamber. In the second temple the adytum was empty; but the idea that the Godhead was locally present in it, still found expression in the continuance of the altar service, in the table of shewbread (a sort of continual lectisternium) that stood in the outer chamber, and above all in the annual ritual of the Day of Atonement, when the high priest entered the Holy of Holies to sprinkle the blood of the expiatory sacrifice on behalf of the people.

Not only in this point but in all others the ritual of the second temple was dominated by the idea of priestly mediation, and the stated sacrifices of the priests on behalf of the people, which took the place of the old stated oblations of the kings, became the main feature of the altar service. The first temple was primarily the royal chapel, and the kings did as they pleased in it; the second temple was the sanctuary of the priests, whose chief now became the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the people. In the time of Ezekiel, not only laymen but uncircumcised foreigners entered the sanctuary and acted as servants in the sacred offices (Ezek. 44 7); in the second temple the laity were anxiously kept at a distance from the holy things, and even part of the court around the altar was fenced off, as we have just seen, by a barrier, which only the priests were allowed to cross (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 13 5).

27. History of second temple. As regards the later history of Zerubbabel's temple, the subsequent works upon it and the strengthening of the wall surrounding the outer court are associated with the name of the high priest SIMON II. (Ecclus. 50 1). Antiochus Epiphanes not only plundered it, but desecrated it by setting up on the altar of burnt offering a small altar to Jupiter Olympius (1 Macc. 1 23 *ff.* 44 *ff.* 54 4 38 2 Macc. 6 2 *ff.*). Three years later, after the reconquest of the city, Judas the Maccabee restored the temple, set up a new altar with new furniture, and consecrated the building anew (cp 1 Macc. 1 23 *ff.* 4 43 *ff.* 52 *f.* 2 Macc. 10 5 Jos. *Ant.* xii. 7 6). At the same time he fortified the temple with high towers and walls (1 Macc. 4 60 6 7), so that the temple thenceforward could be regarded as the citadel proper of Jerusalem. These fortifications were demolished by Antiochus II. Eupator (1 Macc. 6 22); but they were again restored by Jonathan (1 Macc. 12 36 Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 5 51), and at a later period further strengthened by Simon (1 Macc. 13 52). At the time of Pompey's siege (63 B.C.) the temple was an exceptionally strong fortress, defended on the northern and more accessible side by towers and deep ditches (*Ant.* xiv. 4 2). Pompey took it by storm, but left the sacred vessels untouched (Ant. xiv. 4 7). Crassus, on the other hand, plundered it without mercy (*Ant.* xiv. 7 1, *BJ* i. 8 8). The temple was again besieged and stormed by Herod; like Pompey he concentrated his attack on the north side. In this siege some of the temple cloisters were burnt and some persons killed; but the desecration stopped at this (*Ant.* xiv. 16 2 *f.*).

28. The temple of Herod. In the twentieth year of his reign (20-19 B.C.) Herod the Great began to build the temple anew. Besides the descriptions in Josephus, we have for Herod's temple a mass of details and measurements in the Mishnic treatise *Middōth.* Josephus was himself a priest, whilst the Mishnah was not written till a century after the destruction of the temple, though it uses traditions that go back to Levites who had served in the temple. The two sources differ in many measurements, and the *Middôth* appears to be possessed of detailed traditions only for the inner temple. The state of the evidence is not such as to allow a plan of the temple to be formed with architectural precision. The following account rests almost entirely on Josephus, who, apart from certain exaggerations in detail, gives a satisfactory general account, such as could be written from memory without notes and drawings (for literature, see § 43).

29. Herod's motives. Herod's motives in this undertaking were not so much religious as political. On the one hand it afforded him an opportunity of giving some satisfaction to the religious feelings of his Jewish subjects, which he had so often outraged, and of gaining some favour in pious circles throughout the country. On the other hand, he had his full share of the passion for building, which characterised that age. After raising so many splendid temples in the various Greek cities of his kingdom, it seemed hardly fitting that the temple of his capital should fall behind the others in magnificence. His preparations for the work, we are told, were made on a very comprehensive and elaborate scale, so as to spare the Jews any apprehension lest in the event of his death the scheme should remain uncompleted. In other directions, also, he showed all possible respect for the religious susceptibilities of his compatriots. As it was not lawful for any laymen to enter the inner precincts of the temple, he found it necessary to have a thousand priests trained as masons and carpenters, so that the building might be duly completed.

30. Plan of temple. The rebuilding meant, in the first place, a considerable enlargement of the temple area. According to Josephus' account (*Ant.* xv. 11 3, *BJ* 1 21) the former area was exactly doubled, and the perimeter raised from four stadia (*Ant.* xv. 11 3) to six (*BJ* v. 5 2). In other words, the breadth (from E. to W.) remained as before—a stadium (*Ant.* xv. 11 3)—but the length (N. to S.) was increased from one stadium to two. The available level ground on the temple hill was insufficient for a plan so extended, and vast substructions on the southern side became necessary. The whole S. wall was new from the foundation. Even to-day the southern portion of the temple area is seen to rest on immense arches, known in Arab tradition as Solomon's stables, but really dating from the time of Herod.

The whole area was surrounded by a battlemented wall (*BJ* iv. 9 12). On the N. was the gate Tadi of the Mishnah, which Josephus mentions only incidentally. This, like the gate Shushan on the E., which he does not mention at all, must have been of minor importance; the chief accesses were necessarily from the lower city to the S., and the upper city to the W. beyond the Tyropœon valley. The S. wall, says Josephus, had gates in the middle (*Ant.* xv. 11 5). The Mishnah names them the two gates of Huldah. There is a double gate in the substructure of the S. wall, 350 ft. from the SW. angle, and from it a double tunnel leads up to the platform. This double gate exactly fits Josephus's description. There is also a triple gate, 600 ft. from the SW. angle, which is probably to be regarded as the second Huldah gate. In the W. side the Mishnah places one gate (Kiponus), while Josephus recognises four. The most southerly is necessarily the one which opened on a flight of steps descending, and then reascending across the Tyropœon to the upper city opposite. Now, at the SW. corner of the platform, there are still remains of the great arch (Robinson's arch), which must have belonged to a bridge connecting the upper city with the S. portico of the temple. Many scholars (as, for example, W. R. Smith, in *Ency. Brit.*[9], *s.v.* 'Temple') look for this

southern gate here. It is more probable, however, that it lay somewhat farther to the N., at the point where, tolerably low down in the temple wall, the colossal lintel of a gate was found, consisting of a single stone. The steps of which Josephus speaks, must, in that case, have been inside the gate, as the gate itself was not far above the level of the bottom of the valley. Comparing *BJ* ii. 16 3 vi. 6 2 v. 4 2, we see that the embankment also carried the city wall (the so-called first wall). Of this approach there are remains at Wilson's arch, 600 ft. N. of Robinson's arch. Here also as in the case of Robinson's arch, under the so-called Wilson's arch, have been found remains of the arch of an older bridge in the Roman style, which presumably dates from the Herodian period (as to this cp JERUSALEM, § 8). Round the entire temple area on all four sides ran porticoes built against the enclosing wall. The finest was that on the S. side—the Stoa Basilica—which was formed by four rows of Corinthian columns of dazzling white marble (162 columns in all). Of the three aisles that in the middle was twice as high (some 28 metres) as those flanking it, and broader by one half (some 12 metres). On the three other sides of the area were double porticoes, some 15 metres in breadth with monolith pillars of some 12 metres in height. All hese buildings were roofed with cedar beams, richly carved (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 5, *BJ* v. 5 2). The eastern portico was known as Solomon's porch (Jn. 10 23, Acts 3 11 *f.* 5 12); there must therefore have previously stood on this side a structure which was considered as resting on Solomon's foundations. The court itself immediately within these buildings was paved in mosaic fashion with stone.

Connected with the temple was the citadel of Antonia (see JERUSALEM, § 28). It lay on the NW. and dominated the temple area (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 4). Stairs descended from it to the NW. corner of the area, to the northern and western porticoes.

In the temple of Herod the separation of sacred from profane was rigorous. The Antonia, the porches, and the space immediately within these were not holy ground, in the strict sense of the word. They were accessible to Gentiles even, on which account the 'outer' court is actually often called the 'court of the Gentiles,' although this description is nowhere met with, either in Josephus or in the Mishna. In the centre of this enclosed space rose a platform at a height of 15 cubits above the court of the Gentiles—the inner court with the sanctuary proper. This platform itself was in turn surrounded by a narrow terrace, 10 cubits in breadth (*ḥēl*: *BJ* v. 5 2; *Middōth*, 2 3). From the court of the Gentiles fourteen steps led up to this terrace, and from this again five steps to the gate of the inner court (see Jos. *BJ* v. 5 2; *Middōth* gives the number of the steps differently). There was no entrance upon the W. side. A breastwork (סוֹרֵג, *sōrēg*) of stone ran round the whole of the inner court beneath the level of the steps. On it were placed at intervals inscribed tablets forbidding every one who was not a Jew from crossing the limit or treading the holy place, on pain of death.[1] At the top of the steps was the inner court properly so called, surrounded by a wall rising 25 cubits above the level of the outer court. The inner court was divided into two unequal portions by a cross wall running N. and S. The eastern and smaller space, which lay at a somewhat lower level, formed the so-called court of the women (*'ăṣārath nāšīm*, עֶזְרַת נָשִׁים, *Midd.* 2 5), and was accessible to Jewish women. The western space, containing the temple buildings properly so called, was for men only. The wall enclosing the inner court was pierced by nine gates; the N. and S. sides had each four gates, the easternmost of which in each case led directly into the court of the women, whilst

31. The courts and gates.

[1] One such inscription (Greek and Latin) is still extant (*PEFQSt.*, 1871, p. 132; Benz. *HA* 404; Nowack, *HA* 2 77).

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the others opened into that of the men. The gates had double doors which were covered with silver and gold, the gift of the Jewish alabarch, Alexander of Alexandria. To the W. there was no gate and the E. side had but one,[1] which, however, was specially magnificent and costly. Its doors were of Corinthian brass. It led, according to what has just been said, directly into the court of the women. In a straight line with it, finally, in the wall between the courts of the men and women, the most magnificent of all the gates closed the eastern approach to the temple (Jos. *BJ* v. 5 3). It was the 'Great' gate, 40 cubits broad and 50 cubits high; 15 semicircular steps here ascended from the court of the women to that of the men. Which of these two doors on the E. is intended by the 'Beautiful' gate of Acts 3 2, it is impossible to determine. According to the Mishna (*Midd.* 1 4), the last-named inner gate between the court of the men and that of the women corresponded to the gate of Nicanor; according to the description of these gates by Josephus, however, there would seem to be some mistake in this. The gates were probably[2] all of them porch-like in plan, with side recesses (exedræ) which made the connection with the chambers skirting the length of the walls. In like manner there was an upper chamber above the gateway properly so called (cp *Midd.* 1 5; *Tāmīd*, 1 1, where mention is made of an upper chamber of the gate of Sparks [שַׁעַר הַנִּיצוֹץ on the N. side). This gave the gates the tower-like appearance of which Josephus speaks.

32. The chambers.

Along the enclosing wall ran a series of chambers (*lĕšākōth*) which served for storage of the various utensils, skins of sacrificial animals, sacrificial salt, wood, vestments, and the like, or for various operations, such as the preparation of the meal-offering, and so forth.

The supreme council also held its sittings in one of these chambers. Their precise number is unknown. *Midd.* 5 3 *f.* mentions three on the N. and three on the S.; elsewhere yet others are alluded to. According to *Midd.* 2 5 there were four chambers in the women's court also—a piece of information, however, the accuracy of which is with reason called in question (Schürer in Riehm, *HWB*, conjectures that the statement is an inference from Ezek. 46 21). Some of these chambers (whether all of them is uncertain) had upper stories (*Yōmā* 1 5, and *Tāmid* 1 1; allusion is made to an upper chamber of the Bet-Abtinas). In front of the chambers were, as in the first inner court, porticoes, though much smaller in size. Finally, we hear of thirteen offertory chests for free-will offerings of all sorts.

From this court of the Israelites the portion immediately surrounding the sanctuary was separated by a breastwork of stone—on all sides, according to the express statement of Josephus (*BJ* v. 5 6 *Ant.* xiii. 13 5); but the Mishna (*Midd.* 2 6) speaks only of a wall running from N. to S. The area thus shut off was the court of the priests. Laymen had access to this court only when the ritual connected with certain offerings demanded the presence of the persons presenting them.

33. The temple building.

Within the court of the priests stood on a still higher level the temple building proper. The ascent to it was by twelve steps (*Midd.* 3 6). The ground plan and dimensions of the building were the same as in the temple of Solomon—viz., 60 cubits in length 20 in breadth and 40 in height. Two costly curtains shut off the Holy of

[1] According to *Midd.* 2 6 (cp M. *Shĕḳālīm*, 6 2) the gates on the S. side were these: (1) שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן (wanting in *Midd.* 1 4 *f.*); (2) שׁ׳ דֶּלֶק; (3) שׁ׳ הַבְּכוֹרוֹת; (4) שׁ׳ הַמַּיִם; and those on the N. side were: (1) שׁ׳ יְכָנְיָהוּ; (2) שׁ׳ הַקָּרְבָּן; (3) שׁ׳ הַנָּשִׁים; (4) שׁ׳ הַשִּׁיר. *Midd.* 1 4 *f.* gives three quite different names; those at the eastern end leading into the court of the women are not taken account of at all.

[2] Jos. *BJ* v. 5 3 seems to presuppose this for all the gates. Elsewhere in Josephus mention is made of the northern or western exedra, so that it might seem as if not all the gates were so constructed. The last seems to be the view of the Mishna also. Moreover, a hall or exedra of the same kind existed also upon the W. side, where there was no gate.

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Holies (20 × 20 cubits), which was quite empty. The outer curtain was folded back upon the S. side, whilst the inner was similarly folded back on the N. side, so that in this way the high priest entered the intermediate space from the S. and passing along it entered the Holy of Holies on the N. side.

The anterior apartment of the sanctuary (חוך ההיכל *Midd.* 4_7) was 40 cubits in length. It was entered from the E. through the porch by a great double door (שער הגדול *Midd.* 4_2, cp *Tāmīd* 3_7) of 40 cubits in height and 16 cubits in width (so Jos. *BJ* v. 5_4; according to *Midd.* 4_1 only 20 cubits high and 10 broad). Like the gates of the court it was richly covered with gold. In front of the great door hung a magnificent curtain of Babylonian workmanship; its colour according to Josephus symbolised the universe: byssus the earth, purple the sea, scarlet the element of fire, and hyacinth the air (*BJ* v. 5_4). Above the gate were golden vines and grape clusters as big as a man (*BJ* v. 5_4; *Ant.* xv. 11_3 cp Tacit. *Hist.* 5_5). The sanctuary was accessible only to the officiating priests. The altar of incense stood near the entrance to the Holy of Holies, the table of shewbread to the N., the seven-branched candlestick to the S. (cp the figures on the arch of Titus; also CANDLESTICK).

Eastward from the temple was, as in the temple of Solomon, a porch (*'ūlām*) 100 cubits in breadth, 100 cubits in height and 20 cubits deep (according to *Midd.* 4_7 only 11 cubits). Its gateway, which had no doors, was 70 cubits high and 20 cubits broad (Jos. *BJ* 5_5; according to *Midd.* 3_7 it was only 40 cubits high and 20 cubits broad). Above this gate Herod caused the name of Agrippa his patron (*BJ* i. 21_3) and a golden eagle to be placed. The eagle was, as may well be believed, an abomination in the eyes of pious Jews; and Josephus tells how, shortly before the death of Herod, two zealous rabbins incited some youths to tear it down (*Ant.* xvii. $6_{2\text{-}4}$).

The temple building had an upper story of the same dimensions with the lower (*BJ* v. 5_5). The Holy of Holies could be entered directly from above by means of a trap-door; by this means workmen could be let down in boxes whenever repairs were needed. The access to the upper room was from the S. from the roof of the side-building. As in Solomon's temple, the side-building surrounded the house on the S., W., and N. It was three-storied and 40 cubits in height. The individual chambers were not only connected with those on the same floor by means of doors, but there was communication between those above and those below by means of trap-doors. The principal entrance was on the NE. where it was possible to pass from the portico direct into these chambers. The whole breadth of the temple buildings inclusive of the side-building was 70 cubits (*Midd.* 4_7, where the separate figures are given from which this total results). Thus the porch on each side exceeded by 15 cubits the breadth of the temple building.

Eastwards of the temple at a distance of 22 cubits from the porch, in the court of the priests, stood the great altar of burnt offering of unhewn stones (see ALTAR). At the SW. corner was a channel which drained into the Kidron valley. Twenty-four rings fixed in the ground to the N. of the altar served for tying up the sacrificial animals, there were eight pillars connected by cedar beams for hanging up the carcases, and eight marble tables on which to prepare the sacrificial flesh (*Midd.* 3_5 5_2 *Tāmīd* 3_5 *Shĕkālīm* 6_4). On the S. side was the bronze laver at which the priests washed hands and feet before entering the sanctuary (*Midd.* 3_6; cp *Yōmā* 3_{10}); also a silver table for the vessels and a marble table for the sacrificial flesh (*Shĕkālīm* 6_4; *Tāmīd* 4_3). Herod's gigantic and costly structures were still in building forty-six years after their commencement, when Jesus began his ministry (Jn. 2_{20}), and the works were not completed till the procuratorship of Albinus (62-64 A.D.). In 66 the great revolt against Rome broke out, and in August 70 Jerusalem was taken by Titus and the temple perished in a great conflagration. I. B.

II. THE TEMPLE-SERVICE.

34. Introductory. The system of worship of which the Jerusalem sanctuary was the centre assumed its most elaborate and highly developed form in the temple of Herod.

The immense and manifold religious activities that concentrated themselves in the temple worship, can only be adequately realised when it is remembered how unique was the position occupied by Judaism's central shrine. It was absolutely the one and only sanctuary where the highest expressions of the religious life of a whole people could be offered. Judaism possessed but one sanctuary, and that was in Jerusalem.

At the time when the Christian movement was born, Palestine—though its population was by no means exclusively or (except in such districts as Judæa and possibly Galilee) even predominantly Jewish—had once again become the centre of Jewish national life. And it was in the Holy City, and pre-eminently in the temple worship, that this life found its most intense and Jewish expression. Jerusalem was constantly thronged with pilgrims from the Jewish communities scattered over the E. and W. worlds (see DISPERSION) laden with gifts for the temple. And here, in the elaborate sacrificial worship, they rendered the highest tribute of homage within their power to the God of their fathers. How immense the influence of the temple worship was is evidenced by the large space devoted to its details—the minutiæ of its ritual and organisation—in the later Jewish literature (the Mishna and Gĕmārā), which was compiled long after the destruction of the sanctuary. Such pious ejaculations as, for instance, the following constantly recur. Towards the end of the Mishna tractate *Tāmīd*, which sets forth in detail the course of the daily offering, we read: 'Such is the order of the daily offering for the service of the house of our God. May it be his will to build it speedily in our days. Amen' (7_3). The same sentiment finds frequent expression in the liturgy of the synagogue, which also reflects the influence of the sacrificial worship in its essential structure. Cp SYNAGOGUE.

Of the more important features of this worship, so far as known, a brief sketch may here be appended. As a preliminary to this it will be necessary to give some account of the officers by whom it was carried on.

35. Officers, etc. (*a*) *The Priests.*—According to Josephus (*c. Ap.* 2_8) the priesthood in his day numbered no less than 20,000 men. It was only on rare occasions—at certain of the high festivals—that the whole, or anything like the whole, of this number officiated at one time within the temple precincts. For the purposes of regular worship this body was, as is well known, divided into twenty-four 'courses' (*mišmār*, מִשְׁמָר, 'watch' = πατριά or ἐφημερία, cp Lk. 1_5 8, or ἐφημερίς); and the 'courses' again into subdivisions or 'families' (בָּתֵּי אָבוֹת = φυλή).

It is interesting to note that Josephus (*Vit.* 1_1) claims to belong by birth to the first of the twenty-four 'courses'—that of Joiarib—from which also the Hasmonæans sprang (1 Macc. 2_1). Both the main- and the sub-divisions were presided over by 'heads' (רָאשִׁים), each of whom was termed respectively 'head of the course' (ראשׁ הַמִּשְׁמָר) or 'head of the family' (ראשׁ בית אב).

Each 'course' in succession was responsible for the regular temple services for the week (from sabbath to sabbath), and divided up the week's services among its 'families' according to their number (which varied).

At the head of the whole priesthood stood the high priest (*kōhēn hag-gādōl*, כהן הגדול, ἀρχιερεύς), at this time the greatest native personage, both in church and

state, to whom was reserved the performance of the highest religious acts, such as the supreme sacrificial act enacted on the Day of Atonement. On ordinary occasions, however, it was rare for him to participate officially in the temple worship, and as a rule he did so, according to Josephus, only on sabbaths, new moons, and the great annual festivals (*BJ* v. 5_7). During the time of the Roman predominance the office was held almost exclusively by members of two or three families (those of Phabi, Boethus, Ananus, and Kamith) who formed the priestly aristocracy, and were divided by a deep social gulf from the great mass of the priesthood.

(*b*) *Levites.*—Another class of temple officials, occupying a position subordinate to that of the priests, was the Levites, who, however, like the priests, formed at this time a strictly exclusive and hereditary order, though, strange to say, they had now absorbed the musicians and door-keepers, who (even in the post-exilic period) had formerly been carefully distinguished from the Levites proper. Later still (just before the destruction of the temple) the musicians advanced a step further in securing from King Agrippa II., with the assent of the Sanhedrin, the privilege of wearing the white linen garments of the regular priesthood (*Ant.* xx. 9_6).

The Levites, like the priests, were divided into twenty-four 'courses,' and each performed duty in a corresponding manner. Similarly these were also presided over by 'heads' (ראשים).

(*c*) *The official 'Israelites.'*—Corresponding to the divisions of the priests and the Levites there was also a division of the people into twenty-four courses of service (משמרות) 'each of which had to take its turn in coming before God, every day for a whole week, by way of representing the whole body of people while the daily sacrifice was being offered to Yahwè' (Schürer). The division on duty for the time being was technically termed 'a station' (*ma'ămād*, מַעֲמָד). It seems, however, that not the whole division, but only a deputation of it, was actually required to be present at the offering of the sacrifice in the temple. At the time when this was being performed the absent members of the 'station' met together in the local synagogues for prayer and the reading of certain passages of Scripture. The leading passage on the subject in the Mishna (*Ta'ănīth* 4_2) runs as follows :—

'The earliest prophets established twenty-four courses of service (משמרות). To each belonged a staff (מעמד) in Jerusalem, composed of priests, Levites, and Israelites. As soon as its turn to serve came round to a course, the priests and the Levites belonging to it proceeded to Jerusalem, but the Israelites assembled in the synagogues of their different towns and there read the account of the creation.' (It should be noted that the *whole* of the course, of priests and Levites, when its turn came, had to be present in Jerusalem.)

36. Functions of priests and Levites.

The part taken by the high priest in the temple worship has already been referred to, and need not here be further enlarged on. It may be pointed out, however, that the daily meal-offering of the high priest, which was offered in conjunction with the daily burnt-offering of the people (Lev. $6_{12\text{-}16}$), was (in practice) not so much offered *by* him as *on his behalf* and *at his expense*. According to Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 1_{288} n. 243) it is this offering which is referred to in the difficult passage Heb. 7_{27}, though it was in no sense a sin-offering.

The functions of the ordinary priests, when they were engaged in the service, mainly consisted in ministrations at the altar. These will be described in greater detail below (§ 38). To the priests the Levites were in all respects subordinate—the strictly priestly function of officiating at the altar was forbidden to the Levites, nor were they permitted to enter the inner sanctuary ; their duties mainly consisted in such offices as the guarding of the temple fabric, and acting as choristers and door-keepers (see further below, *b*). There were, however, other high officials of whom mention must be made. The most important of these was the *sĕgan* (Aram. סְגַן, the vocalisation of the Heb. form סגן is uncertain), who ranked next to the high priest. The widely-held view that the *sĕgan* was the high priest's deputy or substitute has been controverted on cogent grounds by Schürer (*Hist.* ii. 1_{257} *f.*) who points out that a substitute for the high priest was appointed annually, seven days before the Day of Atonement, to act in case of necessity (*Yōmā* 1_1)—a superfluous provision if an official substitute already existed. Schürer gives good reasons for identifying this official with the captain of the temple (στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ) frequently mentioned in both Josephus and the NT, who controlled all arrangements for maintaining order within the temple area. Subordinate to him, but exercising functions essentially similar, were a number of other *sĕgānim* or captains of the temple police, who are probably to be identified with the 'captains' (στρατηγοί) of Lk. $22_{4\ 52}$.

Next in dignity to the high priest and the *sĕgan* ranked the heads of the twenty-four courses (ראש המשמר) and (below them) those of the constituent 'families' (ראש בית אב). Besides the above there were various other functionaries connected with the temple among the priests and Levites. These (following Schürer) we may group into three divisions :

(*a*) Those entrusted with the administration of the temple stores, furniture, and treasures. The officials who controlled this vast department—which included not merely the custody of the sacrificial plate and vestments, and supplies of corn, wine, and oil for ritual purposes, but also the care of vast sums of money belonging to the temple, as well as of large amounts deposited there by private individuals for safety—were known as 'treasurers' (*gizbārīm*, גִּזְבָּרִים ; γαζοφύλακες). They also gathered in the half-shekel tax (*Shĕḳ.* 2_1). The full complement of officials in this department must have been very large, and may have included Levites ; but, in any case, the more important offices connected with it were filled by priests.

Not improbably the 'treasurer' mentioned by Josephus in conjunction with the high priest (*Ant.* xx. 8_{11}) was the head of the order. To the order of treasurers, forming probably one of its subdivisions, belonged the *ămarkĕlin* (אמרכלין), a word of Persian origin meaning 'accountants.' The Jerusalem Talmud also mentions another class that falls within this category : viz., the קתוליקין (καθολικοί), about whom, however, the Mishna is silent.

(*b*) Officials connected with the police department. Here Levites were mostly employed. According to the Mishna (*Tāmīd* 1_1), of twenty-four points at which guards were stationed at night no less than twenty-one were occupied by Levites, whilst the other three were watched by priests. In point of fact the whole space within the low barrier beyond which Gentiles were forbidden to pass on pain of death (§ 31)—*i.e.*, the inner court, or court proper—was guarded by priests. Outside of this inner court, at the gates and the corners, the Levite posts were stationed, and also (but on the inside) at the gates and the corners of the outer court (*i.e.*, the 'court of the gentiles' ; § 31). All these gates were also occupied during the day time, and, amongst other things, it was the duty of the Levitical guards to see that the prohibition of Gentiles from entering the sacred enclosure was strictly carried out. Patrols also moved round by night and day. At night it was usual for a captain of the temple, known as איש הר הבית, to make a round of inspection to see that the guards were not sleeping at their posts (*Middōth* 1_2).

Another officer (στρατηγός) is also mentioned under the title of *ish hab-bīrāh* (איש הבירה)—*i.e.*, 'man of the citadel'—the citadel in this case doubtless being the temple proper, and the officer in question the head of the priestly guard (of the inner court). All the gates of the courts were shut at night by the guards, and a special officer was appointed to superintend the operation (*Shĕḳ.* 5_1). The keys of the gates of the inner court were kept by the elders of the particular division of priests on duty for the watch, and, when the divisions were changed, were handed over to the elders of the incoming division. As the morning sacrifice was offered at daybreak it was necessary that

the gates should be opened somewhat earlier. At the great festivals (when large preparations for additional sacrifices, etc., had to be made) the gates were opened much earlier—as early as midnight during Passover (*Ant.* xviii. 2 2).

(*c*) Special functionaries connected with public worship. Whilst the general conduct of the sacrificial worship was exercised by the priesthood as a whole (in their courses), certain special duties were performed by permanent officials, who, in many cases, belonged to families which had acquired a hereditary right to fulfil a particular office. A number of these (who were in office during the closing years of the temple) are enumerated in the Mishna (*Shĕkālīm* 5 1). From this passage we learn that there was an officer 'over the lots' (*i.e.*, the lots cast daily for the allocation of particular offices to the officiating priests), another 'over the seals' (tokens issued to the people, which corresponded to the various kinds of drink-offerings). These 'seals' were handed by the purchasers to another official who was 'over the drink-offerings' and who 'in return would give to the person tendering one the amount of drink-offering requisite for the particular occasion for which it was wanted' (Schürer).

The hereditary offices, confined to certain families, were connected with matters involving special technical skill and knowledge, such as the preparation of the shewbread (family of Garmu), and of the frankincense (family of Abtinas). Other officials mentioned are: a master of the psalmody, a cymbal-player (who gave the signal for the Levites to begin the music), a temple physician, a master of the wells, a herald, a keeper of the veils, and a keeper of the priests' garments.

A comparatively large class of officials was the guild of sacred musicians (*mĕšōrĕrīm*, משררים, *ψαλτῳδοί, ἱεροψάλται, ὑμνῳδοί, κιθαρισταί τε καὶ ὑμνῳδοί*), who formed a hereditary and exclusive order (now Levitical). They were divided into three families (those of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan or Jeduthun; cp *e.g.*, 1 Ch. 25), and these again into twenty-four courses of service. Greatest importance was attached to the singing, to which the musical accompaniment was regarded as subordinate. For the instruments employed see MUSIC.

It may be noted that reed-pipes (*ḥălīlīm*) were introduced into the choir at the high-festivals (Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles), and that the only instruments not assigned to the Levites were the metal trumpets (*ḥăṣōṣĕrōth*), which were regularly blown by priests (esp. to accompany the offering of the daily sacrifice). The place of the Nĕthīnīm in Herod's temple seems to have been taken by the *ḥazzānīm* (חַזָּנִים 'servants,' 'sextons': see *e.g.*, *Tāmīd* 5 3). Menial offices were also performed by boys of the priestly families (פרחי כהנה, 'scions of the priesthood,' *Tāmīd* 1 1, etc.).

We may pass over the details connected with such subjects as admission to the ranks of the officiating priesthood (Schürer, *Hist.* ii. 1 210 *ff.*), the residence of the priests and Levites (*ib.* 229), and the sources of the temple revenue (*ib.* 230 *ff.*), the consideration of which hardly falls within the scope of this sketch; but some description must be given of the public worship of the sanctuary, in, at least, its typical features.

37. The temple services: the daily offering.

The regular worship of the temple centred in the daily *public* offering (עולת התמיד or simply התמיד) of the prescribed sacrifices, morning and evening. On sabbaths and festivals the *number* of the sacrifices was increased, and (in particular cases) other ritualistic elements were added; but essentially the course and sequence of the worship was the same. There were also, of course, multitudes of *private* sacrifices offered. But here we are mainly concerned with the public worship, which embodies the typical features of the rest. Fortunately a detailed account of the course of the daily offering has been preserved in the Mishna, which devotes a whole tractate to the subject (*Tāmīd*), based evidently on sound tradition. The substance of this may here be given.

The service naturally divides itself into three moments: (1) the preliminaries, mainly affecting the priests, and including the slaughter and preparation of the sacrifice (§ 38 *f.*); (2) the offering of incense and of the sacrifice, accompanied by prayer (§ 40); and (3) the service of praise and thanksgiving (§ 41).

38. The preliminaries.

1. The priests on duty slept within a chamber of the inner court. Very early those who were desirous of taking part in the sacrificial worship arose and took the baptismal bath so as to be ready for the official summons, which might come at any moment. When the summons came the priests who were ready followed the superintendent through a wicket into the court. They then divided themselves into two parties, one going eastward and the other westward, with lighted torches in their hands (except on sabbaths when the temple was lit up) and met in 'the place of the pancake makers' (*i.e.*, the apartment where the high-priest's daily meal-offering was prepared), and greeted each other with the words 'It is well; all is well!' They then passed to the Hall Gazith (לשכת הגזית, lit. 'hall of polished stones,' where the Sanhedrin also met) and proceeded to cast lots. Altogether four lots—not immediately, but at intervals—were cast during the service, the first to determine who was to cleanse the altar and prepare it.

The mode of casting the lots is thus described by Edersheim (*Temple*, 122): 'The priests stood in a circle around the president, who for a moment removed the head-gear of one of their number, to show that he would begin counting at him. Then all held up one, two, or more fingers—since it was not lawful in Israel to count persons—when the president named some number, say seventy, and began counting the fingers till he reached the number named, which marked that the lot had fallen on that priest' (so Lightfoot, *Temple Service*, chap. 9 1, following Maimonides).

The person selected first of all bathed his hands and feet at the brazen laver, which stood between the temple and the great altar, and mounting the altar carried away the ashes in a silver pan. While he descended, the other priests washed their hands and feet at the brazen laver, removed the unburnt sacrifices and debris from the altar, laid on fresh wood, and replaced the unconsumed pieces of the sacrifice. They then all adjourned to the 'Hall of Polished Stones,' where the second lot was cast.

During the proceedings above described, which took place in darkness, the only light being the glow of the altar fire, those priests to whom the duty had been assigned, were preparing the baked meal-offering of the high priest in the 'place of the pancake makers.'

The second lot designated the priest on whom it fell, together with twelve others standing next him, to discharge the following duties:—(1) the slaughter of the victim; (2) the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar; (3) the removing of the ashes from the altar of incense; (4) the trimming of the lamps on the candlestick; further, the lot determined who were to carry the various portions of the victim to the foot of the ascent of the altar, viz., who was to carry (5) the head and one of the hind legs; (6) the two forelegs; (7) the tail and the other hind leg; (8) the breast and the neck; (9) the two sides; (10) the entrails; (11) the offering of fine flour; (12) the baked meal-offering (of the high priest); and (13) the wine for the drink-offering.

Immediately after this the president directed inquiries to be made as to whether the time for slaughter had arrived (determined by the approach of dawn when it was visible in the sky up to Hebron). On the signal being given the lamb was brought from the lamb-chamber (לשכת הטלאים), given some water to drink from a golden bowl, and led to the place of slaughter on the N. side of the altar. At the same time the ninety-three sacred vessels were brought from the utensil-chamber. Meanwhile the two priests to whom the duty had been assigned of cleansing the altar of incense, and trimming the lamps on the candlestick (3 and 4 above) proceeded to the sanctuary, the one with a golden pail (טני), the other with a golden bottle (כוז). At this point orders were given (by the elders who had charge of the keys) to open the temple gates, the noise of which (according to the Mishna) was heard at Jericho. The accomplishment of this was heralded

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by three blasts on the silver trumpets, which gave the signal for the Levites and 'men of the station' (representative Israelites) to assemble, and also announced to the city that the morning sacrifice was about to be offered (for these details see the *Gĕmārā* on *Tāmīd*). At this point also, the great gates leading into the holy place were opened to admit the priests whose duty it was to cleanse the incense-altar and trim the candlesticks, into the sanctuary (see above). The opening of the sanctuary gates was the signal for the actual slaughter of the sacrifice. See Edersheim, *Temple*, 133, SACRIFICE, § 32.

Meanwhile the two priests above referred to had entered the holy place. While the slaughter of the lamb was taking place the first of the priests cleansed the golden altar of incense, putting the burnt coals and ashes into the golden pail (טני), and then withdrew, leaving the utensil behind. The second priest, while the blood of the lamb was being sprinkled, proceeded to trim and re-light the lamps of the candlestick.

The procedure was as follows :—Only five of the seven lamps were at this time trimmed—the other two being reserved for a later period of the service. If the two farthest E. were still burning they were left undisturbed, and the trimming and re-lighting of the five others was proceeded with. But the central lamp, called the 'western' (because it inclined westward to the most holy place), could only be relighted by fire brought from the altar. If it happened that the two farthest E. were out, they were first of all trimmed and relighted, before the others were attended to. The candlestick was approached by three stone steps, and on the second of these the priest, when this part of his duty was done, deposited the golden bottle (כוז) and withdrew.

Meanwhile the slaughtering of the sacrifice and the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar had been followed by the flaying of the victim, which was cut up into pieces, and the entrails washed upon the marble tables. The pieces were carried by the six allotted priests (each taking one piece) to the altar, while a seventh carried the offering of flour, an eighth the baked meal-offering (of the high priest), and a ninth the wine of the drink-offering. These were all laid at the foot of the altar-ascent, and salted ; and then all the priests assembled once more in the Hall of Polished Stones.

39. The prayers and blessings.

Here a service of prayer was celebrated, the details of which are, however, not free from ambiguity. The Mishna passage (*Tāmīd* 5 1), bearing on the matter, runs as follows :—

The president said : 'Give one blessing' ; and the priests blessed and read the ten commandments (and), the Shĕma' (in its three sections). They blessed the people with the three blessings—viz. (the blessing) 'True and firm' (אמת ויציב), (the blessing) 'Service' (עבודה), and 'the blessing of the priests' (ברכת הכהנים). And on the sabbath they added one blessing for the outgoing temple course.

The points undetermined here are the following :—(*a*) how far we are to understand that these prayers were said in the hall by the priests alone, and how far in the temple itself by priests and people ; and (*b*) what is meant by 'one blessing' and by 'three blessings'?[1]

Regarding (*a*) it has been usual to suppose that the Shĕma' (*i.e.*, the three sections of the Law, Dt. 6 4-9 11 13-21 ; and Nu. 15 37-41 which had to be repeated by each Israelite every day, morning and evening), preceded by a benediction and the ten commandments, was repeated by the priests in the hall, whilst the other prayers mentioned form part of the *public* service, and come later (so Edersheim, and apparently Schürer). The difficulty about this view is that the benediction 'true and firm' belongs to the Shĕma', which it ought immediately to follow. In any case, if the benediction was said by priests and people publicly, must we not suppose that the Shĕma' itself was recited *publicly* as well? It is not, perhaps, altogether impossible to regard the priest's service in the hall—*i.e.*, the recitation of the Shĕma' preceded and followed by the benedictions mentioned, including 'service' and 'the priestly blessing'—as a sort of rehearsal, *before* the solemn part of the sacrificial worship, of what was publicly recited later when the incense ascended from the altar. We may suppose also that the people, during the interval of silent prayer, mentally repeated the same prayers.

The analogous case of the Shĕmōnĕh 'Esreh ('The Eighteen Benedictions') in the modern synagogue, may be cited. This is first of all said by the congregation inaudibly, and then repeated aloud by the reader.

The recital of the ten commandments, which is elsewhere attested as a daily practice, was afterwards discontinued, probably for anti-Christian reasons (cp C. Taylor, *Sayings of J. Fathers*,(2) Excurs. 4 119). (*b*) As to what benediction was recited *before* the Shĕma', the Mishna gives no indication, and it was early a matter of dispute (*B. Ber.* 11*b*) whether it was that over the creation of light (יוֹצֵר אוֹר ; the modern form can be seen in Singer's Ed. of *Heb.-Eng. Prayer Book*, 37 *ff.*), or that in praise of God's love, known as Ăhābāh Rabbāh (='with abounding love'). According to the generally received opinion, it was the latter that was recited in the temple. In its early form this ran somewhat as follows :—

With abounding (or, according to another version, everlasting) love hast thou loved us, O Lord our God (Jer. 31 3). With great and exceeding compassion hast thou taken compassion on us (cp Is. 63 9). Our Father, our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in thee and whom thou taughtest the statutes of life, be gracious unto us, and be thou also our teacher. Enlighten our eyes in thy law, and make our hearts cleave to thy commandments ; render our hearts one that we may love and fear thy name, and not be ashamed. For in thy holy name we trust ; we rejoice and exult in thy salvation. For thou art the God who works salvation, and thou hast chosen us from all peoples and tongues, and brought us nigh unto thy great name (Selah) in truth, that we give praise unto thee and proclaim thy unity in love. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast chosen thy people Israel in love. (Cp *Jewish Encycl.* I 281, and reff.)

The benediction that followed the Shĕma', beginning with the words 'true and firm' (אמת ויציב), is a thanksgiving to God for various acts of redemption (hence its technical name *gᵉullā*), and has been much amplified in the later Jewish liturgy. In its earliest form it may not have contained more than the following :—

True and firm (established) it is that thou art Yahwè our God, and the God of our fathers ; our King and the King of our fathers ; our Saviour and the Saviour of our fathers ; our Maker and the Rock of our Salvation ; our Help and our Deliverer. Thy name is from everlasting, and there is no God besides thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to thy name by the sea-shore ; together did all praise and own thee as King, and say, Yahwè shall reign who has redeemed Israel. (See further Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*,(1) 370, (2) 383.)

Of the other two 'blessings,' the first, that known as 'service' (עבודה), was doubtless a thanksgiving for the splendid temple worship, which may have been an earlier form of the present 'Ăbōda prayer (=the 17th of the Shĕmōneh 'Esreh ; cp Singer, 50 *f.*), and in its earlier form may have run thus :—

Accept, O Lord our God, thy people Israel and their prayer ; receive in love and favour both the fire offerings of Israel and their prayer ; and may the service of thy people Israel be ever acceptable unto thee. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who receivest the service of thy people Israel with favour [for the last clause, see Rashi on *Bĕrākh.* 11 *b*].

The 'blessing of the priests' was, doubtless, some form (*not*, however, the precative form now used in the synagogue = the last of the Shĕmōnĕh 'Esreh) of the well-known priestly blessing (Nu. 6 24-26), in using which within the Temple the priests pronounced the ineffable name (יהוה) as written. After the priests had recited the Shĕma' and the accompanying prayers in the Hall, the third and the fourth lot were taken—the third to determine who should offer the incense in the sanctuary, and the fourth to determine who should lay the various parts of the victim upon the altar. The most important duty of the service that could fall to a priest was that of offering the incense, and only those who had not performed the office before were eligible (except in the rare case when all present had so officiated). Those on whom no lot had fallen were now free to go away, after divesting themselves of the priestly dress.

2. *The offering of incense and of the sacrifice accom-*

1 (See L. Blau, 'Origine et Histoire de la lecture du Schema, *REJ* 31 [1895] pp. 179-201.)

panied by prayer.—The incensing priest now took a golden saucer (כַּף) covered with a lid, containing a smaller saucer (בָּזַךְ) with the incense. An assistant priest then brought some live coal from the great altar in a silver pan (מַחְתָּה) which he emptied into a golden pan. This done, both proceeded with another assistant, and with the two who had already dressed the altar and candlestick, into the sanctuary, striking as they passed the instrument called *magrēphāh* (see col. 3229), at the sound of which priests hastened to the worship, the Levites to occupy their places in the choir, while the delegates ('stationary men') ranged at the eastern gate of the Temple (=the gate of Nicanor) such of the people as were to be purified that day ('the defiled men').

40. Offering of incense.

The two priests who had dressed the altar and the candlestick entered first, the former merely to bring away his utensil, which, after prostrating himself, he did; while the latter completed the trimming of the lamps, and then, prostrating himself, withdrew with his utensil.

The assistant priest who had the pan of coals emptied them on to the altar of incense, prostrated himself, and withdrew. The other assistant then arranged the incense, and withdrew in like manner. The chief officiating priest was now left alone within the sanctuary, awaiting the signal of the president before burning the incense. When this was given (with the words 'offer the incense'), he emptied out the saucer on to the coals, and the incense ascended in clouds of smoke. At this solemn moment, the people withdrew from the inner court and prostrated themselves, spreading out their hands in silent prayer (cp Rev. 8 1 3 *f.* quoted by Edersheim). The incensing priest, also, after prostrating himself for worship, withdrew from the sanctuary. The period of silent prayer was followed (if the conjecture given above is correct) by the recitation of the Shĕma', with the ten commandments and benedictions set forth above. Others think that only the three 'blessings' (mentioned in *Tāmīd* 5 1) were here recited. In any case, the priestly blessing was given in the following manner. The five priests who had been engaged within the Holy Place now proceeded to the steps in front of the Temple, and with uplifted hands, pronounced the priestly benediction. This was pronounced by the leader (probably the incensing priest), the others following audibly after him. As already mentioned, the divine name was on these occasions pronounced. The people also responded: 'Blessed be the Lord God, the God of Israel, from everlasting to everlasting.' The offering of the burnt offering was now proceeded with. The chosen priests brought up the various pieces of the victim from the foot of the ascent, and, after placing their hands upon them, threw them on to the altar-fire. When the high priest officiated, he received the pieces from the priests, placed his hands upon them, and threw them on to the altar. The appropriate meal offerings (that of the people, and that of the high priest) were now brought, oiled, salted, and laid on the fire; and the drink offering was poured out at the foot of the altar.

3. *The Service of praise and thanksgiving.*—Hereupon the music of the temple began. The choir of Levites, to the accompaniment of instrumental music, sang the psalm of the day, which was divided into three sections. At the close of each section, a body of priests blew three blasts on the silver trumpets, and the people prostrated themselves in worship. The singing of the psalm closed the morning service, and the private sacrifices were proceeded with.

41. Musical service.

The evening sacrifice (which, according to the law, was to be offered 'between the two evenings'—*i.e.*, in the evening twilight) was at this period offered early in the afternoon, about 3 o'clock. It was in all respects exactly similar to that of the morning, save that incense

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was offered *after* the burnt offering instead of before it, and the lamps in the sanctuary were not trimmed, but simply lighted. The priests on whom the lots had fallen again officiated in the evening, except the incensing priests. For this office another lot was taken.

The daily psalms were the following: first day, 24; second, 48; third, 82; fourth, 94; fifth, 81; sixth, 93; on the sabbath, 92.

On the sabbath and festivals the same daily sacrifices were offered, only increased. Thus on the sabbath the sacrifice was doubled, and so on. The essential features, however, were much the same. [For details, see FEASTS, SABBATH, and the works cited below.]

42. The sabbath and festivals.

G. H. B.

The literature of the subject is immense. The older books are given in Bähr (*Der Salomonische Tempel*) and other writers; only the more important modern works can be mentioned here.

43. Bibliography.

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(*b*) *Text and Literary Criticism:* The commentaries on Kings (above); Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einl.*(4); Stade 'Der Text des Berichts über Salomos Bauten' in *ZATW*, 1883, pp. 129-177.

(*c*) *Topographical:* The results of modern survey and excavation are given in the *PEF* vol. 'Jerusalem' (London, 1884) and in the accompanying atlas. See also Robinson, *BR* (2); Tobler, *Topographie Jerusalems*, 1853-54; Fergusson, *Topography of Jerusalem*, 1847; Thrupp, *Ancient Jerusalem*, 1855; De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jerusalem*, 1864; Rosen, *Das Haram von Jerusalem u. der Tempelplatz des Moria*, 1866; Schick, *Beit el Makdas; oder, der alte Tempelplatz*, 1887: id., *Die Stiftshütte, der Tempel in Jerusalem u. der Tempelplatz der Jetztzeit;* Adler, *Der Felsendom u. d. heutige Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem*, 1873; Socin-Benzinger in Baedeker's *Pal.*(5)

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(*f*) *Zerubbabel's Temple:* De Moor and Imbert, in *Le Muséon*, 7 and 8; the commentaries of Ryssel and Bertholet on Ezra and Nehemiah.

(*g*) *Herod's Temple:* A tolerably complete catalogue of the older literature on Herod's temple will be found in Haneberg, *Die religiöse Altertümer der Bibel*, 260 *ff.*; for the modern literature see Schürer *GJV*(3) 1 323 *f.* We mention here: Mishna tractate *Middoth*, with the commentary of Obadja Bartenora in Surenhusius, 5; ET in Barclay, *The Talmud*, 255 *ff.* Moses Maimonides in יד חזקה (discussion of the Talmudic details as to the temple and its furniture, in Ugolini's *Thes.* 8); J. Lightfoot, *Descriptio templi Hierosolymitani* (also in Ugolin. *Thes.* 9); Hirt, 'Ueber die Bauten Herodes des Grossen' in *Abh. Berl. Akad.: philol.-hist. classe*, 1816-17, pp. 1-24; Haneberg, *Altertümer*, 266-336; Spiess, *Das Jerusalem des Josephus*, 1881, pp. 46 *ff.*; *id. Der Tempel des Jerusalem während des letzten Jahrhunderts seines Bestandes nach Josephus*, 1887; Schürer, Riehm, *HWB*, 1663, *ff.*; Block, *Entwurf eines Grundrisses vom Herodianischen Tempel nach Talmudischen Quellen bearbeitet:* Hildesheimer, 'D. Beschreibung d. Herod. Tempels im Tractate Middoth u. b. Fl. Josephus' in *Jahresber. d. Rabb. Seminars f. d. orthodoxe Judentum*, 1876-7; Lewin, *The Siege of Jerusalem by Titus*, 1863.

(*h*) *Temple worship.* In addition to the works cited above, see esp. Schürer, *GVI*(3), § 24 (bibliography); SYNAGOGUE, § 11.

I. B. (§§ 1-33, 43); G. H. B. (§§ 34-42).

TEMPLE-KEEPER (νεωκορον), Acts 19 35 AV^mg. RV. See NEOCOROS.

TEMPTATION. The word מַסָּה, *massah* (𝔊 πειρασμος always), occurs in the OT not only as a place-name (see MASSAH), in Ex. 17 7 etc. Ps. 95 8 (AV 'temptation,' RV 'Massah,' RV^mg. 'temptation'), but also as a common noun in Dt. 4 34 7 19 29 2 [3] where EV has 'temptations' and RV^mg. 'trials' or 'evidences,' in Job 9 23 [see 𝔊] where EV has 'trial' and RV^mg. 'calamity.' The verb is נִסָּה. AV renders inconsistently; in Ex. 17 2 7 Dt. 6 16 etc., it gives up the best rendering—*i.e.*, 'to prove'—and substitutes what to modern readers is certainly misleading—'to tempt.' As Driver (on Dt. 6 16) well observes, 'נִסָּה is a neutral word, and means to *test* or *prove* a person, to see *whether* he will act in a particular way (Ex. 16 4 Judg. 2 22 3 4), or *whether* the character he has is well established (1 K. 10 1). God thus *proves* a person, or *puts* him *to the test*, to see if his fidelity or affection is sincere, Gen. 22 1 Ex. 20 20 Dt. 8 2 [*q.v.*] 13 4 [3]; cp Ps. 26 2; and men *test*, or *prove* Jehovah when they act as if doubting whether his promise be true, or whether he is faithful to his revealed character, Ex. 17 2 7 Nu. 14 22 Ps. 78 18 (see *v.* 19) 41 56 95 9 106 14; cp Is. 7 12. So *massōth* Dt. 4 34 7 19 29 2 [3], are not "temptations," but *trials, provings* (see note on 4 34).' With regard to the NT, it is satisfactory that πειράω is rendered 'try' in Heb. 11 17 Rev. 2 2 10, and πεῖρα 'trial' in Heb. 11 36. On the use of πειρασμός ('temptation,' but RV^mg. sometimes 'trial'),[1] Holtzmann (*HC* 1 45 *f.*) remarks that this is one of the expressions to which the NT has given a pregnant and almost new meaning, indicating the external conflicts and distresses which become the means of inward temptation; see Lk. 22 28 Acts 20 19 Jas. 1 2 1 Pet. 1 6. Such a conflict, such a distress is reported to have been the lot of Jesus, at the beginning of his ministry. See below.

[1] In Acts 20 19 Rev. 3 10, etc., RV gives 'trial' in the text.

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Three stories (§§ 1-4).
Contents of the tradition (§ 5 *f.*).
Nucleus (§ 7).
Possible light from Persia (§ 8).
Discussion (§§ 9-11).
Possible light from myths (§ 12).
Specially parallel stories (§ 13).
Mythic elements, etc. (§ 14).
Bibliography (§ 15).

[There are three chief modes of procedure in dealing with the traditional story of the Temptations, or rather Trials, of Jesus. (1) The narrative may be regarded as having arisen in consequence of a kind of natural law or tendency which, in the case of one who has won the crown of moral perfection for himself and for his disciples, places a symbolic event summing up the trials and achievement of his life at the very outset of his career, just as the final victory of good over evil needs, through the operation of the same law, to be effectually guaranteed by a reported initial victory of the Light-god over the Dragon of Chaos. This may lead us to begin our consideration of the story of the Trials of Jesus by putting the story side by side with similar stories of other spiritual heroes known to tradition, and to put our literary criticism of the narratives under the control of results already obtained by such a comparison. Thus the literary criticism of the narrative will become subordinate to the historical (*religions-geschichtlich*) criticism of the narrative. The neglect of this procedure has, according to Gunkel and others, led to much misunderstanding of some of the narratives in the OT (notably those of Paradise, of the Deluge, and of Jonah), and it would perhaps be too much to suppose that no loss would be sustained by the neglect of it in the study of the NT. (2) It is also possible to begin our consideration of the narratives of the Trials by applying a purely literary criticism—*i.e.*, by determining, so far as may be possible, from what literary sources they proceed, and explaining their details by reference to the OT or to passages in the traditional life of Jesus. We may then consider whether, endeavouring to realise in some slight degree the mental state of Jesus, and applying the ordinary canons of probability, we can venture to point out a historical nucleus of the traditional story of the Trials, and we may then compare, or contrast, the Christian tradition with apparent parallels elsewhere. (3) We may, without disparaging either of the preceding methods, consider whether light cannot be thrown on the Christian tradition by inquiring whether the peculiarities of the narrative may not be accounted for by the discovery of some custom or observance the details of which are similar in essentials to those of the story of the Trials, and yet are beyond the suspicion of having been derived from it. The difference between the first and the second of these methods and between both and the third is striking. It may, however, be minimised, when the student of literary criticism is not opposed to the comparative study of myths, and when the student of strange customs does not at all deny the importance of illustrating, and to some extent at least explaining, the narrative from biblical and extra-biblical literary sources. The essential truth of the significant and instructive narrative of the Temptation is of course not a matter of controversy. Cp Cheyne, *Hallowing of Criticism.*]

1. Three stories. It is usual to explain the origin of the three synoptic[1] reports of the temptation by one or other of two critical hypotheses: (*a*) that Mk.'s represents a bare and brief allusion to the larger story, substantially reproduced in Mt. and Lk., which was already current when he wrote (cp 4 33, allusion to parables omitted), or (*b*) that Mt. and Lk. represent a common and somewhat mythical expansion (in Q, the Logia-source) of the original nucleus preserved by Mk. Neither of these hypotheses is without its difficulties, however, and it seems preferable upon the whole to conjecture that Mk.'s report constitutes an allied though independent[2] account of the incident (in the Ur-Marcus or Petrine narrative), which has been depicted with fuller ethical detail and for other ends in Q and thence transferred with editorial modifications to Mt. and Lk. The standpoint for criticising the contents of both stories is furnished by the principle that in its higher forms temptation becomes more than ever a mystery—hard to understand as an experience and harder to communicate, especially to less sensitive souls with a tendency to materialise the subtler elements of moral conflict.

2. Mk. 1 12 *f.* Upon this view Mk. 1 12 *f.* portrays the inauguration of Jesus as Messiah by a contest with dæmonic powers whom he encountered in bestial form. The allusion to 'wild beasts' is not a realistic touch (see §§ 9 *f.*) or a reference to the loneliness and danger of the experience, much less a subtle parallel to the first Adam (Gen. 1 28 2 19), but symbolic—and symbolic not of passions and hostile powers[3] but of devils who appeared in such guise to

[1] The author of the Fourth Gospel, with his higher Christology, naturally omits the temptation as one of several features (*e.g.*, the agony in Gethsemane) in the human experience of Jesus which would not have lain in line with his specific conception of Christ's person. He prefers to dwell on the resultant sinlessness (7 18 8 46), and the incidental allusions to a strife (12 27-32 14 30) breathe security of triumph rather than intensity of struggle.

[2] Mk. 1 1-13, though not an excerpt from earlier and fuller writings, is a *résumé* of facts already familiar in the evangelic tradition (cp 'the gospel,' *v.* 1). That does not imply, however, that *v.* 12 *f.* is the conscious abbreviation of a tale corresponding to that preserved in Mt. and Lk., even although the Logia underlying those gospels was composed of didactic pieces which circulated earlier than the Ur-Marcus. See Soltau's *Unsere Evangelien*, 35-50 and A. Menzies' *Earliest Gospel*, 62-63.

[3] As Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, 2 14) suggests—'les bêtes sauvages sont les passions dévorantes que déchainent les révolutions violentes; les anges conseillent et donnent les armes pures de la persuasion et de l'appel aux consciences.' This is too modern an idea. In Jewish apocalyptic angels are often violent and punitive, by no means to be identified with gracious and gentle influences. The wilderness might also be symbolic (Herm. *Vis.* i. 1 3), or part of the scenic accompaniment of a

the vision of devotees in the desert. To the fervour and imagination of Jesus the divine spirit is like a fluttering dove (*v.* 10), the satanic spirits like wild beasts. Here, as afterwards in human form (1 23, etc., especially 1 22 27 with the different application in Mt. 7 28), the satanic spirits comprise for Mk. a prominent sphere in which Jesus lived and worked as Messiah, the foe of dæmons. This interpretation of Mk.'s language,[1] therefore, is not simply in line with the naive psychology of the age,[2] which peopled the desert with haunting deities, visible especially to rapt devotees, but entirely consonant with the leading idea of Jesus' career developed in Mk.'s gospel (cp the mutual recognition of Jesus and dæmons in 1 23 *f.* 34 3 11 *f.* 5 6 *f.* 9 20; and Wrede's *Das Messiasgeheimniss in den Evangelien*, 23 *f.*).

3. Common matter.

Common to all three gospels is the symbolic term of 'forty days' (cp the forty years of Israel in the wilderness, Dt. 8 2, and the forty days' fast in the experience of Moses [Ex. 34 28] and Elijah [1 K. 19 8], and see NUMBER, § 8) to delineate, as in Acts 1 3, a considerable period of time. In Mk., at any rate, whatever be thought of Mt. 4 11 (cp 8 15 25 44 27 55), the angelic[3] service has no reference to food (Ps. 78 25 Wisd. 16 20). It is simply the counterpart of satanic opposition,[4] and represents an experience of continuous aid during the vigil, not (as in Mt.) a reward and refreshment vouchsafed after the strain. All three accounts, however, imply that Jesus passed through the prolonged crisis without fall or wound. Whatever he thought or sought in the desert, his character suffered no deflection or compromise, much less defeat. This is developed in Mt. and Lk., who draw independently upon a didactic passage in the Logia which evidently contained a naive, pictorial description of what Jesus experienced in a far less matter-of-fact and obvious fashion at this period. The form of it is vivid and severely simple upon the whole, but dramatic rather than mysterious, and naturally less impressive, because less inward and direct, than the later record of Jesus' strenuous temptation in Gethsemane or even of his sharp encounter with an insidious enticement near Cæsarea Philippi (Mk. 8 31-33). It now remains for us to consider the temptation-vision in this semi-parabolic presentment which Mt. and Lk. have realistically preserved. (Cp *HC* [1901] 1 i. 45-48.)

4. Mt. and Lk.

Both in Mt. and in Lk. the original report of Q has been worked over, and traces of editorial handling are obvious if (as a rule) comparatively unimportant.

Favourite or characteristic Matthæan terms in 4 1-11 are: 'then' (τότε, *quater*), 'coming forward' (προσελθών), 'the tempter' (ὁ πειράζων), 'and' (δέ, 4), 'the holy city' (τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν),[1] 'takes' (παραλαμβάνει, *bis*), the asyndeton in 7, 'again' (πάλιν, *bis*), 'the world' (τοῦ κόσμου, 8), 'and behold' (καὶ ἰδού), besides the additions of 4*c*, 8 (high hill), and 'depart, Satan' (ὕπαγε σατανᾶ, 10). Lucan peculiarities in 4 1-13 are: 'full of holy Spirit' (πλήρης πν. ἁγίου,[2] 1*b*), 'in those days' (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις), 'and he said' (εἶπεν δέ: GOSPELS, § 38, n. 2), 'answer' (ἀποκρίνεσθαι πρός), 'lead' (ἄγω, *bis*), 'departed' (ὑπέστρεψεν,[3] *bis*), τοῦ with infin. (10), 'world' (οἰκουμένη, cp 2 1), 'complete' (συντελέω, *bis*), 'before' (ἐνώπιον), 'departed' (ἀπέστη), besides the addition of 2*b*, 5 (in an instant), 6*c*, 9 (ἐντεῦθεν), 10 (to safeguard thee), 13 (for a season), and the omission of the angelic ministry at the close (made up for by the later vision of 22 43 ?).

It is evident that the original tale in Q was little altered in subsequent recensions and that the final editors have reproduced it accurately though not slavishly, preserving the essential features of the story. The main exception to this rule is the altered order of the second and third temptations by a process of transposition which is fairly common throughout the synoptics (see SERMON ON THE MOUNT, § 9). There are no data which would enable us to decide with any confidence which, if either, represents the original series in the Logia, much less the actual sequence. Fortunately the order is not a matter of moment.[4] Each of the two canonical sequences has plausible features and is ethically effective, especially in view of the gospel in which it occurs.

In Mt., where Jesus is pictured as the real if unexpected (11 3) Messiah of Judaism, the newly realised consciousness of his position (3 17) suggests the final and supreme temptation of adopting compromise with external methods in order to gain the universal dominion which formed his goal (4 8-11). The true Messiah, as had been already seen in part (Ps. Sol. 17 37-45), was to be no second Solomon but one whose reliance was solely upon God for strength and wisdom. In Lk., again, the climax is not merely that the OT scriptures themselves might suggest unworthy ideas, but that presumptuous claims upon God are a danger subtler than seductions appealing to the flesh or to the external and sensuous inclinations (4 9-12). Besides, 'thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God' formed a dramatic and appropriate ending to the initial series of temptations in a life which Lk. emphasises (4 13 22 28) as a tempted existence throughout. Further, an apologetic tendency is to be traced in his anxiety to give a more natural geographical order, to show that the retirement was due to a spontaneous and spiritual[5] impulse or rather habit (4 1 *f.*, πλήρης πνεύματος ἁγίου . . . ἤγετο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι, cp Rom. 8 14), and to explain[6] for the benefit of non-Jewish readers (4 6, ὅτι . . . αὐτήν) how Satan could reasonably make such an offer.[7] The awkward

vision (Rev. 17 3) translated into circumstantial prose. But the literal sense is quite suitable and natural.

[1] It is one bit of evidence in favour of the verdict that whilst Mk.'s gospel rests upon facts, not upon ideas, at a relatively small number of points 'legendary features have come to attach themselves to the facts' (O. Holtzmann in *ZNTW*, 1901, p. 273).

[2] For demons in bestial shape see, *e.g.*, Mk. 5 12 11 Rev. 12 3 13 11 16 13 *f.*, and—for the current belief in their connection with waste and lonely places—Mt. 12 43 (DEMONS, § 3; MAGIC, § 2, *b.* 1, and Cheyne on Is. 13 21), with Charles' note on Apoc. Bar. 10 8. These and other traces of Semitic folklore (see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 2 189-194) form the atmosphere for much in the synoptic tales of evil spirits and their malign influence upon men (cp also 2 Cor. 11 3; Everling, *Die paul. Angelologie*, etc., 51-57). In the Arabic 'gospel of the infancy' demons emerge from a lad's mouth in the shape of crows and serpents (*Apocryphal Gospels*, ed. B. H. Cowper, 179).

[3] Evidently part of the primitive tradition, for Mk. never mentions angels elsewhere in narrative. A Johannine equivalent in Jn. 1 51?

[4] Just as the 'rulers of this world' (ἄρχοντες τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου, 1 Cor. 2 6-8) are evil spirits who attempt to thwart the Lord of glory, so here the Messiah encounters supernatural foes, after Ps. 2 2 *f.* where the rulers (οἱ ἄρχοντες) gather against the Lord and his anointed (καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ), the latter being God's son *par excellence* (*v.* 7 = Mk. 1 11 Lk. 3 22 [D], etc.). Cp *Clem. Hom.* 8 22 of Satan setting himself to catch him (θηρεύειν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρῶν) at this period. In Herm. *Vis.* iv. 2 4 Segri is the angel with authority over beasts such as are seen in the vision. The conception of Messiah as inevitably assailed by dæmons is preserved in Rev. 12 4 *f.* (cp Mk. 3 27 and specially Mt. 8 29).

[1] The Gospel of the Hebrews apparently agreed here with Lk. (τὸ ἰουδαϊκὸν οὐκ ἔχει· "εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν" ἀλλ' "ἐν ἰλήμ" [ἱερουσαλήμ], Handmann, *TU* [1888] v. 3 70). The telic note, characteristic of Mt. (4 1), is added to Lk. harmonistically by Ss, as Lk.'s 'for a season' to Mt. 4 11*a* (so Cur.).

[2] Here, as at 3 22 (= Mt. 3 16 Mk. 1 10), the most correct form (Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, 166 *f.*).

[3] In *v.* 1, whither? Hardly to Galilee (*v.* 14). There is a good deal to be said for Hahn's idea that the retirement and conflict of Jesus in Lk. forms an aside—a change of purpose (cp *v.* 1 and *v.* 14). Certainly that is the impression left by the narrative. But this may be due simply to the ill-arranged order of Lk. at this point (see, *e.g.*, the unchronological position of 3 19 *f.*) and not to the author's real conception.

[4] 'The thoughts crossed and recrossed each another, occurred and recurred, and the record is simply a classified summary of forty days' reflections and examinations' (Peyton), or rather of prolonged agitation in mind and soul. Some historical significance, however, is attached by Hönig to the order (desert, hill = Galilee, temple = Jerusalem); see also O. Holtzmann's *Leben Jesu*, 35 *f.* 108 *f.*

[5] Bruce (*Expos. Grk. Test.* 1 486) prefers to regard this as the first instance of Lk.'s editorial solicitude: no evil thoughts possible in the mind of such a holy man.

[6] Mt. naturally takes it for granted that his readers understand the Jewish notion, shared by most early Christians, that the present age and world lay under the control (2 Cor. 4 4 Eph. 6 12, etc.; Everling, *op. cit.* 49 *f.*, 107 *f.*) of Satan as king of the present time (ὁ πρόσκαιρος βασιλεύς) or king of the present things (β. τῶν παρόντων) (*Clem. Hom.* 8 21).

[7] The transport to a hill-top, characteristic of Jewish apocalyptic (Rev. 21 10, cp Herm. *Sim.* ix. 1 1, etc., also Ezek. 40 2, Apoc. Bar. 76 8), is also softened down (ἀναγαγών), and stress

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insertion of the genealogy (3 23-38) between the baptism and the temptation may have been intended to suggest that Jesus was mature, as well as equipped by descent, at his entrance upon ministry and at the moment of his conflict with Satan (so, evidently, Justin, *Dial.* 125, 354: ὅτε γὰρ ἄνθρωπος γέγονεν, προσῆλθεν αὐτῷ ὁ διάβολος). It certainly makes the connection, rightly emphasised in Mk. 1 12 (καὶ εὐθύς) and even Mt. (4 1, τότε), somewhat loose.

5. Contents of the tradition.

Treating the subject of their relation to similar narratives elsewhere (see § 13), we may remark that the figurative[1] stories in Mt. and Lk. were written in an atmosphere of belief in Satan as the arch-opponent of God's authority (Mt. 12 27 *f.* = Lk. 11 19 *f.*, etc.) and the personal agent in seduction—a belief (Jewish and early Christian; Spitta, *Das Urchrist.* 1 34-38) which there is no reason to doubt was shared, in however minimised and moralised a form, by Jesus himself. In two other visions of spiritual conflict recorded by Lk.[2] (10 18 22 31 *f.*), Satan appears as the defeated protagonist of Jesus; and these, like the original nucleus of the baptism-story (*Historical New Testament*, 1901, p. 18) and possibly also the transfiguration, certainly represent (ὑφηγήσατο ἡμῖν, *Clem. Hom.* 11 35) autobiographical communications of one who, like Paul, though far from being a visionary, had visions and moments of rapture, especially at crises of his religious experience. These communications[3] must have been made to the disciples in order to reassure, impress (Mt. 26 38), and clarify their minds. The main object was to throw light upon his own method and aims, and also by inference upon the course of life to be followed by his adherents. Hence, in their present didactic form, it is not easy to determine whether the stories originally possessed a Messianic or a human significance, unless both are conceived to have lain blended together.

[With regard to the order of the three Trials, it is worth mentioning (after O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, § 72) that according to the fragments of the Gospel of the Hebrews (referred to again in § 14) the narrative was originally so arranged that the temptation on the mountain came first, that in the city second, and that in the wilderness third, whereas in Mt. the order is: wilderness, city, mountain, and in Lk. wilderness, mountain, city. He gives psychological reasons for preferring the order of the Gospel of the Hebrews, pointing out that it coincides moreover with that in which the texts quoted from Deuteronomy occur (6 13 16 8 2 *f.*). It was in Deuteronomy, he supposes, that Jesus, in the prolonged period of meditation after his baptism in which his vocation had been revealed to him, sought for the guidance of which he felt in need.]

6. The three trials.

i. Loneliness and fasting,[4] the normal conditions of an ecstasy or trance, naturally introduce the first synoptic temptation, the ethical point of which lies in the refusal of Jesus to seek exemption from the limitations of common needs and bodily privations. The later counsel Mt. 6 25-33 is thus grounded in his own experience (cp Jn. 4 31-34 and Mt. 10 8-10 Lk. 9 3 10 4). Divine sonship, even in its highest degree, is thereby shown to confer no title to exceptional treatment; it merely enforces the duty of loyalty to God's interests and demands as the supreme thing in the moral life (see the application of this in Jn. 6 26 *f.*), and the companion duty of faith, that such devotion shall not be left ultimately destitute by God.

ii. With admirable penetration the very intensity of such faith is represented in the temple-temptation as an insidious occasion for presumption. The inclination now is to abuse not one's feeling of independence but one's consciousness of dependence—*i.e.*, the current pious conviction, shared by Jesus, that God could and would miraculously interpose on behalf of his servants in peril. Jesus repels this suggestion.[1] Genuine faith in man, he is convinced, will be content to believe in God's care without nervously insisting upon arbitrary proofs of it.

iii. The mountain-temptation depicts Jesus' rejection of another attractive and plausible idea which occurred to him (no doubt suggested in part by popular expectation), viz., that his Messianic goal might be swiftly and smoothly reached along paths bordering upon compromise. Renan's motto for the scene—'Christ or Mahomet'—hits off one aspect of the dilemma precisely. Yet the bearing of the temptation need not be exclusively messianic, as Mk. 8 36 shows; the latter passage[2] (with 8 33) indicating also that here at any rate the larger temptation-narrative, relegated not without psychological aptness to the opening of Jesus' life, forms really a miniature of the fundamental temptations which recurred as constant factors in his career, just as the Sermon on the Mount is placed by Mt. unchronologically in the forefront of the ministry as a summary of his general teaching. No doubt the moral insight of Jesus carried with it foresight of coming perils. At Nazareth he had not been out of touch with currents surging from the outside pagan world and its glories (see GASm. *HG* 35-37, 433-435, for the consciousness of ethnic splendour possible to a Galilæan). But the full force of such a temptation could not be felt until he had entered definitely upon his public mission (cp Jn. 6 14 *f.*); and the same may be said of the temple-temptation (Mt. 26 53 *f.*), for hitherto Jesus, though acquainted of course with the dizzy pinnacle of the temple (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 11 5), had run no risk to his person (see further the didactic side of this developed in Mt. 10 17-31 Lk. 12 2-12). The difficulty of Jesus at the outset naturally was to see and choose the true method: his subsequent trial, recurring at frequent stages, was to adhere to the choice made in this initial hour of insight.

7. Historical nucleus.

The Logia passage on the temptation thus represented the disciples' memory of Jesus' memory. It was the literary embodiment, coloured by OT reminiscences,[3] of a crisis in the life of Jesus which (cp Mt. 12 29 Mk. 3 27) he imparted in an ideal and concentrated form, looking back on it through the later, deeper experience of his

laid on the time (ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου, 4 5). The appositeness of Mt. 4 3 and the more vivid Lk. 4 3 lies in the resemblance between the rounded shingle of the locality and loaves of bread (cp Mt. 7 9). There is no subtle allusion to the Baptist's remark (Mt. 3 9 11), which indeed is amply illustrated otherwise (cp Klein in *ZNTW*, 1901, pp. 343-344).

1 They appear to lie between a chronicle and a poetical parable. As early as the seventeenth century, the Temptation was viewed as 'an interchange of dangerous thoughts,' by Balthasar Bekker: *Die bezauberte Welte* (chap. 21).

2 It is noticeable that the tempted nature of Christ is brought forward in Hebrews, a book linguistically allied to Lk.-Acts.

3 For the imparting of the substance of ecstasies and trances see Acts 11 4 *f.* 16 9 *f.* 18 9 *f.* 22 6 *f.*, etc., and *Asc. Isaiæ*, 6 10-15, 'Oculi eius erant aperti, os vero clausum, sed inspiratio spiritus erat cum illo. Visio quam videbat, non erat de seculo hoc, sed de abscondito omni carni. Et cum cessavit a visione, reversus notificavit visionem Ezechiæ et filio eius Nasoni.'

4 See Gunkel's *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes* (1899), 22, and FASTING, § 2 (with PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 19). A notable exception occurs in Rev. 1 9 *f.* Intense prayer may have preceded the Temptation (see von der Goltz, *das Gebet*, 3-4), but it is not specifically mentioned.

1 The ethical triumph of the crisis, as Keim points out (*Jesu von Nazara*, ET, 2 328), is not simply that Jesus conquered but that 'the inexorable godlike loftiness of his judgment discovered the devil in scruples which even the noblest would have fondled as spiritual pearls.' Further, with the possible and partial exception of the hunger-experience, the allurements in this initial crisis of Jesus' life are depicted as attractive rather than threatening or painful. All trial (in the modern sense of the word) is temptation; but all temptations are not trials. As Gethsemane indicates, Jesus felt the harsh as well as the soft touch, and emerged from the ordeal unspoiled: cp πέπονθεν αὐτὸς πειρασθείς . . . χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας (Heb. 2 18 4 15).

2 The allusion to Peter as an embodiment of Satan corresponds with the early Christian belief that seductions through human influence were the devil's work (Weinel, *Wirkungen des Geistes u. der Geister*, 14-17 [1899]); but the synoptic stories, in their present form at any rate, expressly exclude the idea that Jesus had to grapple in the temptation with anything but spiritual hosts of wickedness (Eph. 6 11-13). Even the notion of the temple-temptation as a miracle of display before a crowd is rather irrelevant and theatrical. For the unpolitical character of Christ's propaganda, see Barth's *Hauptprobleme des Lebens Jesu*, pp. 41-44.

3 The OT citations are all from 𝔊, and present little or no difficulty. Mt. 4 4*c* omits τῷ before ἐκπορ. with AF (Dt. 8 3); the other variants ἐν ἄρτῳ (Zahn, *Einl.* 2 316; Nestle, *Einführ.* 211) and ἐν ῥήματι are insignificant and uncertain. Ps. 91 11 *f.* is quoted with some freedom in Mt. 4 6. But in citing Dt. 6 13 both Mt. and Lk. agree with 𝔊A in substituting προσκυνήσεις for φοβηθήσῃ and in adding μόνῳ to αὐτῷ. The sequel in Ps. 2 8 *f.* to *v.* 7 may have suggested the mountain-temptation, just as perhaps the beasts of Ps. 91 13 may have suggested Mk. 1 13. But such conformations or infusions are at most subordinate to the dominant factor in the composition of the story—viz., the endeavour to summarise the cardinal temptations of Jesus.

actual ministry, when the initials eductions had become more grave and subtle than before. The historical nucleus of the tradition is the natural and overpowering impulse which drove Jesus into the gaunt, wild solitudes W.[1] or rather E. of the Jordan to reflect upon the strange consciousness (Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 229 *f.*) which had recently dawned upon him at his baptism,[2] to forecast its issues and determine his course of action (cp Gal. 1 15-17). It is noticeable that he does not seem to have doubted the reality of his Messianic consciousness; for the words 'if thou art a son of God' (εἰ υἱὸς εἶ τοῦ θεοῦ) do not bear this full hypothetical meaning. What he had to win clearness and conviction upon was the real nature and consequences of his position; if any hesitation or uncertainty upon the genuineness of this occurred to him, it was during the period of conflict[3] (implied by Mk. and Lk., not Mt.) and self-questioning preceding that in which Mt. and Lk. place the triple and typical conflict of what is rather inappropriately termed *the* Temptation of Jesus. J. Mo.

It has been remarked above (introd.) that light might be expected to be thrown upon the singular and suggestive story of the Trials of Jesus by comparing it with more or less striking parallels in the literature of other religions, but that it is also possible that the insertion of such a narrative (which is plainly not literally true) may conceivably be accounted for by the existence of some custom or observance which may have led the narrator to postulate such an event as the threefold trial at the opening of the ministry of Jesus. In an essay read before the Oxford Society of Historical Theology in Nov. 1901 (an abstract of which is given in the Society's *Proceedings* [privately printed], 1901-2, pp. 27-31) the view has been expressed by Prof. A. A. Bevan that the so-called Temptation-story in its original form (*i.e.*, a form resembling the narrative in Mk.) was a description of a traditional practice or ceremony, by which, it was supposed, a man could obtain control over demons.

8. Possible light from the modern East. The practice referred to must have been of ancient origin, and it has continued in the East down to the present day. Rather than attempt to describe it anew, Prof. Bevan cites the testimony of an Oriental, as reported by Prof. E. G. Browne in his work, *A Year amongst the Persians* (1893), 148 *f.* About fifteen years ago Prof. Browne heard this story from a philosopher of Isfahān, entitled Amīnu-sh-Sharī'at.

'At one time of my life I devoted myself to the occult sciences, and made an attempt to obtain control over the *jinnīs*, with what results I will tell you. You must know, in the first place, that the *modus operandi* is as follows:—The seeker after this power chooses some solitary and dismal spot. . . . There he must remain for forty days. . . . He spends the greater part of this time in incantations in the Arabic language, which he recites within the area of the *mandal*, or geometrical figure, which he must describe in a certain way on the ground. Besides this, he must eat very little food, and diminish the amount daily. If he has faithfully observed all these details, on the twenty-first day a lion will appear, and will enter the magic circle. The operator must not allow himself to be terrified by this apparition, and, above all, must on no account quit the *mandal*, else he will lose the results of all his pains. If he resists the lion, other terrible forms will come to him on subsequent days—tigers, dragons, and the like—which he must similarly withstand. If he holds his ground till the fortieth day, he has attained his object, and the *jinnīs*, having been unable to get the mastery over him, will have to become his servants and obey all his behests. Well, I faithfully observed all the necessary conditions, and on the twenty-first day, sure enough, a lion appeared and entered the circle. Next day a tiger came, and still I succeeded in resisting the impulse which urged me to flee. But when, on the following day, a most hideous and frightful dragon appeared, I could no longer control my terror, and rushed from the circle, renouncing all further attempts at obtaining the mastery over the *jinnīs*. When some time had elapsed after this, and I had pursued my studies in philosophy further, I came to the conclusion that I had been the victim of hallucinations excited by expectation, solitude, hunger, and long vigils; and, with a view to testing the truth of this hypothesis, I again repeated the process which I had before practised, this time in a spirit of philosophical incredulity. My expectations were justified; I saw absolutely nothing. And there is another fact which proves to my mind that the phantoms I saw on the first occasion had no existence outside my own brain. I had never seen a real lion then, and my ideas about the appearance of that animal were entirely derived from the pictures which may be seen over the doors of baths in this country. Now, the lion which I saw in the magic circle was exactly like the latter in form and colouring, and, therefore, as I need hardly say, differed considerably in aspect from a real lion.'

This custom, it will be noticed, belongs to the large class of observances now often called 'ceremonies of initiation,'

9. Initiation ceremonies. that is to say, ceremonies by which a man is introduced into some new line of life, such as that of a warrior, a priest, a king, and so forth. Among savages, as is well known, these ceremonies are often very elaborate and very repulsive, involving, for example, mutilations of the body and other torments; among civilised peoples there is naturally a tendency to soften them down, or suppress them altogether; but traces of them have survived in almost every country of the world.

In the particular case under consideration the purpose

10. Subjugation of jinn. of the ceremony is perfectly clear, namely, to obtain power over those beings whom modern Orientals call *jinn*—a term which in meaning corresponds to the Jewish *shēdhīm* and to the Greek δαίμονες, δαιμόνια.

Later Jewish writers told that King Solomon possessed such a power (τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην, as Josephus calls it). Josephus also states that Solomon composed incantations whereby diseases are relieved, and left behind him forms of exorcism, whereby men control and drive out demons, so that they can never return. He adds, 'even to the present day this mode of cure prevails among us to a very great extent' (*Ant.* viii. 2 5).

In this connection it is to be observed that both in ancient and in modern times a distinction is made between *subjugating* demons, as Solomon is supposed to have done, and *entering into league* with them, in order to gain some advantage for oneself or to injure one's enemies. The former is called lawful, the latter unlawful magic. Now the ceremony which we are discussing evidently belongs to the former category, and that it bears a striking resemblance to the accounts of the temptation in the Gospels, as Prof. Bevan points out,

11. Illustrates gospel story. cannot be denied. In both cases we find the forty days spent in the desert, the fasting, and the presence of the wild beasts. It is also plain that in the Synoptic narrative of Jesus' ministry the casting out of demons is a continually recurring feature. It appears natural, therefore, that the narrative should begin with an account of the process by which Jesus' power over the demons was acquired. Nor must we overlook the important fact that the Fourth Gospel, which omits the 'Temptation,' *also* omits all reference to the casting out of demons. Does not this give plausibility to the view that the early Christians believed that their Master had obtained control over the demons by performing this rite at the outset of his ministry? Further corroborations of this view are given in the abstract of this essay in the *Proceedings* referred to.

An earlier explanation must, however, be mentioned. The more we familiarise ourselves with the utterances

[1] In the vicinity of BETHABARA? Cp JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 1. On the haggard, austere Judæan desert with its vipers (Mt. 3 7), see GASm. *HG* 312-317.

[2] Justin (*Dial.* 103, 331) loosely brings the two into close connection—ἅμα τῷ ἀναβῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου the voice from heaven is followed by the temptation to worship the devil.

[3] In *Clem. Hom.* (11 35 19 2) these forty days are occupied by discussions (διαλέγεσθαι) with the devil (προτρέπων καὶ ἀναπείθων, 8 21). See the striking passage cited from Victor Hugo's *Quatre-vingt-treize* (in John Morley's *Studies in Literature*, 235 *f.*) on the moral incitements and haunting effects of Nature upon the human conscience, and especially of Nature in her more savage and gloomy scenes. Where the strong conscience resists, and develops by resisting, 'the puny conscience soon turns reptile . . . it undergoes the mysterious infiltration of ill suggestions and superstition.'

TEMPTATION OF JESUS

of primitive antiquity, the more we are relieved from the difficulties incident to a literalistic and rationalistic reading of ancient religious records. Primitive antiquity delights in myths, and details derived from myths were not held to be misplaced in narratives the nucleus of which was historical. Indeed, even whole episodes might be borrowed from myths and adapted to their own needs by the writers of popular narratives, without any sense of incongruity. How largely this is the case in the earlier portion of Israelite history, is becoming known, and there is no sufficient reason for denying the existence of a more or less modified mythic embroidery in early Christian narratives. The narrative of the Temptation of Jesus is one of the most precious of these narratives. We cannot call it an allegory any more than we can call the Hebrew paradise-story an allegory, for it is put forth as history—such history as to early Christians of a primitive habit of mind appeared to need no proof, because it was ideally and undeniably true. Had these been called upon to prove the facts of the history, they would not have understood the summons, unless, indeed, it came to them from one who was equally sceptical as to all that the truly ancient mind held most dear, and in this case they would have scorned to answer it. We need not then indulge the pleasant fancy that Jesus himself may have given the impetus to the production of the temptation narrative, by giving some of his nearest disciples glimpses of his early soul-history. The fancy is not only unnecessary but also unwise—at least, if it entices us to suppose that our purely subjective imaginings are of equal value with critical or traditional facts, and so to lose that sobriety which in a student of religion is the crowning moral quality.

12. Possible light from myths.

There are two stories[1] parallel to that now before us which deserve the attention of the student. One is the Temptation of Zarathustra (Zoroaster) by the evil spirit Angra Mainyu; the other is the Temptation of Gautama (the Buddha) by the demon Mara. In both these stories the tempter seeks first of all to overcome the Holy One by violence, and only when this effort fails has recourse to spiritual temptations.

13. Specially parallel stories.

Ahriman, 'the guileful one, he the evil-doer,' bids a demon rush down upon Zarathustra. But the holy Zarathustra steps forward to meet him, wielding 'stones as big as a house,' obtained from Ahura Mazda (*i.e.*, thunderbolts). Then the guileful one, fearing the overthrow of his own empire, promises Zarathustra that if he will 'renounce the good law of the worshippers of Mazda,' he shall 'gain such a boon as Zohak gained, the ruler of the nations.'[2] Zarathustra answers, 'No! never will I renounce the good law . . . though my body, my life, my soul, should burst.' And when Ahriman howls out, 'By whose word wilt thou strike and repel,' Zarathustra answers, 'The words taught by Mazda, these are my weapons, my best weapons.' Once more he chants the sacred formula, the Ahuna Vairya, and prays, 'This I ask thee: teach me the truth, O Lord!'[3]

With this, Darmesteter[4] well compares the Temptation of Gautama by the demon Mara.

The legend is that when the young Indian prince made the 'great renunciation' to devote himself to the discovery of truth for the sake of his fellowmen, Mara became visible in the air, promising that in seven days from now the wheel of empire would appear, and would make Gautama sovereign over the four continents and the two adjacent isles. Baffled, the demon Mara sends his three daughters, Craving, Discontent, and Lust; but their wiles are fruitless; on the forty-ninth day the king of the gods brings water for his face, and the four guardian angels minister to him.[5]

It is plain that both these stories are of mythic origin; plain too that psychological reflection has done more for the Buddhist story than for the Zoroastrian.[1] The more archaic of the two stories is the Temptation of Zarathustra, the more appealing the Temptation of Gautama. Darmesteter traces both to the nature-myth embodied in the dialogue of the Panis and Saramâ in the Rig Veda. This, at least, seems highly probable; the Temptation-stories in general originated in the mythical conflict between the Light-god and the Storm-spirit, and while we fully grant that the story of the Temptation of Jesus has been, like that of the Temptation of Gautama, enriched by psychological reflection, and (we may add in the case of the Gospel-story) by reminiscences of the Temptation of Adam and of ancient Israel, we cannot consistently deny that its ultimate germs are mythical. Not that the mythic element in this story can be traced to imitation of either of the two parallel stories mentioned above (§ 15); so far as we know as yet, it is only in the apocryphal Gospels (150-700 A.D.) that Buddhistic influence can safely be admitted. Indeed, the 'exceeding high mountain,' from the top of which the tempter shows Jesus 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them,' would seem to be suggested by the Babylonian mountain of the gods which passed into the folklore of the Israelites[2] (cp Is. 14 13 Ezek. 28 16), and is ultimately the great mythic earth-mountain. 'We know not where to look for the "high mountain,"' remarks Keim. The Gospel according to the Hebrews, however, did know. According to a fragment in Origen,[3] 'the Saviour said, Even now my mother the Holy Spirit hath seized me by one of my hairs, and hath brought me to the great mountain Tabor (Θαβωρ, Ταβωρ).' Why Tabor? Probably by a misunderstanding. It was the mountain of the Navel (טבור) that was originally meant—the mountain in the earth's centre. Earlier generations knew where this mountain was—it was in the old Hebrew Paradise, but certainly no one in the first Christian century could have localised that Paradise.[4] It was also on this mountain that we should have expected to find Jesus spending the forty days; the analogies of Ex. 24 18 34 28 1 K. 19 8 *f.* point distinctly to this. But here again the lapse of centuries since the period of a still flourishing folklore must be borne in mind. Since these passages were written transcendentalism had placed its seal on Jewish theology, and even the most venerated earthly mountain was no more than the footstool of God (cp Ps. 99 5 132 7). Jewish ascetics naturally resorted to the desert, as the region where communings with another world would be most attainable (cp JOHN THE BAPTIST, § 1). It was possible there to reduce the claims of fleshly nature to the utmost; there, too, mysterious oracular voices might be heard (see col. 3882, with n. 2); there, too, the moral athlete might prove his spiritual weapons in conflict with the Evil One. Whether the 'forty days' were, according to the earliest form of the narrative, really forty days of temptation may be doubted. The Lenten fast of forty days might naturally exert a modifying influence on the original tradition, which surely must have said that Jesus, as the second Moses and the second Elijah,[5] communed with God for forty days before he underwent the sorest attack of the Evil

14. Mythic elements.

1 Already referred to by J. E. Carpenter, *The First Three Gospels*, 165 *ff.*; J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, 343 353 355.

2 A king in ancient Iranian mythology who ruled the world for a thousand years.

3 *Vendidâd* (Zendavesta), 19 1-11 (the Revelation chapter), *SBE* 4 204-206; cp Introd. p. lxxvii. There is also a briefer account of the episode in the Dīnkart, besides allusions to it elsewhere (A. V. Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, 53).

4 *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 201.

5 *Birth Stories* (Rhys Davids), 1 84 96 *f.* 106 *ff.*

1 According to Rhys Davids (*Buddhism*, 36, SPCK), 'the very thoughts passing through the mind of Gautama appear in gorgeous descriptions as angels of darkness or of light. Unable to express the struggles of his soul in any other way, they represent him as sitting sublime, calm, and serene during violent attacks made upon him by a wicked visible tempter and his wicked angels, armed by all kinds of weapons.' We must not, however, imagine that the Temptation of Gautama is of purely psychological origin. Even here the first germs are evidently mythological (see Darmesteter).

2 The fondness for references to mountains in Jewish eschatological literature also has its roots in mythology.

3 See Nestle, *NT Gr. Supplementum*, 77, and cp TABOR, § 5.

4 There is evidence suggesting that the early tradition placed it in the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb (see PARADISE, § 11, with n. 6).

5 On the genesis of the 'forty days' in the Moses and Elijah story, cp MOSES, § 11.

One.[1] Just so, Zarathustra is said to have beheld seven visions of Ormazd and the archangels before meeting the combined attack of the powers of evil.[2] It may well be that in the original Temptation of Jesus, as in that of Zarathustra, the efforts of the tempter were made to centre in the one object of drawing the Saviour away to a false ideal of success. Analogy favours the view that this, like other stories of the same class, grew, and by the belief that it grew our appreciation of the final perfected form is increased rather than diminished.

One serious difficulty, however, remains. The short account in Mk. runs—

'And he was in the wilderness forty days tempted of Satan; and he was with the wild beasts; and the angels ministered unto him' (Mk. 1 13),

To suppose that this account merely sums up a fuller narrative, such as Mt.'s, is scarcely admissible. It consists of three clauses, and it is only the first and the third which can be represented as the skeleton of the vivid narrative known to Mt. and Lk. 'He was with the wild beasts' (ἦν μετὰ τῶν θηρίων)—clearly there is something more than picturesque realism here, and the duty of the critic is not performed by referring to Is. 30 6, 2 Macc. 5 27. We seem to have here a fragment of another separate narrative, attached to the beginning of Jesus' career, the trials described in which were those incident to initiation into mysteries, or (in Egypt) to the passage of the soul to the Islands of the Blest.[3] J. M. Robertson[4] is inclined to account in this way for the tempter's invitation to Jesus to grasp at food before the appointed time. 'We know that among the trials of the later Mithraic initiations were those of hunger and thirst; and as the adversary, the tempter, is a capital figure in all stages of the Mazdean system, it would be almost a matter of course that the initiate should figure as being tempted by him to break down in the probation.' It would certainly not be extraordinary that some echo of these mysteries should have made its way into the Christian community, considering how close was the struggle between Christianity and Mithraism (the successor and supplanter of Mazda-worship) at a later period. Nor have we even thus exhausted critical possibilities. Considering that ability to vanquish demons was regarded as one of the most essential gifts of the Messiah (cp Mk. 3), it is not surprising if an attempt was made by early Christians to connect the temptation-story with this widely-spread view of the messianic office. The discussion in §§ 8-11 will not, indeed, supersede the mythological theory, but it may help us to realise the popular theories which may possibly have been based at an early time on the narrative of the temptation. T. K. C.

15. Literature. On the literary criticism of the synoptic narratives, besides the relevant sections in critical editions of the synoptic gospels and in the various biographies of Jesus, see von Engelhardt, *De tentatione Jesu* (1858), Hünefeld, *Die Versuchungsgeschichte* (1880); N. Schmidt, *St. Kr.*, 1889, p. 443 *f.*; Wendt's *Lehre Jesu* (ET, 1 101 *f.* 395); W. Hönig, 'Die Versuchungsgeschichte' (*Protest. Monatshefte*, 1900, 331 *f.* 382 *f.*); and B. W. Bacon, *Bibl. World*, Jan. 1900, pp. 18-25; also Ullmann's *Sündlosigkeit Jesu* (ET, 123-144 265-291 [1870]); Trench's *Studies in Gospels*, 1-65 (1867); *Ecce Homo* (ch. 2); Campbell's *Crit. Studies in Luke*, 16-28 (1891); A. E. Garvie, *Exp. T* 10 301 *f.* 356 *f.* 419 *f.* 453 *f.* 509 *f.*); W. W. Peyton, *Expos.*, third ser. 9 369-391, fourth ser. 2 360-378 439-454 4 223-236 340-360; and W. B. Hill, *Bibl. World*, 11 28-36; further, on the metaphysical problem, Bruce, *Humiliation of Christ* (3) (1889), 236-288; and Fairbairn, *Christ in Mod. Theology*, 348-353 (1893). A crude literalism dominates essays like Nebe's *Der Versuch des Herrn eine äussere Thatsache* (1857), and F. Nerling's 'Die Versuchung Jesu Christi, des Sohnes Gottes, durch Satanas in der Wuste' (*Mittheil. und Nachrichten für die evang. Kirche in Russland*, 82 49-104); cp

[1] Keim unites the two views of the forty days. 'He stands like Moses on Sinai in still converse with God, by whose word he lives, but he is, at the same time, put to the test by Satan; and it is this side of his sojourn which has been most industriously portrayed' (*Jesus of Nazara*, ET 2 305). The synoptics, however, only speak of his being tempted of the devil.

[2] Williams Jackson, *Zoroaster*, 50 *f.*

[3] Masp. *Dawn of Civ.* 184 *f.*

[4] *Christianity and Mythology*, 354.

A. D. Kurrikoff (*ibid.* 1895, pp. 289-307 395-417). [Add—published since the above article was written—Garvie, *Expos.* June 1902; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1902, pp. 289-302; Denney, *Death of Christ* (1902), 16-18; and J. Halévy, *Revue Sémitique* (Jan., 1902), p. 13 *f.*; also, for rabbinic parallels on Satan tempting Abram, Moses, and Israel, Gfrörer's *Jahrhundert d. Heils*, 2 379 *f.*]

J. Mo. (§§ 1-7, 15); T. K. C. (§§ 12-14).

TENT. The tent, as a place of abode or shelter, appears to stand midway between the tree and the circular hut.

1. Introduction. The tree, with its canopy of branch and brushwood, would suggest to nomad tribes the use of the tree-trunk or pole, around which would be hung the skins of animals caught in the chase, whilst settled races would prepare a more lasting shelter by the erection, on a similar plan, of round (or nearly round) dome-shaped buildings of straw and clay. A later development of this would be the construction of round buildings with perpendicular walls, and sloping, not conical roof.

For these stages cp Montelius, cited by O. Schrader, *Indogerman. Altertum*, 339 *f.*, and J. H. Middleton, art. 'Templum' in Smith's *Dict. Class. Ant.* 2 773*b* ('the round shape was the earlier form for a god's house, just as the circular hut, built round a central pole, is the early architecture for a human habitation'). It is not denied, however, that oval or oblong buildings are very old, and although there are indications that the Indo-Germanic races, for example, passed through the 'round-hut' stage (Schrader, 981 *f.*), it cannot be proved, although it may plausibly be inferred, that they were originally tent-dwellers. To proceed farther along this line, and to suggest that from the cave has arisen first the rock-hewn chamber and then the rectangular abode, is a hypothesis not yet sufficiently warranted by the evidence.[1] At all events, there is reason to suppose that the portico or gateway in front of the Egyptian house, for example, has evolved from a previous practice of building some kind of structure before the mouth of a cavern. Cp ORACLE, 3.

It is unfortunate that the exact age of the circular dome-shaped bee-hive buildings in the Sinaitic peninsula which are described by Palmer (*Desert of the Exodus*, 139 *ff.*, 169, 317, etc.), is unknown.[2] At all events there is no solid ground for the old theory (based on Lev. 23 43) that they were once occupied by the children of Israel during their wanderings in the wilderness. Some of them (at least) appear to have been used as tombs by monks, a use to which they are occasionally put at the present day, and this supports Mr. F.C. Burkitt's suggestion that the term applied to them, ***nawāmīs***, is not from ***nāmūs***, 'mosquito,' but is 'an evident oral corruption of ***nawāwīs***, plural of ***nā'ūs***, which is ultimately derived from *ναός* (Syr. *nausā*), "temple," but is used for "cemetery," and apparently for the Parsee towers of silence—in fact for any non-Mohammedan kind of burial-place' (private communication).

The characteristic Hebrew term for the tent is *ōhel* (אֹהֶל, σκηνή [BAL]), occasionally rendered TABERNACLE (*q.v.*, § 1). It has been connected[3] with the Ass. *ālu*, 'settlement, city' (in contrast with *maḫāzu*, 'fortified place'); but the relationship is doubted by Nöldeke (*ZDMG* 40 720 [1886]), who also questions the identity of the Hebrew word with the S. Sem. *ahl* (*op. cit.* 154, n. 1).[4] On the other hand, *ōhel*, like *báyith* (see HOUSE, § 1), may refer not only to the dwelling, but also to its occupants; cp Ps. 83 7 [6] 'tents of Edom' (∥ Ishmaelites), 120 5 'tents of Kedar' (cp *v.* 6*b* 'those who hate peace'),[5] and for this reason it has been considered probable that the last two letters of אהליהם in 1 Ch. 4 41, and that מקנה of 2 Ch. 14 14 [15], are corruptions of tribal names.[6]

'Tent' is also the rendering of ***miškān***, מִשְׁכָּן, Cant. 1 8 and (∥ אהל) Nu. 24 5 Jer. 30 18; of ***sukkah***, סֻכָּה ('booth') in 2 S. 11 11, see PAVILION (1), TABERNACLE, § 1; and of ***ḳubbah***, קֻבָּה, Nu. 25 8, see PAVILION (2), and § 4 below. *Báyith*, too, is used of a tent[7] in Gen. 27 15 33 17 (J), and is thus rendered also

[1] For cave- or underground dwellings among Semitic peoples, cp Now. *HA* 1 135 *f.* (E. of Jordan, Petra), and Landberg, *L'Arabie Méridionale*, 1 159 (S. Arabia).

[2] See KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH, NEGEB, § 6.

[3] *E.g.*, by Fr. Delitzsch (*Prol.* 105), Sayce (*TSBA* i. 2 305).

[4] Nöldeke compares Syr. *yahla*, 'troop, tribe.' From the S. Semitic comes also the cognate Nab. אל, found in two inscriptions from Ḥaurān (*CIS* 2 164 *f.*).

[5] Not to be corrected into שנאי שלמי, 'haters of the Salmu (*i.e.*, Salamæans)' as the emendation in Cant. 1 5 (see We. *Prol.* (3) 218, n. 1) might suggest.

[6] Cp Wi. 'Muṣri,' etc. *MVG*, 1898, 1 48 *ff.*, and see ZERAH.

[7] Cp, perhaps, the gloss in Hesychius: βαίτη = tent of skin.

by RV in 2 K. 23 7 (but see DRESS, § 8, col. 1140). Conversely, *ōhel* seems to refer to the palaces of Israel's neighbours in Ps. 84 10 (11)[1] Job 21 28.

On the use of *ōhel* in Sabæan and Phœnician proper names, see AHOLIBAMAH, OHOLAH, OHOLIBAH.

2. Tent-life in Israel. Originally the Hebrews, like the Arabs,[2] were essentially a tent-living people, and in one of their legendary genealogies they enumerate among their ancestors Jabal, the father of tent-dwellers and herdsmen, thus recognising their nomadic origin (Gen. 4 20, cp Heb. 11 9, and see CAINITES, CATTLE, § 1). The tent-dweller, if he follows an honest calling, is essentially a herdsman, and it is not until he has become at least an agriculturist—the two types are represented in Abel and Cain respectively—that he will begin to think of replacing the tent by a shelter of a more substantial character.[3]

The Canaanites among whom the Hebrews settled were house-dwellers (cp Nu. 13 19 28 Dt. 1 28 3 5, and see CITY, § 1), and that the immigrants in time followed their example, is only to be expected, and is presupposed in the (later) law Dt. 22 8 (cp HOUSE, § 1). Still, it is noteworthy that outside help was desirable, if not actually necessary, and for the building of his temple Solomon was obliged to invoke the aid of the more expert Phœnicians (see HIRAM, 1), just as Arabian tradition relates that for the erection of the Ka'ba Coptic, Persian, or Roman workmen were called in (Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 4).

In this connection it is interesting to note that the Arabic word for 'roof' (*ājurr*) is of Aramaic, and ultimately, perhaps, of Assyrian origin (Fraenkel, 5, Muss-Arnolt, *Ass. Dict.* 16*a*), and that the Hebrew synonym *gāg* is of unknown etymology, and does not appear to be Semitic. Similarly, the derivation of the Heb. *'īr*, *ḳīr*, *déleth*, *bāṣar* (in *mibṣār*, etc.), and *ḥēl*, all of which presuppose town-life, are quite obscure.

Long after the settlement, the Hebrews retained in their language traces of their earlier mode of living. Wealth and cattle (מקנה) are identical terms.[4] *Nāsa'* (נסע), 'to journey,' comes from the idea of pulling up the tent-pegs before journeying. Removal is compared to the carrying away of the shepherd's tent (cp Is. 38 12); desolation is as the breaking of the tent-cords, and as the fall of the tent, when there is none to set up or spread the curtains (Job 4 21 RV, Jer. 10 20). A tent firmly staked with stout cords s a figure of security (Is. 33 20), and a tent-peg, like our 'pegging out a claim,' is synonymous with the right of possession (Ezra 9 8). 'To your tents, O Israel' remains the formula of dismissal, and even in the time of Amaziah, Judah is deemed to dwell among tents (2 K. 14 12).

In spite of this, however, it is important to remember that there were certain clans in Israel which apparently continued to remain semi-nomads (*e.g.*, Kenites and doubtless other clans living S. of the Negeb, and to the E. of the Jordan). Again, although modern analogy supports the inference that the agriculturists were almost wholly house-dwellers (however mean their abode may have been; see HOUSE), yet to a certain extent these still retained the earlier custom of dwelling in tents, whether it was during the ingathering of the vintage (see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF) or for comfort during the summer, or from religious principle (see RECHABITES).[1] See below, § 4.

On the ease with which the people will pass from house to tent-life see Per.-Chip. *Art in Chald.* 1 199. To understand this we must realise the deeply-rooted preference which all Bedouins have for their tent.[2] It is still the practice to the E. of the Jordan for the population of such towns even as es-Salt, and Kerak, to pitch their tents in the country during the summer. The same holds good of the peasantry of S. Palestine, and was no doubt usual in ancient times (Thomson, *Land and Book*, 296). Another practice, Schumacher remarks, is for the fellāḥīn of the Jaulān to build a hut of branches or reeds[3] upon the roofs of their houses (*Jaulān*, 43). Cp also BED, § 1; HOUSE, § 3; HUT.

As an instance of the modification of the tent by a more settled folk, the usage of the Turcomans, NW. of Aleppo, is of interest. According to Burckhardt (*Travels in Syria*, 636; London, 1822), the dwellings consist of oblong walls of about 4 ft. in height. These are made of loose stones, and the whole is covered over with a black cloth of goat's hair, elevated by twelve or more posts, about 8 ft. high, in the middle of the enclosure. A stone partition near the entrance bars off the women's apartment from that of the men. Many of the people, however, live in large huts 15 ft. high, which look like tents but have roofs of rushes. As a further adaptation may be noticed the *jourt* or tent of the Kirghiz in Central Asia, 'consisting of a wooden frame for sides, radiating ribs for roof, and a wooden door. . . . Over this framework a heavy covering of felt is thrown, which is either weighed down with stones or, when necessary, stitched together.'[4] From this it is possible to gain some idea of the construction of the Israelite tabernacle as it existed in the mind of the priestly writers. See further TABERNACLE, § 10.

3. Description. The well-known retention of ancient customs in the East being admitted, our conception of the tent of the Hebrews must be based upon our knowledge of its construction among the Bedouins of the present day,[5] supplemented by the unfortunately small number of representations of tents upon the Assyrian sculptures, and illustrated by the scanty details in the OT. The sculptures furnish us with illustrations of the royal pavilion which accompanied Sennacherib at the siege of Lachish,[6] and from

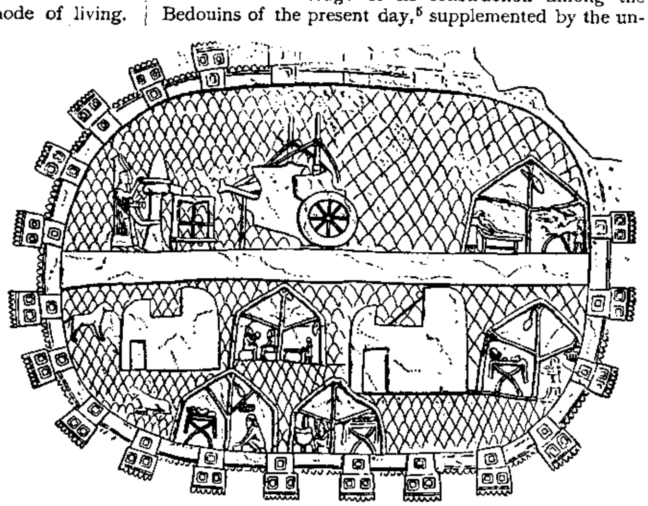


FIG. 1.—Sennacherib's camp at Lachish. Brit. Mus. Assyrian Saloon.

1 [Che. *Ps.*(2) contends that in a number of passages (Ps. 15 1 19 5 27 5 *f.* 61 5 69 26 78 60 84 11) אהל is miswritten for היכל.]

2 Cp Gen. 37 25 Judg. 8 11 (where Tg. actually has ערבאי for שכוני באהלים) Ps. 83 6 (7) 1 Ch. 5 10. As an examination of the terms appears to show, the Arabs learned the art of building from the Aramæans (Fraenkel, *Aram. Fremdw.* 1 *ff.*). The older civilisation of the Minæans and Sabæans of the S. of Arabia does not come under consideration here.

3 On the gradual settling of the Hebrews, cp Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse d. Israeliten*, 13 *ff.* (Berlin, 1899).

4 Cp also perhaps, Syr. *marhāṭē*, and see CATTLE, § 8 (end).

1 Cp Bu. 'The Nomadic Ideal in the OT' (*New World*, 1895).

2 Cp v. Oppenheim, *Mittelmeer z. Pers. Golf*, 2 50.

3 Called *'arīshi*; cp below, col. 4973, n. 2.

4 *Ency. Brit.*(9) 'Tent,' 23 183*a*. The tent of Shiloh, according to Rabbinical writers, was also supposed to be a walled enclosure, covered over with curtains.

5 Among the descriptions of the various travellers in the East, Burckhardt, and more especially Doughty, have been drawn upon most frequently in this section.

6 Cp also the pavilion portrayed upon the bronze gate of Balawāt (expedition against Carchemish). For other royal tents, cp Per.-Chip. *Art in Chald.* 1 175 193.

the same source there is preserved, fortunately, a plan of the Assyrian camp, in which are depicted both the royal pavilion and tents of a less luxurious description (fig. 1). In addition to this, upon the sculptures representing Ašur-bāni-pal's expedition against the Arabians (*KB* 2 217 *l.* 122), there are interesting portrayals of the tents of the enemy (fig. 2). In the uppermost panel, the tent-dwellers are seen peacefully working; below, is depicted the hand-to-hand conflict with the Assyrians; and, finally, the Arabians are overpowered and killed, and the burning tents are on the point of collapse. The representation is extremely vivid. The framework of the tents appears to consist of an upright branch from the middle of which other branches

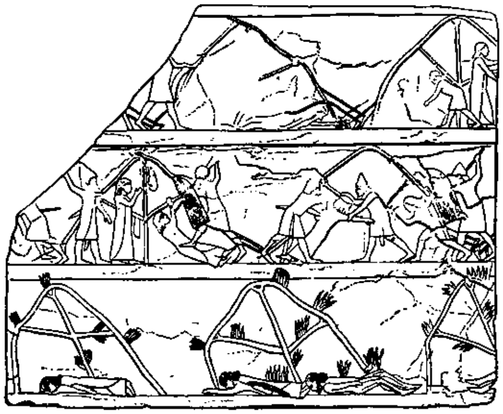


FIG. 2.—Arabian tents. Brit. Mus. Assyrian saloon.

project, and the general appearance, it will be seen, is markedly inferior to that in Sennacherib's camp.[1]

The Assyrians, like the Egyptians, were especially a house-dwelling people. But according to De Morgan (*Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte*, 66 *f.*, Paris, 1897; cp Budge, *Hist. of Egypt*, 1 42 56 102; London, 1902), the earlier inhabitants of Egypt lived in booths of rush and reed, and the art of brick-making (see BRICK) was introduced probably from Chaldæa. As regards the Assyrians, the theory that they, too, once dwelt in tents or booths, can at present be supported only by the fact that they were in the custom of erecting a tent upon the flat house-roof (Per.-Chip., *Art in Chald.* 1 197, cp above, § 2, end), a practice which might lead to the erection of the so-called 'upper-chamber' (found also in Egypt, *e.g.*, Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 1 352), and of the rounded tops, domes, or sugar-loaf roofs of Mesopotamia (cp *Art in Chald.* 1 128 145 165 *ff.*). May we also point to the general lack of windows?

The nomad tent (*hejra*, Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 224) is made of black worsted or hair-cloth, or of sheep's wool mingled with the hair of goats and camels.[2] Tents of linen were, and still are, used only occasionally for holiday or travelling purposes, by those who do not habitually live in them (Kitto, *Bibl. Cycl.* art. 'Tent,' cp Doughty, 2 356). The Bedouins of the Jaulān according to Schumacher (*Jaulan*, 54 *f.*) do not make the plaited goat-hair tent-cloths themselves, but buy them from certain tribes and gipsies (*Nawār*), who for the most part drive a regular trade in this.[3] The skeleton consists of a number of tent-poles (*'amdān, 'awāmīd*),[4] varying in number from three to nine according to the size of the tent, which are kept in position by cords (*yéther, mēthār* [cp CORD], mod. *ṭunub* or *ḥabl* [Eg.]) attached to stakes or pegs (*yāthēd*, mod. *wated*).[5]

[1] Cp also Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 271 (London, 1849), and Per.-Chip. *Art in Chald.* 1 330.

[2] Hence the mod. name *bait ša'r, b. wabar;* for the material, cp also Ex. 25 26 36 14, TABERNACLE, § 4 *f.*, SACKCLOTH, § 1 n.

[3] Tent-making, the trade followed by Paul, was no doubt a lucrative profession. The Pesh., however, in Acts 18 3 reads ܠܘܪ̈ܩܐ, 'saddle-makers,' (=*lorarius?*), whence it has been suggested that σκηνοποιός is an error for ἡνιοποιός. See further, CILICIA, PAUL, § 5, SACKCLOTH, and cp SHIP, § 8 n.

[4] For a collection of other mod. terms in use see Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer z. Pers. Golf*, vol. 2, facing 44.

[5] The Hebrew phrase for 'to pitch a tent' (תקע את האהל, Gen. 31 25 Jer. 6 3) really contains a reference to the hammering (תקע) of the tent-peg.

TENT

Over the poles are stretched the coverings of skin or rag (*yĕrī'ōth*, cp AZUBAH), and around the sides is hung a long cloth, an open space being left at one side for light and ventilation.[1] Inside the larger tents, a hanging, commonly not more than breast or neck-high, separates the smaller and inner apartment (*ḳubbat, maḥram*) for the women (who rarely have their own tent, cp § 4 below), from the larger, and commonly open division, which is used as a reception and general living room (*maḳ'ad*).[2] When there is a triple division, and this is rare (cp Doughty, 2 285), the extra room is used for servants and cattle. The tents average 20-25 feet in length (though sometimes reaching as much as 40 feet); they are about 8-10 feet high, and usually oblong in shape; round tents are mentioned in the old Arabian poems,[3] and a few traces have been found at the present day near Teima (Doughty, 1 284 *f.*); but with these exceptions, they are used only by Turkish officials and travellers.

The Arabs usually wander in *ferjān*, or nomad hamlets, according to their kindreds,[4] accompanied perhaps by some poor unprotected followers. The collection of tents forms the *menzil;*[5] if few, they may be arranged in a circle or semicircle,[6] but usage varies, and not unfrequently a tribe may be identified at a distance by the arrangement adopted.[7] Zarebas, encampments surrounded with a stone wall, are vouched for in the desert of Pharan (Nowack, *HA* 137), but are not common.

The sheikh's tent is naturally the most important, though not necessarily, therefore, the most luxurious.[8] It is usually placed in the most prominent position, and will often face the direction from which travellers may be expected to arrive (cp Gen. 18 1 *f.*). To it repair the desert wanderers (*ḍuyūf Allah*, 'God's guests'), who find therein a sanctuary and can claim protection for two nights and a day.[9] The *raḥla* ('migration') is agreed upon the previous day by common assent or may rest with the Sheikh. Should his tent remain standing an hour past sunrise, it is known that the camp will not move that day (Doughty, 1 216). Naturally the proximity of trees and wells (cp Gen. 18 4) is sought for in selecting a fresh *menzil.*

To the women falls the duty of erecting and taking down the tents (Doughty, 1 216). It is in their apartment that the goods and chattels are stored, though these, it is true, are few in number (Doughty, 1 216 227). Some lumps of rock-salt, a few lengths of cloth and patches of leather, a box for the feminine vanities, the great brazen pot, a lamp, and a dozen minor utensils will form the average equipment (Doughty, 1 227, cp HOUSE, § 6 and references).

Nowhere do we find such conservatism of ancient

[1] This is the only door, in the proper sense of the word; see DOOR. Contrast Gen. 18 1 *f.* the *entrance* (*péthaḥ*) of the tent, and 19 7 the *door* (*déleth*) of the city-house (*báyith*; cp *v.* 8, where mention is made of the beam, *ḳōrāh*). Cp Jer. 49 31, the Arabians who have neither 'doors nor bars.'

[2] Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 227) well says: 'Tent is the Semitic house; their clay house is built in like manner, a public hall for the men and guests, and an inner woman's and household apartment.'

[3] The tents in the illustrations from the monuments (above) are also probably round.

[4] Cp P's conception of the camp of Israel in the wilderness (Nu. 1 52, etc.). In modern times the size of a tribe is frequently reckoned by the number of tents; for examples, see Merrill, *East of the Jordan*, 471.

[5] From Ar. *nazala*, 'to dwell,' perhaps originally 'to unload.' Cp in Syr. *mašrithā*, 'camp,' from *šĕra*, 'to loosen' (unload). See Fraenkel, *op. cit.* 3, n. 1.

[6] Cp the Ar. name *duwār*, and the Heb. *ṭīrāh;* see CAMP, § 1; CATTLE, § 1; NEGEB, § 6.

[7] Cp CAMP, § 1. Thus the tents may be arranged in the shape of a triangle, rectangle, in one long line, or in two parallel lines (Conder, *Tent Work in Palestine*, 2 275 *f.*); for square-shaped encampments, cp Robinson, *BR* 2 180 307, and for oval, *ib.* 201.

[8] Rich and elaborate tents are more characteristic of the Persians, cp Judith 10 21.

[9] Doughty, 1 228, cp WRS, *Kinship*, 41 *f.* 259, and see STRANGER AND SOJOURNER, § 5.

customs as in matters outside everyday life, and in the case of the tent this is particularly illustrated in certain religious festivals (cp above, § 2), and in marriage ceremonies.

4. Tent in marriage and religion.

It has not escaped notice that in a few cases in the OT the tent appears to be the property of the wife (*e.g.*, Jael, Judg. 4 7; Sarah, Gen. 24 26; Jacob's wives, 31 33 *f.*), and in this Robertson Smith recognised the survival of an earlier stage of society (still found in various phases among some communities) where the woman possesses her own tent, into which she receives her husband, and in which, though married, she retains perfect independence (the so-called *beena* marriage). In later ages, when marriage entails the loss of her independence, and the woman belongs to the man, the importance of the tent is retained in a variety of ways: thus, notably, the Arab still erects a special hut or tent for his wife on the first night of marriage, although it is otherwise unusual for the woman to possess a separate dwelling (*Kinship*, 167).

The erection of this tent for the consummation of the marriage illustrates 2 S. 16 22 (*the*, not *a*, tent as in AV); such a bridal chamber may well have been called *ḥuppāh*, חֻפָּה (cp Joel 2 16 [where the ∥ *ḥéder* is used of a bridegroom, as also is *ḥuppāh* itself in Ps. 19 5 [6]).[1] According to Robertson Smith (*Kinship*, 168 291) the *'éreś* or bridal bed (Cant. 1 16) was also primarily a booth; cp Ar. *'irrīs*, 'thicket,' *'arrasa*, 'to make a booth' (esp. with a view to marriage), *'arūs*, 'bridegroom,' and *'irs*, 'wife,'[2] but this is doubted by Budde, *Fünf Megillot*, on Cant. *l.c.*

Allusion has already been made to the circular and tent-like shape of the earliest temples in the classical world (§ 1), and although there do not appear to be actual records of the use of tents as temples, at least Orestes had his sacred booths (Paus. ii. 31 6), and temporary booths were not unfrequently erected in sacred precincts (Frazer, *Paus.* 2 165 *f.* 204). These usages remind us both of the tents and booths erected by the Israelites on special religious festivals (Hos. 12 9, see TABERNACLES, FEAST OF), and of the temporary tents in which dwelt the female-mourners over Ḥosein.[3] Portable tents were also used as shrines on military campaigns (WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 37, cp Schwally, *Semit. Kriegsalterth.* 1 13), and the use of tents as sanctuaries[4] was familiar to the Israelites long after the settlement in Canaan. See further, TABERNACLE, esp. § 12.

S. A. C.

TENTH DEAL (עִשָּׂרוֹן), Ex. 29 40 AV, RV 'tenth part [of an ephah].' See WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, § 3 (*s.v.* 'omer').

TEPHON (τεφων [A]), 1 Macc. 9 50 RV, AV TAPHON (*q.v.*).

TERAH (תֶּרַח, θαρα [BADEL]; AD sometimes θαρρα; *Thare*), the father of Abraham (Gen. 11 24 *ff.* Josh. 24 2 1 Ch. 1 26 Lk. 3 34). Tradition described him variously as the son, and as the brother, of Nahor. P represents him as migrating from 'Ur Kaśdim' (see UR OF THE CHALDEES) to 'Ḥaran' (Gen. 11 31). To understand 'Terah,' we must, first of all, have a definite view as to the meaning of 'Abraham' and 'Ḥaran.'

(1) There is some probability in Winckler's theory (*GI* 2 24 n. 1) that תרח is an intentional distortion of יָרֵחַ (*yeraḥ*)=Ass. arḫu, originally 'the beginning of a moon.' Ur Kaśdim, whence Terah came, was (as is commonly held) the S. Babylonian city of Uru, which was the seat of the moon-cultus. Ḥarran (=Ḥaran, where Terah died) was the other great centre of the same cultus (see HARAN). This must be taken in connection with the theory of Winckler and Stucken as to the mythological character of Abraham and Sarah (cp SARAH). (2) Another view, however, may deserve to be mentioned. There is strong reason to think that Abraham is the hero of the Jeraḥmeelites, as Israel (cp Sarah) is the hero of the Israelites, and that his original seat (*i.e.*, that of the Jeraḥmeelites) was, traditionally, in the southern Ḥarān. Terah's close connection with Ḥaran and Naḥor (=Ḥaran?), suggests that he is a double of Abraham, and that his name is a corrupted fragment of Jeraḥmeel. Possibly for 'corrupted' we should rather say 'altered.' P, or his authority, may, as Winckler (see above) remarks, have had a repugnance to a name which suggested moon-worship. (3) Jensen's comparison of N. Syrian (Hittite) proper names, like Tarḫular (*ZA* 6 70; *Hittiter*, 153), leads to the meagre result that Terah may have been a divine name.

T. K. C.

TERAH (תֶּרַח), Nu. 33 27 *f.* RV, AV TARAH (*q.v.*).

TERAPHIM (תְּרָפִים, 𝔊 in Gen. ειδωλα, Hist. Books θεραφ[ε]ιν, θαρ., θεραπειν, -φειμ [exc. 1 S. 15 23 θεραπειαν (B) 19 13 16 κενοτάφια or καιν.], Hos. 3 4 δῆλοι [see below, n. 2], Ezek. 21 21 [26] γλυπτά, Zech. 10 2 ἀποφθεγγόμενοι; Aq. μορφώματα, προτομαί Sym. εἴδωλα, ἐπίλυσις, θεραφειν, Theod. θεραφ[ε]ιν, ἐπιλυόμενος); AV (following Vg.) sometimes transcribes, sometimes translates 'image,' 'idols,' idolatry'; RV more consistently adopts 'teraphim' throughout.

The name appears to designate a particular kind of idol (cp Gen. 31 19 with *v.* 30, 'my god'; also 35 2 4). Of the form of these images we learn nothing from the scanty notices in the OT; we cannot certainly infer from the fact that Laban's was concealed under a camel saddle that it was small, nor from the use which Michal makes of David's (1 S. 19 13 16) that it was of the size or shape of a man. Laban's teraphim (his god) was stolen by Rachel (Gen. 31), but with other foreign gods and heathenish amulets, was put away by Jacob before he went to worship Yahwè at Bethel (35 2-4); the meaning of the story (in E) plainly is that the teraphim were relics of Aramæan paganism which Israel cast off to serve Yahwè alone (cp Josh. 24 15); see also 1 S. 15 23, where in a prophetic passage (E, Budde) teraphim[1] is coupled with divination as a type of sin most hateful to God, and 2 K. 23 24 (R_D). Micah had an ephod and teraphim in his shrine, which were carried off by the Danites to their new settlement at the sources of the Jordan and placed in their sanctuary (Judg. 17 5 18). The teraphim in David's house (1 S. 19 13 16) is spoken of as if it was a thing which would be found in every household. In the eighth century Hosea joins the ephod and teraphim[2] with sacrifices and maṣṣēbahs as essential to the religious observances of his people; in their absence religion would cease (Hos. 3 4).

Like the ephod, with which they are associated (in Judg. and Hos.), the teraphim were employed or consulted in divination (2 K. 23 24 Ezek. 21 21 [26] Zech. 10 2). Ezekiel, in the passage cited, represents the Babylonian king as divining by shaking arrows (belomancy; see URIM AND THUMMIM), inquiring of the teraphim, examining the entrails of a sacrifice (*extispicium*); cp also 1 S. 15 23, where divination (קסם, *sortilegium*) is connected in a similar way with the teraphim. It is not clear, however, that the teraphim were consulted by the lot; Ezekiel seems to distinguish the two. Spencer's theory that the teraphim were small images (figurines), perhaps of human form, the heathen counterpart of the Urim, has no substantial foundation.[3] Other scholars have inferred from Gen. 31 19 30-35 Judg. 17 5 *ff.* 1 S. 19 13 16, that the teraphim were household gods (penates, a Lapide; Seb. Schmid, Vitringa, Ew., Eerdmans, etc.); more specifically, images of the ancestors, so that the consultation of the teraphim was a kind of manes oracle (E. Meier, Stade, Schwally, etc.). The latter hypothesis rests upon questionable anthropological or etymological

[1] Another word is *ḳubbah* (Nu. 25 8, see PAVILION, 2) with which cp the Ar. term *ḳubba* (§ 3, above). BDB prefer '(Zimri's) princely tent,' but the older view is better (see Ges. *Thes.*, Di.), and is supported by the vulgar colloquial usage of the word in both MH and Ar. (cp Freytag). Note that the derivative 'alcove' itself, was used in Spanish to denote especially the recess in a chamber for the bed.

[2] Add, too, the *'arīshi* (col. 4970, n. 3 above). The stem is to be kept distinct from Ass. *erišu*, 'bridegroom,' which corresponds to Hebr. *ērēś* (ארש), 'to espouse,' lit. 'pay the price.' The original meaning of עֶרֶשׂ is uncertain.

[3] As Eerdmans has shown, the rite has traces of the Tammuz-cult (*ZA* 9 303); cp also v. Kremer, *Stud. z. vergleich. Culturgesch.* 1 59 (Vienna, 1890).

[4] The *Ka'ba* appears to have been evolved from a tent (Wellh. *Heid.*(2) 73).

[1] Read עֲוֹן תְּרָפִים.

[2] It is to be observed that 𝔊 has δῆλοι, elsewhere used to render אורים.

[3] See URIM AND THUMMIM.

assumptions; other passages are hardly compatible with the theory that the teraphim were solely domestic idols (see Hos. 3 4 Ezek. 21 21 [26] Zech. 10 2 2 K. 23 24).

The etymology and meaning of the word are unknown; for various conjectures see Ges. *Thes.* 1519 *f.*, Moore, *Judges*, 381 *f.* cp also I. Löw, in *WZKM* 10 136; those who think that the teraphim were images of the ancestors connect the name with רפאים (Neubauer, Sayce, Klo., Schwally). The opinions of Jewish writers about the nature of the teraphim may be found by the curious in Buxtorf, *Lex. Talm.* 2660 *ff.*; Beyer, *Additamenta* to Selden, synt. ii. chap. 1. The most remarkable is that the teraphim was a mummied human head (Jer. Targ. Gen. 31 19, etc.); with which cp the stories of this kind of divination among the Harranians, Chwolsohn, *Ssabier*, 2 19 *ff.* 388 *f.* 150 *ff.*

Literature.—Jerome, *Ep.* 29, *De Ephod et Theraphim*; Selden, *De dis Syris*, synt. 1 chap. 2, with Beyer's *Additamenta*; Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, bk. 3 chap. 7; Pfeiffer, *Exercitationes biblicæ*, 4; van Dale, *De divinationibus idolatricis*, chap. 11 (against Spencer); Ewald, *Alterthümer*, 296-299; Scholz, *Götzendienst und Zauberwesen*, 127 *ff.*; Stade, *GVI* 1 467; Schwally, *Leben nach dem Tode*, 35 *ff.*; Moore, *Judges*, 379 *ff.*; T. C. Foote, *JBL* 21 27 *ff.* (1902). See also IDOLATRY, and cp ESCHATOLOGY, § 4. G. F. M.

TEREBINTH. The four forms אֵלָה, *ēlāh*, אַלָּה, *allāh*, אֵלוֹן, *ēlōn*, and אַלּוֹן, *allōn*, are evidently closely connected in origin. אֵילִים, *ēlim*, or אֵלִים, *ēlīm*, is best regarded as plur. of אֵלָה, *ēlāh*, or perhaps of the masculine form אַיִל (occurring only in the proper name (אֵיל פָּארָן) from which אֵלָה is the *nomen unitatis.* *Ēlāh* and *ēlōn* are usually taken together as = 'terebinth,' *allāh* and *allōn* as = 'oak'; though Celsius (*Hierob.* 1 34 *ff.*) joins *allāh* as 'terebinth' to *ēlāh* and *ēlōn*. The connection of these words—at least of אֵלָה, אֵילִים—with the divine name אֵל, suggested by Wellhausen (*Prol.* ET, 238) and Stade (*GI* 1 455), is too vague to help towards identifying the tree intended (cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 192 *f.*); the difficulty is increased by our uncertainty as to the original meaning of the root אול—according to others אלה—with which the words appear to be connected. (See the literature cited in Gesenius(13) under אֵל, and cp NAMES, § 116.) On the other hand, the fact that Aram. *īlānā*, which is in form exactly equivalent to *ēlōn*, means 'a tree' in general, may suggest that the special sense which these words have acquired in Hebrew is derived from a more general one—viz. that of trees *par excellence*—the large and strong trees characteristic of the region. This view is supported by the fact that the place Elim was apparently so called from its *palm* trees (see ELIM), and the possible or (Moore) probable identity (but see DINAH) of the תֹּמֶר־דְּבוֹרָה in Judg. 4 5 with the אַלּוֹן בָּכוּת of Gen. 35 8. Twice, however (Is. 6 13 Hos. 4 13), *ēlāh* and *allōn* are mentioned in the same verse as distinct trees. And as a considerable body of tradition has identified *ēlāh* with the terebinth (Celsius, *l.c.*), and there is repeated mention of the *allōnim* of Bashan (Is. 2 13 Ezek. 27 6 Zech. 11 2), a district famous for its oaks, it is reasonable to conclude that *ēlāh* and *allōn* came to be used for these trees respectively. It is doubtful whether the distinction in pointing between *ēlāh* and *allāh* and between *ēlōn* and *allōn* is more than an artificial creation of later times.[1] The occurrence in 𝔊 of ηλα (1 S. 21 10 [9]) and ηλων (Judg. 9 37 [B]) may help to show which of the forms were original.

1. Hebrew terms.

The special associations of large trees like the oak and the terebinth with the religion of the Hebrews, as with those of other Semitic peoples, have been discussed by Baudissin (*Studien*, 2 184 *ff.*), Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*(2) 185 *ff.*), Stade (*GI* 1 455 *ff.*), and others. Such names as *ēlōn mōreh* (אֵלוֹן מוֹרֶה), 'oak of the teacher' (Gen. 12 6 Dt. 11 30), and *ēlōn mĕʿōnĕnīm* (אֵלוֹן מְעוֹנְנִים), 'diviners' oak' (Judg. 9 37), point to their having been early seats of prophetic oracles. The custom of burial beneath the tree (Gen. 35 8 1 Ch. 10 12) is again an evidence of sacred association. On the appearance of the angel to Gideon beneath the אֵלָה in Ophrah, see Wellh. *Prol.*, ET, 238. By the prophets the association of worship with sacred trees was condemned as a departure from the spiritual ideal of Israel's religion, and also on account of the degrading practices connected with it (Hos. 4 13 Ezek. 6 13 etc.).

2. Religious associations.

[1] G. F. Moore goes farther, 'There is no real foundation for the discrimination; the words signify in Aramaic "tree" simply; in Hebrew usually, if not exclusively, "holy tree"' (note on Judg. 4 11). If so, however, the correctness of the text in Is. 6 13 Hos. 4 13 will have to be disputed.

We proceed to notice briefly the occurrence of the various words.

1. אֵלָה, *ēlāh* (Gen. 35 4 Judg. 6 11 19 1 S. 17 2 [𝔊BA om.] 19 [𝔊B om.] 21 9 [10] 2 S. 18 9 *f.* [𝔊L δένδρον and in *v.* 14] 14 1 K. 13 14 1 Ch. 10 12 Is. 1 30 6 13 Ezek. 6 13 [𝔊B om.] Hos. 4 13 [𝔊 δένδρου συσκιάζοντος] †; τερέμ(β)ινθος in Ecclus. 24 16; the proper name אֵילַת, Elath, Dt. 2 8 etc. is possibly the same word) is in AV rendered 'oak' (RVmg. 'terebinth') except in the two places where אַלּוֹן, *allōn*, is also present; in Is. 6 13 AV has 'teil tree,' and Hos. 4 13 'elms,' while RV has 'terebinth' and 'terebinths' in these verses. 𝔊 renders six times by δρῦς and thrice by τερέμ(β)ινθος; besides these, twice in Judges 𝔊AL has δρῦς and 𝔊B τερέμ(β)ινθος.[1]

3. References.

As has been shown at length by Celsius (*l.c.*) the meaning 'terebinth' will suit all the passages where *ēlāh* occurs. *Pistacia Terebinthus*, L., which in some countries is only a shrub, attains in Syria the proportions of 'a noble umbrageous tree,' 20 to 40 ft. or more in height (Fl. and Hanb.(2) 165). It may thus constitute a landmark. Robinson (*BR* 3 15) describes one he saw on the way from Hebron to Ramleh—such a tree as we can imagine to have given the valley of Elah its name. 'Here, in the broad valley, at the intersection of the roads, stands an immense Butm tree . . . the largest we saw anywhere in Palestine, spreading its boughs far and wide like a noble oak. . . . The Butm is not an evergreen . . . its small feathered lancet-shaped leaves fall in the autumn and are renewed in the spring. The flowers are small and followed by small oval berries, hanging in clusters from 2 to 5 in. long, resembling much the clusters of the vine when the grapes are just set.' The abundant branching and foliage of the terebinth agree with the references in 2 S. 18 9 *f.* 14 Ecclus. 24 16; the fact that it is nevertheless not an evergreen explains the simile in Is. 1 30.

2. אַלָּה, *allāh* (τερέμ[β]ινθος, Josh. 24 26†), can be only a slightly divergent form of אֵלָה, *ēlāh*. The tree intended in Josh. (*l.c.*) may be the same as that mentioned Gen. 35 4 Judg. 9 6 (βάλανος), where for AV, 'plain,' read 'oak' or 'terebinth.'

3. אֵילִים, *ēlim*, or אֵלִים, *ēlīm*, the plur. of אֵלָה or אַיִל (see above) occurs Is. 1 29 57 5 61 3 and possibly Ezek. 31 14†. In the first two places 𝔊 has wrongly εἴδωλα, which is followed by AV 'idols' in the second. In the first passage 'it is the disappointingness of nature-worship which is indicated' (Cheyne); the same species of idolatry is referred to in 57 5. In Is. 61 3 (where 𝔊 interprets loosely γενεαί) we have a spiritual metaphor drawn from the noble stature and luxuriant foliage of these trees; cp 60 21 and other passages. The word אֵלֵיהֶם constitutes a difficulty in Ezek. 31 14; its rendering πρὸς αὐτά formed no part of the original 𝔊, according to some cursives (Field, *ad loc.*), and the verse reads more smoothly if, with Cornill, we omit the word. [See *Crit. Bib.*]

4. אֵלוֹן, *ēlōn* (in 𝔊 usually δρῦς, Gen. 12 6 13 18 14 13 18 1 Dt. 11 30 Josh. 19 33 [cp 𝔊] Judg. 4 11 9 6 37 1 S. 10 3†, wrongly 'plain' in AV), and (5) אַלּוֹן, *allōn* (usually δρῦς or βάλανος, Gen. 35 8 Is. 2 13 [δένδρον βαλάνου] 6 13 44 14 [om. 𝔊] Ezek. 27 6 [ἐλατίνους?] Hos. 4 13 Am. 2 9 Zech. 11 2†).

Ēlōn and *allōn* are slightly varying forms of the same word, which had come to denote a particular large tree distinct from אֵלָה, *ēlāh*, most probably the oak. According to Tristram[2] (*NHB* 368 *ff.*) there are three species of *Quercus* which flourish in Palestine, the most abundant being the evergreen *Q. pseudo-coccifera*; the others are both deciduous species, *Q. Ægilops* and *Q. infectoria*. The first he describes as in appearance much like our 'holm oak,' and he speaks of one very large tree of this species, the so-called 'Abraham's oak' near Hebron. The oak of Bashan he believes (following Hooker) to be *Q. Ægilops*. Cp Anderlind in *ZDPV* 13 220 *ff.* On the oaks of Sharon, see SHARON.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

TERESH (תֶּרֶשׁ), a chamberlain of king Ahasuerus (Esth. 2 21 6 2 om. BAL$^{a\beta}$, θαρ[ρ]ας [ℵc.a mg.]), called in

[1] For Ps. 29 9 and Gen. 49 21 where 𝔊 compares Naphtali to a στέλεχος ἀνειμένον (*i.e.*, אֵילָה שְׁלֻחָה, Di., etc.), see HIND, NAPHTALI.

[2] His statements are based upon the important paper by Sir J. D. Hooker in *Trans. Linn. Soc.* 23 381-387.

Esth. 12 1, THARRA (θαρα [ℵ*vid.], θεδευτου [L^a]). If the name must be Persian, we have a choice between *turš*, 'dark, fierce' (Ges. *Lex.*(11)), and *taršatâ*, 'feared,' the supposed original of Tirshatha (cp Marq. *Fund.* 70); Oppert (*Annales de philos. chrétienne*, janv. 1864), however, compares Tiri-dates, the name of the governor of Persepolis (temp. Alexander). But if underneath the present Esther-story there is an earlier story, the scene of which was not in Persia, but in the land of Jerahmeel (N. Arabia), the only one of the above suggestions which will serve us is the second, and the question is, What is the origin of TIRSHATHA? But cp also ZETHAR.
T. K. C.

TERTIUS (τερτιος), in the present text of the Epistle to the Romans (16 22), figures in the first person as having 'written' the epistle (ἐγὼ Τέρτιος ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν). As long as the authenticity of the epistle is maintained it is impossible to suggest a reason why Paul's amanuensis, while delivering the author's greetings in the usual manner in *vv.* 21 23, should thus abruptly have taken an independent course in *v.* 22. True, 1 Cor. 16 21 Col. 4 18 2 Thess. 3 17 compared with Gal. 6 11 can be urged for the opinion that Paul dictated his epistles; but so far as Rom. 16 22 is concerned this does not lead to any further conclusion than that an amanuensis had to be mentioned somewhere in the pseud-epigraphon. In point of fact the appearance of Tertius at this place belongs only to almost the final form of the work. See ROMANS, § 4, 7, par. 3.
W. C. v. M.

Various conjectures have been made regarding Tertius (*v.l.* Terentius) on the assumption of the authenticity of the epistle. A favourite suggestion is that he may have been one of those Jews whom Claudius had expelled from Rome. Under JUSTUS, 2, it has been suggested that he really is the Titius, or Titus, Justus of Acts 18 7. Ryder (*JBL* xvii. 98 197) thinks of him as an influential Roman Christian, and argues that Rom. 15-16 23 is a letter or part of a letter from him to his friends at Rome. It can hardly be disputed, however, that the argument for the separation of chaps. 15-16 from the rest of the traditional epistle is stronger than that for their ascription to Tertius. Cp SIMON ([7] the Cyrenian). In the lists of the 'seventy' disciples by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus Tertius appears as bishop (according to Dorotheus the second bishop) of Iconium.

TERTULLUS (τερτυλλος [Ti. WH]), the rhētōr or orator who appeared for the prosecution against Paul before Felix (Acts 24 1 *f.*).

TESTAMENT (διαθηκη), Mt. 26 28 etc. See COVENANT, § 7; also GALATIA, § 21.

TESTIMONY (עֵדוּת), Ex. 16 34. See ARK, § 3. Cp also WITNESS. On 2 K. 11 12 see BRACELETS, 5.

TETA (αθητα [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 AV) = Ezra 2 42, HATITA (*q.v.*).

TETRARCH (τετραρχης), the ruler of a tetrarchy (τετραρχια), that is, in the original sense of the word, of one quarter of a region. The title of tetrarch is familiar from the NT as borne by certain princes of the petty dynasties, which the Romans allowed to exercise a dependent sovereignty within the province of Syria. In this application it has lost its original precise sense, and means only the ruler of part of a divided kingdom, or of a region too narrow to support a higher title. After the death of Herod the Great (4 B.C.) his realm was shared among his three sons: the chief part, including Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa, fell to Archelaus (Mt. 2 22), with the title of ethnarch (see ETHNARCH); Philip received the NE. of the realm, and was called tetrarch; and Galilee was given to Herod Antipas, who bore the same title (Lk. 3 1). These three sovereignties were reunited under Herod Agrippa from 41 to 44 A.D. On the tetrarchy of Lysanias mentioned in Lk. 3 1 see ABILENE, LYSANIAS.

TETTER (בֹּהַק, *bohak*; αλφος), a harmless eruption of the skin (Lev. 13 39†, AV 'freckled spot').

'In Syria, at the present day, this disease is known by the same name, *bâhaq*, and it is recognised as not dangerous. It takes the form of dull white or reddish spots on the skin, of unequal size, and hardly rising above the surface of the skin. The spots have no bright surface, and in time disappear of themselves.' *SBOT*, *Lev.* Eng., *ad loc.*

TEXT AND VERSIONS

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INTRODUCTION

The exact determination of the original text of the Old and New Testaments is a study which has points of contact with questions concerning both the Canon of Scripture, and the literary sources of the several books. There are instances of a translation acquiring a scriptural authority which has never been accorded to the original, as in the case of ECCLESIASTICUS (*q.v.*); other books have been the product of successive compilations and revisions, so that it may become a matter of doubt at what stage of its existence it can be said to have been in its 'original' form. Generally, however, the limits of the subject can be marked out by the actual state of extant documents. Thus the criticism of the 'Priestly Code' (P), or of the book usually called JE, as they may have existed before the compilation of the Pentateuch, lies quite beyond textual criticism. Our documents do not carry us back behind the Pentateuch already complete as a single work. On the other hand, the extant texts of the Greek translation of Jeremiah suggest very serious questions as to the collection and editing of his prophecies and as to the authority for the arrangement found in the Hebrew and adopted in the English Bible.

1. General limits.

The case stands much the same with the NT. We can learn from the variations of our MSS little that directly bears on the apostolic origin of the Fourth Gospel or the Pastoral Epistles. Even the earliest versions do not take us behind the collection of the four evangelical narratives which together made up the Gospel, or the collection of the thirteen Pauline Epistles. Of the literary fate of the Apostle's letters, of the journeys which they may have made from Corinth to Rome, or from Thessalonica to Philippi, before incorporation into the collected edition, our MSS tell us nothing. There is some evidence that there circulated in the West an edition of the Epistle 'to the Romans,' in which the name of Rome was absent from the opening salutation, and there is strong evidence that elsewhere than in the West the name of Ephesus was absent from the Epistle 'to the Ephesians'; but on this one circumstance it is difficult to build. The only real point where textual study touches the 'Higher Criticism'—though it must be confessed that it is an important one—arises when we consider what inferences are to be drawn from the incomplete condition in which the Gospel according to Mk. appears in the best texts. By whomsoever Mk. 16 9-20 was supplied, and at whatever time it was first attached to the Gospel, the fact remains that the genuine text breaks off in the middle of a sentence with all the marks of accidental mutilation. The natural inference, the only inference which would be drawn from a similar state of things in any classical or ecclesiastical writing in which such phenomena were observed, is that all our MSS are ultimately derived from a single copy itself imperfect at the end.[1]

But this forms an exception to the class of problems raised, and the subject of this article may with little loss of accuracy be defined to be the history of the text of the books of the Old and New Testaments from the time each became canonical, whether in the Jewish or the Christian church.

The methods of scientific criticism are of course equally applicable to the whole of the Bible. Indeed, in certain branches of textual study the division observed in this article between OT and NT has no significance.

The Old Latin, for instance, and the Egyptian versions are translations of the Greek Bible as a whole; in such cases the only true divisions are those produced by the mechanical conditions of transcription. Those books of the Bible which were usually included in the same volume have usually the same literary history. Nevertheless, the division into NT and OT represents for the most part a real distinction. All purely Jewish documents obviously extend to the OT only. Then, again, the Peshitta and the Latin Vulgate are in the OT translations of the Hebrew, and the study of them raises a class of questions quite separate from that raised by the study of the texts of the NT with which they are bound up.

But the great distinction between the textual study of the OT and that of the NT lies in the very different part which palæographical error has played in the surviving documents. Accidental mistakes in the chief ancient texts of the NT are rare; but in the OT they are to be found continually. The inevitable result is that conjectural emendation, which is almost inadmissible in the NT, is in the OT a necessity, and one which can historically be justified.

2. Textual criticism.

A few words here on this important subject may not be out of place. Strange and confusing as the appearance of an ancient MS is to our eyes, it was nevertheless clear enough to those who wrote it, and the mistakes in copying which we make are as a rule avoided in old times. The discoveries of very ancient papyrus fragments of classical works have not overthrown but rather confirmed the better class of extant mediæval codices. As long as a work was frequently read, as long as the scribe was fairly familiar with what he was copying, mere mistakes do not seem often to have been made, and when made were frequently corrected. In rare and unfamiliar writings a perfectly different state of things obtains, and there is then no limit to the perversity of the copyist.

The NT was written by Christians for Christians; it was moreover written in Greek for Greek-speaking communities, and the style of writing (with the exception, possibly, of the Apocalypse) was that of current literary composition. There has been no real break in the continuity of the Greek-speaking church, and we find accordingly that few real blunders of writing are met with in the leading types of the extant texts. This state of things has not prevented variations; but they are not for the most part accidental. An overwhelming majority of the 'various readings' of the MSS of the NT were from the very first *intentional alterations.* The NT in very early times had no canonical authority, and alterations and additions were actually made where they seemed improvements. The substitution of ἐλεημοσύνην for δικαιοσύνην in Mt. 6 1 and the addition of the doxology to the Lord's Prayer a dozen verses later are not palæographical blunders, but deliberate editing.

The literary history of the OT has been very different. While the Canon of the OT was being formed, Hebrew was a dying language, and the political misfortunes of the Jews were of a nature far less favourable to the preservation of ancient documents than the legal persecutions of the Christians. Under Antiochus, under Titus, and finally under Hadrian, the Palestinian Jews suffered all the devastating and uprooting effects of a war for existence, and it is no wonder if, at the close of each of these epochs, the MSS which survived were few and torn, and the scholars who could read them fewer still. Hebrew had become a learned tongue, its place being mostly supplied by the various forms of Aramaic, and it was not every Jew who could read the Scriptures in the original, far less spell out correctly a damaged or faulty exemplar. These are the very conditions in which slips of copying are inevitably made and least easily detected. The veneration which the Jews felt for their Scriptures ultimately led them to copy so accurately as to preserve the most obvious blunders in the transmitted text; but this antiquarian science came too late.

Nor are we on much surer ground when we come to the only very ancient version—*viz.*, the Greek OT, commonly called the Septuagint. The fable of the seventy translators, each of whom independently agreed in their rendering, may be evidence that the Alexandrian Jews had some common tradition of the meaning of the Law; but if we except the Pentateuch, to which alone the name 'Septuagint' properly applies, the various

[1] Probably it was mutilated elsewhere. 'Boanerges' is too monstrous a form not to be a mere corruption.

TEXT AND VERSIONS

books of the Greek OT bear all the marks of having been originally the private ventures of untrained scholars. These unsatisfactory translations passed over into the keeping of the Church; but Christian scribes were unable to check corruption in a text which frequently cannot be translated to make rational sense, nor have we any gaurantee that the earliest MSS which came into Christian hands were accurate representatives of the original version. Yet from these earliest Christian MSS our copies seem to be descended.

Thus both in the Hebrew original and in the Greek translation there are serious breaks of continuity in the history of the OT, to which the history of the NT offers no parallel. The textual critic is therefore justified, in the case of the OT, in a temperate use of conjectural emendation based (1) on the scientific study of the Hebrew language and (2) on the ascertained usage of the biblical writers in passages where the text is comparatively free from suspicion.

From various causes, but chiefly from the better preservation of the documents, the textual criticism of the NT is at the present time in a more advanced state than that of the OT. Contrary, therefore, to the usual custom, the history of the text of the NT in the original and in translations will precede that of the OT in this article.

I.—NEW TESTAMENT.

A.—TEXT

The original authorities for the text of the NT may be divided into three classes—*viz.*, Greek MSS, Versions made from the Greek, and Patristic Quotations. The Greek MSS range in date from the fourth century[1] to the invention of printing, the Versions from the middle of the second century to the ninth. The original form of each version is attested by MSS, some (as in the case of the Old Latin) as early as any known Greek MS, and by the quotations of writers who used the version.

3. Original authorities.

We may point out here the inherent merit of the testimony obtained from versions and patristic quotations, and the counterbalancing difficulties attendant on their use. The most ancient versions of the NT into Latin, Syriac, and Egyptian, are older than our oldest Greek MSS; wherever, therefore, we can be sure that we have the original form of any of these versions, and wherever we are able to retranslate with certainty that original form into the Greek underlying it, we have a resultant Greek reading possessing a higher direct claim to antiquity than the reading of any single extant Greek MS. But obviously this is not always the case.

i. Until a version has been critically studied we may not assume that any single MS faithfully represents its original form, for the text of the MS may have been revised from later Greek texts. Moreover, the early translations were not always literal, nor can Greek distinctions always be represented in another language, so that retranslation in some cases is a matter of uncertainty.

ii. The testimony derived from quotations in ecclesiastical writers also requires very cautious handling. Many 'Fathers' were not in the habit of quoting accurately, and the text of their works, which in some important instances depends ultimately on a single late MS, is often open to suspicion.

Nevertheless, patristic quotations have a special value to the textual critic. They are as a rule both localised and dated. Where there is reason to believe that the quotation in a writer's work reproduces the reading of his Bible we have in effect a fragment of a MS of the writer's own age and country, which serves as a fixed point in our historical and geographical grouping of the continuous extant biblical texts.

Unfortunately patristic evidence is often lacking just where it is most wanted. The verses most instructive for tracing the literary history of the text of the Bible are rarely those of immediate doctrinal import, and again and again where crucial variations occur the testimony of early Fathers is absent. It is especially difficult to ascertain the true weight of the patristic evidence for omissions.

Most non-Greek Fathers are to be reckoned among the authorities for the version in their vernacular; but some—notably Tertullian and Jerome—seem often to make independent translations of their own direct from the Greek.

In quoting authorities, the Greek MSS written in *uncial* letters (ranging from the fourth to the ninth cent.—or later) are denoted by capital letters, those written in *minuscule* (ranging from the ninth to the sixteenth cent.) by numerals. These latter are commonly called 'cursive.' (See WRITING.) There is absolutely no distinction in critical value between a 'cursive' and an 'uncial' MS.

4. Chief MSS.

[1] Some papyrus fragments from Oxyrhynchus are still earlier, being assigned to the middle of the third century A.D.

CHIEF GREEK MSS OF NT

Designation.	Place.	Contents.
	4th Cent.	
B (*Cod. Vaticanus*)	Rome	all books except part of Hebr., Pastoral Epp., and Apoc.
ℵ (*Cod. Sinaiticus*)	S. Petersburg	all books complete.
	5th Cent.	
D (*Cod. Bezæ*)	Cambridge	Gospels and Acts.
A (*Cod. Alexandrinus*)	London	all books.
C (*Cod. Ephræmi*)	Paris	fragg. of nearly all books.
	6th or 7th Cent.	
D_2 (*Cod. Claromontanus*)	Paris	Pauline Epp.
E_2 (*Cod. Laudianus*)	Oxford	Acts.
	8th Cent.	
L (*Cod. Regius*)	Paris	Gospels.
	9th Cent.	
Δ (*Cod. Sangallensis*)	S. Gallen	Gospels } Δ and G_3 originally formed one book.
G_3 (*Cod. Bærnerianus*)	Dresden	Paul. Epp. } Δ and G_3 originally formed one book.
P_2 (*Cod. Porphyrianus*)	S. Petersburg	all bks. except Gospels.

The following fragmentary uncial MSS are important for the light they throw on the history of the text:—

Z (6th cent.)—fragments of Mt.; Ξ (8th cent.)—fragments of Lk.; six fragmentary MSS denoted by T, ranging from the 5th to the 7th cent. and containing portions of the Gospels with a Sahidic translation, which, together with some similar fragments lately published by Amélineau (*Not. et Extr.* vol. xxxiv.), give the type of Greek text current in Upper Egypt.

The most important cursives are: i. In the Gospels, those numbered 33, 157, 28, 565, 700; and the two groups 1-118-131-209 and 13-69-124-346-543. These two groups are composed of the immediate descendants of two lost uncials, each of which would have been as valuable for critical purposes as any but the very chief codices BℵDA. ii. Outside the Gospels a special mention must be made of 61 of the Acts, for the goodness of its text; also of 137, 180, and in the Epp. for the marginal readings cited as 67** (Paul) and 66** (Cath. Epp.).

Cod. 565 (*Gregory*) is also called 473 (*Scrivener, Burgon*), and 2pe (*Tischendorf*).
Cod. 700 (*Gregory*) is also called 604 (*Scrivener, Hoskier*).
,, 543 (*Gregory*) ,, 556 (*Scrivener*).

The history of the printed text of the Greek NT falls into three divisions. i. The first age opens with the *editio princeps* of Erasmus at Basel in 1516, and includes the early printed editions of Stephanus ([3], 1550), Beza, etc., and the Polyglots. During this period the ordinary form of the text, commonly called the *Textus Receptus*, was fixed, and the first collections of various readings were made. ii. The second age dates from Mill's edition of 1707. Little change was made in the printed text during this second period; but it is marked by the great collections of variants brought together by Mill, Wetstein, Matthæi, and others. The first attempts

5. Printed editions.

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towards a systematic arrangement of the material by Bentley, Bengel, and Griesbach also fall within this period. iii. The third age dates from Lachmann's edition of 1831, in which for the first time a modern editor constructed the text from ancient evidence alone, without reference to previous editions. During the last fifty years many very ancient documents have been discovered; many more have been for the first time accurately collated, or edited in full. As a natural consequence the earlier collections of various readings have been almost entirely superseded. The same may be said also of the earlier critical theories, which were based on imperfect data, especially with regard to the primitive forms of the early versions.

6. Textus Receptus.

The *Textus Receptus* derives its name from a passage in the preface to the Elzevir edition of 1633. This edition, though really little more than a bookseller's reprint, professed to give the text as received by the best authorities.[1] As a matter of fact the early editions of the NT were constructed from but few MSS, and those which were chiefly followed were late and of no special critical value. Yet from the very fact that the MSS used were commonplace, these editions give a very fair representation of the ordinary text of the middle ages.

The importance of the *Textus Receptus* is derived not from the accident that it was the text of the early editions, or of any one of them, but from the fact that it is in all essentials the text of the NT as publicly read in the Greek church ever since the fifth century. For this reason, in collating the variations of MSS the *Textus Receptus* (*e.g.*, in Scrivener's reprint of Stephanus) should still be used in preference to any modern critical text.

A complete list of the editions of the NT in Greek is given in 'Tischendorf,' vol. iii. pp. 202-287. The two editions which are practically indispensable to the student are those of Tischendorf-Gregory (1869-1894), and of Westcott and Hort (1881). 'Tischendorf' (*i.e.*, the '*editio octava critica maior*') contains by far the fullest collection of variants of every class, those of the uncial MSS being almost completely recorded. The Prolegomena by C. R. Gregory (who brought the whole edition to a conclusion after the successive deaths of Tischendorf and Ezra Abbot) occupy the third volume, and include full lists and descriptions of all the MSS, versions, and editions. The edition thus forms a complete Introduction to the study of the textual criticism of the NT.

In using it, however, we must remember:—(1) The text is the product of Tischendorf's somewhat arbitrary judgment, and has no special authority; (2) some valuable readings, now only found in minuscules, are not recorded, and must be looked for in earlier editions, such as Wetstein, or even Mill; (3) the readings of the versions, especially of the Oriental versions, are not always given accurately, and they are rarely quoted where their text, though implying a different Greek reading, is not supported by any known Greek MS.

7. Westcott and Hort's theory.

The general theory contained in Westcott and Hort's *New Testament in the Original Greek* (published in 1881, (2) 1896) has formed the starting-point for all subsequent investigation of the textual history of the NT, whether by way of defence or of criticism. It will therefore be necessary to describe the main outlines of this theory at some length.[2]

If a text of the NT were formed by taking in each variation the reading of the majority of the Greek MSS, it would be in all essentials identical with that found in the works of Chrysostom, who died in 407, after having lived all his life, except the last ten years, at or near Antioch.[3] It would also be the text of Theodoret and the other writers of the Antiochian school as well as of later Greek Fathers generally. Such a text would, moreover, be practically identical with the 'Received Text'—that is, the text as first printed by Erasmus in 1516 and repeated with little serious variation till Lachmann's edition in 1831. The text thus formed is called by Westcott and Hort *Syrian* or *Antiochian*. Hort commonly uses the term 'Syrian'; but the 'Syrian Text' of the Greek NT is so easily confused with the Syriac version (with which it has nothing to do), that the term 'Antiochian' will be used here instead.

The agreement of the Antiochian text with Chrysostom's shows it to have been in existence as early as the fourth century, whilst the fact that the MSS by which it is supported form in most cases a majority numerically overwhelming, shows that it continued to be the current text of succeeding generations. It does not agree, however, with the text as preserved in our oldest MSS ℵ and B or in the Egyptian versions, and still less would it be the text represented by the older forms of the Latin and Syriac versions. The clearest view of the nature of the Antiochian text and of the documents which support it is found in a series of readings called 'conflate' by Hort, where the later text has combined earlier rival variants.

For example:—

1. Lk. 24 53 (after 'and they were continually in the temple')—

(α) blessing God	ℵBC*L Syr.sin.-palest Boh.
(β) praising God	D *e a*(*b*)*ff l r* Aug.
(δ) praising and blessing God	A unc.rell minusc.omn *c f g* Lat.vg Syr.vg-hcl Arm.

('blessing and praising God' Æth.)

(Latin MSS are represented by *italics*. For the notation of the Versions and the weight to be given to them, see the sections upon each version.)

Of the three readings here called α, β, and δ, either α and β are independent abridgments of δ, or δ has been made out of α and β. That is, unless δ be the original reading it is not a chance alteration or expansion, but a combination of *previously existing variants*. Now although δ has the immensely preponderating numerical majority of witnesses in various regions, it is not supported by the older forms of text in any of the main classes of evidence. In Greek, δ is opposed by the three oldest MSS ℵBC, though it is supported by A, a MS of the fifth century; it is opposed by the African (*e*) and the European (*a b ff r*) forms of the Old Latin, though supported by the revised texts *f g* and Jerome's Vulgate; in the East δ is opposed by the Old Syriac (Syr.sin or Ss) and the Palestinian lectionary, though supported by the Syriac Vulgate and the Harclean; finally it is unknown in the Egyptian version.

The analysis of the evidence is fatal to the originality of δ, the Antiochian reading; it must, therefore, be later than α and β, and, if later, must be a mere combination of them.

2.[1] Mk. 8 26 (following καὶ ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸν εἰς οἶκον αὐτοῦ λέγων).

(α) Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς (ℵ)BL 1*-209 Syr.sin Boh. [ℵ has μὴ for μηδὲ.]

(β) Ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ μηδενὶ εἴπῃς εἰς τὴν κώμην D (*q*).

($β_2$) Ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου καὶ ἐὰν εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς μηδενὶ εἴπῃς μηδὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ 13-69-346 28 565 (*i*), and with the omission of μηδὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ *b ff f* vg [also *a* nearly].

($β_3$) Μηδενὶ εἴπῃς εἰς τὴν κώμην (or ἐν τῇ κώμῃ) *k* (*c*). Syr.hl (mg.) Arm. have α prefixed to $β_2$.

(δ) Μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κώμην εἰσέλθῃς μηδὲ εἴπῃς τινὶ ἐν τῃ κώμῃ ACΔ unc.rell minusc.omn. (exc. 8) Syr.vg-hcl (text) Æth Go.

(Notice that the Old Syriac version has now to be added in both of these examples to the little band which supports the α text adopted by Hort.)

3. Lk. 24 46.

(α) οὕτως γέγραπται παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν ℵBC*L D Lat.afr-eur (Lat. afr *om.* οὕτως) Syr.palest Boh Æth.

(β) οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν χριστὸν minusc[4] Syr.sin (*hiat* cur) Arm Eus. *Theoph.*

(δ) οὕτως γέγρ. καὶ οὕτως ἔδει παθ. τὸν χρ. AC²N rell. *f q* vg Syr.vg-hcl.

(Part of the verse is illegible in Syr.sin; but there is no doubt as to the reading. Note that here, as often, the Armenian follows Syr.vt.)

The distribution of documents in these conflate readings is, roughly, as follows. To α belong ℵBL and the Bohairic (or *Memphitic*) version; to β belong D and the older forms of the Latin versions. The Sahidic (*Thebaic*) version sides sometimes with α and sometimes with β, as is the case also with the Old Syriac. In a few cases where the Latins side with α, the Old Syriac forms the chief item in the attestation of the β

[1] The words of the Preface are: *Textum ergo habes, nunc ab omnibus receptum: in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus.*

[2] The Introduction to this edition is from the pen of Dr. Hort (§ 21). In the following pages it will be cited as 'Hort,' with a reference to the numbered paragraphs.

[3] Hort 130.

[1] Hort 140.

text; but it never sides with δ. All other authorities (except **fragments**) have been influenced by the δ text.

The groups of authorities marked off above as α, β, and δ, are found to present distinct types of text all through the Gospels. We can thus test their witness chronologically and geographically through the quotations of the Fathers. This examination again is as adverse to the priority of δ to α or β as the analysis of the conflate readings. After the fourth century, evidence for δ is abundant; before the fourth century it is doubtful or non-existent.

A fourth family (γ), independent of β and prior to the Antiochian text (δ), is recognised in Westcott and Hort. No document contains it in a pure form; but readings characteristic of it are most frequent in ℵ, L, T, Z (Mt), Δ (Mk), Ξ (Lk), and in the Bohairic version, in fact in all the documents where α readings are found except B. This text is supposed by Hort to have originated at Alexandria and is called by him *Alexandrian*. The most constant witnesses for the text called β are the various forms of the Old Latin; it was therefore supposed by previous investigators to have arisen in the West of Europe, and is still universally known by the name of *Western*. The α text, which is neither 'Western' nor 'Alexandrian,' nor 'Antiochian,' is called by Hort *Neutral*.

These three strains—the Western, the Alexandrian, and the Neutral—are the three great divisions into which, according to Hort, the ante-Nicene text of the NT can be divided.

8. The three texts.

The 'Western' text is found everywhere, from the banks of the Euphrates to Spain and to Upper Egypt. The Alexandrian text is witnessed chiefly in Alexandria and Lower Egypt. The Neutral text is not so clearly associated with any local use; but, as is implied by the name, its subsidiary attestation is found among predominantly Alexandrian documents as opposed to Western corruptions, and among the Westerns as opposed to Alexandrian corruptions. Moreover, not all Western readings are shared by the whole of the Western array, some early Western texts in many cases supporting the Neutral reading where other Western authorities have gone wrong.

Put more concretely, the case may be stated thus: combinations of B (the typical Neutral document) with ℵ or L or the Bohairic on the one hand, or with D or the Latins or the Old Syriac on the other, approve themselves as giving the genuine reading. B is thus the central witness for the text; it is sometimes right almost alone, and to reject its readings is never quite safe. Instances are also given by Hort of 'ternary variations,' where the Western texts have a corruption in one direction and the Alexandrian in another, but B retains the genuine reading, which could not have arisen from either corruption and yet explains the origin of both.

Next in excellence to B is ℵ, which Hort believed to have a text entirely independent of B; so that the combination Bℵ, which frequently occurs even in opposition to all other authorities, is practically certain to give the true text. Almost the only exceptions are found in a series of passages found in all except Western documents, which are nevertheless considered by Hort to be no part of the genuine text of the NT. In these passages, called the 'Western Non-Interpolations,' B has gone wrong, and the true text is preserved chiefly by D and the Latins.

The reasons given by Hort for the final supremacy of the Antiochian text are mainly two, one political and the other literary.

'Antioch is the true ecclesiastical parent of Constantinople, so that it is no wonder that the traditional Constantinopolitan text, whether formally official or not, was the Antiochian text of the fourth century. It was equally natural that the text recognised at Constantinople should eventually become in practice the standard New Testament of the East' (Hort 195). 'The qualities which the authors of the Syrian [*i.e.*, Antiochian] text seem mostly to have desired to impress on it are lucidity and completeness. . . . New omissions accordingly are rare, and where they occur are usually found to contribute to apparent simplicity. New interpolations, on the other hand, are abundant, most of them being due to harmonistic or other assimilation, fortunately capricious and incomplete. Both in matter and in diction the Syrian text is conspicuously a full text. . . . The spirit of its own corrections is at once sensible and feeble. Entirely blameless on either literary or religious grounds as regards vulgarised or unworthy diction, yet showing no marks of either critical or spiritual insight, it presents the New Testament in a form smooth and attractive, but appreciably impoverished in sense and force, more fitted for cursory perusal or recitation than for repeated diligent study' (Hort 187).

The survival of good readings in some late cursives may be accounted for in two ways. Readings from the older texts may here and there have been introduced into a fundamentally Antiochian text from marginal glosses or through the eclectic preferences of scribes. But as late MSS which contain good readings present them in the less read parts of the narrative quite as much as in the more striking sayings, it is probable that these good readings are generally the result of a process of imperfect correction. A MS containing another than the dominant Antiochian text would be corrected to that text, but not as a rule with perfect accuracy. Only in those readings which do not agree with the ordinary text of the Middle Ages can we be certain that such MSS are reproducing the text of their remote ancestors. The minuscules, in short, give little additional authority to the 'received text' where they agree with it, whilst their differences from it are often of critical weight.[1]

9. General remarks: Antiochian revision.

It is still held by a few scholars that the Syriac Vulgate is a true product of the second century, and that the version known by the name of the 'Separated Gospels' (called in the above section the 'Old Syriac') is a revision of it. According to this the support given by the Syriac Vulgate to the Antiochian text transfers the evidence for that text from the fourth to the second century. But Syriac patristic evidence for the existence of the Syriac Vulgate (*i.e.*, the Peshīṭta) in its present form before 411 A.D. is non-existent; whereas the text of the 'Separated Gospels' (or 'Old Syriac') is actually attested from works of the third and early fourth centuries. (For the proof of this, see below on 'Syriac Versions' §§ 22 *ff.*)

Another objection which has often been raised is the silence of ecclesiastical writers with regard to the Antiochian revision. It has been said that if there had been prepared at Antioch early in the fourth century a revision of the text of the NT which practically came to supersede all other forms of the text, we should have expected clear references in ecclesiastical writers to so great an event. We hear something about the circumstances which gave rise to Jerome's Vulgate; should we not find similar references to the Antiochian revision if it had ever taken place?

The parallel here suggested with the history of the Latin Bible is instructive; a closer examination will show that it tells the other way. It is true that we know something about the preparation of Jerome's new translation; but this is owing to the fact that we possess the correspondence of that energetic and self-assertive personality. Of the reception of his NT we know little, except that his revision of the Gospels seems to have found favour immediately in Africa. A still closer parallel to the silent success of the Antiochian revision is afforded by the history of the Book of Daniel.

Both the Greek and the Latin branches of the church originally received the Book of Daniel in the LXX version, but afterwards discarded this for the version of Theodotion. The change occurred in the Greek-speaking church towards the end of the second century, in the Latin church (at least in Africa) about the middle of the third century. But on events connected with this serious alteration of the traditional text ecclesiastical history is silent, and we are forced to say with Jerome (*Præf. in Daniel*), 'et hoc cur acciderit nescio.'

A true picture of the general attitude of the fourth century to textual revision is, in the opinion of the present writer, given by the Latin dialogue *contra Fulgentium Donatistam*,[2] where a Catholic and a Donatist dispute together, the Catholic using the Vulgate throughout the Bible unchallenged, though the Donatist uniformly quotes from an Old Latin text.

Against these objections to the theory of the Antiochian

[1] Hort 196, and especially 334 *ff.* [2] Migne, 43 763

revision we may now set the evidence derived from the Sinai palimpsest (S_S), a MS discovered some years after the publication of Hort's work.

Hort's estimate of the Old Syriac had been necessarily derived from Cureton's MS (S_C), the surviving portions of which cover less than half the Gospel text. It seems, moreover, to represent a type of the Old Syriac which has undergone revision from the Greek (see col. 5002). Thus the discovery of Ss has practically for the first time revealed to us the true character of the great version of the Eastern world in its earliest form.

Now S_S is absolutely free from the slightest trace of Antiochian readings. Not one of the characteristic Antiochian conflations is found in it. Moreover, in certain cases where the Latins agree with the 'Neutral' text, but the Antiochian text has an additional clause, this additional clause alone is found in S_S. An instance is given above (§ 7) from Lk. 24 46; another may be found at Mk. 1 13, whilst the additions to the true text of Mk. 12 23 and 13 8 have a somewhat similar attestation. These passages do not merely prove that the Old Syriac was uninfluenced by the Antiochian text; they go far to show that a text akin to the Old Syriac was one of the elements out of which the eclectic Antiochian text was constructed. Thus the readings of B and its allies, the readings of the Old Latin and its allies, and now the readings of the Old Syriac, all contribute to explain the phenomena of the Antiochian text; but the mutual variations of B and the Old Latin and the Old Syriac cannot be explained from the Antiochian text regarded as the genuine original.[1]

In leaving the discussion of the Antiochian revision we leave the region of comparative certainty. Hort's division of the ante-Nicene text into the three strains of Western, Alexandrian, and Neutral, still more or less holds the ground; but important details of his scheme have incidentally been undermined, and the fresh evidence of S_S is here much less favourable to his presentation of the history of the text. The general tendency of criticism has been to raise the value of the texts which Hort would have grouped under the heading of 'Western.' The channel of early 'non-Western' transmission has been still further narrowed, whilst there have come to light types of early 'Western' texts purer than those which have earned them both their misleading name and their bad reputation.

10. The pre-Antiochian texts.

1. Recent research has decidedly confirmed Tischendorf's assertion that B and ℵ came from the same scriptorium.

This was admitted by Hort; but he thought that the two MSS might have been written in Rome. It now seems almost certain that they both belonged to the great library collected by Pamphilus at Cæsarea.[2] We must therefore allow for the possibility that their agreements come from a partial use of the same exemplar. This might happen in several ways; *e.g.*, the immediate ancestor (or ancestors) of ℵ may have been largely corrected to the B text. These considerations do not militate directly against the excellence of the common archetype of Bℵ but they undoubtedly raise once more the very serious question whether these great codices are in every case independent witnesses.

The demonstrable inferiority of B in certain books of the OT, notably Judges and Isaiah (see OT, 'Greek Versions'), may be held to cast a certain suspicion upon its NT text. But the great Bibles of the fourth century must have been copied from several smaller codices or rolls containing only part of the Scriptures. The textual characteristics, therefore, of B in the Prophets or the Octateuch are by no means necessarily those it exhibits in the Gospels or the Acts.

2. The claims of the Antiochian text to represent the apostolic original are rejected mainly because no clear evidence can be found for it earlier than the fourth century. It is acknowledged by all that the various forms of the 'Western' text were widely spread in the second and third centuries. But where was the 'Neutral' text transmitted?

1 The latest serious defender of the conflate readings of the Antiochian text is W. Bousset (*Texte und Untersuchungen*, xi. 4 97-102); but the emphatic rejection of these readings by Ss has made the refutation of his argument superfluous.

2 See Bousset, *TU* xi. 4 45 *ff.*; J. R. Harris, *Stichometry*, 71-89; J. A. Robinson, *Euthaliana*, 36-43.

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Hort's answer is unambiguous. 'The Western licence did not prevail everywhere, and MSS unaffected by its results were still copied. The perpetuation of the purer text may in great measure be laid to the credit of the watchful scholars of Alexandria; its best representatives among the versions are the Egyptian, and especially that of Lower Egypt; and the quotations which follow it are most abundant in Clement, Origen (Dionysius, Peter), Didymus, and the younger Cyril, all Alexandrians' (Westcott and Hort, *smaller ed.* 550).

It must, however, be noted that the testimony of our Alexandrian and Egyptian witnesses becomes more and more Western the earlier they are. Of the three great Alexandrian fathers, Origen is more 'Western' than Cyril, Clement is more 'Western' than Origen.[1] Recent criticism has dealt similarly with the evidence of the Egyptian versions. The old arguments for the comparative antiquity of the Sahidic version remain, and new discoveries of ancient fragments of that version and its immediate kindred are made year by year. But in the Sahidic 'the Western influence is often peculiarly well marked.'[2] The Bohairic, on the other hand, is thoroughly non-Western; but Guidi has shown that this version in its present form, so far from being a product of the *third* century, is almost certainly not earlier than the *sixth*. The very existence of a specifically Bohairic literature before the sixth century is extremely doubtful (see § 34).

Yet with all deductions it remains true that the 'Neutral' text receives a larger measure of general support even from the Sahidic version than from the early Latin or Syriac texts. In other words, a predominantly 'non-Western' text was current in Egypt from about Origen's time onwards. We are, moreover, placed in a peculiarly favourable position for studying this type of text owing to the fortunate accident that the Antiochian revision never found favour in Egypt. Until long after the Arab conquest the text found in Egyptian documents, both Greek and Coptic, continued on the whole to be that which Hort has called 'Alexandrian.' This text, though far purer than the Antiochian, is equally with it an artificial eclectic revision; its survival at Alexandria, alone among Greek-speaking communities, was no doubt connected with the growth of Egyptian Monophysitism.[3]

3. The 'Western' text, as a whole, has hitherto found few defenders. This is partly due to 'an imperfect apprehension of the antiquity and extension of the Western text as revealed by patristic quotations and by versions' (Hort 170). Hort, whose general estimate of Western readings is no more favourable than that of his predecessors, groups Western characteristics under the three heads of *Paraphrase*, *Interpolation*, and

1 *Ibid.* 549. The Gospel quotations of Clement of Alexandria have been carefully edited by P. H. Barnard (*Texts and Studies*, 5 5, 1899).

2 Hort, 550.

3 The form in which the alternative ending to Mk. is exhibited by the 'Alexandrian' text is a good illustration of its highly artificial character. The genuine text of that Gospel breaks off in the middle of a clause at Mk. 16 8 with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ . . . ('*for they feared* . . . .'); but an ancient text, now represented by the Latin Codex Bobiensis (*k*), added the following sentence: 'But all that they had been commanded they showed forth in few words to those that were with Peter. And after these things Jesus himself also appeared, and from the East even unto the West sent forth by them the holy and incorruptible preaching of eternal salvation. Amen.' The absence of quotations from Mk. 16 9-20 in Tertullian and Cyprian makes it highly probable that *k* here, as elsewhere, faithfully reproduces the text of the Gospels current at Carthage up to the middle of the third century. This shorter conclusion evidently presupposes a text which ended at 16 8 as in Bℵ and Ss.

Most documents of course add to 16 8 the so-called 'last twelve verses of S. Mark,' forming *vv.* 9-20. *It is the characteristic of the Alexandrian recension that it gives both conclusions*, the longer one being linked to the shorter by a critical note. This composite ending is still extant in five Greek MSS, in some Æthiopic MSS, and in the margins of the Harclean Syriac and of the best MS of the Bohairic, accompanied in most cases by the critical note (see Amélineau, *Not. et Extr.* 34 2, and the descriptions of Ψ [Gregory 445], and of $ℸ^{12}$ [Gregory 1308], and see also J. R. Harris, appendix to Mrs. Lewis's *Cat. of Syriac MSS at Mt. Sinai*, 103 *f.*).

Assimilation (Hort 173-175). Notwithstanding this unfavourable verdict, 'Western' documents not unfrequently form the bulk of the attestation for the readings adopted by him.[1] The fact is that the expression 'the Western text' is a misnomer. The 'Western' documents do not present a single recension, like the Antiochian text, or even a body of aberrant readings; they rather represent the unrevised and progressively deteriorated state of the text throughout the Christian world in the ante-Nicene age. 'Western' readings are accordingly of various types, ranging from the uncorrupted original to the most extreme forms of interpolation and paraphrase. It was a perception of this fact that led Hug as early as 1808 to speak of what is usually called 'the Western text' by the name of *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*.

Much of the bad repute of 'Western' texts comes from the almost universal practice of treating Codex Bezæ (D) as their leading representative. But this famous MS, though it contains very ancient elements, is far from being a pure representative of any ancient strain of text. A more just view would be gained by taking, on the one hand, the Latin fragments called Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) as the best type of the texts early current in the West, and, on the other, the Sinai palimpsest (S_S) as the best type of the texts early current in the East. Both these documents would be reckoned as 'Western' according to the ordinary view; but it has not yet been proved that they have any common origin later than the archetype of all our extant authorities.

The discovery of the Sinai palimpsest has materially altered our conceptions of the early 'Western' text. One of the chief characteristics formerly assigned to that text was a tendency to admit interpolation; and the presence in the leading 'Western' authorities of a series of interpolations, which must have come from non-canonical sources, seemed to make it obvious that all 'Western' documents were derived from an interpolated copy of the Gospels later than the archetype of Bℵ and their allies.[2] But though the Sinai palimpsest has a thoroughly non-Alexandrian text, *not one of these interpolations is found in it*. It was the presence of clear errors in all 'Western' documents known to the earlier critics which made them think of a 'Western' recension or edition; every fresh discovery, therefore, of documents fundamentally 'Western,' but nevertheless free from these errors, makes the theory of a single Western *recension* less and less probable.

4. One of the arguments employed by Hort in favour of the genuineness of the 'Neutral' text is the intrinsic excellence of the groups containing B, the chief 'Neutral' document. This line of argument is of course quite independent of theories connected with the spread of the 'Western' or of any other ancient text. It is somewhat open, however, to the charge of subjectivity, and the very fact that not all the readings adopted by Hort have found universal favour, proves that the evidence of groups might have been interpreted differently. Salmon (*Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1897) calls the term 'Neutral' 'a question-begging name' (p. 49), and adds with great truth, 'if we want a more precise answer to the question what Hort means by "Alexandrian," we shall not be far wrong in saying, those readings which are Alexandrian in their origin and are not recognised by Codex B' (p. 51). Yet there is no doubt that the text of B in the Gospels is, generally speaking, an excellent one. Of this there can be no stronger proof than the support it frequently gives to early readings, which, but for the witness of B, would have been dubbed with the fatal epithet of 'Western.'[1] The habitual associates of B are of quite a different character; so frequently indeed does it agree with such 'Alexandrian' documents as TL and the Egyptian versions, that it has actually been maintained that the Gospel text of B is a transcript of the Egyptian recension of Hesychius (Bousset, *TU* xi. 4 92). But the occasional, yet unmistakable, support which B affords to the Western against the specifically 'Alexandrian' readings is inconsistent with this view.[2]

[1] Notable instances are Mt. 6 33 [(B)ℵ], 7 13 [ℵ*], 13 35 [Bℵ^b min.[2] Orig.], 16 20 [B* codd. ap. Orig.]. The square brackets contain the 'non-Western' attestation of the text of Westcott and Hort. Thus before the discovery of ℵ the true text of Mt. 6 33 7 13 was known from 'Western' documents alone.

[2] There are about twenty of these 'Western' interpolations in the Gospels. The chief of them are:—Mt. 3 15 (the light at the baptism); Mt. 16 2*b* 3 ('the face of the sky'); Mt. 20 28 ('seek from little to increase'); Mk. 16 3 (the angelic host at the resurrection); Lk. 6 4 (the man working on the Sabbath); Lk. 9 54 *f.* ('Ye know not what spirit ye are of'); Lk. 22 43 *f.* (the bloody sweat); Lk. 23 34*a* ('Father, forgive them'); Jn. 5 4 (the angel at the pool); Jn. 7 53-8 11 (the woman taken in adultery). All these are absent from Ss as well as from Bℵ, but they appear to belong to the earliest Latin texts. The longer conclusion to the Second Gospel ([Mk.] 16 9-20) is absent from *k* in addition to Bℵ Ss, so that this passage forms no part also of the earliest non-Alexandrian text.

To sum up, Hort's text of the Gospels is less affected by recent discoveries than his criticism of the documents.

11. Conclusion. As was pointed out above, the readings of Bℵ, the authorities on which Hort chiefly relied, are often supported by the most ancient form of the Old Latin (*k*), or by the most ancient form of the Old Syriac (S_S). These readings are almost always to be perferred, for they represent an agreement between the best 'Western' and the best 'non-Western' texts.[3] The crucial difficulty occurs where all the early 'Western' documents unite against Bℵ, or BℵL and the Bohairic. In other words, the question before the textual critic in the immediate future is, Are the oldest forms of the Old Latin and the Old Syriac independent? We may put the question in another form. Accepting Hort's nomenclature, and remembering that 'Western' documents such as *k* and S_S not unfrequently support B against the specifically 'Alexandrian' text, what grounds have we for thinking that B, or even Bℵ united, is entirely free from 'Alexandrian' corrections?[4] In the portions of the Gospels where *k* and S_S are both extant, B has the support of one or other of them about four times out of five; may not B be itself in the wrong in the remaining readings? How far, in fine, can we trust B whether supported by the other Greek MSS or not, in cases where its only attestation among the ancient versions is Egyptian?

The answers to these questions cannot positively be given until a complete analysis has been made of the extant 'Western' variants to the text of Bℵ. It is,

[1] *E.g.*, in Lk. 10 1 17, B has 'seventy-two' disciples with the best Latin and Syriac texts, not 'seventy.'

[2] There is not the slightest likelihood that the non-Alexandrian readings in B have been introduced into the text of B's ancestors by irregular revision. The probability indeed is all the other way. The few indications afforded by the actual readings of the MS tend to show that 'Western' (or at any rate non-'Alexandrian') readings would have been corrected out, not introduced. The most striking instance is Mt. 27 16 *f.* In these verses the common text has **Βαραββᾶν . . . Βαραββᾶν**, but an ancient text (now represented by some good minuscules, a scholion, and the Old Syriac) read **Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν . . . Ἰησοῦν τὸν Βαραββᾶν**. Now B has **Ἰησοῦν** in neither place; but it inserts **τὸν** before the second **Βαραββᾶν**. The obvious explanation is that an ancestor of B had the reading *Jesus Barabbas*, but the corrector who expunged the word **Ἰησοῦν** in both places omitted to delete the article in the second place. Other instances, somewhat similar, are Mt. 21 31 (**ὕστερος**); Mt. 23 26 (**αὐτοῦ**); Lk. 19 37 (**πάντων**); Jn. 8 57 (**ἑόρακες**). In such places the 'neutrality' of B is the neutrality of compromise.

[3] A striking instance is afforded by the readings connected with the double cock-crowing in Mk. 14. The text adopted by Hort was that of B, a Greek lectionary, and the Bohairic. It is now found also in Syr.sin. The fact that Syr.sin. here agrees with B is a strong confirmation of the correctness of Hort's judgment; at the same time it removes the whole set of variations from the category of places where the true text is preserved in 'non-Western' documents alone.

[4] The definite issue is raised, for instance, in Mk. 6 20, where BℵL Boh read **ἠπόρει** for **ἐποίει**. **Ἐποίει** (with slight variations) is found in all other documents, including Lat.vt and Syr.vt. If **ἠπόρει** be not original, it looks more like an ingenious conjecture than a palæographical blunder.

TEXT AND VERSIONS

however, in the direction here indicated—viz., the preservation of the true text in a considerable number of cases by 'Western' documents alone—that criticism may ultimately be able to advance beyond the point reached by Hort.

We may add a few illustrations of passages where the text adopted by WH can be certainly or probably amended.

12. Illustrative texts.

i. Mt. 6 8 'your Father knoweth what things ye have need of *πρὸ τοῦ ὑμᾶς αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν*.' For *αἰτῆσαι αὐτόν* we find *ἀνοῖξαι τὸ στόμα* in D *h*.[1] This picturesque locution has been adopted by Blass and by Nestle (Hastings' *DB* 739*a*); the slenderness of the attestation may be explained by the desire of avoiding what seemed an undignified expression. All Syriac VSS. support the common text; but it is worth noticing that in Mt. 5 2 S_S reads 'and he began to say to them' instead of 'and he opened his mouth and taught them, saying. . .'

A somewhat similar variant is to be found in Mt. 7 23, where for *ὁμολογήσω* we find *ὀμόσω* attested by *b q* vg. codd. pp. lat (incl. *de Rebaptismate*, § 7): Justin Martyr 262, with the African Latin (*k* [Cyp] also [*a*] *g*) and S_C (*hiat* S_S), have *ἐρῶ*—*i.e.*, their text has been assimilated to Lk. 13 27.

ii. Mt. 11 5 '*καὶ πτωχοὶ εὐαγγελίζονται*' *om.* *k* S_S Diat.^{vid} (*i.e.*, *Moes.* 100).

These words belong to the genuine text of Lk. 7 22 and are in accordance with Lk.'s accustomed diction. In Mt., on the other hand, the word *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* never occurs again: if the phrase omitted by *k* and S_S be retained, we must almost assume that Mt. is here directly borrowing from Lk. Omit the phrase, and the linguistic difficulty is removed; Mt. gives the actual words of Jesus, whilst Lk.'s addition 'the poor are evangelised' is an early (and correct) ***interpretation*** of them. Similarly *νομικός* in Mt. 22 35 is alien to the diction of the First Gospel and comes from Lk. 10 25: the word is rightly omitted from Mt. by 1-118-209 *e* S_S Arm Origen ^{lat}.

Harmonistic additions are among the most frequent and misleading corruptions of the text, as Jerome was the first to see: 'dum eundem sensum alius aliter expressit, ille que unum e quattuor primum legerat, ad eius exemplum ceteros quoque aestimauerit emendandos' (*Ep. ad Damasum*). Other passages where the discovery of S_S has helped to remove additions of this kind are Mt. 21 44 (taken from Lk. 20 18); Lk. 11 33 *οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τὸν μόδιον* (Mt. 5 15); Jn. 12 8 'For the poor ye have always with you, but me ye have not always' (taken from Mk. 14 7, Mt. 26 11, but omitted in Jn. by D S_S).

iii. Mt. 25 1 'went forth to meet the bridegroom *and the bride*,' D 1*-209 124* Latt Syrr (incl. S_S) Arm. This addition is certainly genuine, and in accordance with Oriental custom. The bridegroom goes with his friends to bring away the bride from her father's home; no one is left at the bridegroom's house but a few 'virgins' (*i.e.*, maidservants) to keep watch. In the parable these maidservants represent the church (as in Lk. 12 36), whilst the arrival of the wedding procession with the bridegroom and his bride represents the coming of Christ. Christ is here the bridegroom and the bride; the waiting servants are the church. But the more familiar image was the comparison of Christ to the bridegroom, the church to the bride; when the Bride had become the stock metaphor for the church, the careless editor had a strong temptation to leave it out in the parable where it does ***not*** mean the church.

iv. Mt. 8 32 '*καὶ παρρησίᾳ τὸν λόγον ἐλάλει*.' These words come after the first announcement of the Passion, without variation in Greek MSS. As they stand they are a remark of the evangelist, to which there is nothing corresponding in the parallel passages Mt. 16 21, Lk. 9 22: either the remark was considered too uninteresting to repeat, or it originally contained something which later writers might regard as unsuitable. For *vv.* 31 *f.*, S_S Diat^{ar} and *k* have 'the Son of Man must suffer many things . . . and after the third day rise and openly speak the word'—*i.e.*, they read *λαλεῖν* or *ἐκλαλεῖν* instead of *ἐλάλει*, thereby making the clause part of Jesus' word to the disciples. The central thought, therefore, of the prediction is not the physical miracle but the general victory of the Gospel after the great struggle (cp Hos. 6 2 *f.*). That Jesus did not preach 'openly' after the Resurrection was a reason why the clause should be omitted by Mt. and Lk., and at a later period should be altered in Mk.; but the agreement here of our earliest eastern and western texts enables us to restore the original form with confidence.

v. The restoration of the true texts of Acts is a more difficult matter than that of the Gospels owing to the comparative poverty of the evidence. We need especially something corresponding to the 'Old Syriac,' by the aid of which we might separate really ancient readings in the Old Latin and in D from those western variants that never had anything beyond a local circulation. Several of the proper names are undoubtedly corrupt. *E.g.*, *Ἰουδαίαν* Acts 2 9 is impossible, for Judæa is quite out of place between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia. The African Latin (Tert. *adv. Jud.* 7, Aug. *c. Fund.*) substituted ***Armeniam;*** but this is palæographically unlikely: possibly Lk. wrote ΓΟΡΔΥΑΙΑΝ—*i.e.*, Gordyæa, now Kurdistan. vi. In Acts 4 6 *Ἰωάννης* is a mistake for *Ἰωνάθας*, the true name being preserved only in D, in Berger's Perpignan MS and (as E. Nestle points out) in Lagarde's *OS* 69 18: on the other hand the Fleury palimpsest (*h*) is said to have [*Io*]*hannes*, and we may conjecture from the *Doctrine of Addai* 11 23 that the Old Syriac attested *Onias*. vii. In Acts 13 8 the present writer has a strong suspicion that the mysterious name *Ἐλύμας*, for which *ἕτοιμος* is read or inferred in several Western documents, is a corruption of *ὁ λοιμός*, 'the pestilent fellow' (cp Acts 24 5). But conjectures of this kind stand on quite a different footing from those restorations of the text which are based on a consenus of the most ancient evidence. If we are to feel any confidence that this or that phrase or variant is the actual word of the original writer, it must be because we can really trace back the phrase in question to the earliest times, not because it happens to have commended itself to some critic of the ancient or modern world.

In addition to Hort's ***Introduction*** (above, § 7), the following works on NT textual criticism may be recommended. E. Nestle, *Introd. to the Textual Criticism of the Greek NT* (Theological Translation Library, vol. xiii.), 1901. F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1901. K. Lake, *The Text of the NT* (elementary), 1900. G. Salmon, *Some Thoughts on the Textual Criticism of the NT*, 1897. C. R. Gregory, *Textkritik des NT*, vol. i., 1900: this will be a separate edition of the *Prolegomena* to 'Tischendorf,' brought up to date. A new and important work on textual criticism is announced (1902) by H. von Soden.

B. VERSIONS

I. LATIN

13. Latin versions: first traces.

Latin versions of the scriptures can be traced back into the second century. The Scillitan martyrs at Carthage in the year 180 A.D. had in their case of rolls 'epistles of Paul the just man.'[1] What type of text these MSS may have contained it is of course impossible directly to determine; but the occasional references of Tertullian (*e.g.*, *adv. Prax.* § 5) to the translation then in common use are not inconsistent with the belief that it was of the same general type as that found in the many biblical quotations of Cyprian.

To Cyprian, according to the judgment of the latest

[1] *I.e.*, cod. Claromontanus of the 6th century. D has the itacism ΑΝΟΙΖΕ.

[1] *Texts and Studies*, i. 2 114.

investigator of his style,[1] the Latin version seemed 'clumsily executed and quite modern'; but he quotes it continually with remarkable accuracy, and never seems to question the correctness of the renderings. The natural inference is that Cyprian in the middle of the third century found a definite Latin text established as an authoritative standard in Carthage.

We are able to carry back the history one stage farther. The quotations of Novatian, Cyprian's Roman contemporary, give us the text current in Rome, just as Cyprian's quotations give us the text current in Carthage. To them we may add the few verses quoted by the Roman presbyters Moyses and Maximus in their letter to Cyprian (ap. Cypr. *Ep.* 31, § 4). These quotations present marked differences from the Cyprianic text, as well as marked agreements with it; we are, therefore, justified in assuming for both the Carthaginian and the Roman types a common origin, which at the same time must have been sufficiently remote to allow for the development of the characteristic differences between the two texts.

No *tradition* of the origin or literary history of the Latin versions seems to have been known even to Augustine or Jerome; it remains an open question whether the first translation was made in Roman Africa, in Italy, or in Gaul.

14. Their origin.

What is certain is that by the middle of the fourth century, Latin biblical MSS exhibited a most confusing variety of text, caused at least in part by revision from later Greek MSS as well as by modifications of the Latin phraseology. This confusion lasted until all the 'Old Latin' (or 'ante-Hieronymian') texts were supplanted by the revised version of Jerome (383-400 A.D.), which was undertaken at the request of Pope Damasus and ultimately became the Vulgate of the Western church.

We are thus driven back on evidence other than tradition to classify our MSS—to find, if possible, the local texts which they respectively represent. This classification is the more necessary as the primary importance of the Old Latin versions lies in their age. The 'Old Latin' may go back to the second century; but before any particular Old Latin reading can be safely treated as second-century evidence we require at least *prima facie* proof that the document in which it occurs has a text which has largely escaped revision from later Greek MSS.

In classifying our Old Latin authorities each group of books must be treated separately. As a matter of fact, the different groups have had different literary fates. In the Gospels, the Psalms, and Isaiah, we find a maze of aberrant texts; on the other hand, the book of Wisdom seems never to have undergone a thorough revision in later times, and the text of Cyprian's citations here hardly differs from the printed Vulgate.

15. Classification.

The necessary starting-point is supplied by the biblical quotations in the Latin Fathers. Some of the evidence, however, derived from this source must be used with great caution.

i. It is rarely possible to take the many scriptural allusions in Tertullian's works as literal representations of the biblical text current in Carthage in his day. They are, in fact, so unlike any surviving type of the Latin versions that it is maintained by Zahn[2] and others that the Bible had not been translated into Latin in Tertullian's time. Even those, however, who place the origin of the Latin Bible earlier than Tertullian admit that he often translates directly from the Greek. A clear instance of this is *de Carne Christi* § 20, where Mt. 1 16 is quoted in agreement with the ordinary Greek reading against the combined testimony of all the older Latin texts.

ii. A great uncertainty hangs over the age of the Latin translation of Irenæus's work against Heresies. If it be contemporary with the author *it* becomes a primary witness for the Gallican text. Some, however, including Hort, have placed it in the fourth century, and this is undoubtedly the safer view.

iii. One of our chief authorities, the *Testimonia* of Cyprian (a series of proof-texts from Scripture), was so popular in the Latin church that certain later writers quote from it instead of using the Bible directly. In so far as this is done these writers cease to be independent witnesses. This applies to Firmicus Maternus, Commodian, Lactantius, and in part to Lucifer and Zeno.

[1] E. W. Watson in *Studia Biblica*, 4 195.

[2] *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, 1 51-60.

Fragments at least of eighteen MSS of the Old Latin Gospels are still extant. Of these only one—the Latin of Codex Bezæ (*d*)—is a bilingual. Five of these MSS—*viz.*, codd. Vercellensis (*a*), Veronensis (*b*), Palatinus (*e*), Sangallensis (*n*), Bobiensis (*k*),—as well as *d* itself, are of the fourth or the fifth century, having therefore been transcribed at a time when the Old Latin was in full church use.

16. The Gospels.

Hort was the first to point out the close connection of the texts of *k* and *e* with the many and accurate quotations of Cyprian (died 258). Of these two MSS *k* is more faithful to the Cyprianic standard than *e*; but both are quite on a different plane from the rest of the Latin MSS. We may therefore take the text of *k* and *e* as representing the form in which the Gospels were read at Carthage in the middle of the third century before the Decian persecution. The only other non-Patristic authorities which show a distinctive African (*i.e.*, Cyprianic) character are the contemporary corrections in the text of *n* (esp. in Lk. and Mk.), corrections which must have been made from a MS very like *e*, and isolated sections (*e.g.*, the last chapters of Lk.) in the late MS *c* (Colbertinus).

The character of the 'African Latin' differs much from other Old Latin texts both in language and in the underlying Greek text.[1] But one fact stands out above all others—its unlikeness to the eclectic texts of the fourth century, both Greek and Latin.

For the most part the interpolations of this, the oldest continuous Latin text of the Gospels that has come down to us, are to a large extent not the interpolations of the eclectic texts, and its omissions are not their omissions; moreover its renderings are not the renderings of the later revised Latin texts such as the Vulgate and its immediate predecessors. All this tends to show that the African text of the third century had to a large extent escaped revision from Greek sources; in other words, that the Greek text implied by *k* and its companions is that which underlies the original translation.

The remaining Old Latin MSS, including the Latin of Cod. Bezæ, may be classed as 'European,' since they agree with the European Fathers against the peculiar African renderings. The origin of this type of text is still obscure. The MSS group themselves round the two great codices *a* and *b*. Of these *b* occupies a central position, the other MSS differing from one another more than they differ from it. At the same time it may be doubted whether *a* does not represent an earlier stage of the European text, as the quotations of Novatian (the Roman contemporary of Cyprian) predominantly favour *a* against *b*, so far, that is, as the 'European' type is developed in them. This is especially the case in Jn., where the *a* text is also supported by Lucifer of Cagliari. On this view 'African' readings found in *a* are relics of the earlier form of the 'European' text. On the other hand *b* is the oldest representative of that stage of the European text from which most of the later forms of the Old Latin, and finally the Vulgate, are descended.

Some of the later Latin texts have been partially conformed to the Antiochian Greek text. The most prominent surviving example is Cod. Brixianus (*f*), a Gospel MS of the sixth century. It has been conjectured that MSS of this type were referred to by Augustine under the term *Itala* and that they formed the basis of Jerome's revision. But it is much more probable that Augustine's *Itala* means the Vulgate; see below (§ 59). The peculiar element of *f* is derived from the codices of the Gothic version brought into N. Italy by the Lombards and perhaps by previous northern invaders during the fifth and the sixth century, whilst the agreement of *f* and the Vulgate (which in parts is

[1] See especially Sanday's essay on the text of *k* in *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, vol. ii.

very marked) is most likely due to the intrusion of Vulgate readings into the text of *f*.[1]

Many 'Antiochian' readings are found in the Vulgate, as is only natural in a revision undertaken by the aid of Greek MSS at the end of the fourth century. Some noteworthy agreements of the Vulgate with the Greek MSS ℵ and B are also found, especially in the Acts: this points to a use of the great library at Cæsarea. Jerome gave special heed to the elimination of harmonistic corruptions and to correcting the rendering of important doctrinal expressions. A well-known instance of the latter is the introduction of *supersubstantialem* into the Lord's Prayer in Mt. instead of *cotidianum*, to render ἐπιούσιον. Quite as characteristic is *mundus* for ὁ κόσμος in Jn., *hic mundus* being reserved for ὁ κόσμος οὗτος.[2]

17. Pauline epistles.

The African text of the Pauline epistles is imperfectly preserved. The version used by Cyprian is not represented in any known MS, though some of its peculiar renderings reappear in the not inconsiderable quotations of Tyconius (flor. 380). Entirely distinct from these, and representing a different Greek original, is the text of Gal. 5 19 *ff.* as quoted by Nemesianus of Thubunæ at the Council of Carthage (256 A.D.), a text which has points of contact with Tertullian (cp *de Pudic.* § 17).[3]

Among European texts the Latin of cod. Claromontanus (D_2 d_2) holds a high place. The twin texts of bilingual MSS are always open to the suspicion of having been greatly assimilated to one another. In the case of d_2, however, the genuine Old Latin character of the text is vindicated by its frequent agreement with the quotations of Lucifer of Cagliari (†370). The curious interlinear Latin version of Cod. Bœrnerianus (G_3 g_3) is not predominantly supported by any Latin writer, and perhaps ought not to be reckoned among continuous Old Latin authorities. The revised text used by Augustine in this part of the NT is represented by fragments of two MSS formerly at Freising, now at Munich (*r*, r_2).

In the Vulgate itself comparatively few changes appear to have been made by Jerome in the Pauline Epistles, so that it may almost be reckoned among the late Old Latin texts. On the other hand the Gothic-Latin MS usually quoted as *gue* has very little independent value, as the Latin has been assimilated to the parallel Gothic text.

The Epistle to the Hebrews was absent from the original form of the Latin canon, and it is not quoted by Cyprian or Tyconius, nor apparently by Irenæus. Tertullian quotes it once (*de Pudic.* § 20), but not as scripture; as in the other parts of the NT the version he uses does not agree with any other Latin authority. It is, therefore, of interest to observe that the text of Hebrews in d_2 stands on the same footing with that of the rest of the epistles, the agreement with Lucifer being there as clearly marked as elsewhere, although in the MS itself the epistle forms a sort of appendix at the end. The epistle also occurs in the Freising MS, with the text of which the quotations of Augustine agree.

18. Acts.

The 'Western' text of Acts is found in nearly all Old Latin authorities (see col. 4996, n. 3); in attempting therefore to trace their mutual connection we must chiefly be guided by the style of the Latin renderings. The mere presence of Western glosses in a Latin source, such as Augustine, tells us little of his relation, *e.g.*, to the Latin of Cod. Bezæ.

The most important quotations are found in Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustine, Lucifer of Cagliari, and the anonymous African tract *de Rebaptismate* (usually bound up with Cyprian). Of MSS we have besides the Latin of the bilinguals Cod. Bezæ (*d*) and Cod. Laudianus (e_2), large fragments of an African text in the sixth-century palimpsest Cod. Floriacensis (*h*), a complete European text in Cod. Gigas Holmensis (*g*), and 1-13 6 28 16-end in a (?) Spanish text published by Berger from a MS once at Perpignan (*p*). There are also fragments of a late European text in a fifth-century palimpsest at Vienna (*s*), now published by H. J. White. The '*Acta*' of Augustine's dispute with Felix the Manichee at Hippo in 404 A.D. should almost be counted among the MSS, for in them Augustine reads from a codex the continuous text of Acts 1-2 11 (see below, § 21).

The most primitive form represented by these MSS is that found in *h*, the text of which is almost exactly that of Cyprian and also of Augustine. That the text contained in *g* is ancient, although the MS is only of the thirteenth century, is proved by its close agreement with the quotations of Lucifer, where it agrees with as well as where it differs from the Vulgate.

This type of text is also found in a Milan lectionary (g_2) containing the story of Stephen, and to some extent in *s*; it reappears, strange to say, in the non-Vulgate portions of the '*Liber Comicum*,' a Visigothic lectionary published by Morin. The text of *p* differs greatly from *g*, and seems to have most affinity with the very scanty extracts in the Speculum (*m*) which run parallel to it. The not unfrequent agreements of *p* with e_2 seem rather to be due to the fact that each is a very literal version of the Greek than to real kinship of text. The Latin columns of the two bilinguals *d* and e_2, as we might almost expect, agree closely with no ancient Latin text.[1] The renderings found in the quotations of Tertullian and the Latin translation of Irenæus here as in other parts of the Bible do not agree consistently with any other authority.

With regard to the underlying Greek, Irenæus and the Africans together with the Perpignan MS all go back to a Greek text such as that of Codex Bezæ, but comparatively seldom afford any real support to the eccentricities of its Latin side. It is probable that the 'Western' element of E_2 (Laudianus) is ultimately of Latin origin.[2] This, however, but rarely gives an independent value to the Latin side of the existing MS, except where E_2 stands alone among *Greek* authorities. Whatever the history of the ancestors of Cod. Laudianus may have been, in our MS the Greek and the Latin are almost completely equated to each other. The pages indeed have quite the appearance of a glossary.

In the later European text represented by *g* and Lucifer the 'Western' glosses have been to some extent corrected out. This is true still more of the Vulgate, which in Acts not unfrequently follows the Greek text approved by modern critical editors.

A very remarkable type—a third-century African text as far as regards renderings, but without the 'Western' glosses—is found in the anonymous tract *de Rebaptismate*.

It reflects in fact the isolated position of the writer, who, although a contemporary of Cyprian, differed from the majority of the Africans in the biblical text he used, as he differed from them on the question of the Rebaptism of heretics.[3] The literary history of Acts in Latin can never be regarded as definitely settled until the appearance of this curious text is sufficiently accounted for.

19. Catholic epistles.

The full collection of seven Catholic epistles which usually follows Acts in Greek MSS was not included in the Latin canon until the fourth century. Only 1 Pet. and 1 Jn. with Jude had hitherto been universally re-

[1] F. C. Burkitt, *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 1 129-134: Fr. Kauffmann's 'Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der gotischen Bibelübersetzung 5,' in *Ztsch. f. deutsche Philologie*, 32 305-335.

[2] In Jn. 10 16 the Vulgate, against all Greek MSS, substitutes *unum ouile* ('one fold') for the Old Latin *unus grex* ('one flock'), and from the Vulgate was derived the familiar rendering of the authorised version. The Vulgate rendering of this verse has been used by Wordsworth and White in support of their view that Jerome used Greek MSS of a type of text now lost. See, however, J. H. Bernard in *Hermathena*, 11 335-342.

[3] For Nemesianus see C. H. Turner in *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 2 602 *ff.*

[1] This contrasts strongly with the perfect agreement between e_2 and Beda, who actually used the Cod. Laudianus itself.

[2] Blass, *Acta Apl.* p. 28 *f.*

[3] The phraseology of the quotations in the *de Rebaptismate* is almost always that of the Cyprianic Bible. The work is a letter apparently addressed to Cyprian himself (§ 4, § 10). It is possible that it was not originally composed in Latin, and that we possess only the Latin translation, as in the parallel case of Firmilian's letter to Cyprian (ap. Cypr. *Ep.* 75). This would account both for the African phrases and for the non-African text. It is worth noticing that the *de Rebaptismate* contains a clear allusion to Mk. 16 14 (§ 9, end: *non crediderunt*, nisi *postmodum* ab ipso Domino omnibus modis fuissent *obiurgati* atque *increpati*).

TEXT AND VERSIONS

ceived, although 2 Jn. is also quoted by some early Fathers.

The extant Old Latin authorities for this division of the NT are as follows:—(i.) Of the Old African version no MS is known; but we have the quotations of Cyprian from 1 Pet. (called *ad Ponticos*, as in Tertullian) and 1 Jn. With these, on the whole, agree the quotations of Tyconius. A verse from 2 Jn. is quoted by one of the Bishops at the Council of Carthage. (ii.) A later African revision, including all the seven epistles is found in Augustine. Of this revision we have two MSS, *h* at Paris (fragments of 1 and 2 Pet., 1 Jn.) and *q* at Munich (a large fragment of 1 Jn.). *h* is the same Cod. Floriacensis as in Acts, but in the Cath. Epp. the text is not Cyprianic, but late African. A peculiar recension is found in the pseudo-Augustinian Speculum (*m*), in which the extracts from Jas. agree very closely with the quotations of the Spanish heretic Priscillian. This late Spanish type of text is noteworthy as the original source of the famous gloss of the Three Heavenly Witnesses in 1 Jn. 5 7. (iii.) Among European texts we have the extensive quotations of Lucifer, including more than half of Jude; fragments of Jas. and 1 Pet. are also found in *s* (see § 18). Of Jas. a complete text is extant in a non-biblical MS formerly at Corbey, now at St. Petersburg (*ff*). This translation appears to be as old as the early part of the fourth century, and is apparently used by Chromatius of Aquileia. A fragment of 3 Jn. is found in Cod. Bezæ, immediately before Acts; but it must remain a matter of conjecture what other books that MS once contained between the Gospels and Acts.[1]

20. Apocalypse.

The Apocalypse from the first formed part of the Latin NT, and in Africa the ecclesiastical version of it does not seem to have suffered revision in the fourth century as was the case with the rest of the NT, except Acts. Hence it comes to pass that the 'late African' text of the Apocalypse, as given almost in full in the Commentary of Primasius, bishop of Hadrumetum in the sixth century, differs but little from the Cyprianic text. The same text is also found in the fragments of Cod. *h* (see above, § 18*f.*). A somewhat different type appears in the Commentary of Tyconius, large fragments of which are preserved in Primasius, in Beatus the Spaniard, and in other sources. Beside these a late European text is extant in *g* (see above, § 18); but Lucifer avoids quoting the Apocalypse altogether. A third type of text seems to underly the Vulgate, which has affinities both with *g* and with the African text.

21. History of the Vulgate.

In certain circles some parts of Jerome's revised translation were received immediately into Church use. This, for instance, was the case at Hippo. Augustine, whilst writing to Jerome in 403 A.D. to deprecate his great changes in the OT, nevertheless says: 'Proinde non paruas Deo gratias agimus de opere tuo quod *Euangelium* ex Græco interpretatus es, quia pæne in omnibus nulla offensio est.' This limitation of his praise to the *Gospel* is confirmed by the story of the trial of Felix the Manichee in the following year (see above, § 18). At the trial Augustine had occasion to read from the NT the story of the descent of the Spirit. Accordingly there was handed to him first a *Codex* of the Gospels, from which he read Lk. 24 36-49 in the Vulgate text; then being given a *Codex* of Acts, he read out Acts 1 1-2 11 in a very pure African Old Latin text. The fact that the text of Acts as here given is quite unmixed with Vulgate readings shows that our MSS of 'Aug. *contra Felicem*' have suffered no wholesale corruption; we cannot therefore but conclude that by 404 A.D. the Gospels were read at Hippo from the Vulgate, whilst in other books of the Bible, such as Acts, the unrevised Old Latin was still publicly used.

In some parts of the Western Empire the old versions were long retained in ecclesiastical use, especially in Gaul and N. Italy. This resulted in the formation of mixed texts, sometimes by the insertion of familiar Old Latin phrases into Vulgate MSS, but more often by the imperfect correction of the codices of the old versions to the Vulgate standard. These principles were in action in all parts of the Latin church; but they produced somewhat different types of text owing to the different epochs at which the Vulgate text, as current in Rome and S. Italy generally, was brought in among the various nationalities.

Some of the most interesting texts of the Vulgate come from the British Isles. Both Great Britain and Ireland had received the Bible before the victory of Jerome's revision; but the coming of the heathen English almost entirely destroyed Christianity in what is now England. The mission of Augustine brought the Vulgate with it, and the careful English scholars of Northumbria looked to Rome and S. Italy for patterns of text, rather than to north-western Europe. A product of the Northumbrian school is the Codex Amiatinus, now at Florence, the leading MS of the Vulgate both in the Old and in the New Testament. This great book appears to have been copied from a Neapolitan text; it was written at Jarrow or Wearmouth a little before 716 A.D. and was brought to Italy as a present to the Pope by the Abbot Ceolfrid.

The Irish, until after the time of Columba, adhered to the Old Latin; one fairly pure Irish Old Latin text of the Gospels survives in Cod. Usserianus (*r*). From about the year 700, however, the Roman tonsure and the Roman text began to make way among the Irish also, and this resulted in the prevalence of a mixed type of MSS of which the Book of Kells and the Book of Armagh are noteworthy examples. A similar type of text is found also in MSS written in Britain, representing the fusion of Iona and Rome.

Simultaneous with the re-establishment of a Western Empire under Charlemagne came efforts for improvement of the Vulgate text. Hence arose the two great eclectic editions of the ninth century: that of *Theodulf* of Orleans, who aimed at collecting a large body of variants in the form of marginal notes; and that of *Alcuin* of York, who at the express desire of the great Emperor constructed a standard text. Alcuin's revision was presented to Charlemagne on Christmas Day, 801 A.D., and although his text was soon corrupted in minor details his work marks a turning-point in the history of the Vulgate. 'Up to the middle of the ninth century . . . we find a distressing jumble of the best and the worst texts existing side by side, the ancient versions mixed with the Vulgate in inextricable confusion, and the books of the Bible following a different order in each MS. After Alcuin all is changed; the singularities have been levelled, the text has become more equal and its character more tame. . . . From Alcuin's time onward the only Bible in use has been that of Jerome, and the ancient versions have disappeared' (Berger, *Vulgate*, p. xvii).[1]

II. Syriac

22. Three early Syriac versions.

Almost everything that relates to the origin and early history of the Syriac versions is the subject of controversy. In the following account an attempt has been made to distinguish between what may be regarded as proved beyond reasonable doubt, and what must in our present state of knowledge remain only a probability. It will be necessary, in discussing the earlier forms of the Syriac versions, to take the various parts of the NT one by one, as in the case of the Old Latin. The later Syriac versions will be described subsequently by themselves.

The Four Gospels.—About the year 420 A.D. the Gospel was extant in Syriac in three forms, viz.—

(i.) The *Peshitta*, or Syriac Vulgate.

[1] The vacant space would suggest that the missing books are the Apocalypse, and all three Johannine epp., making up with the Fourth Gospel the complete *Instrumentum Iohannis* (Tert. *de Res. Carnis*, § 38).

[1] The Vulgate was first printed at Mainz between 1452 and 1456 ('Mazarin Bible'). The authoritative edition used by the Roman Church was issued by Clement VIII. in 1592. A critical edition of the NT is being prepared by Bishop J. Wordsworth and the Rev. H. J. White, of which the volume containing the Gospels has already appeared (*Oxford*, 1889-98).

(ii.) Tatian's *Diatessaron*.

(iii.) The '*Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê*,' or Old Syriac.

A clear idea of the nature of these three documents and their relation to one another is necessary for a right use of the Syriac versions in the criticism of the Gospels.

23. Peshitta. (i.) The version of the NT which alone has been in ecclesiastical use int he Syriac church since the middle of the fifth century, is known by the name *Pĕshīṭtā* (or *Pĕshīṭtō* in the Jacobite system of pronunciation)—*i.e.* 'the simple.'

The name Peshitta was in use as early as the ninth or the tenth century; it has been conjectured that it originally served to distinguish the Syriac Vulgate of the Old and New Testaments from the Hexaplaric version of the OT and the Harclean of the NT (see below, §§ 30, 61), editions which were furnished with marginal variants and other critical apparatus.

The Peshitta is extant in many MSS, a few of which are as old as the fifth century. All of them, however, represent the same type of text as is found in the modern editions. It was first printed by Widmanstad (Vienna, 1555). The best edition of the Gospels is the *Tetraeuangelium* published by (the late) P. E. Pusey and G. H. Gwilliam (Oxford, 1901). A small American edition of the NT in the Nestorian character (New York, 1886, etc.) gives an excellent text in a very handy form. Following the notation of Westcott and Hort, I shall speak of the Peshitta as Syriac Vulgate.

24. Diatessaron. (ii.) The *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the Four Gospels composed by Tatian the pupil of Justin Martyr, at one time took the place of the separate Four Gospels in the public services of the Syriac-speaking church. But a vigorous effort to get rid of it was made by the bishops during the first half of the fifth century, and in consequence of this no copy of the Syriac Diatessaron is now known to survive.

Our main extant authority for the text of the Syriac Diatessaron is the Commentary of Ephraim[1] (†373). This work is no longer extant in Syriac, but is known to us through an Armenian translation. A few express quotations from the original work survive in some later Syriac commentaries on the Gospels, such as those of the Nestorian Ishō'dād and the Jacobite Dionysius Barṣalībī. A complete Arabic version of the Diatessaron, made early in the eleventh century, has been published by Ciasca from two MSS (Rome, 1888); this was not made from the Diatessaron as Ephraim knew it, but from a later edition in which the text had been almost wholly assimilated to the text of the Peshitta.[2] It is therefore nearly worthless for the study of the *text* of the Diatessaron, though valuable for determining the *arrangement* adopted by Tatian.[3] The Commentary of Ephraim is quoted by the pages of a Latin rendering of the Armenian, published in 1876 by G. Moesinger.

25. 'Old Syriac.' (iii.) Another version of the Four Gospels, distinct from the Peshitta (or Syr.vg), was called *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê*—*i.e.* 'Gospel of the Separated (ones).'[4] The name obviously contains a reference to the Diatessaron, which in contradistinction to it is also called in Syriac *Evangeliôn da-Mĕhallĕṭê*, 'Gospel of the Mixed.' The title 'Separated Gospels' would be equally applicable to the Four Gospels as read in the Peshitta, and indeed the Peshitta is probably intended in the passage where *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê* occurs in the canons of Rabbûla.[1] On the other hand, the Sinaitic and the Nitrian MSS both call themselves by this name, and Barṣalībī and Bar Bahlūl the lexicographer expressly quote from the *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê* the reading '*Jesus* Barabbas' in Mt. 27 17, found in the Sinaitic MS.[2]

Two codices of the *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê* are at present known to scholars, viz., the Sinai palimpsest (S_S), and the Nitrian MS used by Cureton (S_C). The Nitrian MS, now B.M. add. 14,451, came with the rest of the library of the Convent of S. Mary Deipara in 1842-7 to London, where its peculiar character was shortly afterwards recognised by Cureton, then keeper of the Oriental MSS. His edition of the MS appeared in 1858,[3] and from him the version came to be known as the 'Curetonian.' The Sinai palimpsest was discovered at the Convent of S. Catherine on Mount Sinai by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson of Cambridge in 1892, and transcribed in the following year by the late R. L. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris, and the present writer.

Sc may be assigned to the middle of the fifth century. It contained the Gospels in the order Mt. Mk. Jn. Lk.; but all that is now extant is Mt. 1 1-8 32 10 32-23 25 Mk. 16 17-20 Jn. 1 1-42 3 6-7 37 14 10-12 16-18 21-23 26-29 Lk. 2 48-3 16 7 33-16 12 17 1-24 44, or less than half of the whole. Ss is perhaps half a century older than Sc. It contained the Gospels in the usual order: Mt. Mk. Lk. *Jn.*; only about 450 verses (*i.e.*, about one eighth of the whole) are now altogether missing; but many words and lines are illegible. Most of the gaps in Cureton's text can now in a measure be filled; but for the history of the text the value of Ss lies less in those parts where it supplements Sc than in those where the two MSS run parallel. By a comparison of these portions we are able to gain some idea of the range of variation found in the codices of the 'Old Syriac.'

26. Relation of three. Since the publication of Cureton's Codex in 1858, a discussion has gone on as to the relative age of the *Evangeliôn da-Mĕpharrĕshê* and the Peshitta. The general opinion had formerly been that the Peshitta, much in its present state, had existed ever since the earliest ages of the Syriac-speaking church. The defenders of that opinion rested their case upon the common reception of the Peshitta by all the sects into which Syriac Chistendom has been divided from the end of the fifth century, the exclusive use of the Peshitta by Syriac ecclesiastical writers, and the alleged conservatism of Orientals. The first of these arguments proves, indeed, what is universally acknowledged—that the Peshitta had already attained a position of exclusive authority by the latter part of the fifth century. But the publication of a mass of early Syriac works during the last fifty years has materially weakened the second argument. The decisive moment is the episcopate of Rabbûla, bishop of Edessa from 411-435 A.D. From that time the NT quotations of Syriac writers are all influenced by the Peshitta, beginning with Isaac of Antioch (†460). But the quotations in Syriac writers earlier than Rabbûla agree with the known peculiarities of the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê*. The text of the Diatessaron itself, as known to us from Ephraim's Commentary and the few but express quotations of later writers, very closely resembled that of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* without being identical with it.

[1] Ephraim is often spoken of as *Ephrem Syrus*, and as 'the Deacon of Edessa.' The Syriac form of the name is *Afrem*.

[2] It is worth notice that the textual history of the Diatessaron in the E. is largely paralleled by its history in the W., where it is extant in Cod. Fuldensis and its copies, the text being altogether assimilated to the Vulgate. But there are many indications that it had formerly existed with an 'Old Latin' text. In other words, the text of the Diatessaron, so far as we are able to trace it, was always in process of being assimilated to the prevalent local text of the Four Gospels.

[3] English translation by J. Hamlyn Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ* (T. & T. Clark, 1894), and (direct from the Arabic) by H. W. Hogg in *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, add. vol. pp. 35-138 (T. & T. Clark, 1897).

[4] Perhaps 'Gospel according to the Separated (Evangelists)' is a nearer translation, the particle *da* being used for *κατά* in the Syriac titles of the Gospels.

[1] The codices of the *Psalter* in the Peshitta bear the title 'The Book of the Praises of David *da-Mĕpharrĕshê*.' May not the last word be taken to mean 'in separate (Psalms)'?

[2] The *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshê* could not have got its name in contradistinction to the *Peshitta*. The only piece of evidence which seems to suggest this unlikely conclusion is the above-quoted statement about *Jesus Barabbas*, which is repeated word for word by Barṣalībī and Bar Bahlūl. Probably, therefore, they each took it from some older scholion, in which the 'Old Syriac' was contrasted, not with the Syriac Vulgate, but with the Diatessaron. It is possible that *Evangelion da-Mĕpharrĕshê* in Rabbûla's canons (Overbeck, 220 3) means any MS of the Four Gospels as opposed to a MS of the Diatessaron.

[3] It had been already in print for ten years. Three leaves of the codex found their way to Berlin, and are now numbered *Orient. Quart.* 528 in the Royal Library.

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The writings in which the Diatessaron or the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê* are used include the *Acts of Judas Thomas* (3rd cent.), the *Doctrine of Addai* (4th cent.), the Homilies of Aphraates (337-345), the genuine writings of Ephraim (†373), the writings of Cyrillona (*fl.* 400), the Syriac *Doctrine of the Apostles* published by Cureton (4th cent.). The Syriac translations of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* and *Theophania* (made before 411) also show the influence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê*, and even Jacob of Serug (6th cent.) follows the Diatessaron in his Homily on the Lord's Prayer.

The witness of Ephraim was long claimed for the Peshiṭta against the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* on the authority of commentaries and homilies which were printed as Ephraim's in the Roman edition (1737-43), but on insufficient evidence. Ephraim's genuine writings, which include more than 350 homilies, show no trace of distinctively Peshiṭta readings (F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel*, Cambridge, 1901).

To Rabbūla is due both the publication of the Peshiṭta and the suppression of the Diatessaron. At the beginning of his episcopate (411 A.D.) 'he translated by the wisdom of God that was in him the NT from Greek into Syriac, because of its variations, accurately just as it was' (*Life of Mar Rabbula*, in Overbeck, 172 18 *ff.*). And in his canons he ordered 'that in every church there should be a copy of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê*, and that it should be read' (Overbeck, 220 3). When we consider that up to the time of Rabbūla the Gospel quotations in Syriac works never exhibit the peculiarities of the Peshiṭta, whilst after the time of Rabbūla they uniformly agree with it, there can be little doubt that the translation of the NT prepared by Rabbūla was the Peshiṭta itself.[1]

The Peshiṭta is thus an edition of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê*, revised into closer conformity with the Greek, and published by authority with a view of superseding both the Diatessaron and the then current Syriac texts of the Four Gospels.

The method by which the new edition was propagated may be learnt from Theodoret, bishop of the adjoining see of Cyrrhus, who 'swept up more than two hundred copies of the Diatessaron in the churches of his diocese and introduced the Four Gospels in their place' (quoted in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, 9). The older forms of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* seem throughout the fourth century to have been much less used than the Diatessaron, so that when the Peshiṭta was substituted for the Diatessaron in the public services, it practically had no rivals. Neither S_S nor S_C show any signs of having been prepared for church use. In a word, the Diatessaron was condemned; the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* was antiquated.

The internal character of the Peshiṭta, as compared with that of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* confirms the view of their relation to one another which has been given above.

1. The style of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* gives an impression of great age. All the later Syriac versions, such as the Harclean, are marked by excessive literalness; but the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* is less conventional and more idiomatic than the Peshiṭta. Certain particles also and idioms are found in the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* which are avoided in the Peshiṭta and later Syriac writings.[2]

2. The subscriptions at the end of each Gospel in the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* contain no more than '*Here endeth the Gospel of Mark*,' or '*of Luke*,' as the case may be. But to render Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ M. more exactly the Peshiṭta has '*The* [*holy*] *Gospel, the preaching of M.*' Moreover, it is added in almost all codices of the Peshiṭta that Matthew composed his Gospel '*in Hebrew in Palestine*,' Mark '*in Latin at Rome*,' Luke '*in Greek at Alexandria the Great*,' and John '*in Greek at Ephesus*.' Similar statements are found in some Greek MSS of the Gospels. This peculiar rendering of κατά, and the insertion of these pseudo-bibliographical notices, when contrasted with the simplicity of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê*, are by themselves enough to stamp the Peshiṭta as a later recension.

1 See F. C. Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, 57.

2 Such are the occasional use of the copula to introduce the apodosis of a conditional sentence (*e.g.*, Lk. 12 45 *f.* Ss Sc) and the occurrence of the word *'ōdh*, 'forsooth,' which is met with only in the oldest Syriac literature and has been consistently *expunged* in Sc by a corrector.

3. Although S_S and S_C usually agree closely with one another against the Peshiṭta text, and sometimes even stand alone together against all other critical authorities, they often differ in important readings.[1] But the MSS of the Peshiṭta hardly vary except in orthographical matters and other trifles. It is difficult to reconcile this fact with the priority of the Peshiṭta. If the two versions had existed side by side during the third century, it is not easy to see why the codices of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* should have been honoured by revision from the Greek, whilst the codices of the Peshiṭta were untouched.

The Peshiṭta has too many points of resemblance to the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* to be considered an independent translation from the Greek. We must therefore regard the Peshiṭta as a revision of the previously existing *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê*, just as the Latin Vulgate was a revision of an Old Latin text. For that reason Westcott and Hort quote the Peshiṭta as Syr.vg. The *agreement* of S_S and S_C may be conveniently indicated by Syr.vt. or the 'Old Syriac.'

The Greek text of the Antiochian revision (see §§ 7, 9) is usually followed by the Peshiṭta, where it differs from the Old Syriac; but to this rule there are some exceptions (*e.g.*, Mt. 11 19 22 13 Jn. 1 18). The revision of the Syriac NT was therefore made from a Greek MS such as Cod. Ephraemi (C) which retained some non-Antiochian readings in the midst of a fundamentally Antiochian text. It will be remembered that Rabbūla was the friend of Cyril of Alexandria, in whose quotations much the same state of things is found. At the same time there are readings in Syr.vg which definitely reflect the local Antiochian tradition (*e.g.*, the punctuation of Jn. 5 27 *f.*).

The only theory to account for the textual facts which has been advanced by defenders of the priority of Syr.vg to the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* is that, on the suppression of the Diatessaron, a sudden demand may have arisen for copies of the Four Gospels. Scribes would then have made imperfect copies, full of phrases taken from Tatian's Harmony, two of which survive in Ss and Sc. This theory accounts for the marked resemblance of the *Ev. da-Mĕpharrĕshê* to the Diatessaron on the one hand, and to the Peshiṭta on the other. It does not account, however, for the numerous instances where Ss and Sc (or one of them) have a reading which is neither that of the Diatessaron nor of the Peshiṭta. Thus in Lk. 17 21 ('the kingdom of God is ἐντὸς ὑμῶν') the Peshiṭta has *within you*, the Diatessaron has *in your heart*, but Ss and Sc have *among you*. Other notable instances are Mk. 10 50 Lk. 4 29.

No hypothesis about the origin and mutual relations of early Syriac texts can stand, which does not account for the crucial fact that Mk. ends at 16 8 in Ss, although the 'last twelve verses' are found in the Diatessaron as well as in the Peshiṭta.

Of our two codices of Syr.vt S_S is in every respect a better text than S_C. The discovery of S_S has justified Hort's conjecture that S_C represents a form of the Old Syriac which has suffered 'irregular revision' from the Greek.[2] The best evidence for this is afforded by the presence in S_C of several conflate readings (*e.g.*, Mt. 5 18 Jn. 4 24).

The fact of this revision once established, it is reasonable to assign to the reviser the many passages where words and verses which are absent from S_S have been added in S_C. Thus the episode of the bloody sweat, the missing clauses of the Lord's Prayer in Lk., the long interpolation after Mt. 20 28, and the verse Mt. 21 44, are all found in S_C, though absent from S_S. The process of revision, however, was by no means thorough, for S_C agrees with S_S in omitting Mt. 16 2 3 17 21 18 11 Jn. 5 3 4, etc.[3]

1 The most striking instance is [Mk.] 16 9-20, which is read by Sc but omitted by Ss.

2 Hort, 118.

3 In Lk. 10 41 42 Ss has the shorter reading found also in all genuine Old Latin texts, viz., 'Martha, Martha, Mary has chosen the better part,' etc., omitting the γάρ after 'Mary' in

It might have been suspected that Ss had been corrected to a Greek text such as that of B by the *excision* of all these passages. But this suspicion is shown to be groundless by the fact that Ss contains several interpolations (notably one at the end of Lk. 23 42) which are especially characteristic of the Old Syriac, though found in no Greek MS. Had the passages which are wanting in Ss been deliberately expunged owing to their absence from certain Greek MSS, these other passages would have been rejected along with the rest.

The crucial problem in the history of the Old Syriac is its relation to the Diatessaron. There are two views conceivable.

27. Relation of 'Old Syr.' to Diatess.

1. That the Diatessaron was the original form in which the Gospel was circulated in Syriac, and that the *Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê* (Syr.vt) was a later translation from the Greek; but the translation was much influenced by the text of the already existing Syriac Diatessaron.

2. That Syr.vt was the original form of the Gospel in Syriac; and that the Diatessaron was an independent work, originally composed in Greek (or Latin), but translated into Syriac as far as possible in the wording of Syr.vt, which it eventually superseded for church use.

A third theory, that the Diatessaron was a purely Syriac work, later than Syr.vt and compiled exclusively from it, can no longer be held since the discovery of the Sinai palimpsest.

The Diatessaron undoubtedly contained extracts from the 'last twelve verses' of Mk.,[1] which are absent from Ss and therefore from the earliest form of the *Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê*. If the Diatessaron had been entirely based upon Syr.vt, we should have to assume that Syr.vt had been already *revised* by 170-180 A.D., the date of Tatian's return to the East. Besides, the theory that the Diatessaron was a Syriac work fails to account for the Latin *Codex Fuldensis* and allied documents.

An adequate discussion of the other two theories would far exceed the limits of this article, although it depends upon the conclusion reached whether we are to place the Old Syriac in the middle or end of the second century.

28. Conclusion.

It must suffice to say here, that the scanty historical notices of the early Syriac-speaking church contain nothing contrary to the first view (viz., that the Diatessaron preceded the *Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê*) and much that confirms it.[2]

On this hypothesis we may conjecturally date the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê* about 200 A.D. and connect it with the mission of Pālūṭ, who was ordained bishop of Edessa by Serapion of Antioch.

The arguments in favour of the second view are chiefly based on the text of Ss. Some of the readings characteristic of that MS are quite contrary in tendency to what we otherwise know of Syriac Christianity, and that such a text should exist at all is a remarkable testimony to the essential faithfulness of the translator to the Greek text before him. The Diatessaron much nearer reflects the tendencies of the time. In fact, some things which we know to have stood in the Diatessaron almost read like a deliberate protest against the text of Syr.vt as represented by the Sinai palimpsest.

Tatian held Encratite views, and it accords with them that he left out the genealogies from the Diatessaron, and that Joseph is never called husband of Mary. This course is also followed in Sc (except so far as concerns the genealogies), and it harmonises with all we know of the Syriac-speaking church in the third century. But in Ss this tendency is altogether absent, to such an extent that the last clause of Mt. 1 16 is rendered '*Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus which is called Christ*.'[3] Certain statements in Aphraates' Homily on the Genealogy of our Lord, and some comments preserved by Barṣalībī on Mt. 1 16 prove that these readings of Ss are not mere peculiarities of an isolated MS. On the other hand, Sc throughout the whole of the first chapter of Matthew's gospel presents a corrected text (except Mt. 1 20, '*to thee*'). The attempt which has been made to represent Ss as an heretical codex rests on no sure foundation, and the natural inference is that Syr.vt in its original form was characterised by a primitive innocence of offence in this matter (see Lk. 2 48).

The arguments which go to prove that the Armenian and Æthiopic versions were originally made from the Old Syriac are indicated elsewhere (see § 36 *f.*). It may be remarked that there is nothing to connect these versions with the Diatessaron. But if, as seems most probable, they were made from the *Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê*, this circumstance affords another proof of its antiquity. If the *Evangeliôn da-Mepharreshê* were a novelty, hardly holding its own against the ancient and popular Diatessaron, it would scarcely have been chosen in preference to the Diatessaron for missionary translations.

On the first publication of Sc in 1858, Cureton brought forward arguments to prove that the Gospel of Mt. in Sc represented the original 'Hebrew' Gospel whilst the other Gospels were mere translations from the Greek. This wild theory found few defenders and is almost forgotten. But it was based on a perception that there is a difference of style between the various Gospels in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshê*. Lately Dr. A. Hjelt has collected the indications which show that the translation of the four Gospels does not come from the same hand, Mt. being the earliest and Lk. the latest to be rendered into Syriac (*Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, Leipsic, 1901). The theory is attractive and may very well rest upon a basis of fact; at the same time too much stress should not be laid upon irregularity of rendering as a proof of composite authorship. Only those who have tried to make a pedantically consistent translation of the Gospels can realise with what difficulty consistency is attained.

No MS of the Old Syriac version of Acts or of the Pauline epistles is known to have survived. That the Peshiṭta is not the original form of the Syriac version in these books also is proved by the quotations in Aphraates, and from the commentaries of Ephraim.

29. Acts and Epistles.

These commentaries are preserved only in the ancient Armenian translation, having no doubt fallen out of favour when the text on which they were based had been superseded by the Peshiṭta. In using these commentaries great care is necessary, as the biblical text appears sometimes to have been assimilated to the Armenian Vulgate. The quotations of Aphraates from the Pauline epistles are many; but those from Acts unfortunately cover only five verses.

The almost complete loss of the Old Syriac version, except for the Gospels, causes a serious gap in the apparatus of critical authorities for the text of the NT. It can be to some little extent supplied from the Armenian. Readings of the Armenian Vulgate which differ from the ordinary Greek text, especially if they are supported by the Peshiṭta, may be considered with some confidence to have been derived from the lost Old Syriac.

The *Catholic Epistles* and the *Apocalypse* formed no part of the Old Syriac version.[1] In the Peshiṭta this defect is partially supplied by a translation of James, 1 Peter and 1 John, in agreement with the usage of Antioch as represented by Chrysostom; but to this day the Syriac Vulgate does not include the Apocalypse or the minor Catholic epistles.

The Peshiṭta was firmly established for ecclesiastical use in the Syriac-speaking church at the time of the Nestorian schism, and has continued to be exclusively used by the Nestorian community.

30. Later Syriac versions.

Among the Jacobites (or Monophysite branch of the Syrians), however, two successive attempts were made to render into Syriac the full canon and the current text of the later Greek-speaking churches.

What appears to have been a revision of the NT

v. 42, as well as the words about the 'something necessary' in *v.* 42. In Sc the missing words are supplied to *v.* 41; but no particle is added after 'Mary' in *v.* 42, and thus the reviser's hand is betrayed.

[1] The same mosaic of Mt. 28 Mk. 16 and Lk. 24 is found in *fuld* as in the Arabic Diatessaron. Aphraates 120 mentions Christ's session at the right hand of the Father (Mk. 16 19) immediately after quoting Mt. 28 20.

[2] The public reading of the Diatessaron at Edessa in early times to the apparent exclusion of the Four Gospels, is implied in the *Doctrine of Addai* 36. For the date and historical value of this work, see L. J. Tixeront, *Les Origines de l'Eglise d'Edesse*, esp. 120 *ff.*

[3] [On the text of this verse cp MARY, § 13 (*a*).]

[1] *Addai* 46; 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel . . . and the Epistles of Paul . . . and the Acts of the twelve Apostles—these writings shall ye read in the churches of Christ, and besides these ye shall read nothing else.' Neither in Aphraates nor in the genuine works of Ephraim are there any quotations from Apoc. or Cath. epp.

Peshitta, supplemented by those books of the Greek canon which were lacking in Syriac, was made in 508 A.D. for Philoxenus, bishop of Mabbōg.

Whether any part of this revision of the Peshitta survives is doubtful:[1] but there is good reason to believe that the supplemental version of 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and Jude, which was first published by E. Pococke in 1630, and is generally bound up with modern editions of the Peshitta, belongs to the original Philoxenian. A MS of the Apocalypse in the same version has been discovered by Gwynn, who has published the text with full Prolegomena and critical notes (Dublin, 1897).

In the year 616 Thomas of Heraclea (Ḥarḳel), bishop of Mabbōg, made at Alexandria an elaborate revision of the Philoxenian which still survives in several MSS and is called the Harclean Version. It was edited by Joseph White at Oxford in 1778-1803 from a slightly imperfect MS; but the missing portion of Hebrews was at length supplied from a Cambridge codex by Bensly in 1889. It is not improbable that the version of the Apocalypse published in 1627 by De Dieu, and now commonly printed with the Peshitta, is a part of the work of Thomas of Heraclea.

The text of the Harclean version is remarkable for its excessive literalness,[2] and for the critical notes with which it is furnished. These notes contain the various readings of two (or three) Greek MSS collated by Thomas at Alexandria. In Acts these notes are of real importance, as one of the MSS must have contained a 'Western' text much like that of Codex Bezæ. The text of the Harclean version itself, as distinguished from these alternative or additional readings, is almost invariably that of the later Greek MSS.

The Syriac versions hitherto described have all been in the 'classical' Edessene idiom. It is customary also to reckon under 'Syriac Versions' the surviving biblical fragments in the 'Palestinian' dialect.

31. Palestinian version.

The Aramaic language is divided into two branches, the classical Edessene being the main example of the Eastern Aramaic, whilst Palmyrene and the various types of Jewish Aramaic (including Samaritan) belong to the Western branch. The dialect in which the Christian version described in this section is written is a variety of the Western Aramaic, almost identical with that of the later Galilæan Jews.[3] Its linguistic interest, therefore, is very great, for although it is a somewhat literal translation from the Greek, the language in which it is written comes nearest of all known Christian dialects to that spoken by Jesus and the apostles. See ARAMAIC, § 7 (col. 283).

The surviving documents can be traced to three sources: (1) the Malkite convent of S. Elias on the Black Mountain in the district of the *Dux* near Antioch;[4] (2) the convent of S. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; (3) a community, or communities, of Malkites settled in Egypt.

The MSS included under (1) appear to have been bought for the convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Nitrian desert in the thirteenth century, after the sack of Antioch by Bibars the Mameluke Sultan. They include the Vatican lectionary and the London fragments published by Land. The S. Petersburg fragments published by Land, which were brought by Tischendorf from the East, are almost certainly to be added to the MSS of class (2). Those of class (3) include the book of occasional offices now at the British Museum (Or. 4951), the *Praxapostolos* edited by Mrs. Lewis, and the fragments from the Cairo Genîza now in the Bodleian and the Cambridge University library.

For the Gospels we have fragments of four continuous codices:—

1. Land's *Petropolitanus antiquior* (7th cent.): 2. Land's *Petropolitanus recentior* (8th cent.), two leaves of which appear to be still at Sinai in *Cod. Iber.* 32;[1] 3. One leaf of B.M. Add. 14,450, published by Land (8th cent.); 4. Fragments of Mt. and Lk. from B.M. Add. 14,664, published by Land (11th cent.). Besides these there are three complete Gospel lectionaries, one at the Vatican and two at Sinai, besides fragments of at least two others at Sinai and London, all dating from the eleventh century. The Vatican lectionary (Vat. Syr. xix) has been well edited by Lagarde (*Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*, 1892). The Sinai lectionaries, together with the readings of the Vatican lectionary, were edited by Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson in 1899.

The rest of the NT is but imperfectly preserved. The very ancient Bodleian fragments of the Pauline epistles have been edited by G. H. Gwilliam (*Oxford*, 1893-6), and a small fragment of Galatians from Sinai by J. R. Harris. Land has edited Acts 14 6-13 from an ancient lectionary (see § 62). In 1895 Mrs. Lewis bought in Cairo a late MS (? 12th cent.) containing lections from all parts of the Bible except the Gospels, and in conjunction with Mrs. Gibson and Dr. Nestle published the text in 1897 as *Studia Sinaitica*, 6. The lections differ from those in Land's much older lectionary, and Mrs. Lewis' MS is distinctly stated not to have come from Sinai. It may have belonged to the same community that owned the very late MS of the Liturgy of the Nile, edited by G. Margoliouth (*JRAS*, Oct. 1896). This Liturgy contains a lesson from Acts 16; but the text is nothing more than an adaptation of the Peshitta to the Palestinian dialect.

The Palestinian documents exhibit a mixed text. The influence of the Peshitta is often apparent; but in the main the Greek is closely followed, so that even such Semitic names as Ἰησοῦς and Σίμων are transliterated *Isôs* and *Sîmôn*, not *Yēshû'* (or *Ishô'*) and *Shim'ôn*. The syntax, moreover, is so much assimilated to the Greek as to render the Palestinian version a very unsafe guide in the reconstruction of the original Aramaic of Gospel phrases.

The origin of this curious literature is still obscure; but the present writer has given reasons for connecting it with the efforts made by Justinian in the sixth century to extirpate the Samaritan religion and by Heraclius early in the seventh century to harass the Jews. An earlier date than the sixth century is not suggested either by the general course of history or by the character of the surviving documents. F. C. Burkitt's art. in *Journ. of Th. Studies*, 2 183 *ff.*, contains a full bibliography of the Christian Palestinian literature.

III. Coptic and other Versions

Egypt is the stronghold of 'non-Western' texts. The determination of the age of the Egyptian versions is therefore a problem of considerable interest for the general history of the text of the NT.

32. Coptic translation: date.

In Egypt 'the progress of Christianity was for a long time confined within the limits of a single city, which was itself a foreign colony; and till the close of the second century the predecessors of Demetrius[2] were the only prelates of the Egyptian church. Three bishops were consecrated by the hands of Demetrius, and the number was increased to twenty by his successor Heracles. The body of the natives, a people distinguished by sullen inflexibility of temper, entertained the new doctrine with coldness and reluctance; and even in the time of Origen it was rare to meet with an Egyptian who had surmounted his early prejudices in favour of the sacred animals of his country. As soon, indeed, as Christianity ascended the throne, the zeal of those barbarians obeyed the prevailing impulsion; the cities of Egypt were filled with bishops, and the deserts of Thebais swarmed with hermits.'[3] The date here assigned for the spread of Christianity in the country is borne out by the Life of S. Pachomius (§ 1), which puts the repentance of the nations as coming to pass after the persecutions of Diocletian and Maximin. Pachomius, the founder of organised monastic life, born

[1] See Wiseman, *Horæ Syriacæ*, 178 n.

[2] The same torturing of the Syriac idiom in order to express every particle of the Greek is found in the contemporary translation of the Hexaplar text of the LXX by Paul of Tella (see § 61).

[3] Dalman, *Gram. des Jüd.-Paläst. Aramäisch*, 33-40. The only locality in Palestine with which any of our documents can be definitely connected is *'Abûd*, a small town in lat. 32°, long. 35°, almost equally distant from Jaffa, Nāblus, and Jerusalem—*i.e.*, not far from the frontier between Judæa and Samaritan territory.

[4] The Malkites (or 'King's Party') are those Oriental Christians who did not become Monophysites or Nestorians, but remained in communion with Constantinople. The district of the Dux (τὸ Δούξ) is mentioned by Anna Comnena (*Alexias*, 13 12).

[1] The Sinai leaves are published in Mrs. Lewis's *Cat. of Syriac MSS*, App. pp. 118-120. They exactly agree in size and character with the leaves of Land's *Petropolitanus recentior*.

[2] Bishop of Alexandria, 189-233 A.D.

[3] Bury's *Gibbon*, 2 60, following Eutychius (*Annal.* 1 333) and Orig. *Cels.* 1 757.

in 285, was converted early in the fourth century, and established the Tabennitic monastery in Upper Egypt in 322. Such a community could not long be without the Scriptures in the vernacular, so that the earliest version in Egyptian cannot be later than the first quarter of the fourth century.

There is very little reason for placing it much earlier. The notices in Eus. *HE* 641 of the 'Egyptian' Alexandrians who suffered during the Decian persecution contain nothing to indicate that they formed a separate community, with a translated Bible and Liturgy. The Life of S. Antony is generally quoted as implying the existence of a Coptic version in the third century; but it is not easy to say how much may be built upon the details of the early part of Antony's career, as related by his biographer.[1] The evidence of the *Pistis Sophia* also is indecisive as to date. The *Pistis Sophia* is a Gnostic work of the latter half of the third century,[2] which survives in a very ancient Sahidic MS.[3] Most of the allusions in it to the Old and New Testaments are loose and paraphrastic. But several of the Psalms are quoted *by number* in full, almost word for word with the Sahidic version. We cannot, however, certainly infer from this that Sahidic is the original language of the book. The Sahidic version must be older than the *Pistis Sophia* as we have it; but the Psalms in question, which are all put into the mouths of the various apostles to illustrate the Gnostic teaching of Jesus, may have been added by the Sahidic translator with the view of commending the book to orthodox readers; their strict fidelity to the biblical text shows quite a different spirit from the free invention of the rest of the book.

As many as five or six Coptic dialects have been distinguished by modern scholars; but from the point of view of textual criticism the Coptic versions fall into three divisions:—the *Sahidic*, the *Fayyūmic*, and the *Bohairic*.

33. Three versions.

The Sahidic (Ṣa'idic) is the version of Upper Egypt (in Arabic *eṣ-Ṣa'īd*); it was formerly sometimes called the Thebaic version. The Fayyūmic version, formerly called 'Bashmuric,' is represented chiefly by documents coming from the Fayyūm; to this version belong also the biblical fragments in the 'Middle Egyptian' dialect, as in text they agree with the Fayyūmic, whatever the relation between the dialects may be. The fragment of a very ancient MS of the Catholic epp. in the 'Akhmīmic' dialect must be reckoned among Sahidic authorities for a similar reason. Some of the more ancient Sahidic MSS are Græco-Egyptian bilinguals, the Greek occupying the page on the left hand of the open book.

The version now in ecclesiastical use among all the Copts, or Christian Egyptians, is called by scholars the 'Bohairic.' This version was formerly named 'Coptic' and 'Memphitic'; but the latter term is now known to be inaccurate, whilst 'Coptic' is equally applicable to Sahidic or any other Egyptian dialect. The term Bohairic comes from the Coptic Grammar of Athanasius, Bishop of Cos (*Kōs*) in the Thebaid during the eleventh century. Athanasius recognised three dialects, *viz.*, 'Cairene Coptic, which is also that of Upper Egypt; Bohairic Coptic, which is named from the Bohaira; and Bushmuric Coptic, which is named from the Bushmûr.'[1] The Bushmuric dialect had already died out in the time of Athanasius, and it does not appear that the Bible had ever been translated into it. The 'Boḥaira' (*i.e.*, 'Lake') is not, as is sometimes stated, the Arabic for Lower Egypt (*el-Wajh el-Baḥri*) or for the Egyptian sea-coast; it is a district near Alexandria between Lake Mareotis and the W. arm of the Nile.[2] The Bohairic version is therefore almost certainly of Alexandrian origin. The dialect in which it is written became, later, the *ecclesiastical* language of Cairo; but this change occurred only after Coptic had ceased to be the speech of the people in Lower Egypt, and it was probably caused by the removal of the Coptic patriarch from Alexandria to Cairo.

The earliest surviving codices of the Bohairic NT of which the date is known with certainty are of the twelfth century, though some fragments are probably as early as the ninth.[3] They are often accompanied by an Arabic translation; but there is no instance of a Græco-Bohairic MS. All appear to present the same type of text, the chief variation being the presence or absence of certain interpolations derived from the great vulgates of the East—*i.e.*, the 'Antiochian' Greek text and the Peshiṭta.[4]

The Bohairic version was known in Europe for a considerable period before any form of the Sahidic. It was long assumed to have been the earliest version of the NT in any Egyptian dialect, and this opinion is still maintained—*e.g.*, by A. C. Headlam in the fourth edition of Scrivener's 'Introduction.' Many scholars, however, consider the Bohairic to be an altogether later recension. The most thoroughgoing exponent of this view is Guidi, whose argument in the *Nachrichten von der K. Ges. der Wissenschaften*, Göttingen, 1889, pp. 49-52, is reproduced in the following paragraphs.

34. Age of Bohairic and Sahidic.

Guidi considers that the use of the various Coptic dialects as literary languages was in great part a reaction against the foreign Greek element. The true Egyptians hated foreigners and Alexandrians, and the diffusion of Christianity would be favoured rather than retarded by the dislike of the Imperial Roman authority which was persecuting it.[5] We may add that this dislike did not cease when the Empire became Christian. When the Emperors were Arian, Egypt was Orthodox; when the Emperors became Orthodox, Egypt became Monophysite.

The foreign and Greek element was comparatively strong in Lower and Middle Egypt; but in Upper Egypt it was weaker, and so the native Egyptian characteristics made their presence felt more quickly there in any new movement. Hence it is that the first beginnings of Coptic literature are found in Upper Egypt (where also, for analogous reasons, Coptic maintained itself as a living language longer than in the Delta). These early products of Egyptian Christianity, whether originals or translations, contain a purely Egyptian element. Such, for example, are the *Pistis Sophia*, the Bruce papyrus, and other Gnostic writings, all of which show traces of the ancient beliefs and

1 Antony died at an advanced age in 356. The received date of his birth, viz. 250 A.D., appears to depend upon the fact that shortly before his death he claimed to be 105 years old, but such statements from the mouth of illiterate men are rarely to be trusted. S. Antony could neither read nor write, and could not speak Greek. 'My book,' he is reported to have said, 'my book is the Book of Nature (ἡ φύσις τῶν γεγονότων), and that is present whenever I wish to read the words of God' (Evagrius, ap. Migne, 40 1249). The statements in the Life of S. Antony (§§ 2 and 3), even if we accept the details of the story, imply no more than that *two isolated sayings* of Jesus were forcibly brought to S. Antony's mind, and upon these he built his whole theological system. Many illiterate Roman Catholics, who may have never heard the Gospels except in Latin, know that Christ said 'Sell that thou hast and give to the poor,' and 'Be not anxious for your life.'

2 See Harnack, *TU* vii. 2 94 *ff.*; Amélineau, *Pistis Sophia*.

3 Both Harnack and Amélineau hold that Greek was the original language of the *Pistis Sophia*.

1 The original Arabic text is given by Quatremère, *Récherches*, 21. A later form of Athanasius' statement is given by Stern, *Z. f. Æg. Sprache*, 16 23 (1878), in which the Bohairic is claimed as the Cairene dialect, and the Sahidic is said not to be current N. of Minieh. *El-Bushmûr*, not *Bashmûr* is the Arabic name of a district near Damietta (Yāḳūt 1 634).

2 The modern *Beḥēra* (Yâḳût 1 514).

3 In Lord Crawford's Catena (Parham MS 102), edited by Lagarde, the exposition is translated from Greek writers; but the Gospel text is that of the Bohairic version. This MS is dated 888 A.D. A facsimile is given in Kenyon's *Introduction*.

4 See the passages in square brackets in Lagarde, *Die Vier Evangelien arabisch* (1864), and the critical notes which belong to them.

5 Diocletian's action in Egypt was not directed against the Christians alone (cp Gibbon, 1 363-365).

superstitions of heathen Egypt. The school of thought represented by these writings is quite out of touch with the orthodox Christianity of the Greek church of Alexandria, and would not long be content to have the Scriptures only in Greek. Thus the Sahidic version is probably of considerable antiquity; it can be traced back, as we have seen, to the early part of the fourth century.

To allow the national Coptic element to come to the front in Lower Egypt, where it was less powerful than in Upper Egypt and where the centre of government and of the church was situated, required a longer interval of time. In the end, however, it was remarkably helped by the Monophysite heresy. It is well known that after the death of the Emperor Anastasius (518 A.D.) and the repression of the heresy in Syria, Egypt became the true home of Monophysitism. From that time Egyptian Christianity detached itself more and more from Byzantine Christianity and the Greek church, and under these changed conditions there grew up a new Coptic literature written in Bohairic (the Coptic dialect spoken in the neighbourhood of Alexandria), comprising translations of the Bible from the Greek and of many other writings. It was probably at the same period that popular Egyptian legends, such as the death of Joseph, were adapted into Bohairic from the Sahidic.[1]

Coptic is generally supposed to have become a literary language somewhat earlier; but that is not supported by historical evidence, nor can it be proved from the documents we possess. These show us that down to the sixth or the seventh century the official written language of Egypt was Greek. With this accords the fact that the most ancient writings connected with Egyptian Christianity—the original of the Bruce papyrus, the Life of S. Macarius, the Rules of S. Pachomius, etc.—were all in Greek. Antony did not know Greek; yet the Coptic letters attributed to him and published by Mingarelli (pp. 198, 201) are translated from the Greek.[2]

An additional reason for assigning a late date to the Bohairic version and literature is the rapid decay both of the Coptic language and of Christianity in Lower Egypt after the Arab invasion. By the tenth century Coptic was almost as dead a language in the Delta as Greek (see Schwartze, *Copt. Gram.* 10), though as late as the time of Makrizī, in the fifteenth century, the Sahidic dialect was still used in Upper Egypt. The entire absence of native exegetical literature is also inconsistent with the assumed antiquity of the Bohairic. In Lagarde's *Catena* more than thirty 'Fathers' are quoted—all Greek. Can one imagine (to take a parallel from another Eastern church) a *Syriac* Catena on the Gospels without one extract from Ephraim or Philoxenus or Jacob of Serūg?

35. Three versions compared.

The three chief forms of the Egyptian NT—the Sahidic, the Fayyūmic, and the Bohairic, are not independent. A comparison of the passages where all three forms are extant brings to light three peculiarities of the Bohairic:

1. *Greater faithfulness to the Greek.* The Bohairic contains a representation of nearly all the particles of the original, which are often omitted by the other Egyptian versions; it also often reverts to the Greek order of the words.

2. *A different choice of Greek words to be transliterated.* The Bohairic is especially distinguished by vernacular renderings for abstract substantives. Perhaps words such as πίστις, χάρις, σοφία, ἐξουσία, had acquired a heretical and 'Gnostic' signification.

3. *Where the Bohairic follows a different Greek reading from the others it is almost always a specifically 'Alexandrian' reading.* The textual character of the Bohairic thus fits in with the date assigned to it by

[1] See F. Robinson, *Coptic Apoc. Gospels*, T. and S. 4 2, p. xvi

[2] Guidi, 51.

Guidi. Its chief allies are Cod. Regius (L) of the Gospels, a MS probably written in Egypt in the eighth century, and among the Fathers not so much Clement and Origen as Cyril of Alexandria.

In all this a close parallel is afforded by the Harclean Syriac, itself the work of a Monophysite living near Alexandria at the beginning of the seventh century. The great difference between the general type of Greek text represented by the Bohairic and by the Harclean is due rather to the difference of their ancestry than to their final revision.

The Fayyūmic version occupies a very peculiar position between the Sahidic and the Bohairic. In the Pauline epistles, indeed, the Bohairic separates itself so much from the other two as practically to become an independent version; but in the Gospels the Fayyūmic stands much nearer the Bohairic. The general turn of the sentences and the Egyptian vocabulary are the same in both versions, though the Fayyūmic is careless of the connecting particles of the Greek, which here as elsewhere have been industriously supplied in the Bohairic. In essentials, therefore, the official Bohairic recension preserves in the Gospels an Egyptian text somewhat older than itself. Unfortunately, the date of the Fayyūmic version is unknown, and its relation to the Sahidic obscure.[1]

The 'Antiochian' Greek text seems never to have influenced Egypt—at least not before the tenth century. Freedom from specifically Antiochian readings is a characteristic of all forms of the Egyptian NT. The relation of the Egyptian versions to the 'Western' text is more complicated. All Egyptian texts are predominantly non-Western; but a few very striking 'Western' readings and interpolations are found in the Sahidic,[2] yet not as a rule those which were most widely spread in later texts.[3] In Acts also, there is in the Sahidic a decided 'Western' element; but it is by no means so large as that, for instance, of the margin of the Harclean Syriac. Blass (p. 29) puts the Sahidic among the numerous 'mixed' texts of Acts, and it seems probable that it had this character from the beginning.

Even more interest attaches to the many readings where the Sahidic supports ℵ or B, or both, where these great MSS stand almost alone.[4] Here again, the version must faithfully have preserved its original form, as these readings are usually found also in the fragments of the Græco-Sahidic bilinguals.[5] We learn, therefore, from the evidence of the Sahidic version that a text similar in essentials to that of ℵ and B, though slightly more 'Western' in character, was current in Egypt about the beginning of the fourth century.

The full Greek canon is represented both in the Sahidic and the Bohairic; but the Apocalypse seems to have been regarded as non-canonical, and is never bound up in the MSS with the rest of the NT. Acts is placed *after* the Catholic epistles. In the Pauline epistles, Hebrews follows 2 Thess. in Bohairic MSS; but in the Sahidic and the Fayyūmic it follows 2 Cor.

[1] A curious point of contact between Fayyūmic and Bohairic MSS is that the same contractions for 'Lord' and 'God' are found in both, whilst in Sahidic the words are always written out in full.

[2] Prominent among them is the interpolation about the great stone in Lk. 23 53, with which is connected the longer form of Lk. 24 1 2. The only non-Egyptian evidence for this reading is D *c*.

[3] *E.g.*, '*Nineue*' for the name of the rich man in Lk. 16 19; comp. 'ille Fineus diues' in *de Pasch. Comp.* 265, and 'Finees inmisericordis diuitis' in *Priscillian*, 91.

[4] *E.g.*, Mt. 3 14 (om. Ἰωάννης); Mt. 6 8 (add. ὁ θεός).

[5] See, *e.g.*, Lk. 10 24 23 34*a* 36 Jn. 8 57, in the fragments published by Amélineau (*N. et Extr.* 34). It should be noticed that Græco-Sahidic bilinguals are generally written with two columns on a page, the Greek occupying the whole of the *verso* and the Sahidic the *recto*, so that of the four columns visible at the open page, the two on the left are Greek, and the two on the right are Egyptian. The Greek and the Sahidic agree column for column, but not line for line, and the two sides of the codex now and then support different readings—*e.g.*, in Jn. 6 33, the Sahidic side of T reads ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ with ℵD against its own Greek.

TEXT AND VERSIONS

In an article of this kind it is almost impossible to indicate the printed texts of the *NT* in the various Egyptian dialects, which (apart from early editions, now antiquated) lie scattered in periodicals such as the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache.* Complete lists of editions and MSS will be found in Scrivener (4th ed. [by A. C. Headlam]), 2 106-123, 127-136, 140-144. For the official Bohairic by far the best edition is the Oxford text edited with translation and critical apparatus by G. H[orner], vol. i. *f.* Gospels, 1898; vol. iii. Acts and Epistles (shortly).

The first mention of an Armenian church dates from the episcopate of Dionysius of Alexandria (248-265), concerning whom Eusebius relates that he wrote a letter to the Armenians, and that their bishop was named Meruzanes.

36. Armenian version.

Gelzer (*Die Anfänge der armenischen Kirche*) believes that this community lived in Azerbaijân; but in any case there can be little doubt that it was evangelised by Syriac-speaking missionaries, and that its ecclesiastical language was Syriac. An Armenian version does not appear till much later. Tradition ascribes the work to Isaac and Mesrob (*fl.* 400); but, as Armitage Robinson remarks, the accounts 'combine a certain conflict of assertion with a suspicious family likeness' (*Euthaliana* 72). He adds: 'One fact which seems to stand out distinctly after the perusal of these puzzling statements is that the earliest attempts at translating the Scriptures into Armenian were based on Syriac codices,' and goes on to show (pp. 76-91) that there are still unmistakable traces of the primitive renderings from the Syriac in the existing Armenian Vulgate. The Syriac text which was employed was not the Peshitta but the Old Syriac, both in the Gospels and in the Epistles. About the middle of the fifth century this primitive version was thoroughly revised from the Greek, so that it is only here and there that we can recognise the original groundwork. The Greek text by which the revision was made was apparently not the Antiochian, but one akin to Bא; the readings of the Armenian which are attested neither by Syr. vt nor by Bא are very few and may have come from chance corruption in later times.[1]

The only critical edition of the Armenian version is that of Zohrab (NT, Venice, 1789). A useful abstract of the native traditions about the Armenian version, with lists of some ancient MSS, is to be found in F. C. Conybeare's article in Scrivener (4th ed. 2 148-154).

Old Armenian MSS of the Gospels usually omit [Mk.] 16 9-20 altogether; those which retain the verses make a break at *v.* 8, giving the colophon *Gospel of Mark* both after 16 8 and after 16 20. F. C. Conybeare (*Expositor*, 1893, pp. 242 *ff.*), however, discovered at Etchmiadzin a codex of the Armenian Gospels, written in 989 A.D., which contains the disputed verses with the rubric *Ariston Eritzu* ('Of the Presbyter Aristion'). A photograph of the page containing Mk. 16 8 *ff.* is given in Swete's *St. Mark*, p. civ. The inference is that the scribe of the MS, or of its archetype, had access to a tradition that Aristion, the friend of Papias mentioned in Euseb. *HE* 3 39, was the man who added the verses at the end of the second Gospel. This would seem to be some fifty years too early, if other indications are to be trusted. In any case, the readings of the codex should be published in full, as alone among Old Armenian MSS it contains the story of the Woman taken in Adultery, but in a form quite different from any other authority (Conybeare in *Expositor*, Dec. 1895).

The version in Ge'ez, the classical language of the Abyssinians, is usually cited as the 'Æthiopic.' Abyssinian Christianity is said to go back into the fourth century; but the existing version is not older than the fifth or the sixth century.

37. Ethiopic version.

The translation was from the Greek; but it has been proved by Guidi (*Le Traduzioni degli Evangelii in Arabo e in Etiopico*, Rome, 1888) that many of the existing MSS, which are all very late, represent later revisions made from the mediæval Arabic text current in Alexandria.[1]

A few traces survive of a yet older Ethiopic version of the Gospels, made from the Syriac, as in the case of the Armenian version. The Aramaic colouring of the vocabulary of the Ethiopic NT has been pointed out by Gildemeister (Tischendorf's *NT* 3895 note), and the text now and again agrees with Syr. vt against almost all other authorities, though it usually follows the Greek or the Arabic. Thus in Mk. 10 50 it reads ἐπιβαλών for ἀποβαλών, supported only by cod. 565 and by Ss. (*not* by the Diatessaron).

The Ethiopic NT was printed at Rome in 1548-9; this edition was repeated in Walton's Polyglott, and has been carefully rendered into Latin (C. A. Bode, Brunswick, 1753). Another edition was prepared by T. Pell Platt for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1830.

The remaining versions of the NT are of much less importance for the text. The Gothic version dates from the middle of the fourth century. It is the work of Ulphilas (*Wulfila*, 'Little Wolf'), the apostle of the Goths, and so is the earliest surviving literature in any Teutonic language.

38. Gothic version.

Ulphilas worked among the Goths of the Danubian Provinces; but the surviving documents all appear to belong to N. Italy and the age of the Ostrogoths or even of the Lombard conquest. Of the NT we have the Gospels and Pauline epistles (except Hebrews), but with many gaps, well edited from MSS of about the sixth century.

The Gothic, unlike the Armenian and the Ethiopic, has hardly any link of connection with the great ante-Nicene versions and so for critical purposes is of less value. For the influence of the Gothic on some late Old Latin texts see above, § 16. The MS of Romans cited as *gue* (or *guelph*) is a Latino-Gothic bilingual; the Latin appears to be entirely dependent on the Gothic text. Here and there the Gothic MSS seem to have taken over O. Latin readings (*e.g.*, Lk. 1 3), in the same way that the Latin cod. *f* has been influenced by the Gothic.

The *Georgian* (or *Iberian*) version shows signs of having been originally made from the Old Syriac, like its sister the Armenian (F. C. Conybeare in *Amer. Journ. of Theology* 1883 *ff.*). The *Slavonic* version, of the ninth century, is made from the Greek and is too late to represent any ancient type of text not otherwise preserved.

39. Other versions.

Arabic versions from the Syriac and the Greek can be traced back to the eighth and the ninth century; but the current Arabic is essentially a translation of the Bohairic Coptic, interpolated from the Greek and Syriac Vulgates. Its sole claim to our attention here is that Guidi has recognised it as the source from which the far earlier Ethiopic has been corrupted.

Just as in the East late versions were made from the Greek and Syriac Vulgates, so in the West there are various translations into Anglo-Saxon, Frankish, etc., from the Latin Vulgate. All these secondary translations contribute nothing for the criticism of the original text of the NT because the Greek, Latin, and Syriac Vulgates can be accurately constructed from earlier authorities.

II. OLD TESTAMENT

A. The Massoretic Text

All MSS of the Hebrew OT are copies, more or less full and accurate, of a single critical edition commonly called 'the Massoretic Text.' This edition, like other critical works, contains a *Text*, a *Punctuation*, and *Notes*.

40. Massoretic text.

'Massora' means tradition, and the unknown editors only profess to give the traditional text, as it was traditionally recited in the synagogue. The date of the Massoretic edition must be placed somewhere between the fifth and the eighth century of our era. Jerome knew nothing of any system of vocalisation in Hebrew MSS; the present system must have been introduced later than the beginning of the fifth century; an inferior limit is set by the existence of Massoretic codices as old as the ninth century.[2] (On the Samaritan text of the Pentateuch see § 45.)

[1] *E.g.*, in Mt. 1 7-8 the Armenian has ἀσάφ with Bא, against the Antiochian Greek text on the one hand, and all forms of the Syriac on the other.

[1] Possibly a reminiscence of this revision has been preserved in the *Encomium* of Abba Salama published by Ludolf in 1691 *Commentarius*, p. 295.

[2] Systems of vocalisation similar in principle are now used for Syriac and classical Arabic. All three systems must have a common origin, and may have been indirectly a result of the Mohammedan conquest and the consequent spread of the Arabic language in a vulgarised form. Before the seventh century

TEXT AND VERSIONS

1. The *Text* of the Massoretic edition consists of the consonants of the Hebrew (cp WRITING, § 7), which are, however, divided into words.

According to the Jewish view this alone is 'Scripture,' and in theory it is complete by itself without further punctuation or vocalisation. The extant MSS, none of which are older than the ninth century, give the consonantal text adopted by the Massoretes with great fidelity; throughout the forty-eight chapters of Ezekiel only sixteen real variations occur between a modern edition based ultimately on Western MSS and the 'Codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus' (916 A.D.), a newly discovered MS of wholly Eastern ancestry. Yet, as will be shown later, this consonantal text is frequently corrupt, so that the agreement of our MSS only enables us to reconstruct their common exemplar and affords no proof whatever that this exemplar faithfully represented the lost original as it left the author's hands.

The leather rolls used in the synagogue contain no vocalisation; but their full agreement with the pointed codices proves that they also are only transcripts of the official Massoretic text.

41. Vowels.

2. The Massoretic *Punctuation* serves what we are accustomed to consider the double purpose of vocalisation and accentuation. Each word is provided with 'points' and one or more 'accents, the points indicating the vowels that are to be supplied to each letter, whilst the accents indicate the inflections of the voice, telling the reader what pause, if any, is to be made on the word, and thus forming a complete system of punctuation in the English sense of the term. These additional signs also are given with considerable accuracy in the MSS, though there is a certain amount of variation in the case of the subordinate accents.

The value of the whole system as a kind of grammatical commentary on the Hebrew Scriptures can hardly be over-estimated. So well is the vocalisation carried out, that there are very few places where the text can be emended by altering the points and leaving the consonants as they stand. In fact, the Massoretic pointing may even be used as a means of discovering errors in the text. The Massoretes did not make a critical revision; they only supplied traditional vowels to the traditional consonantal text; where the consonantal text was corrupt, really suitable vowels could not be placed. As a general rule, therefore, anomalous pointing in our Hebrew text is a sign that the consonants are wrong.[1] The chief exceptions are to be found in places where theological or national prejudice appears to have influenced the punctuation. Even there, however, the false readings are hardly ever novelties; they are the perpetuation of old and popular errors.[2]

42. Notes.

3. In addition to text and punctuation the Massoretic edition includes critical *Notes*, which occupy the margins of our copies. Some of these notes draw attention to anomalies of vocalisation, or what might seem to be such, thereby fulfilling the same purpose that we express by putting *sic* after a word; others form part of a vast system of 'marginal references' and computations intended to preserve the absolute integrity of the Massoretic standard.[3] For textual criticism, however, the most interesting of these notes deal with passages where the Massoretes against their usual custom have deserted the reading of the text. Not that even in such cases they have dared to change the written Word (*Kĕthībh*); the consonantal text remains unaltered, but the vowels supplied to it are those of the emended consonantal text, which appears only on the margin, followed by the word *Ķĕrē* ('to be read').

A certain number of these alterations refer to the spelling or pronunciation of grammatical forms, of which the *Kĕthībh* has often preserved the older type, especially in the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra. But where it is a question of real variation of reading there can be no doubt that the *Kĕthībh* was simply supposed to be corrupt, and the *Ķĕrē* was a more or less successful *conjectural emendation*. Thus we come to the very important conclusion that the Massoretic text itself is, in parts at least, ultimately based on a single faulty MS; when we find in Ezek. 48 16 'five five hundred' in the text, not corrected, but with a marginal note to read 'five' only once, we cannot but conclude that here at any rate the editors had been reduced to following a single MS in which 'five' had been written twice over by mistake.[1]

Few scholars will suppose that the *Ķĕrē* readings cover all the corrupt passages in the Hebrew text. They are simply the passages where the mistake was most patent and the remedy nearest at hand. It is only likely that we should find corruptions in the ancient literature of the Jews, literature written in a dead language and relating to vanished national and social conditions, circulating among a people whose seats of learning were again and again broken up by political misfortunes (see further, § 66).

But in whatever condition the text underlying the Massoretic edition may be, criticism has to start from it. The direct evidence takes us no farther, and the only quarter from which we can hope for an improvement of the Hebrew text (apart from conjectural emendation) is the study of the ancient versions. From these we may at least learn something of the history of the text back to the second or the third century B.C.

Since the above was written some fragments of papyrus, containing the ten commandments, followed by the *Shĕma'* (Dt. 6 4 *f.*) in Hebrew, have been edited by S. A. Cook in *PSBA* (Jan. 1903). The appearance of the papyrus and the very remarkable handwriting, which presents striking resemblances with the Palmyrene character, point to a date not later than the second century A.D. The text agrees in several instances with the Septuagint against MT. It is possible, therefore, that further discoveries may one day enable us directly to control the Massoretic tradition.

43. Editions.

The three chief pointed editions of the Hebrew text are the Bomberg Folio, published in Venice 1525-6, the Mantua Quarto with Norzi's commentary 1742-4, and the octavo edition of Van der Hooght, 1705. The last is the parent of the ordinary reprints. The Bomberg edition is the work of Rabbi Jacob ben Ḥayyim, and contains, besides Rabbinical commentaries and the Targums, a vast collection of Massoretic material there brought together for the first time. Of modern editions that of Baer-Delitzsch is to be noticed for its correctness and the fulness of its Massoretic notes. C. D. Ginsburg also may be mentioned; his *Massora* (now nearly completed) will contain the entire apparatus, with indices.

In addition to canonical Scripture there was a considerable body of pre-Christian Hebrew literature; but this has altogether perished, or is only known by translations into Greek, etc. Such for instance is the First Book of the Maccabees, the Book of Enoch, and others (see APOCRYPHA, APOCALYPTIC).

A fragment of this literature in the original Hebrew was brought to light in 1896 by the discovery of part of a MS of the Wisdom of Jesus the son of Sirach (בן סירא), commonly called *Ecclesiasticus*.[2] Fragments of other MSS have been discovered in the following years. It is still disputed to what extent these MSS preserve the original text, as they seem to have been corrected in places to agree with the Syriac and with the Greek,

other systems of partial vocalisation, such as the introduction of the 'matres lectionis' and in Syriac the diacritical point, had been employed in Semitic writing where a purely consonantal alphabet had been found too ambiguous.

[1] Illustrations of this statement will be found, *e.g.*, in Dt. 33 21 1 S. 16 9 Is. 9 6 (7), Ezek. 28 12 Mi. 2 8.

[2] Thus the Hebrew oath was by the life of the person sworn by (*e.g.*, Gen. 42 15 *f.* Amos 8 14); but in swearing by the true God this is altered into a predication of His Being. Hence the impossible mixed formula 'As the Lord liveth, and by the life of thy soul' (1 Sam. 20 3, etc.). But this mixed form is as old as the Targum. For other instances, see col. 5029.

[3] Some of these lists and calculations form separate works, such as the tract *Ochla*, and are no doubt in part older than the written vowel-points and the Massoretic edition. For a full description of the methods used in the Massoretic Notes see Wellhausen-Bleek, *Einleitung*, § 277.

[1] In any given variation it is of course quite likely that the copies used by the Massoretes had not fallen into the error for the first time, but were slavishly repeating the originally accidental error of a single MS.

[2] See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 4; SIRACH.

whilst in other places the newly-recovered Hebrew differs widely from both versions. See ECCLESIASTICUS, § 4 *f.*, and especially SIRACH. The extensive variations between the Hebrew MSS and the ancient Greek and Syriac versions show the dangers to which Hebrew works were exposed in transmission unless artificially preserved by rules such as those observed by the Massoretes; they also illustrate the freedom used by the ancients when translating profane literature.

B. VERSIONS

The age and character of the versions of the OT are so different that it may be well to prefix a list of them, arranged roughly in chronological order, to the more detailed examination which follows:—

44. OT versions.

1. The *Samaritan* (Heb.) Pentateuch (§ 45) and the Samaritan (Aram.) Targum (SAMARITANS, § 5 *a*), the origin of which goes back to 400 B.C.

2. The ancient *Greek* version, commonly called the *Septuagint* (§§ 46 *f.* 51-55). Parts of it date from the third century B.C.; but other portions are not so ancient, and the whole has been much revised and altered in later times. This is the OT of the Greek church. There are valuable subsidiary translations of the Septuagint into *Latin* (§§ 56-58), *Coptic* (§ 63), *Ethiopic* (§ 64), and *Armenian* (§ 64), from the second to the seventh century A.D.), and at a later period into *Syriac* (§ 61 *f.*), *Arabic*, *Gothic*, etc. (§ 64).

3. The *Targums*, paraphrases of the Hebrew OT in the various dialects of Jewish Aramaic for use in the synagogue. Their origin goes back to before the Christian Era; but their extant form was fixed at a much later period (§ 65).

4. Later Greek translations of the Hebrew Scriptures, made during the second century A.D. by Jews or Jewish-Christians named *Aquila* (§ 46), *Symmachus* (§ 47), and *Theodotion* (§ 48).

5. The *Syriac* version, commonly called the *Peshiṭtā*, a translation from the Hebrew, of unknown age but certainly earlier than the fourth century A.D. (§ 60),

6. The new *Latin* version made by Jerome at the beginning of the fifth century A.D., now known as the *Vulgate* (§ 54).

It will be practically convenient to describe these versions of the OT under the languages in which they are found, irrespective of the character of the text.

The 'Samaritan Pentateuch' is not a version; it is the Hebrew text of the 'five books of Moses' as preserved by the Samaritan community.

45. Samaritan Pentateuch.

The Samaritans were a mixed race settled in the country round Samaria. They had been willing to join the Jews in rebuilding the temple after the return; but when the Jews refused their help they became bitterly hostile, and Samaria formed a permanent asylum for those who left or were driven out by their co-religionists in Jerusalem. About 333 B.C. one of these refugees, a certain Manasseh, grandson of the high priest Eliashib (Neh. 13 23-31; Jos. *Ant.* xi. 7 8), obtained leave from Darius Codomannus to set up a temple on Mt. Gerizim, and it is highly probable that along with the temple ritual he brought with him the then canonical Jewish Scriptures—*i.e.*, the Book of the Law in Hebrew.[1] This alone forms the Scriptures of the Samaritans. It is written, like all their books, in the 'Samaritan' character, which is the direct descendant of the old Hebrew writing. The dialect spoken by the Samaritans was a variety of western Aramaic (see ARAMAIC, § 8; SAMARITANS, § 5 *d*), into which at some period was made a translation of the Pentateuch known as the Samaritan Targum (SAMARITANS, § 5 *a*); there is also found in Samaritan MSS an Arabic translation made about the eleventh century A.D., at a time when the Samaritans, like the rest of the peoples of Syria, had adopted the Arabic language. See SAMARITANS.

The Samaritan Pentateuch had from the beginning certain intentional adaptations to fit it to the new worship, as the command to build an altar on Mt. Gerizim inserted after Ex. 20 17, and the interchange of Ebal and Gerizim in Dt. 27 4. Characteristic also of the Samaritan Pentateuch are certain long interpolations from parallel or semi-parallel passages (*e.g.*, at Ex. 20 19 *ff.* from Deut. 18, and in Nu. 20 *f.* from Deut. 1-3), and in some places anthropomorphic expressions are paraphrased, much as in the Targums.[1] On the other hand it has, presumably, escaped the corruptions which have befallen the purely Jewish line of transmission since the fourth century B.C., whence now and then it agrees with the Septuagint in preserving words and letters which have dropped out of the Massoretic text.[2] There is nothing, however, to show that the roll or rolls carried off by Manasseh contained a recension in any way superior to those then current in Jerusalem; in fact, the Samaritan shares with all other extant forms of the Pentateuch some clear palæographical corruptions, such as שְׁפִי, Nu. 23 3, מטל, Deut. 33 13, ספן ויתא, Deut. 33 21 (see § 66).

The main thing, therefore, to be learnt from the Samaritan recension is that about the year 333 B.C., less than a century after Ezra, less than a century after the Torah in its present form had become once for all the Law-book of the Jewish church, the text of the Pentateuch was read substantially as we read it now.

The Samaritan Pentateuch and Targum were first printed by J. Morinus in the Paris Polyglott (1632) from a MS brought to Europe by Pietro de la Valle. This was repeated in Walton's Polyglott (1657), and the Hebrew text separately printed in 1790. Bagster's Polyglott contains a collation of this edition with the ordinary printed Hebrew. Cp SAMARITANS, § 5 *a*.

I. GREEK

46. Septuagint: origin.

Earliest among the versions properly so-called, perhaps the earliest translation of any considerable body of literature into a totally different language, is the ancient Greek version commonly known as the Septuagint. According to the constant tradition of the Alexandrian Jews the Law was translated into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284-247 B.C.) at the instigation and under the patronage of Demetrius Phalareus the librarian of the Alexandrian Library. One of the two authors from whom we gather this is Aristobulus of Alexandria, a Jewish philosopher of the second century B.C.; the other is a Jewish writer of the Ptolemaic period who composed under the name of Aristeas, a courtier of Philadelphus, a fictitious account of the origin of the version. Aristobulus (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1 342 and Eus. *Praep. Ev.* 9 6 13 12) maintained that Pythagoras and Plato derived their philosophy from Moses, whilst the object of the pseudo-Aristeas (HISTORICAL LITERATURE, § 19, vi.) appears to have been to represent the Greek version of the Law as having been undertaken with the express approval of the high-priestly circles in Jerusalem. These authors had no object in asserting that the version had been made about 280 B.C. under distinguished heathen patronage—such a representation must have stood in their way; we may therefore assume that it was a historical fact of which they were obliged to take account.[3] The name *Septuagint* comes from the story given by pseudo-Aristeas, and variously embellished by later writers, that the translation was made by seventy men (or seventy-two, six from each tribe), who all agreed in their renderings.

It will be noticed that these stories refer exclusively to the Pentateuch, to which alone the name Septuagint (LXX) properly belongs. But the whole Greek OT is now comprehended under this term, by a convenient if unhistorical usage, which goes back to the time of Origen.

The other books of the OT had an even less official origin than the translation of the Law. They seem to have been turned into Greek by different hands at various times from the middle of the third century B.C.

[1] It is not unlikely that the schism of Manasseh is the cause of the well-known various reading in Judg. 18 30, where the name Moses (משה) has been changed into Manasseh (מנשה with נ suspended) by the insertion of a letter above the line. By this thoroughly rabbinic device a parallel between the earlier and the later northern schism was indicated, yet without entirely falsifying the text. 'Manasseh' is in the Ḳĕrē, the Targum, the Peshiṭta, and the later texts of 𝕲; but the earlier text of 𝕲 had 'Moses,' which is still read by the Lyons Octateuch and some Greek MSS.

[1] *E.g.*, Nu. 23 4.

[2] *E.g.*, Gen. 4 8 Deut. 32 35.

[3] Demetrius Phalereus was exiled by Philadelphus early in his reign; hence we cannot place the translation of the Law much later than 280.

down to the Christian Era, or even later. There is evidence for believing that Philo the Jew (about 30 B.C.-50 A.D.) was acquainted with all the OT except Esther, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and Daniel[1] (cp CANON, § 50). At a still earlier date (132 B.C.) the translator of Ecclesiasticus speaks of 'the Law and the Prophets and the rest of the Books' as existing in Greek (cp CANON, § 39), whilst the Book of Wisd. 2 12 (? 50 B.C.) contains a clear adaptation of the very peculiar rendering of Is. 3 10 in the LXX.

47. Citations.

The use of the OT by the writers of the various books of the NT suggests many difficult problems, the solutions of which have by no means all been reached. Some writers, notably Lk., clearly use LXX. Others, such as the writer of the first Gospel, often agree with the Hebrew in places where it differs from LXX. But it by no means follows that this latter class are using an independent Greek version. In the opinion of the present writer it is far more likely that the quotations in the NT that do not follow LXX are derived either directly from the Hebrew or mediately through the more or less fixed Aramaic renderings then current in the synagogue. In the case of the Apocalypse we must remember that it is in language an adaptation of a previously existing Jewish Apocalypse in Hebrew or Aramaic (APOCALYPSE, § 24 *ff.*), an adaptation so close as to be in parts, at least, a translation. Such a work naturally shows in its Greek dress many coincidences with the OT which are quite independent of LXX; but these coincidences can scarcely be used with any confidence to postulate independent Greek versions. After the catastrophe of the Jewish War in 70 A.D. the Semitic-speaking Christianity of Palestine disappeared, and by the next generation the church became entirely dependent on the Greek version of the OT.

In the middle of the second century A.D. we find the Christian Justin and the Jew Trypho equally using the LXX and founding their arguments on its wording, though here and there (as in Is. 3 12 7 14) the Jew is no longer satisfied with the traditional rendering. But after the Hebrew canon became definitely closed under 'Aḳiba and his school, and a stricter exegesis began to come into fashion, the LXX failed to satisfy the synagogue, and three separate attempts were made to supersede it. These are the new translations of Aquila and of Symmachus, and the elaborate revision of the LXX by Theodotion. As these works are of importance mainly for their influence upon the text of the LXX, which continued to be the translation used by the church, it will be convenient to describe them here.

48. Version of Aquila.

Aquila, a native of Pontus, is said to have been a proselyte to Judaism and a disciple of the celebrated Rabbi 'Aḳiba (d. 135 A.D.). His version, therefore, may be dated about the second quarter of the second century. It is marked by the greatest literalness, an attempt being made to express every word of the original, and even to render the derivatives of a Hebrew root by derivatives from the corresponding Greek root (*Field*, 22). This method of translation was not the result of ignorance, but of a system of exegesis which was willing to deduce important theological conclusions from the presence or absence of the smallest particles.[2] For the textual critic Aquila's method is extremely convenient. It is always easy to retranslate his renderings into their Hebrew original, and (what is practically more important) his style is so pronounced that fragments of his work which have been incorporated with other documents can be easily recognised and eliminated.

1 Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture*, 32.

2 "The Hebrew prefix *eth*, which marks the definite accusative, agrees in form with the preposition 'with.' Hence, when Deut. 10 20 says, 'Thou shalt fear *eth*-Jehovah thy God,' Akiba interprets, 'Thou shalt fear *the doctors of the law* along with Jehovah.' So Aquila, the disciple of Akiba, translates the mark of the accusative by σύν" (WRS, *OTJC*, 1881, 399). In such cases σύν does not govern a case.

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The version of Aquila was used by Greek-speaking Jews in the days of Justinian (*Nov.* 146); but no MS was known to survive until some fragments of two very handsome codices were found among the débris from the Geniza of the Cairo synagogue, which were transferred in 1897 to the Cambridge University Library. The fragments of the books of Kings (1 K. 20 7-17 2 K. 23 12-27) were edited in 1897 by F. C. Burkitt, those of Psalms (parts of Pss. 90-103) in 1899 by C. Taylor.[1] Small as is the extent covered by these fragments, they are of great importance for the criticism of Origen's Hexapla and the Hexaplar readings in our Greek MSS of the LXX.

A peculiarity of Aquila's version, as revealed by these fragments, is the use of the Old-Hebrew character for the Tetragrammaton (Yahwè: see NAMES, § 109 *ff.*) 𐤉𐤄𐤅𐤄, which is left thus untranslated. In Ps. 102 17 we find ΤΕΙΩΝ for צִיּוֹן, a notable transliteration, to be paralleled only by ΤΙΑΔΗ in B's text of Lam. 1 18 2 18 3 52-54 4 18, itself probably adapted from Aquila.

49. Of Symmachus.

Symmachus is said to have been a Samaritan by race and an Ebionite Christian by religion. His version seems to have been published between the times of Irenæus and of Origen, about 200 A.D. His method was utterly different from Aquila's, as he aimed at giving a rendering of the OT in Greek sufficiently idiomatic not to offend a reader ignorant of Semitic constructions. The Hebrew text which underlies the translation of Symmachus is equally with that of Aquila almost identical with the Massoretic. Both Symmachus and Aquila appear to have published second editions of their translations, differing slightly from the first.

50. Of Theodotion.

Theodotion is mentioned along with Aquila by Irenæus (*Hær.* 3 23) as a modern translator in contradistinction to the ancient Seventy. He is said to have been an Ephesian and a proselyte to Judaism; other accounts make him, like Symmachus, an Ebionite. The date of his work is uncertain; but, according to Epiphanius, it falls within the reign of Commodus (180-192 A.D.). The only reason for doubting this and assigning Theodotion to a considerably earlier date is that coincidences with the version of Daniel, which goes by his name, have been detected in various early Christian writings, including some books of the NT. But these coincidences admit of another explanation (see above, § 47) which has strong claims on our acceptance; it would, moreover, be against all analogy that Christian literary tradition should put a work of this kind a century too *late*.

Theodotion's edition differs essentially from those of Aquila and Symmachus. It was not, like theirs, an independent translation, but a revision of the LXX by the existing Hebrew. He supplied translations of words and passages of the Hebrew for which there was no equivalent in the LXX, but retained the additions of the Greek which are unrepresented in the Massoretic text. The renderings of the LXX were largely retained by him, and the construction of the sentences but little changed. His own renderings followed the general style of the LXX, his chief peculiarity being a fondness for transliterating Hebrew words instead of translating. Theodotion seems to have based his work on a good text of the LXX, which is often unrepresented in our existing MSS, and this constitutes for us his chief value.

The revision of the LXX thus made by Theodotion appears very soon to have influenced the text used by Christian scholars. Clear traces of Theodotion's renderings are found in some of the quotations of Clement of Alexandria (*e.g.*, *Pæd.* 1 10 = Is. 48 22; *Strom.* 2 22 = Ezek. 18 4-9).[2] A little later the same remarkable

1 The numeration in each case is that of the *Hebrew* text.

2 See 'Clemens Alexandrinus und die LXX,' by Dr. Otto Stählin (*Beit. z. Jahresb. d. K. neuen Gymnasiums in Nürnberg*, 1901).

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phenomenon meets us in Tertullian's quotations from Ezekiel (Tertullian, *De Res. Carnis*, § 29 = Ezek. 37 1-14; *Adv. Iudæos*, § 11 = Ezek. 8 12-9 6). But the quotations of Cyprian and other Latin writers from Ezekiel are free from admixture with Theodotion. On the other hand, the Church definitely adopted Theodotion's revision of Daniel in the place of the older and more paraphrastical translation of the LXX. The history of this important change is extremely obscure. It may have been helped on by the popularity of the commentary on Daniel issued by Hippolytus (about 220 A.D.), and, in any case, it was accepted even in the Latin-speaking church at Carthage during the lifetime of Cyprian (250 A.D.). One consequence of this change is that all copies of the genuine LXX text of Daniel have disappeared except two, and these give the text only as revised by Origen (§ 49). We have, therefore, a very imperfect idea of the range of variation in the ecclesiastical texts of Daniel current in early times, and it is probable that the coincidences of language with Theodotion's Daniel which have been observed in early writers are due to the use, not of Theodotion's text itself, but of a text of the LXX, akin to that which Theodotion took as the basis of his revision.

It has been maintained by Sir H. H. Howorth (*PSBA* 23 147-159 [1901]), and the theory has great probability, that the book called Ezra B in our Greek MSS of the Septuagint, which is practically a literal translation of the Massoretic text of Ezra-Nehemiah, is a part of the work of Theodotion, the original Greek rendering of the book being that called Ezra A—*i.e.*, '1 Esdras' in the English *Apocrypha* (see EZRA, THE GREEK, col. 1490).

51. Origen's work.

About the year 240 the celebrated Origen, then living as an exile from Alexandria at Cæsarea in Palestine, prepared an edition of all these versions arranged in parallel columns, which is known as the *Hexapla*. The six columns contained (1) the Hebrew, (2) a transliteration of the Hebrew into Greek letters, (3) Aquila, (4) Symmachus, (5) the LXX, (6) Theodotion. In the poetical and prophetical books there were also extracts from a fifth and a sixth Greek version, both of unknown age and authorship. The columns were arranged in very short *cola*, the extant fragments rarely containing more than the equivalent of one or two Hebrew words. A smaller edition, called the Tetrapla, was afterwards prepared by Origen himself, consisting of the four Greek versions alone, without the Hebrew columns. The Hexapla, however, was not merely a synoptical table; it was rather an attempt to emend the LXX by the Hebrew, like the edition of Theodotion. In the words of Jerome (*Præf. in Paralipomenon*), 'Origen not only brought together the four translations—writing down their renderings one against the other, so that the eccentricities of any one of them can be convicted by the agreement of the three others between themselves; but, what was more audacious, he interpolated the LXX from Theodotion's translation, marking the fresh additions with asterisks, and at the same time obelising those parts [of the genuine LXX] which seemed to be superfluous'—*i.e.*, as having no equivalent in the Hebrew.[1] It should be remarked that though the additions are usually taken from Theodotion there are many places where the missing words are adapted from Aquila or Symmachus. In principle the Hexaplar text of the LXX differs from Theodotion's edition only in two particulars:—(1) the process of revision was chiefly confined to supplying what was missing, not to altering the Greek renderings; (2) all additions to the text, of whatever kind, were indicated by critical marks. But there was no clear indication of actual changes in the text itself, as distinct from additions or suggested subtractions.[2]

[1] See also Origen *in Matt.* 15 14 (3 671).

[2] There probably were a few various readings set in the margin, some of which are preserved in the Syro-Hexaplar text of 4 Kings under the sign [sign] (*i.e.*, fifth column). Some of these [sign] readings are the last survival of a very pure LXX text; see below, § 66.

As to the amount of change admitted by Origen into the Hexaplar text, it is probable that he emended the Hebrew proper names (cp Orig. *in Joann.* 1 159 in Brooke's edition with the Hexapla to Ex. 6 16); but he seems often to have hesitated to introduce emendations which seriously affected the sense. Thus in Jer. 15 10 he retained οὔτε ὠφέλησα, οὔτε ὠφέλησέν με οὐδείς for לא נשיתי ולא נשו בי, instead of substituting ὠφείλησα and ὠφείλησέ μοι from Theodotion, although he believed the LXX to contain a scribal error (Orig. 3 225). The scribal error, however, seems to occur in Philo (*De Confus. Ling.*, § 12).

52. Three recensions.

The last quarter of the third century and the beginning of the fourth are marked by the appearance of three editions of the LXX, from one or other of which practically all our Greek MSS are descended. 'Alexandria with Egypt uses as its Septuagint the work of Hesychius; Constantinople, as far as Antioch, uses the copies of Lucian the martyr; the provinces lying between these extremes use the MSS of Origen's work issued by Eusebius and Pamphilus' (Jerome, *Præf. in Paralip.*: 'Alexandria et Ægyptus in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem, Constantinopolis usque Antiochiam Luciani martyris exemplaria probat; mediæ inter has prouinciæ Palestinos codices legunt, quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius et Pamphilus uulgauerunt, totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria uarietate compugnat'). Of these three editions, the Eusebian is the Hexaplar text of the LXX with its apparatus of asterisks (*) and obeli (÷); the Hesychian edition is that found in the quotations of Cyril of Alexandria, and corresponds in character to Hort's 'Alexandrian' text of the NT; the Lucianic edition, like the 'Antiochian' text of the NT, is characterised by attempts to smooth down grammatical harshnesses and by conflate readings, where two previously existing and mutually exclusive renderings have been fused into one.[1] It is this circumstance which gives the Lucianic LXX considerable value for us, as internal evidence conclusively shows that one at least of the elements out of which this composite text was constructed was not only ancient, but also quite independent of the texts used for the Hexapla.

53. Extant MSS.

Such in brief is the history of the LXX; a few words must now be said about the existing MSS, and the relation they bear towards the various ancient texts. First of course come the four great MSS of the fourth and fifth centuries, viz. the Vaticanus (B), the Sinaiticus (א), the Alexandrian (A), and the fragments of Cod. Ephraemi (C). Besides these there are a multitude of copies from the sixth century onwards; but very few of these ever contained the whole OT, which is usually divided up into divisions such as the Octateuch, the Prophets, etc. The Psalter is usually separate.

The original MS of Origen's Hexapla was doubtless never copied again in full on account of its unwieldy bulk; but fragments of the Psalms in all five editions, accompanied by a Catena Patrum, were discovered in the Ambrosian Library at Milan in 1896 by G. Mercati. The MS (O 39 *sup.*) is a palimpsest, the original writing containing in tenth-century minuscules all the columns of the Hexapla, except the Hebrew in Hebrew letters. A fragment of Ps. 22, containing all six columns, was found in 1898 among the Cairo Geniza MSS at Cambridge, and has been published by C. Taylor together with his fragments of Aquila (see above, § 48).

More important for practical purposes than these fragments are the MSS connected with the Eusebian edition of the LXX. These are of varied character. Some, like the great codex א, give a text more or less corrected to the Hexaplar standard, but without the diacritical marks. Others, such as Codex Sarravianus (G) of the Octateuch, have the critical signs, whilst others have the

[1] The original copy of Lucian's recension, written by his own hand, is said by Theodoret to have been found in the time of Constantine at Nicomedia walled up in the turret of a house belonging to Jews.

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critical signs together with marginal notes containing renderings from Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, etc. Foremost among these fuller authorities is the *Syro-Hexaplar* version made by Paul of Tella in 616-617 A.D. (see § 61), one of the most valuable extant works for the text of the LXX.

From some of the notes in the Syro-Hexaplaric version and from remarks of Theodoret it has been possible for Field and Lagarde independently to identify the MSS which contain a Lucianic text. The Hesychian text is best represented by the first hand of Codex Marchalianus (Q), a sixth-century MS of the prophets. A second hand has added to this MS a number of Hexaplar readings from the other editions.

54. Printed editions.

The chief printed editions of 𝔊 are :—(1) the *Aldine*, Venice, 1518; (2) the *Complutensian* Polyglott, Alcala, printed 1514-17, published 1522, representing a Lucianic text; (3) the *Sixtine*, Rome, 1587, based on Cod. B; (4) the *Alexandrian*, Oxford, 1707-20, *i.e.*, Grabe's edition, based on Cod. A; (5) *Holmes and Parsons*, Oxford, 1798-1827, a reprint of the Sixtine text (Cod. B.), but with an apparatus containing the various readings of many MSS and Fathers.[1]

Quite distinct from these, as aiming to reproduce not MSS but particular recensions of 𝔊 are :—Field's *Hexapla*, a collection of the extant fragments, Oxford, 1875; and Lagarde's restoration of the Lucianic text [*Gen.-Esther* only], Göttingen, 1883.

55. Recovery of original LXX.

Lagarde in his *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, 3 (see Driver, *TBS*, p. xlvii) has laid down the following rules for recovering the original text of the LXX from our authorities :—

1. The MSS of the Greek translation of the OT are all either immediately or mediately the result of an eclectic process: it follows that he who aims at recovering the original text must follow an eclectic method likewise. His only standard will be his knowledge of the style of the individual translators: his chief aid will be the faculty possessed by him of referring the readings which come before him to their Semitic original, or else of recognising them as corruptions originating in the Greek.

2. If a verse or part of a verse appears in both a free and a slavishly literal translation, the former is to be counted the genuine rendering.

3. If two readings coexist, of which one expresses the Massoretic text, while the other can only be explained from a text deviating from it, the latter is to be regarded as the original.

These admirable rules, however, practically give up the attempt to trace out the history of the text of the LXX. It may therefore be worth while to indicate the lines on which such an attempt may be undertaken.

In the first place it is necessary to get some criterion for estimating the worth of the Hexaplar text with its apparatus of asterisks, etc., as preserved in existing MSS. For this we may use the fragments of the Old Latin which are certainly derived from a Greek text older than the Hexapla (see § 56 *f.*). Along with the Old Latin we may take the quotations from the early Greek fathers, so far as their text can be trusted. When we compare our Hexaplar text with these primary sources of information the general result may be summarised thus:—(1) The critical signs attached to the text, especially the all-important asterisks (*) which mark interpolations introduced into the LXX from Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, are fairly well preserved. Single authorities have dropped or misplaced them here and there; but it is rarely the case that the majority of our witnesses conspire in error. (2) The Hexaplar text itself, when purged of the interpolations under * is a good text of the LXX, on the whole the best continuous text which survives. (3) It is very far, however, from being really pure. The proper names have been largely corrected to the Massoretic Hebrew, while in other matters inferior readings have been either introduced or have been wrongly followed.

Having thus gained some idea of the worth of the Hexaplar text we may go on to apply these results to the criticism of our chief surviving MSS. Their value and independence will be found to differ greatly in the various books. That they all contain 'Theodotion's' Daniel, not the Daniel of the genuine LXX, is perhaps not due to the Hexapla alone, as the change probably occurred earlier. But it was Origen who introduced nearly 400 lines (*i.e.*, half-verses) into the LXX text of Job from Theodotion, yet these interpolations are found in all our MSS; so far therefore as Job is concerned it is certain that none of our MSS go behind the Hexapla. The fact that in various parts of the OT, notably the four books of Kings (KINGS, § 3; cp SAMUEL, § 4) and Ezekiel, $𝔊^B$ leaves out many passages known to be interpolations, has given plausibility to the belief that it presents us with a pre-Hexaplaric text; but other phenomena of $𝔊^B$ are inconsistent with this view, and it is better to regard $𝔊^B$ as in the main a Hexaplar text without the passages under asterisk (Lagarde, *Proverbien*, 3, n. 1). In Judges, Isaiah, and Lamentations, the text of $𝔊^B$ is neither Hexaplaric nor that of the unrevised LXX.[1] [On the text of Judges, cp JUDGES, § 18.]

The text of $𝔊^A$ shows greater independence than that of $𝔊^B$ and though it is sprinkled more or less throughout the OT with Hexaplaric additions it often retains the reading of the LXX when most other MSS have gone wrong.[2]

The Lucianic text contains a singular mixture of good and bad readings; but so far as can be judged from the surviving evidence its *good* readings are also those of the Old Latin. Its value to us therefore is to supply evidence akin to the Old Latin, where that invaluable witness fails us. The character of the Lucianic text is indicated by Jerome (*Ep. ad Sunniam et Fretelam, ap.* Field, p. lxxxvi) when he says: 'editionem, quam Origenes, etc. *κοινὴν* id est *communem* appellant atque *uulgatam*, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανὸς dicitur.' Lucian's revision, rather than the Hexaplar texts, is the representative of the old *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* that survives approximately pure in the better texts of the Old Latin. The difference between the comparative value to us of the 'Antiochian' texts of the OT and the NT simply comes from the paucity of what we might call 'early Western texts' of the OT in Greek. If a MS analogous to Codex Bezæ survived, the value of the Lucianic text would have been largely discounted.

II. LATIN

The Old Latin is the only version of the OT made from the Greek which is certainly older than the Hexapla.

56. The Old Latin version.

The Syriac version of the OT was translated direct from the Hebrew, not from the Greek, and the other Oriental versions belong to a later period. Hence the Old Latin occupies a unique position, and must be regarded as the chief authority for the restoration of the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*, or pre-Hexaplaric LXX. Unfortunately it survives only in fragments, and some of the better-preserved forms are the result of revision from Greek texts later than the original translation.

As in the NT, the quotations of Cyprian (d. 258) form the standard by which we may classify our texts. Cyprian quotes from nearly all the books of OT and NT and with almost unfailing accuracy, so that we may gather from his works a fair idea of the characteristics of the OT in Latin as it was read at Carthage about the middle of the third century. Closely akin to the

[1] The useful editions of Tischendorf (7th ed. 1887) give the Sixtine text with the variants of BℵAC. The Cambridge *Editio Minor*, 1887-1894, gives the text of B and the variants of ℵAC with some other uncial MSS; a larger edition is in progress which it is hoped will supersede *Holmes and Parsons*.

[1] Cp, for example, Is. 49 18 in $𝔊^B$ and the Hexapla. In Lamentations the names of the Hebrew letters of the alphabet are transliterated in $𝔊^B$ differently from other MSS, τι being used for צ and χσ for ש (see above, § 48).

[2] *E.g.*, Judg. 5 8, end.

Cyprianic text is that used in *De Pascha Computus*, except in Daniel. A slightly later type is presented by the various Donatist texts, such as that found in the extensive quotations of Tyconius, and in the *Gesta* of the 'Collatio Carthaginiensis' held in 411 A.D.; among these also must be reckoned the Lucca *Genealogiæ* (Lagarde, *Septuaginta Studien*, 25-28), a historical work of purely Latin origin containing a very large number of biblical proper names, all of which are given in pre-Hexaplaric spelling.

Among 'European' texts special mention must be made of Lucifer of Cagliari (d. 371), whose quotations, especially from the historical books, are very full and accurate. The pseudo-Augustinian *Speculum* (Corp. Scrip. Eccl. Lat. xii.), a collection of biblical extracts somewhat similar to the *Testimonia* of Cyprian has a text, possibly Spanish in origin, which contains some elements belonging to the earlier form of the version.

Revised texts, which cannot be used as evidence for the true Old Latin save in exceptional cases, are met with in Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome. Jerome's quotations especially are often taken direct from the Greek and usually agree with 𝔊ℵ and 𝔊B. Augustine (to mention only the clearest cases) used Jerome's translation of Job from the *Hexapla*, and in Judg. 5 he agrees with the Hexaplar Codex Coislinianus against the true Old Latin as preserved by Verecundus.[1] Tertullian's curious use of a text of the LXX mixed with Theodotion's in the Book of Ezekiel has been already noticed (see above, col. 5019).

57. MSS. The most complete MS of any part of the Old Latin OT is the *Lyons Heptateuch* of the seventh century, containing most of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges to 20 31 (ed. by U. Robert, 1881 and 1900). A better text is to be found in the *Freising Palimpsest* now at Munich, of the fifth or sixth century (*Bruchstücke einer vorhieronymianischen Übersetzung des Pentateuch . . .*, by L. Ziegler, 1883); although this MS shows some marks of literary revision it contains a Cyprianic element, which in conjunction with the general independence of its text places it in the first rank of LXX authorities.[2] Its independence is especially noticeable in the latter chapters of Exodus.

Other Old Latin MSS, all of them palimpsests or mere fragments, are:—the *Vienna Palimpsest* of Genesis (? Oct.) and the historical books, fifth–sixth century, a text which agrees remarkably with that of Lucifer, and only requires to be well edited to take its place among the very best MSS; the two *Würzburg Palimpsests*, one of the Pentateuch, the other of the Prophets, fifth–sixth century, both edited by E. Ranke, 1871; the *Weingarten* MS of the prophets, fifth century, also edited by E. Ranke, 1868-1888. Besides these there are smaller fragments at Quedlinburg, Vienna, and S. Gallen. Of a slightly different character are the two documents edited by Vercellone in his *Variæ Lectiones Vulg. Lat. Bibl. editionis*, viz., extracts out of Genesis and Exodus from the Codex Ottobonianus, an eighth-century MS of the Latin Vulgate, and the various readings written in the margin of a Visigothic MS of the Latin Vulgate at Leon in Spain. These various readings agree very closely with the Lucianic text, much closer in fact than any other form of the Old Latin, so the conjecture may be hazarded that they were translated direct from some Greek MS.

A number of Latin Psalters are extant; but none of them represents the earlier stages of the version, as the quotations of Cyprian differ widely from them all.[1]

58. Apocrypha. The OT 'Apocrypha'—*i.e.*, those books of the Greek OT which are not in the Hebrew canon—were left more or less untouched by Jerome; in these books, therefore, the Old Latin survives in the Vulgate. In fact, the Vulgate text of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus does not differ appreciably from the Cyprianic standard. It is therefore important to notice the divergence in the arrangement of Ecclesiasticus 30-36 in the Greek and the Latin. 'In these chapters the Greek order fails to yield a natural sequence, whereas the Latin arrangement, which is also that of the Syriac and Armenian versions, makes excellent sense. Two sections [of the Greek], chap. 30 25-33 13a (*ὡς καλαμώμενος . . . φυλὰς Ἰακώβ*) and chap. 33 13b—36 16a *λαμπρὰ καρδία . . . ἔσχατος ἠγρύπνησα*), have exchanged places. . . . There can be little doubt that in the *exemplar* from which, so far as is certainly known, all our Greek MSS of this book [Ecclus.] are ultimately derived, the pairs of leaves on which these sections were severally written had been transposed, whereas the Latin translator, working from a MS in which the transposition had not taken place, has preserved the true order' (Swete, pref. to vol. ii. of the Cambridge Septuagint, p. vi *f.*).[2] A fact of this kind deserves to be particularly mentioned, as it brings out the exceptional value of the Old Latin for the text of the LXX, and the essential homogeneousness of our Greek authorities notwithstanding their numerous variations.[3]

A conspectus of the biblical quotations of the Latin Fathers, together with such Old Latin MSS as were then available, is to be found in the great work of Sabatier (*Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ*, 1743 and 1751).

59. Vulgate. Jerome's edition of the NT was a simple revision of an existing text; but his version of the OT was wholly new. It is, in fact, a translation of the Hebrew into Latin independent of the LXX, though Jerome frequently adopts renderings from the other Greek editions, particularly that of Symmachus. The great work had been begun at the invitation of Pope Damasus; but that powerful patron died when only the Gospels had been issued (384 A.D.), and Jerome left Rome for Bethlehem. The various parts of the OT were published separately and furnished with prefaces, in which the merits of the Hebrew over the Greek and the methods of translation adopted are vigorously defended.

Thus the Latin church was confronted with a new version of the Bible which had no external authority to recommend it save the well-deserved reputation of Jerome as the most learned scholar of his day. It is not surprising that it met at first with opposition. Its ultimate success is probably due in great measure to Augustine. At first Augustine thought the new version of the OT too revolutionary, and almost to the end of his life clung to a belief in the inspiration of the Seventy. He wrote of Jerome's translation, however, with increasing respect and occasionally quotes from it (*e.g.*, *De Civitate Dei*, 18 43), and in his last work—the genuine *Speculum*, a collection of biblical extracts, left unfinished at his death in 430—he follows the new version wholly, except where he quotes from memory. In the sixth century Cassiodorus seems to have treated the two versions on an equal

[1] Printed in Pitra's *Spicilegium Solesmense* and in Vercellone's *Variæ Lectiones*.

[2] See Ex. 17 14 for the revision. In Ex. 32 1 the MS has *eicere* for to 'bring out' of Egypt (ἐξάγειν) with Cyprian, *Test.* 1 1. For an instance of its positive value in correcting the Greek see Ex. 40 3, where in place of σκεπάσεις τὴν κιβωτὸν [τοῦ μαρτυρίου] τῷ καταπετάσματι, which is the reading of all other LXX authorities, Greek and Latin, and corresponds verbally with the Massoretic text, we find in the Freising MS *et super eam propitiatorium*; that is, it reads כפרת instead of פרכת, with the Samaritan and the Jer. Targ. Thus by Lagarde's canons the Freising MS alone has preserved the true text of the LXX in this passage.

[1] Cp also the remarks of Augustine (*De Doct. Christiana*, 2 19) on Ps. 13 3.

[2] The English version, both in AV and RV, follows the Latin here.

[3] The Syriac of Ecclesiasticus is not a witness for the LXX, as it was made for the most part direct from the Hebrew; the Armenian here probably follows the Syriac as so often elsewhere. The newly-recovered Hebrew text supports the Latin order, as might be anticipated.

With regard to the Latin text of Ecclesiasticus it has recently been shown by Thielmann that chaps. xlv.-l. are the work of a later hand; apparently the praise of the Jewish Fathers was intentionally left out by the Christian translator as superfluous to his object (cp J. H. A. Hart's edition of the Greek cod. 248).

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footing; but Isidore of Seville in the seventh century uses Jerome's exclusively. From that time it really deserves the name 'Vulgate' now universally applied to it, though as a matter of fact it was not so called before the time of Roger Bacon. In Jerome's own works *Vulgata* means the Old Latin.

The difference between the Vulgate and the Old Latin in the OT is so great that mixed recensions were less readily formed than in the NT, though single passages have suffered corruption from time to time in the MSS. As was remarked above, the Latin church in adopting the new version added to it from the Old Latin those books which formed no part of the Hebrew canon and were therefore left untouched by Jerome.

The best MS of the Vulgate is considered to be the Codex Amiatinus (a seventh-century MS of the whole OT and NT, see § 21), the variations of which from the authorised Clementine text have been not very accurately published by Heyse and Tischendorf (in 1873); a valuable collection of readings is brought together in the unfinished *Variæ Lectiones* of Vercellone.

The Vulgate is less useful to the textual critic than the Old Latin, just as the later forms of the LXX which contain interpolations and corrections from Theodotion are not so useful as the earlier forms. That, however, is because we have access to the Massoretic Hebrew in the original and possess admirable renderings of it into the vernacular. The early forms of the LXX are valuable because by their aid we can correct some errors which have befallen the existing Hebrew text. It should not be forgotten, however, that the LXX is often a bad translation to work from, many passages being quite devoid of sense as they stand, a defect that was sometimes intensified by the further translation of Greek into Latin. The Vulgate, on the other hand, is the work of a competent scholar, and gives the meaning of the Hebrew with comparative accuracy and clearness. It was the great good fortune of the Latin church that so excellent a translator should have been raised up for the work, and it is her great glory that neither the sentimental associations of the old version nor the increasing ignorance of the Dark Ages were able to interfere with her final acceptance of S. Jerome's labours.

III. Syriac and other Versions

60. Peshitta.

In the OT the Syriac Vulgate, commonly called *Pĕshīṭta*, is a translation made direct from the Hebrew. Time and place of translation are alike unknown. It is conjectured that it was made at Edessa, the centre of Syriac literary culture, and it seems to have been the work of Jews rather than Christians.[1] There is no surviving trace of any previous recension of the text; the earliest Syriac Father, Aphraates, who is our chief quarry for pre-Vulgate citations from the Syriac NT, quotes the OT in literal accordance with the Peshiṭta.

The character of the Peshitta varies in the different books, which has been held as an indication that the version was the work of several hands. The Pentateuch and Job (which in the Syriac follows the Pentateuch) are rendered literally; some of the other books, notably Chronicles, are very freely paraphrased. But the Hebrew underlying the Syriac is in almost all cases simply the Massoretic text.[2] Here and there, especially in the Prophets, there are unmistakable traces of the influence of the LXX. No satisfactory explanation of this influence has yet been reached; it is possible that it dates from the establishment of the church in Edessa about the end of the second century.

In addition to the Hebrew canon the Syrians had translations of the OT Apocrypha, in most cases derived from the Greek; but the Syriac Ecclesiasticus is partly a rendering of the Hebrew. The dates of all these translations are quite unknown; but 'it seems tolerably certain that alterations were made from time to time with a view to harmonising the Syriac text with that of the LXX' (Wright's *Syriac Literature*, 4), a process which may have begun as early as the episcopate of Pâlûṭ (about 200 A.D.).

The Peshiṭta is extant in many MSS of considerable antiquity. The oldest known dated MS of any portion of OT or NT in any language is the Cod. Add. 14,425 in the British Museum containing Gen., Ex., Nu., Dt., transcribed at Amid in the year 464 A.D. A good text of the whole OT is presented by the Cod. Ambrosianus of the sixth century, which contains, in addition to the ordinary 'Apocrypha,' the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Esdras. This MS has been reproduced in photolithography by Ceriani.

The most accessible edition of the OT Peshiṭta (without the Apocrypha) is that prepared by Lee for the 'British and Foreign Bible Society' in 1823; but it only reproduces with little variation the text of the London and the Paris Polyglott. In fact all the printed editions go back to the *ed. princeps* in the Paris Polyglott, which is a mere transcript of a very late MS (now at Paris), as conjecturally emended by the editor Gabriel Sionita.[1] For practical purposes, therefore, Ceriani's reproduction of the *Ambrosianus* is the most satisfactory text that has yet appeared.

61. Syriac versions from the Greek.

The earliest attempt at a Syriac version from the LXX seems to have been that called by the name of Philoxenus, made in 508 A.D. (see § 30). Of this version fragments of Isaiah survive in a MS in the British Museum (edited by Ceriani in *Monumenta Sacra et Profana*, v. 1 1-40). It seems to have been a free revision of the Peshiṭta by a Lucianic MS, producing a curious mixed text.

Of far more critical value is the Syriac version corresponding to the Harclean revision of the NT, which is commonly known as the *Syro-Hexaplar*. This was made at Alexandria in 616-617 A.D. by Paul, Bishop of Tella (Assemani, *BO* 2 333 334). It contains a translation of Origen's text of the LXX with the asterisks and obeli, together with many marginal renderings from the other Greek editions; the style, moreover, of the Syriac translation is so literal that the exact Greek represented can be recovered with considerable accuracy. The work of Paul of Tella formed Field's chief authority in his reconstruction of the Hexapla.

The Syro-Hexaplar version is extant for most books of the OT. The poetical and prophetical books are extant in a cod. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan which has been published in photo-lithography by Ceriani (*Mon. Sacr. et Prof.* 5). The remains of the Pentateuch and Historical Books are collected in Lagarde's *Bibliothecæ Syriacæ etc.*, published in 1892.

At the beginning of the eighth century Jacob of Edessa made a final effort to revise the Peshiṭta by the various Greek versions; but his work does not seem to have ever gained any currency. He made use of no materials which we do not possess from other sources

62. Palestinian version.

The whole OT appears to have been translated into the Palestinian dialect (see § 31); but only small fragments now survive. It is a translation from the Greek, certainly post-Hexaplaric, and it probably presented a text closely akin to the 'Eusebian' edition (§ 52) and the Codex Vaticanus. The fragments of the OT, so far as they have already been published, are collected in Land's *Anecdota*, vol. iv., in *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (Semitic

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[1] Cp especially 1 Ch. 5 2, where the words 'for Judah prevailed above his brethren, and of him *came* the prince' (נגיד) are rendered in the Peshiṭta 'From Judah *shall come* forth King Messiah.' Cp also J. Perles, *Meletemata Peschitthoniana* (1859).

[2] Some of the best MSS supply a striking illustration of the close connection of the Peshiṭta with the Hebrew by the fact that they contain a note marking the exact place where the half of a book comes in the Massoretic text. Cornill (*Ezechiel*, Prol. 144) brings this forward as a proof that the *Ambrosianus* has been revised from the Hebrew; but the phenomenon is to be found in other MSS of other books, and as far as we know the tendency of the Syrians was to correct from the LXX, not from the Hebrew.

There are a few instances where the Syriac seems to represent a really different Hebrew, not agreeing with the LXX. In Judg. 14 8 Pesh. reads החדרה for החרסה, so as to make the sentence run 'when Samson had not yet entered the marriage chamber.' Such readings occur so rarely, however, that we must suppose this instance to have been the result of a brilliant guess (cp chap. 15 1).

[1] See *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshiṭta Version* by W. E. Barnes, 1897.

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Series), and in a lectionary edited by Mrs. Lewis (*Studia Sinaitica*, 6, 1897).

The general history of the Bible in Coptic has been discussed in the section upon Egyptian versions of the NT. The Bohairic version in the OT has the same characteristics as in the New, and there is every reason to assign it to the same date, viz., the sixth century. It is not even yet edited in full; but the Prophets have been edited by Tattam, the Pentateuch and Psalms by Lagarde, and lately Proverbs by Bouriant.

63. Coptic versions.

The Sahidic version from its greater antiquity is of more importance. Of this the Borgian MSS, together with other fragments previously collected, were admirably edited by Ciasca (Rome, 1885-9). The Psalms have been edited by Budge from a seventh-century MS in the British Museum (1898), and now lately again by Rahlfs. There is also a large addition to OT Sahidic texts to be found in Maspero, *Mission archéol. franç.*, tom. 6. The general character of the text resembles that of the first hand of Cod. Marchalianus (Q); that is, it is akin to what we are accustomed to call the Hesychian recension of the LXX (§ 52). Ciasca himself (2 55) points out that the Minor Prophets show clear signs of revision 'iuxta archetypum hebræum.' The text of Daniel is that of Theodotion, as in the Greek MSS. The type of Greek text followed by the Sahidic in the Psalms is represented by U, the fragments of a papyrus book in the British Museum (see F. E. Brightman in the *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, 2 275). U is now considered to be of the sixth or the seventh century, and is said to have come from a monastery near Thebes. Doubtless, therefore, it gives us the text of the Psalter as sung in the earliest days of Christian monasticism, and where it is defective it may be reconstructed from the Sahidic as edited by Budge, Rahlfs, and Ciasca.

The chief interest of the Sahidic version centres in the Book of Job. As has been explained above (§ 55), the original Greek translation of Job omitted between three and four hundred lines, or half verses, which were supplied in the *Hexapla* under asterisk. The Sahidic leaves these lines out, and it is generally supposed that it therein represents the pre-Origenian κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, like the Old Latin. But apart from the difficulty of assigning to the Sahidic version of Job the high antiquity which would be required for a translation uninfluenced by the *Hexapla*—we should have to think of the second century, instead of the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth—there are other reasons which are inconsistent with this view. It is far more in accordance with all the facts to regard the Sahidic Job as a translation of Origen's revised text of the LXX, *with the passages under asterisk omitted.* The Sahidic text, when it is examined closely, cannot claim to preserve even so large a measure of independence as the Greek Cod. A; we may fairly describe 𝔊ᴬ as a text of the κοινή interpolated from the *Hexapla*, but the Sahidic is Origenian from post to finish.

The importance of this question for the history of the Greek Bible makes it necessary to indicate the chief signs of the dependence of the Sahidic on the *Hexapla*.

1. Ciasca uses five Sahidic codices for Job. One of these, the Bodleian MS edited by Erman, contains the Hexaplaric additions as an integral part of the text. The 400 half-verses, therefore, were not altogether unknown in Upper Egypt.

2. A few of the lines which are distinctly assigned to Aquila or Theodotion in our Hexaplar authorities are found in the Sahidic. Thus Job 30 20*b* and 22*b* (from Theod.) are in their ordinary place; 9 15*b* (from Aq.) is inserted after *v.* 14.

3. After Job 11 20 *f.* 𝔊ᴬ adds παρ' αὐτῷ γὰρ σοφία καὶ δύναμις. Syr.-Hex. *obelises* these words—*i.e.*, they are a genuine part of 𝔊, though not in the Hebrew. They are omitted by BℵC and also by the Sahidic, which thus represents here a *critically revised* text. [See also 3 17 ἐξέκαυσαν; 7 11 om. ἀνοίξω.]

4. The original Greek for לא יעננו in Job 9 3*b* appears to have been οὐδ' οὐ μὴ ἀντείπῃ (cp *Hex. ad loc.*). Symmachus and Theodotion had οὐ μὴ ὑπακούσῃ αὐτῷ. In the *Hexapla*, followed by the Greek MSS, a conflation of the two was made, producing οὐ μὴ ὑπ. αὐτῷ ἵνα μὴ ἀντείπῃ. This conflation is reproduced in the Sahidic.

5. The clearest case of the dependence of the Sahidic on Origen is in Job 28 21 *f.*, which runs thus in the *Hexapla*, the lines from Theodotion being italicised:

It [viz., Wisdom] is concealed from every man,
and from the fowls of the heaven it is hid.
Destruction and Death said:
But (δὲ) we have heard the fame thereof.

Omit the italics, and the first person plural in the fourth line is meaningless; it is impossible to suppose that it could have been the original form of the Greek. Yet that is exactly what the Sahidic gives. The true LXX is probably preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 6 763) who quotes *v.* 21 thus: λέγει ὁ ᾅδης τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ εἶδος μὲν αὐτοῦ οὐκ εἴδομεν φωνὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἠκούσαμεν (cp Jn. 5 37). This not being an accurate rendering of the Hebrew, it was emended in the *Hexapla* by the help of Theodotion; but simply to omit the lines here taken from Theodotion, as has been done by the Sahidic, cannot be managed without ruining the sense, and (we may add) revealing to all time the Origenian source of the text.

The *Ethiopic* version dates from the fourth or the fifth century; but the existing codices are late and seem to have been much revised, some from mediæval Greek or Arabic texts, some from the Hebrew. Gen.-Kings has been edited by Dillmann, Psalms by Ludolf (1701), Song by Nisselius (1656), Lamentations by Bachmann (1893). The best critical discussion on this version is to be found in Cornill's *Ezechiel*, 36-48.

64. Other versions.

The *Armenian* version appears to contain in the OT, as in the NT, both Greek and Syriac elements. The best edition is still that of Zohrab, published in 1805. Some Armenian codices have the Hexaplar critical marks ('Scrivener,' ed. 4, 2 153).

The *Gothic* of the sixth, and the *Slavonic* of the ninth century, both of which are intimately connected in origin with Constantinople, are remarkable for their affinity with the Lucianic text (Lagarde's *Lucian*, 14, 15). Of the Gothic OT, however, only fragments of Ezra B, chap. 2 and Neh. 5-7 survive, besides a few verses of Gen. 5.

The *Arabic* versions of the OT are of various character and value. The version printed in the Polyglotts is derived from a MS now at Paris (Colb. 900 = de Sacy, 1) written in Egypt in the sixteenth century. The Pentateuch is the translation of Sa'adia from the Hebrew; but the Prophets were translated from an old uncial MS of 𝔊 akin to A (Cornill's *Ezechiel*, 49-57).

The Targums, or Aramaic paraphrases of the OT prepared for use in the Synagogue, contain elements of various dates. They differ from the versions hitherto considered in having a directly edificatory aim; they are, in fact, paraphrases rather than translations, although the style of some of them is often very literal. They take their rise from the custom, described in Lk. 4 16 *ff.*, of giving a short explanation of the sacred Hebrew text in the Aramaic vernacular of Palestine. At first the Targum was a free oral exposition; then it gradually acquired fixed forms, and at last it was reduced to writing.

65. Targums.

The written Targum is found in MSS sometimes alone, sometimes verse by verse with the Hebrew text. There are two Targums to the Pentateuch (besides the Samaritan Targum; see SAMARITANS, § 5 *a*), the official *Babylonian Targum*, known by the name of the reputed author *Onkelos* (אונקלוס, אנקלס),[1] and the *Jerusalem Targum*, also known as [Pseudo-] Jonathan. 'Jerusalem' (*Yerūshalmī*) means Palestinian; in fact, this Targum gives to a great extent the old popular exegesis, though its extant form dates from after Mohammed. There once existed a 'Jerusalem' Targum to the Prophets; but the Babylonian recension alone has come down to us; it is commonly cited by its reputed author Jonathan ben Uzziel. The Hagiographa are also preserved in a Babylonian recension; but they are of varied character, being to some extent private literary works, since the Hagiographa were not regularly read through in the Synagogues like the Law and the Prophets. Job is a comparatively literal rendering; Proverbs appears to have been made up from the Peshiṭta; Esther is extant in two forms, both wildly paraphrastical.

The Targums are to be found in the great rabbinical

[1] *Onkelos* is probably a corruption of עקילס *Aquila*.

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editions of the OT. *e.g.*, the Bomberg edition of 1517, ed. by Felix Pratensis. Onkelos has been edited by Berliner in 1884, the Prophets and Hagiographa by Lagarde in 1872, 1873.

The Hebrew text from which the Targums were made is practically identical with that of the Massoretes.[1] Their value for us is not so much the text they attest, as the prejudices they display. They show us the atmosphere of thought in which the tradition of the meaning of the OT was preserved, an atmosphere absolutely unliterary and unartistic, and anxious at any cost to remove the anthropomorphism of earlier Hebrew religion (see the amazing list of locutions in Cornill's *Ezechiel*, 123). Some of the toning down of old metaphors or reminiscences of ancient heathendom is very ancient; even 𝔊 does not call God by His personal name but translates יהוה by [ὁ] κύριος (NAMES, col. 3321), and refuses altogether to call him a *Rock* [Heb. צור, *e.g.*, Ps. 95 1]. The Targums simply exhibit this tendency in an exaggerated form. The popular exegesis has now and then influenced the Massoretic text. But the Massoretes were too good scholars simply to point the true text wrong; it almost always happens in such cases that there is some corruption in the transmitted consonants, which formed the starting-point for the wrong interpretation. The mode of procedure by which the critic recognises the corruption is somewhat as follows. A grammatical anomaly in MT surprises him; he refers to the Targum and finds it carefully reproduced, perhaps in the midst of quite a free paraphrase. Evidently the anomalous punctuation is *intentional*, and as the prophets wrote better Hebrew than the Targumists, it is only too likely that the traditional interpretation of the whole passage is wrong. Now and then it is possible to restore the original, to the great gain of literature.

No better instance can be given than Is. 63 1-6. Here we find a series of verbs pointed as jussives instead of with wāw consecutive; this arouses suspicion. The same verbs are taken as futures in the Targum, and the reference to future punishments upon the heathen is more pointed than in the Hebrew. Now 63 1-6 is the only passage in Deutero-Isaiah that contains the name of any of the petty nations of Palestine; in fact the sudden and inartistic mention of 'Edom' has given much trouble to commentators. In the popular Jewish exegesis, however, 'Edom' regularly stands for Rome and the Roman Empire (cp, *e.g.*, Targum to Lam. 4 21 *f.*). It is out of place here,[2] and we should read with Lagarde (*Proph. Chald.* p. l) מְאָדָּם for מאדום and כְּבֹצֵר for מבצרה, so that the sentence runs: *Who is this that cometh all reddened, with garments stained more than the gatherer of the vintage?*' The corruption of *v.* 1, which took its rise in popular exegesis, was the excuse for the wrong pointing of the verbs in *vv.* 3-6 by the Massoretes.

An article like the present ought in strictness to consider what may be called the pre-canonical history of the text. It is almost demonstrable that some of the most serious corruptions originated in the documents before they became part of the OT. Such are all the variations which can be traced to confusions arising from the Old Hebrew alphabet. *E.g.*, מטל '*for the dew*' in Dt. 33 13 corresponds to the more appropriate מעל '*above*' in Gen. 49 25, as in both cases the word is contrasted with '*beneath.*' But in the older character ע is ○ and ט is ⊗, so the corruption was easily effected. Again, the influence of Hosea 2 17 ('I will take away the names of the Baalim out of her mouth') should be mentioned. This verse was interpreted to mean that the very names of heathen gods were unlawful to be used; accordingly the vowels of *bōsheth* ('shame') are substituted for the real vowels in such words as *Tōpheth* and *Mōlech* (also '*Moloch*'). In Amos 5 26 *Kaiwân* (*i.e.*, 'Saturn') has been vocalised with the vowels of *šikkūṣ* (*i.e.*, 'abomination'), producing the form כִּיּוּן (*Chiun*, AV). By a more violent change Saul's son '*Ish-ba'al* ('Baal's-man'), preserved almost intact as *Eshbaal* in 1 Ch. 8 33, becomes *Ish-bosheth* ('Man-of-Shame') in the more frequently read book of Kings. In later Jewish writings this tendency is carried into original literature; there is no reason to doubt that the name *Abed-nego*, evidently meant for *Abed-nebo* ('Worshipper-of-Nebo'), is the invention of the author of Daniel, not a scribe's blunder. It is in Daniel (12 11) that we find שקוץ שמם (the 'Abomination which maketh desolate'), an intentional perversion of בעל שמים, the title of Zeus Βεελσαμην.[1]

66. Correction of MT.

We are now concerned, however, with the corruptions which have befallen the text in the course of transmission, and here, as Wellhausen remarks, the chief agents have been chance and caprice, not deliberate falsification (cp Well.-Bleek, § 295 *ff.*). Space will only allow of a few examples; but those given below will sufficiently exhibit the commonest kinds of corruption, while at the same time they bring forward the instances where modern scholarship has been most successful in restoring the true reading, whether by means of the ancient versions or by simple conjecture.

Conjecture is not always a mere arbitrary procedure, it may be based on the surest of all exegetical and critical rules, viz., the explanation of passages which are obscure by those which are plain and free from suspicion. Thus we can be quite certain by comparing Zeph. 2 14 with Is. 34 11 that for חרב, 'desolation,' we must read ערב, 'raven,' and that the mysterious ישורר not only contains the name of some bird, but must be a corruption of ינשוף, *yanshūph* or *yanshōph*, 'the eagle-owl' (see OWL, 4). The translation then runs: 'Both the pelican and the porcupine shall lodge in the chapiters thereof; hark to the eagle-owl in the window, the raven on the threshold!'

Although the Massoretes point well where the text is sound, the smallest error definitely represented in the consonantal text is sufficient to throw them out. Thus the long final *nun* of כן עני הצאן ('verily the poor of the flock') in Zech. 11 7 11, was doubtless the cause which prevented the first two words from being run together and vocalised כְּנַעֲנֵי הצאן, *kĕna'ănē haṣ-ṣōn*—*i.e.*, 'the sheep-dealers.' There are of course a few cases where the restoration of the true text depends on a point of archæological knowledge which might easily fade from the narrowly grammatical Hebrew tradition. Thus in Jer. 46 15 we should divide מרוע נסחף into מרוע נָס חָף, and translate with 𝔊 'Why has Apis fled?' (cp APIS). Again, it was not till some progress had been made in Assyrian that Halévy was able to recognise in חילך (Ezek. 27 11) the name Cilicia, the *Ḫilakku* of the cuneiform monuments.

𝔊—in its original form—often preserves excellent readings which have quite disappeared from our other authorities. Thus 'in 2 K. 15 10 Grätz's clever conjecture (*Gesch. der Juden*, ii. 1 99) ביבלעם for the un-Hebraic קבל־עם is confirmed by Lucian' (ἐν Ιεβλααμ, quoted in Driver, *TBS*, p. lii note). Another example is furnished by Dr. Hayman's too little known emendation of Dt. 33 21 (*Proc. Cambridge Philol. Soc.* 1895, p. 8), the essence of which is the substitution of ויתאספון for the impossible ספון ויתא. The phrase is then exactly parallel with *v.* 5.[2] Here also 𝔊 appears to support the true reading; but ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐμερίσθη γῆ ἀρχόντων συνηγμένων ἅμα ἀρχηγοῖς λαῶν is too paraphrastical to suggest the actual change required. The cause of the corruption here in the Massoretic text may have

[1] This is especially the case with the Babylonian Targum. The Jer. Targum sometimes differs—*e.g.*, in Exod. 40 3 it reads כפרת for פרכת, with the Samaritan *and the Old Latin*.

[2] 𝔊 of this passage cannot be correctly preserved, for the constant rendering of 'Edom' in the Prophets is ἡ Ἰδουμαία, not (as here) Ἐδώμ.

[1] Nestle, *ZATW*, 1884, p. 243; see ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION.

[2] Translate: 'And [Gad] saw the first fruits were for him, for there was the allotment of the Lawgiver, and so the chiefs of a people were assembled together.' The reference appears to be to the settlement of Gad on the E. of Jordan (cp Nu. 32).

been a transposition, the word having been written סִפּוֹ / ויתא at the end of a line in the archetype.

Some corruptions are older than any of the versions, perhaps older than the final redaction of the Pentateuch. Thus all extant authorities give וילך שפי as the end of Nu. 23 3, generally translated: 'And he [Balaam] went to a level place.' Apart from the grammatical harshness, however, this and every other sense which these letters can be made to bear are alike poor, and Kuenen has suggested that at some period *before the development of medial* כ the letters לך had been written once instead of twice over; then by reading the final י as ו (or supposing ו to have been lost before the following ויקר) we get וילדלךשפיו (*i.e.*, וַיֵּלֶךְ לִכְשָׁפָיו), 'he went to his incantations.' This agrees with Nu. 24 1, where we read that Balaam 'went not, as at other times, to seek for enchantments.'

Equally brilliant is Lagarde's emendation of Ps. 32 6. For לעת מצא רק לשטף he writes לְעֵת מֵצַר קֹל שֶׁטֶף—*i.e.*, מצר has been written מצאר (for מֵצַר) by some scribe. Translate 'in the time of distress; the sound of the flood of mighty waters shall not come nigh him.' Finally, we may quote Wellhausen's restoration of the original of 2 K. 19 26 *f.* (=Is. 37 27 *f.*). For לִפְנֵי קָמָה: (27) ושבתך he writes לְפָנַי קָמְךָ ושבתך (27): so that *v.* 27 begins 'Before me is thy rising up and thy sitting down, and thy going out and coming in I know.' It is worth while pointing out, as a final testimony to the excellence of 𝔊 in its original form, that this palmary emendation is not without support from 𝔊. In Is. 37 27 the לפני קמה of MT is omitted. In 2 K 19 26 most documents have ἀπέναντι ἑστηκότος for לפני קמה, but the text called 𝔒 in the Syro-Hexaplar MSS (see col. 5019) had ἀπέναντι ἀναστάσεώς σου—*i.e.*, לפני קמך, the consonantal text suggested by Wellhausen.

In concluding an article of any length on the textual criticism of the Bible it is always wholesome to remind oneself of the comparative soundness of the text. That there are blots, especially in the OT, some of them probably irremovable, must be admitted; but they are not enough seriously to obscure the main features of the narratives related or the ideas expressed. So far as the Pentateuch is concerned we may be especially at our ease. It would have been impossible to separate the documents with the minuteness which modern scholarship has found possible if the text had been much confused by scribal errors. And with regard to the Prophets, though their works are less accurately preserved than the Pentateuch, we can be sure that textual corruption never improves the style or the thought. The fact that so much of the Prophetical Books is—judged by any standard—of the first rank as literature, is the strongest proof that they have not been utterly disfigured in transmission.

67. Bibliography. Some of the most important bibliographical references have already been indicated above. The best general account of the text and versions of the OT in any language is Wellhausen's monograph in the fourth edition of Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin, 1878, §§ 275-298; later edd. are arranged on a different plan. Somewhat similar in plan, but more confined to the special books treated of, are the introductions in Driver's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, pp. xxx-lxxxiv, and in Cornill's *Ezechiel*, 1-160. Klostermann, quoted by Driver, p. lii, says 'Let him who would himself investigate and advance learning, by the side of the other Ancient Versions, accustom himself above all things to the use of Field's *Hexapla*, and Lagarde's edition of the Recension of Lucian.' To these specially valuable authorities the present writer would add any well edited fragment of the Old Latin.

[See also Kittel, *Ueber die Notwendigkeit und Möglichkeit einer neuen Ausgabe der hebr. Bibel: Studien u. Erwägungen* (1901); Cheyne, *Critica Biblica*, pt. 1 (Isaiah and Jeremiah).]

F. C. B.

THADDÆUS. In Mk. 3 13 ΘΑΔΔΑΙΟϹ appears tenth in the list of apostles. Λεββαῖος is here a western variant (D a b ff[1] i q). In Mt. 10 3 Θαδδαῖος is

1. Name. the right reading (אB), but Λεββαῖος is found in western texts (D 122 Aug.), and the conflate Λεββ. ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδ. in the late 'Syrian' text. Θαδδαῖος has been derived from the Heb. שַׁד=Syr. *thĕdā*=*mamma*, and Λεββαῖος from לֵב=*cor.* But Dalman (*Worte Jesu*, 40) connects Θαδδαῖος with Θευδᾶς and Λεββαῖος with the Nabatæan לבאי. WH (*Notes*, 11) suppose Λεββαῖος to be due to an attempt to bring Levi (Mk. 2 14) within the number of the Twelve. But we should have expected Λευείς. Λεββαῖος=Λευείς is unparalleled. It seems clear that Λεββαῖος is a 'Western' gloss of a copyist who connected Θαδδαῖος with *thĕdā*=*mamma*, and wished to substitute a not dissimilar name which should be more appropriate to an apostle, and less undignified. If Λεββαῖος can be thus explained as an early emendation the difficult Θαδδαῖος remains. Dalman's Θαδδαῖος=Θευδᾶς is improbable. It is more likely that Θαδδαῖος, by corruption in Greek or Aramaic, represents an original יה(ו)דה or יה(ו)דא. For the θ cp θουδουια [B]=הודוה, Neh. 7 43 (see HODAVIAH), θυηλ [B*vid.א]=אואל, Ezra 10 34 (see UEL); θουε [B]=אהוא (Ahava), Ezra 8 21; θελκαθ [A]=חלקת (Helkath), Josh. 21 31; θασειρει [B], θασουρ [A]=אשורי, 2 S. 2 9 (see ASHURITES); θασοβαν [AD], -μ [L]=אצבן (Ezbon), Gen. 46 16. For the doubled δ and the ending -αῖος cp ידי='Ιαδδαῖος, De Vogüé, *Syr. Cent.* 63.

In Lk. 6 16 Acts 1 13 Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου=Judas, *son* of James,[1] takes the place of Thaddæus. See JUDAS, 7.

2. Identification. It may, therefore, be reasonably conjectured that Judas was the name of the apostle, that Thaddæus is a corruption of Judas, and that Lebbæus is a gloss upon Thaddæus. Of James, the father of Judas, nothing is known. Syr. Cur. has here *Judas Thomas*, and Syr. Sin. *Thomas* (see THOMAS). The evidence of the Gospels being so confused we not unnaturally find great uncertainty in the post-biblical tradition. In Origen (*Præf. ad Rom.*) Thaddæus=Lebbæus=Judas Jacobi. In the *Chron. Pasch.* Thaddæus=Lebbæus=Barsabas, whilst Judas Jacobi=Simon the Canaanite. In the Abgar legend preserved by Eusebius (*HE* 1 13) Thaddæus is distinguished from Judas Jacobi=Thomas. In the *Acta Thomæ* Judas Thomas is the Lord's brother. According to the Syrian Ischodab (9th cent.) quoted by Zahn (*Einl.* 2 263) the *Diatessaron* identified James son of Alphæus with Lebbæus (note that D in Mk. 2 14 has Ἰάκωβον for Λευεὶν).

The earliest form of legend connected with Thaddæus is that which represents him as preaching at Edessa. A very exhaustive bibliography of the literature and sources of this tradition may be found in von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder*, 158*-249*. In the account given by Eusebius (*HE* 1 13) from Syriac sources, Thaddæus the Apostle, one of the Seventy, was sent by the Apostle Judas Thomas to Abgar, king of Edessa, in accordance with a promise made by Christ before his death. In the later Syriac legend (*Doctrina Addai*, 4th cent.? ed. Phillips) Addai is substituted for Thaddæus. In the Gk. Πράξεις Θαδδαίου (Lips. *Acta Apost. Apocr.* 1 273-278) Lebbæus is identified with Thaddæus, one of the Twelve. For this and the later legends which represent Thaddæus as preaching in Armenia, in Syria and Mesopotamia, and in Persia, see Lips. *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, *s.v.* 'Thaddæus.' W. C. A.

THAHASH, or (RV) **TAHASH** (תַּחַשׁ, ΤΟΧΟϹ, [ADL]), a name in the Nahorite genealogy (Gen. 22 24†).

He is identified by Winckler (*Mittheil. d. Vorderas. Ges.*, 1896, p. 207) with Tiḥis, mentioned in the so-called Travels of an Egyptian (*Pap. Anast.* i. 22 3; see *RP* 2 111) and elsewhere, as in the region of Kadesh on the Orontes (to the N.). Cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 258. But see also TEBAH. T. K. C.

THAMAH (תֶּמַח, ΘΕΜΑ [BA]), Ezra 2 53 AV, RV TEMAH (*q.v.*).

THAMAR (ΘΑΜΑΡ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 3. See TAMAR.

THAMNATHA (ΘΑΜΝΑΘΑ [AאV]), 1 Macc. 9 50. See TIMNAH (3).

THANK OFFERING (תּוֹדָה), 2 Ch. 29 31 etc. See SACRIFICE, § 29 *b*.

THARA (ΘΑΡΑ [Ti. WH]), Lk. 3 34 AV, RV TERAH.

THARRA (ΘΑΡΡΑ [Bא c.a AL]), Esth. 12 1. See TERESH.

THARSHISH (תַּרְשִׁישׁ), 1 K. 10 22 AV, RV TARSHISH (*q.v.*).

THASSI (ΘΑϹϹ[Ε]Ι [אV]), 1 Macc. 2 3. See SIMON (1), and MACCABEES, §§ 1, 5.

[1] So *Syr. Sin.* Mt. 10 3 Lk. 6 16; Pesh. Lk. 6 16 Acts 1 13.

THEATRE. Although theatres and amphitheatres were erected by the Herods in Jerusalem and other towns of Syria (Jos. *Ant.* xv. 8 1, 9 6, xvi. 5 1, xix. 7 5, 8 2; *BJ* i. 21 8, ii. 7 2) in which magnificent spectacles were exhibited, principally in honour of the Roman emperors, there is no reference to them in the Gospels or Acts. Even in narrating the death of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12 21 *f.*), whose fatal seizure, according to the Jewish historian, took place in the theatre at Cæsarea (*Ant.* xix. 8 2), the word does not occur. The word theatre is absent alike from the canonical and from the apocryphal books of the OT, and in NT is found only in Acts 19 29-31 where the theatre of Ephesus is spoken of. It was probably the usual place of meeting for the assembly; and the ruins can still be seen (see EPHESUS, § 3).

1 Cor. contains two probable references to theatrical representations, neither of which is very apparent in EV. The word translated 'spectacle' (1 Cor. 4 9) is θέατρον, and the whole passage seems to refer to 'the band of gladiators brought out at last for death, the vast range of an amphitheatre under the open sky well representing the magnificent vision of all created beings, from men up to angels, gazing on the dreadful death-struggle; and then the contrast of the selfish Corinthians sitting by unmoved at the awful spectacle' (Stanley, *Corinthians*, 73). Cp Heb. 10 33 'being made a gazing-stock' (θεατριζόμενοι). In 1 Cor. 7 31, 'the fashion of this world passeth away' (**παράγει τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ κόσμου**), many have seen an allusion to the drama, drawn either from the shifting of the scenes, or the passing across the stage of the gorgeous processions then so common.

Ancient history records the name of at least one Jewish dramatist—Ezekiel, who lived in Alexandria in the second century B.C. and wrote a 'tragedy' or dramatic poem, entitled *The Exodus* (Ἐξαγωγή), of which considerable fragments are preserved in Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 1 23), Eusebius (*Præp. Ev.* 9 28 *f.*) and Eustathius (*ad Hexaëm.* 25). On the question of a Semitic drama cp CANTICLES, § 7, POETICAL LITERATURE, § 4 (5).

THEBES. See NO-AMON.

THEBEZ (תֵּבֵּץ), where Abimelech was killed whilst besieging the citadel (Judg. 9 50: θηβης [BL], θαιβαις [A]; 2 S. 11 21 and *v.* 22 in 𝔊, θαμας[ε]ι [BA, -μεσσει [L]), was situated, according to Eusebius and Jerome (*OS*, 262 44, 157 15), 13 R. m. from Neapolis on the road to Scythopolis. Starting from this, Robinson plausibly identifies Thebez with the mod. *Ṭūbās*, a large village on the W. slope of a fruitful valley, 10 m. due NE. from Nāblus. So Buhl, *Pal.* 204 and the *PEF Survey.*

But is this correct? Ṭūbās suggests rather טוּבָץ. Apart from this, the form of the name is peculiar. We expect some famous fortress to be referred to. From the point of view of SHECHEM, 2, one may naturally think of Zephath (= Zarephath); צפת might easily be written צבת, out of which by transposition would come תבץ. This seems to give greater vividness to the narrative.

T. K. C.

THECOE (θεκωε [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 9 33 AV, RV TEKOAH.

THELASAR (תְּלַאשָּׂר), 2 K. 19 12 AV, RV TEL-ASSAR (*q.v.*).

THELERSAS (θελερσας [B]), 1 Esd. 5 36. See TEL-HARSHA.

THEMAN (θαιμαν [BAQΓ]), Bar. 3 22 *f.* AV, RV TEMAN.

THEOCANUS (θωκανου [A], θοκ. [B]), 1 Esd. 9 14 AV = Ezra 10 15, TIKVAH (*q.v.*).

THEODOTUS (θεοδοτος [AV]), one of Nicanor's ambassadors to Judas the Maccabee in 161 B.C. (2 Macc. 14 19).

THEOPHANY. The invisibility of God formed no part of early Hebrew belief. Although it was commonly

1. Immediate. thought that to see God (or indeed to hear his voice Dt. 4 33 5 23 *ff.* [20 *ff.*]) was dangerous and even fatal (Ex. 33 20 Judg. 13 22 cp Gen. 16 13[1] Ex. 3 6 19 21 Judg. 6 22 *f.* 1 K. 19 12 *f.* Is. 6 5), many narratives, including those just cited, record cases in which men saw God, or at least perceived hrough the senses that he was present, and yet lived. The most striking of these is in Ex. 24 10 (JE) where it is quite simply related that Moses and Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders of Israel, having gone up Mt. Sinai, saw the God of Israel. The narrator is well aware of the exceptional character of the occasion, for in the next verse he expressly records that God 'laid not his hands' upon them; but he gives no hint that what was seen was anything less than the fullness of the glory and person of the deity or that it was seen in any other way than by ordinary vision. Cp Nu. 12 6-8 (E).

In most cases, however, it is implied that the deity, although he makes his presence known by a physical appearance, does not manifest himself in his fullness to the ordinary human eye. We may conveniently classify the OT theophanies into those in which the appearance is of the human form and those in which it is some other physical phenomenon.

1. *Theophanies in human form.*—(*a*) Ex. 24 10 records, as we have seen, a complete exception to the

2. In human form. law that the sight of God was fatal. The nearest parallel to this occurs in Ex. 33 17 *ff.* (J), which relates that Moses saw the back of Yahwè as he passed away, but that even he could not with safety see the face of Yahwè. In other narratives, however, it is just the face of God which is seen—Ex. 33 11 (E), Gen. 32 30 [31] (probably E); in Nu. 12 6-8 it is said that Moses, unlike others (cp Dt. 4 12 15), in his customary and immediate intercourse with Yahwè sees his form or tĕmūnāh (something less distinct than his appearance—cp Job 4 16). But these are only typical cases in connection with the present subject, in which looseness and inconsistency of expression correspond to looseness and variety of thought. We are dealing with popular ideas and expressions, not with theological and systematic thought. What is common to the present type of theophany is that the sight of God is partial.

(*b*) In another type the peculiarity consists in the fact that God is seen in human form indeed, but only by

3. In vision. means of dream or vision (cp Nu. 24 3 *f.*). So we should probably interpret the experience of Isaiah (Is. 6) and certainly those of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1 etc.) and Daniel (Dan. 7 2 9). Cp Gen. 28 13-16 (J).

(*c*) But the commonest type of a theophany in human form[2] was by means of the 'angel of Yahwè' or 'of

4. 'Angel of Yahwè.' God' (מלאך יהוה, מ׳ אלהים). Cp ANGEL, § 2; NAME, § 6. The narratives clearly identify the 'Angel of Yahwè' with Yahwè, though often in the same narrative a certain differentiation is also implied. Thus in Gen. 16 the angel of Yahwè who appears to Hagar is called 'Yahwè who spake unto her' (*v.* 13), and Hagar expresses surprise that she still lives after seeing God (cp further *v.* 10 with *e.g.*, 12 2). On the other hand in *v.* 12 the angel speaks of Yahwè in the third person.

For further illustrations from other narratives of this identification, see Gen. 22 11 *f.* Ex. 3 (angel of Yahwè, *v.* 2 = Yahwè, *vv.* 4*a* 5 7), Nu. 22 32-35 (cp especially *v.* 35 with 24 13), Judg. 2 1-5 6 11-24 (angel of Yahwè, *vv.* 11 *ff.* 20 *ff.* = Yahwè, *vv.* 14 16 23), 13 23; for indications of differentiations see Gen. 24 7 40—yet cp *vv.* 27 48 Nu. 22 31 Judg. 13 8 *f.* 2 S. 24 15-17.[3] See also DESTROYER.

[1] Read 'Have I even seen God and am I (still) alive?' So Ball in *SBOT* in accordance with a large consensus of critical opinion. See BEER-LAHAI-ROI, § 1.

[2] In Ex. 3 2 the 'angel of Yahwè' exceptionally manifests himself in 'a flame of fire,' presumably not in human form.

[3] The Yahwistic narrative in Gen. 18 *f.* presents special peculiarities. Yahwè appears to Abraham (18 1) as three men (*v.* 2) who speak or are addressed sometimes in the singular (*vv.* 3 10), sometimes in the plural (*vv.* 4 *ff.*). Subsequently (16-33) one of the three, who is identified with Yahwè, remains behind with Abraham, the other two, who are described in 19 1

In brief, the 'angel of Yahwè' is an occasional manifestation of Yahwè in human form, possessing no distinct and permanent personality but speaking and spoken of, at times as Yahwè himself (cp the way in which the word of Yahwè passes over insensibly into the prophetic comment), at times as distinct from him. The danger which attached to the sight of God attached also to the sight of the angel. The two early literary strata of the Hexateuch differ in their detailed accounts of the angel. In J he eats, drinks, and converses with men, and in every respect comports himself as a human being—the narratives of Judg. 6 13 are also in many respects similar; in E there is a tendency to keep even the angel from close contact with men—thus he appears in and speaks from heaven (*e.g.*, Gen. 22 11).

At a later date, theophanies in (human) form were denied (Dt. 4 15) or, as regularly in P, the theophany is referred to in the barest possible terms without any indication of its character—*e.g.*, 'And God [or 'Yahwè'] appeared . . . and spoke (said)' (Gen. 17 1 35 9; cp Ex. 6 3); and thus (after the Exile) the 'angel of Yahwè' was no longer regarded as a theophany but became one of the numerous distinct angelic personalities which thenceforward formed prominent objects of belief (see ANGEL, § 3 *f.*).

2. *Theophanies in which the manifestation is not in human form.* (*a*) Fire, in one form or another, fre-

5. Fire.

quently indicated the divine presence. The most notable illustrations of this are the 'Burning Bush' (Ex. 3) and the 'Pillar of Fire' (Ex. 13 21). In Ex. 14 19*b* (J) the 'pillar of cloud' = 'the angel of God,' *v.* 19*a* (E). For further details see the articles BUSH and PILLAR OF FIRE. But there are a number of other passages where fire or a fiery appearance clearly has the same significance—*e.g.*, Gen. 15 17 Ex. 19 18 24 17 Dt. 4 12 15.

We ought also to compare the part played by fire in the destruction of Nadab and Abihu (Lev. 10), of Korah and his company (Nu. 16 35), of the people at Tab'erah (Nu. 11 1-3), in Elijah's conflict with the priests of Baal (1 K. 18, cp 2 K. 1 10 *ff.*), in the theophany at Horeb (in 1 K. 19 11 *f.*, where fire is not itself the theophany but an accompaniment of it), in the assumption of Elijah (2 K. 2 11), and generally in the later literary theophanies (see below, § 9), and in similes (*e.g.*, Is. 10 17; 'Yahwè is a devouring fire,' Dt. 4 24 9 3). Cp also the Arabic stories of fiery appearances of the jinn; Goldziher, *Abh. zur Arab. Philologie*, 205 *ff.*

Even in the NT we find, in addition to citations from or references to the OT (*e.g.*, Acts 7 30 Heb. 12 18 29), two or three instances of theophanic fire; the fire clearly indicates, or is the accompaniment of, the divine presence in Acts 2 3 2 Thess. 1 8 (of the second coming of Christ) 2 Pet. 3 10-12 Rev. 10 1 (of an angel); perhaps also Mt. 3 11 = Lk. 3 16 should be compared. Generally, however, in NT (as already in Enoch; *e.g.*, 10 13 21 7-10 98 3) fire is the instrument of the divine punishment and does not necessarily or explicitly affirm the divine presence. The transition from the older to the later conception was facilitated by such passages as Am. 5 6 Is. 33 14 (cp 66 24) Mal. 3 2, and is actually seen in certain NT passages—2 Thess. 1 8 2 Pet. 3 10-12 1 Cor. 3 13-15.

(*b*) The 'glory of Yahwè' (כבוד י״), which from Isaiah (6 3) onwards (*e.g.*, Nu. 14 21 *f.* Dt. 5 21 [24] Ezek. 39 21

6. Glory of Yahwè.

Ps. 8 1 19 2 [1] 96 3) expresses the manifestation of the divine character in nature and history, is used by Ezekiel to express also the fiery appearance which, in his visions, indicates the presence of Yahwè—1 28 10 4 43 2 etc. In P the phrase is invariably used of a fiery theophany—in the first instance of the theophany on Sinai (Ex. 24 15 17) and, subsequently, of that in the tabernacle—Ex. 29 43 40 34 *f.* 16 7 10 (in *v.* 10 restore המקדש, tabernacle, for the redactorial המדבר), Lev. 9 6 23 Nu. 14 10 16 19; cp further, 1 K. 8 10 *f.*, which is dependent on P (Corn. *Einl.* 108). In its last usage the phrase corresponds closely to the Shechinah of post-biblical Hebrew. The fact that the 'glory of Yahwè,' where it indicates a fiery appearance, is so frequently associated with cloud and the similar combination of fire and cloud in the stories of the Pillar of Fire and Cloud (*q.v.*) may be, in part at least, explained as modified survivals of an old view, which also maintained itself in greater purity in poetical passages (*e.g.*, Pss. 18 29), that Yahwè manifested himself in the thunder-storm.

as 'the two angels,' proceed to Sodom; but these in turn are addressed and speak in the singular (*vv.* 19-21), and speak and act as Yahwè himself (*vv.* 21 *ff.*).

(*c*) Closely related to the term just discussed, and in some cases almost synonymous with it, are the 'Name

7. 'Name' or 'Face' of Yahwè.

of Yahwè' and the 'Face of Yahwè'; the former stands in parallelism with the 'glory of Yahwè' in Is. 59 19 Ps. 102 15. The most strictly theophanic passage in which either occurs is Is. 30 27, and even that is clearly figurative. Cp NAME, § 6. Generally speaking, both terms are used of God as made known to men, but rather by some decisive event, or otherwise indirectly, than by a physical phenomenon. In Phœnician, on the other hand, 'the face' or 'name of Baal' is a goddess—עשתרת שם בעל ,תנת פן בעל (cp Baethg. *Beitr.* 56 *f.* 267 *ff.*, also NAME, § 6; and see Fr. Giesebrecht's monograph, *Die Alttestamentliche Schätzung des Gottesnamens u. ihre religionsgeschichtliche Grundlage* [1901]).

Two remarks are suggested by the preceding survey. (1) The belief that fire, especially the lightning of the

8. General estimate.

storm, was the physical indication of Yahwè's presence may lie at the base of the belief in the danger of beholding Yahwè's face; at the same time, it must be remembered that analogous beliefs occur in other religions. (2) A large proportion of the stories are connected with the Exodus and the subsequent Wanderings. The idea of the 'Angel' or 'Messenger of Yahwè' may well have sprung out of an attempt to reconcile the belief that Yahwè abode in Sinai, and yet that he accompanied Israel to Canaan (cp Ex. 23 20-23). A similar conflict would still have called for reconciliation when Yahwè was regarded as seated in heaven.

In addition to the narratives of theophanies where the theophany is regarded as sober historical fact, we have numerous

9. Later.

purely literary theophanies—*i.e.*, descriptions clearly intended by the writers to be metaphorical and imaginative. Some of these are conceived in the boldest anthropomorphic manner (cp, *e.g.*, the descriptions of Yahwè as a warrior—Is. 63 1-6 59 15*b ff.*); in others, figures drawn from the storm or other natural phenomena play a large part (cp, *e.g.*, Ps. 18 Hab. 3).

In the NT we have angelophanies (see ANGEL, § 7), but (except as indicated above, § 2 *a*, *ad fin.*) no occasional theophanies such as the OT records. Instead, we have the life of Jesus which, most clearly by the author of the fourth gospel, but also by other NT writers, is regarded as a prolonged manifestation of God in the flesh (cp especially Jn. 1 1-3 14, and *e.g.*, Rom. 1 1-7 Col. 1 15 *ff.* 2 9 Heb. 1 1-3). In the same way the belief in the *Parousia* is tantamount to the expectation of a coming theophany.

Literature.—Ch. J. Trip, *Die Theophanien in den Geschichtsbüchern des AT* (Leyden, 1858); this is primarily a history and discussion of the view that the 'Angel of Yahwè' = 'the son of God.' Kosters, 'De Mal'ach Jahwe' in *Th.T*, 1875, pp. 369-415. See, further, under ANGEL. G. B. G.

THEOPHILUS (θεοφιλος [Ti. WH]), the 'most excellent' person to whom the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts are dedicated (Lk. 1 3 Acts 1 1). See GOSPELS, § 37.

THERAS (θερα [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 61 (cp *v.* 41) = Ezra 8 31, AHAVA.

THERMELETH (θερμελεθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 5 36 = Ezra 2 59, TEL-MELAH.

THESSALONIANS (EPISTLES TO)

Place and time (§ 1).	Its authorship (§ 8).
Character of epistles (§ 6).	2 Thess. (§ 4 *f.*).
Thessalonian Christians (§ 7).	Its authorship (§§ 9-15).
1 Thess. (§ 2 *f.*).	Bibliography (§ 16).

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians were written,

not in Athens (cp 1 Thess. 3 1) as stated in the subscription to the epistles in the *Textus Receptus*, but in Corinth during Paul's first visit there recorded in Acts 18 1 *ff.* This appears from the following considerations :—

1. Place and time.

i. The names of Silvanus and Timothy are joined with the name of Paul in the salutations of both epistles, and they were with Paul in Corinth during his first visit there, according to Acts 18 5, which is confirmed by 2 Cor. 1 19. A considerable period had elapsed since Paul left Thessalonica, for the fame of the Thessalonian Christians had already spread throughout Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1 7 *f.*), and Paul must have laboured at least for some months in Achaia, as may be gathered from the spread of Christianity in that province implied in the same passage. Timothy had been sent back to Thessalonica from Athens, and had had time to return and make his report to the apostle (1 Thess. 3 2 6), and this return may fairly be identified with the arrival of Silas and Timothy in Corinth, mentioned in Acts 18 5. See TIMOTHY, § 3 ; cp SILAS.

ii. On the other hand, the epistles cannot have been written at a time subsequent to Paul's first visit to Corinth, for the first of them was evidently written immediately after the return of Timothy from Thessalonica, whither he had been sent by Paul from Athens (1 Thess. 3 6); the Thessalonian church was apparently still a young church (1 Thess. 1 9), and, finally, there is no sign that Paul and Silvanus and Timothy were together again after the first visit in Corinth ; cp SILAS.

The epistles were written probably in the year 48 or 49,[1] or, according to the generally accepted chronology of Paul's life, in 53 or 54.[2] They are commonly regarded as the earliest of Paul's epistles ; but there is good reason for thinking the Epistle to the Galatians still earlier.[3] The notable lack in 1 and 2 Thessalonians of the doctrinal element which is so prominent in most of Paul's epistles counts for nothing in the matter of date, for in any case they were written later than the Council of Jerusalem, sixteen years or more after Paul's conversion, and an interval of only some five years separates them from the Epistle to the Romans, and still less from Galatians and Corinthians. As a matter of fact, the simplicity of the Thessalonian epistles and the absence of the great characteristic Pauline doctrines are to be explained, not by the date of the epistles, but by the particular circumstances which called them forth.

Those circumstances are indicated with sufficient clearness in the epistles themselves. Paul had been compelled to leave Thessalonica before he wished to do so, and under circumstances which made him fear for the permanence of his work there (1 Thess. 2 17 3 1 *f.*). He had apparently been driven away from the city by a persecution which continued to assail the disciples after his departure. Whether this persecution is to be directly connected with the attack of the Jews upon Paul recorded in Acts 17 5 *f.* is uncertain. At any rate, if the persecution was begun at the instance of the Jews, it was carried on afterwards by the Gentiles, and it was at their hands that the Christians of Thessalonica chiefly suffered (1 Thess. 2 14).[4] The persecution was so severe that Paul feared his Thessalonian converts might lose courage and renounce their faith, and he therefore greatly desired to return himself to Thessalonica (1 Thess. 2 17 *f.*). For some reason, however, possibly because his friends had given bonds for his continued absence (Acts 17 9), he was unable to do so, and he therefore sent Timothy from Athens to encourage and strengthen his converts and to bring him news concerning them (1 Thess. 3 1 *f.*).[5]

2. 1 Thess. : occasion.

It is possible that Timothy also carried a letter from Paul to the Thessalonian church (see Rendel Harris in *Expos.* 8 174 [1898]); but we have no evidence of such a letter, and the information which Paul gives his readers in 1 Thess. 2 17 3 5 rather argues against an earlier communication from him. But though we have no adequate ground for assuming that Paul sent to Thessalonica another epistle before our 1 Thessalonians, there is some reason for thinking that the Thessalonians sent a letter back to Paul by Timothy (see Harris, *ibid.* 167 *f.*). Harris finds evidence of such a letter in 1 Thess. 1 2 5 2 1 5 9 10 13 3 3-6, and also in 1 9, where he suggests the alteration of 'they report' (ἀπαγγέλλουσιν) to 'you report' (ἀπαγγέλλετε), in order to bring it into line with 2 1 ; and he gives a tentative reconstruction of the letter on p. 172. 'Also we' (καὶ ἡμεῖς) in 2 13, 'also I' (κἀγώ) in 3 5, the conventional epistolary formula 'ye have good remembrance of us' (ἔχετε μνείαν ἡμῶν ἀγαθήν κ.τ.λ.) in 3 6, 'for you yourselves report concerning us' (αὐτοὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν ἀπαγγέλλετε) in 1 9 (to adopt the reading suggested by Harris) may fairly be regarded as pointing to a Thessalonian epistle ; but beyond these hints we can hardly go. It will not do at any rate to regard the words 'ye know' (οἴδατε) as evidence of such an epistle, for we cannot well suppose that the Thessalonians gave Paul an account of his sufferings in Philippi (2 2).

The report which Timothy brought back from Thessalonica was upon the whole very cheering ; but he informed Paul of the existence of certain evils among the Thessalonians which demanded the apostle's attention. The common fleshly impurity of the heathen world, especially prevalent in a great commercial metropolis like Thessalonica, had not been entirely overcome by the Thessalonian Christians (1 Thess. 4 4 *f.*) ; a spirit of enthusiasm was abroad among them which led them to neglect their ordinary employments and so bring disrepute upon the brotherhood (1 Thess. 4 11 *f.*) ; and there was on the part of some a tendency, entirely natural where fanaticism had so free play, to disregard the counsel and authority of the leaders of the church (1 Thess. 5 12 *f.*). On the other hand, in opposition to the common enthusiasm, there were some who 'despised prophesyings' and frowned upon all spiritual manifestations (1 Thess. 5 20). It looks also as if some of the disciples were casting aspersions upon the character and motives of Paul himself, possibly because he had left the city during a time of persecution. At any rate he felt obliged to defend himself in his epistle against various charges, such as covetousness, avarice, selfishness, and personal ambition (1 Thess. 2 1-12). Finally, the Thessalonians had apparently asked the apostle a question touching the fate of Christian brethren dying before the return of Christ (1 Thess. 4 13 *f.*). Evidently they had believed that Christ would come so soon that they should all be alive to greet him ; but as time passed some of their number died and Christ still tarried. The question naturally forced itself upon them, Were such brethren to be deprived of the privilege of seeing the Lord at his coming and sharing his glory? Either Timothy was asked to consult the apostle upon the matter, or the question was raised in the epistle to the Thessalonians referred to just above. It was due to all these circumstances that Paul wrote his first epistle to the Thessalonians.

The epistle has no central theme, nor is it a studied composition constructed upon a well-defined plan. It is a familiar letter in which expressions of affection and words of exhortation and warning follow one upon another with no attempt at logical arrangement.

3. Contents.

After a salutation, in which the names of Silvanus and Timothy are joined with his own (1 1), Paul expresses his gratitude, beginning with the conventional terms of contemporary correspondence (see Harris, *ibid.*), for the faith and steadfastness of the Thessalonians (1 2-8), and reminds them of his own conduct while among them, of his devotion and self-sacrifice which some bad evidently called in question (2 1-12), gives utterance to his joy at the reception they had given his message, and at the steadfastness they had shown in the face of persecution (2 13-16), tells them of his anxiety about them while in Athens and of his great desire to see them, which resulted, when he could not go himself, in his sending Timothy to visit them (3 1-5), and which is now fully relieved by the good news brought by him (3 6-10). The commendatory, apologetic, and explanatory portion of the letter is concluded with a beautiful prayer for the readers' growth in grace (3 11-13).

The passage just referred to serves at the same time to introduce the second and hortatory section of the epistle (4 *f.*). After emphasising the importance of purity (4 1-8), of brotherly love (4 9 *f.*), and of quietness and diligence in daily business

[1] According to the chronology of Paul's life adopted by Kellner, *Katholik*, 1887, 1 146 *f.*, O. Holtzmann, *NTliche Ztgesch.* (1894), Blass, *Acta Apostolorum* (1895), Harnack, *Chronol.* (1897), M'Giffert, *Hist. Christ. in Apost. Age* (1897), and some others.

[2] Cp CHRONOLOGY, § 72 *ff.*

[3] See M'Giffert, *l.c.* 226 *f.* ; Zahn, *Einl.* 1 138 *f.* ; Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, 84 ; Bacon, *Introd. to NT*, 57.

[4] Zimmer (*Der erste Thessalonicherbrief*, 34, 94 *f.*) takes the opposite view, but without sufficient warrant.

[5] Of this mission of Timothy to Thessalonica we hear nothing in Acts. In fact, there is no hint in Acts that Timothy was with Paul in Athens, as we know from 1 Thess. that he was.

(11 *f.*), the apostle turns to the subject of eschatology and instructs the Thessalonians, first, touching the brethren dying before the return of Christ (4 13-18), and secondly, touching the uncertainty of the time of the Parousia, which makes it necessary to be constantly watchful and zealous (5 1-11).[1] Then follow various exhortations having especial reference to the disciples' association with each other as a Christian brotherhood (5 12-22), and the epistle closes with a petition for their perfect sanctification (23 *f.*), a request for their prayers (25), a salutation, and a benediction (26-28).

The epistle apparently accomplished its purpose, for we hear nothing more of aspersions upon Paul's character, and the Thessalonians seem to have needed no further instruction as to the resurrection of the dead. But Paul's words touching the Day of the Lord (5 2 *f.*) evidently led them to believe that the Parousia was imminent, and some of them in their expectation of the immediate return of Christ were greatly excited and were neglecting their ordinary employments (2 Thess. 2 1 *ff.*). It is possible that it was this expectation which had led them to similar fanaticism before Paul wrote his first epistle (1 Thess. 4 11 *f.*); but if so he cannot have been aware of it, or he would have dealt with the matter in that epistle.

4. 2 Thess.

How Paul learned of the existing situation we do not know. It is not impossible that he had received another letter from the Thessalonians in answer to his former one (see Bacon, *l.c.* p. 72); but we have no positive evidence of it. At any rate, however the news reached him, it led him to write a second epistle intended to put a stop to such unwarranted fanaticism.[2]

5. Its contents.

After commending the patience and faithfulness of the Thessalonians (2 Thess. 1 1-4), as he had done in the first epistle, and comforting them with a reference to the recompense which God will render both them and their enemies (1 5-12), he proceeds at once to his main point. When he wrote before, he supposed that an exhortation to go about their daily business with quietness and diligence would suffice to put a stop to their fanatical conduct, and that they needed no special instruction touching the time and the season of the consummation (1 Thess. 5 1). He saw now, however, that it was because they believed that Christ might come at any moment that their minds were disquieted, and so he reminded them that certain events must occur before the consummation. The 'man of sin,' the 'son of perdition,' the 'lawless one' must be revealed as he had told them when he was with them (2 Thess. 2 5); but he cannot be until 'that which now restraineth (2 Thess. 2 6 τὸ κατέχον, *v.* 7 ὁ κατέχων) has been taken out of the way' (2 Thess. 2 3-10).[3]

This eschatological passage is followed by renewed commendations, and by exhortations to steadfastness and patience, sobriety and diligence (2 13-3 15), and the epistle concludes with benedictions and with a salutation from Paul's own hand, which he asserts is the token in every letter (3 16-18).

It would seem that those disciples who were insisting that the Parousia was immediately at hand were appealing to a letter bearing Paul's name (2 Thess. 2 2); but as he was not conscious of having written anything to support their opinion, he concluded that they must be making use of a forged document, and so he was careful to call attention to his autograph signature which guaranteed the genuineness of all his letters. It is not likely that Paul's surmise was correct, for it can hardly be supposed that any one would venture to palm off a forged letter upon the Thessalonians so soon after the apostle's departure, and as a matter of fact the eschatological passage in the first epistle (5 1-11) was of such a character that it might easily serve to promote the belief in the immediate consummation, though he seems not to have realised it.

6. Character of epistles.

The Epistles to the Thessalonians are almost wholly personal and ethical and throw very little light upon Paul's theological views,[1] except in the matter of eschatology to which there are a great many allusions. Thus, the Parousia of Christ is referred to in 1 Thess. 1 10 2 19 3 13 4 15 *f.* 5 2 *f.* 23 2 Thess. 1 7 *f.* 2 1 *f.*; the judgment in 1 Thess. 1 10 2 Thess. 1 6 *f.* 2 12; the resurrection of believers in 1 Thess. 4 14 *f.*; their future glory and blessedness in 1 Thess. 4 17 5 10 2 Thess. 2 14; and the final kingdom in 1 Thess. 2 12 2 Thess. 1 5. It is evident that the Thessalonian Christians were much interested in eschatological questions, and it would seem that Paul must have laid considerable stress, while in Thessalonica, at any rate upon the speedy return of Christ and the impending judgment (cp 1 Thess. 1 10 5 2 *f.* 2 Thess. 2 5). Possibly he was led to do so by the great prevalence of vice and immorality in the city. However that may be, the Thessalonians expected the return of Christ very soon, before any of their number had passed away, and Paul had evidently given them some warrant for the expectation, for even when he wrote his First Epistle he looked for the Parousia during his own lifetime and theirs (cp 2 19 4 15 *f.*). It was doubtless because of this that Paul had not instructed them touching the resurrection of believers and so was obliged to do so at some length in 1 Thess. 4 13 *f.* (cp 1 Cor. 15 and see M'Giffert, *l.c.* p. 248).

7. The Thessalonian Christians.

The two Epistles to the Thessalonians throw considerable light upon Paul's work in Thessalonica and upon the character and condition of his converts there. The Christians addressed were most, if not all, of them Gentiles (1 Thess. 1 9 2 14); and, moreover, as appears from the former passage, they had been converted directly from heathenism to Christianity under Paul's preaching. But the account of Paul's work in Thessalonica contained in Acts (17 1 *f.*) gives a very different picture of the Thessalonian converts. According to that passage, 'Some of them (*i.e.*, of the Jews) were persuaded and consorted with Paul and Silas, and of the devout Greeks (*i.e.*, Jewish proselytes) a great multitude, and of the chief women not a few.' Of these Jews and Jewish proselytes there is no trace in either of Paul's epistles, and though of course it is quite possible that there were some of them among his converts, it is certain that they must have formed an altogether insignificant minority. It is clear then that the author of Acts, as is frequently the case, has recorded the least important part of Paul's activity in Thessalonica, and that it was not in the synagogue that he did his chief work (the only part of his work mentioned in Acts), but among the heathen population of the city. At the same time there is no reason for doubting that Paul actually did preach to Jews and proselytes in the synagogue of Thessalonica.[2] But after a brief period spent in that work he must have turned to the Gentiles, instead of leaving the city directly as implied in Acts 17 10, and must have spent at least some months in labour among them, as is clear from 1 Thess. 2 7 *f.* and Phil. 4 16, and also from the large and permanent results accomplished. The account in Acts is thus very meagre and misleading at this point and has to be not only supplemented but also corrected by 1 Thess. It is evident that that epistle was not in the hands of the author of Acts when he was writing

1 On this apocalypse see H. St. John Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 102 *f.*

2 It was formerly maintained by some scholars (*e.g.*, Ew. *Sendschreiben des Paulus*, 17 *f.*, Laurent, *NTliche Studien*, 49 *f.*) that 2 Thess. is earlier than 1 Thess.; but this is excluded by the literary relationship between the two epistles, which clearly points to the secondary character of the second, by the sharper tone of 2 Thess. in dealing with the disorderly (3 6 *f.*), and by the relation of the apocalyptic passage in 2 2 *f.* to 1 Thess. 4 13 *f.*

3 Upon the interpretation of this passage see ANTICHRIST, § 4 *f.*

1 See 1 Thess. 2 12 3 8 13 4 7 8 5 10 18 2 Thess. 1 11 2 13 16 for familiar Pauline ideas.

2 See M'Giffert, *op. cit.* 246.

his account of this part of Paul's work, nor was Acts in the hands of the author of 1 Thess.

The Thessalonian epistles bear eloquent testimony to the success of Paul's missionary labours in Thessalonica. He succeeded in founding there a strong and vigorous church, and the faith and patience and brotherly love of his converts were so marked that their fame speedily spread even beyond the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia (1 Thess. 1 7 *f.*), and their generosity in ministering to the necessities of other churches, even though poor themselves, called forth the apostle's hearty commendation (1 Thess. 4 10; cp 2 Cor. 8 1 *f.* and Acts 20 4). To none of his churches was he bound by warmer ties of affection than to the churches of Thessalonica and Philippi, and none of his epistles, except that to the Philippians, is more thoroughly pervaded with joy and confidence and affection than 1 Thess.

It has been assumed throughout this article that both 1 and 2 Thess. are genuine epistles of Paul. So far as

8. Authorship: of 1 Thess.

the former is concerned its authenticity, denied a couple of generations ago by many scholars, is to-day generally recognised except by those who deny the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles (see PAUL, § 38). As a matter of fact, if one accepts any of Paul's epistles there is no good reason for denying the authenticity of 1 Thess. The argument against its genuineness, drawn from its lack of the doctrinal and polemical material found in the great epistles to the Galatians, the Corinthians, and the Romans, is now universally recognised as fallacious, for the situation in Thessalonica as indicated in the epistle itself fully accounts both for what it contains and for what it omits. Moreover, the style of the epistle, its revelation of the character of its author, its familiar and personal tone, the absence of any doctrinal or polemic interest which would account for pseudonymity, the discrepancies between the epistle and Acts, the use of the three names Paul, Silvanus, and Timothy (the form Σίλας being found uniformly in Acts and Σιλουανός only in 1 and 2 Thess. 2 Cor. 1 19 and 1 Pet. 5 12) all make for genuineness [cp SILAS]; and the evidence brought by Rendel Harris in the article referred to above (§ 2) that it is part of a correspondence with the Thessalonian church, strengthens the argument, and if that evidence be regarded as conclusive, of course places the genuineness of the epistle beyond all question. Finally, the implication in 4 17 that Christ was to return during the lifetime of the apostle is of itself enough to prove that it was not written after his death.[1]

On the other hand, the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians is by no means so clear, nor is it so widely recognised.

9. Of 2 Thess.

The tendency to view it as a genuine epistle of Paul has apparently grown somewhat in recent years among scholars of the critical school (*e.g.*, Jülicher, *Einl.* 40 *f.* [1894]; Harnack, *Chronol.* 239 [1898]; Bacon, *Introd. to NT*, 75 *f.* [1900]; and compare the statement of Holtzmann [*Einl.*(3) 216] that 'at the present day the question is not whether the epistle is to be brought down into the post-apostolic age, but whether it does not on the contrary reach up into the lifetime of the apostle, and whether consequently it must not be genuine, and have been written soon after 1 Thess.'). Many, however, who accept 1 Thessalonians reject 2 Thessalonians altogether (as, *e.g.*, Lipsius, Hilgenfeld, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Schmiedel, Weizsäcker), or regard it as largely interpolated (*e.g.*, P. Schmidt, *Der erste Thessalonicherbrief*, 127 *f.*).

The first objection urged against the genuineness of the epistle is the apocalyptic passage, 2 Thess. 2 2-12.

10. Argument from eschatology.

This objection is based chiefly upon the assumption that the passage is inconsistent with 1 Thess. 5 2 *f.*, and since its substance is said to have been imparted to the Thessalonians while Paul was still present with them (2 Thess. 2 5), the inconsistency cannot be explained as due to the further development of Paul's thought after the writing of 1 Thessalonians.

It is to be noticed, however, that though the author indicates in 2 Thess. 2 that certain events must occur, and, consequently, some interval elapse before the final consummation, there is no sign that he regards the interval as long, and that he does not expect to live until the Parousia. Nor is the fact that certain signs are to precede the consummation inconsistent with the exhortation in 1 Thess. 5 2 to be watchful, for the day of the Lord comes as a thief in the night only for those who sleep, the implication being that those who are awake know the signs of its coming and will not be taken unaware. It is quite conceivable that Paul might have told the Thessalonians when he was with them why the Parousia was delayed, and might have spoken of the traditional figure of Antichrist (the ταῦτα of 2 5 refers to what precedes), without contradicting his belief or theirs that the consummation was to take place very soon. Only when he found that their expectation of its imminence was leading them into fanaticism would he naturally, in order to show that it could not come immediately, dwell more at length upon the intervening events, and indicate still more fully what those events were. Possibly the protection of the Roman pro-consul at Corinth (Acts 18 12) had led him to recognise more clearly than ever before the protecting power of Rome (to which τὸ κατέχον and ὁ κατέχων ['the restrainer'] certainly refer), and so, for the first time, to bring this element of the traditional eschatology into prominence as in 2 Thess. 2 6 *f.*

The further objection brought against the genuineness of 2 Thess. 2 2 *f.*, on the ground of its alleged dependence upon the Apocalypse, or of its acquaintance with the Nero redivivus legend, breaks down completely when the passage is interpreted as it should be in the light of current Jewish eschatology, and the figure of Antichrist is recognised as purely traditional (see ANTICHRIST, § 4 *f.*).

It must be recognised then that there is not sufficient ground in the eschatology of the second epistle for denying its Pauline authorship. If there is good reason for ascribing the remainder of the epistle to Paul, there need be no difficulty in assuming that he wrote the apocalyptic passage, 2 2 *f.* In fact, we may perhaps go farther and say that that passage, when taken in connection with the remainder of the epistle, can be better understood on the assumption of its authenticity than on that of its pseudonymity. It can hardly be supposed that any one would venture to produce such a pseudonymous epistle during Paul's own lifetime, or that it would find acceptance if he did. On the other hand, if Paul's first epistle gave rise to misunderstandings—as the second epistle, whether genuine or not, seems to show that it did—we should expect those misunderstandings to have arisen immediately, not after an interval of many years, when the expectation expressed in the epistle was already at least partially discredited by Paul's own death. And if the fanatical abuse of his words appeared during his lifetime, it would be strange if he took no notice of it. If it could be supposed that the epistle was written simply to save Paul's reputation and set him right with the Thessalonians after his death, by showing that he had not expected the consummation as soon as 1 Thessalonians seemed to imply, its post-Pauline date would be easy to understand, but there is no sign of such an interest. The sole purpose of the eschatological passage is clearly to put a stop to the fanaticism to which the belief in the speedy consum-

[1] Schmiedel, while accepting the epistle as a whole, suggests that 2 15 *f.* is an interpolation. There is, however, no reason to doubt the genuineness of the passage, though it is quite possible that *v.* 16*b* is an interpolation; and the same may be said of *v.* 23*b*. The latter looks decidedly un-Pauline, and by its omission *v.* 24 is brought into immediate connection with *v.* 23*a* with which it seems to belong.

mation was giving rise. Under these circumstances 2 Thessalonians, so far as the eschatological passage is concerned, seems easier to explain as a letter of Paul's, written within a few months of 1 Thessalonians, than as the work of a later time and of another hand.

It has been suggested by some scholars (*e.g.*, Schmidt, *op. cit.* 127) that 2 Thess. 2 2-12 has been interpolated in a genuine epistle of Paul; but there is no ground for such a hypothesis. The point of the epistle is entirely gone if the apocalyptic passage be omitted, and the difficulties which beset the genuineness of the remainder of the epistle are even greater than those which beset the apocalyptic passage. As a matter of fact, the suggestion of Hausrath (*NTliche Zeitgesch.*(2) 3 198) that this passage is the only genuine part of the epistle is much more plausible.

A second objection to the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians is drawn from its language and style.

11. From language and contents.

It is true that the epistle contains an uncommonly large number of words and phrases which occur nowhere else in Paul (the Pastoral epistles not being reckoned as Pauline).

Such are: 'groweth exceedingly' (ὑπεραυξάνω*), 1 3;[1] 'glory' (ἐγκαυχάομαι*), *v.* 4; 'token' (ἔνδειγμα*), 'judgment' (κρίσις), 'count worthy' (καταξιόω), *v.* 5; 'flaming fire' (πῦρ φλογός), *v.* 8; 'punishment' (δίκη), 'suffer' (τίνω*), 'everlasting destruction' (αἰώνιος, ὄλεθρος*), 'from the presence' (ἀπὸ προσώπου), *v.* 9; 'glorify' (ἐνδοξάζω*), *vv.* 10 12; 'good pleasure of goodness' (εὐδοκία ἀγαθωσύνης*), *v.* 11; 'gathering together unto' (ἐπισυναγωγή), 2 1; 'shake' (σαλεύω), 'be troubled' (θροοῦμαι), *v.* 2; 'falling away' (ἀποστασία), *v.* 3; 'object of worship' (σέβασμα), *v.* 4; 'deceit of unrighteousness' (ἀπάτη ἀδικίας*), 'because' (ἀνθ' ὧν), 'love of truth' (ἀγάπη ἀληθείας*), *v.* 10; 'a working of error' (ἐνέργεια πλάνης*), *v.* 11; 'belief of truth' (πίστις ἀληθείας*), *v.* 13; 'chose' (αἱρέομαι), *v.* 13 (occurs once in Phil. 1 22 and Heb. 11 25 in another connection; the common word in Paul, to express the idea, being ἐκλέγω); 'good hope' (ἐλπὶς ἀγαθή*), *v.* 16 (cp Heb. 7 19 1 Pet. 1 3); 'unreasonable' (ἄτοπος), 3 2; 'busy-bodies' (περιεργάζομαι*), *v.* 11; 'well-doing' (καλοποιέω*), *v.* 13; 'note' (σημειοῦσθε*), *v.* 14; and the particle 'nor' (μήτε) in 2 2.

Considerably more than half of these, however, are found in the apocalyptic passages in chaps. 1 and 2, and their presence is sufficiently accounted for by the nature of the subject-matter, and it is now generally recognised that very little weight can be laid in any case upon the mere occurrence of *hapax legomena.*

More striking is the fact that the epistle contains very few words which are found in Paul's epistles but not elsewhere in the NT, except such as it has in common with 1 Thessalonians.

The particle 'if so be' (εἴπερ), 2 Thess. 1 6, and the word 'working' (ἐνέργεια), 2 9 11, are found half a dozen times in Paul, the former in Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, the latter in Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians, and 'goodness' (ἀγαθωσύνη) in Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, once each. The phrase 'as that' (ὡς ὅτι), 2 Thess. 2 2, occurs only in 2 Cor. 11 21; 'exalteth himself' (ὑπεραίρομαι), 2 Thess. 2 4, only in 2 Cor. 12 7; 'withdraw' (στέλλομαι), 2 Thess. 3 6, only in 2 Cor. 8 20; 'keep company with' (συναναμίγνυμαι), 2 Thess. 3 14, only in 1 Cor. 5 9 11; 'deceive' (ἐξαπατάω), 2 Thess. 2 3, which is found in Romans and 1 and 2 Corinthians, occurs also in the post-Pauline 1 Timothy.

On the whole, the argument from style, so far as it goes, seems to point away from Paul rather than toward him as author; but it must be recognised that no definite conclusion can be drawn from it.

Nor can any conclusion be drawn from the ethical and theological content of the epistle. There are but few characteristically Pauline ideas—*e.g.*, 1 11: 'that our God may count you worthy of [your] calling' (*ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ τῆς κλήσεως ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν*; cp Eph. 4 1); 2 16, 'God who loved us' (*ὁ θεὸς . . . ὁ ἀγαπήσας ἡμᾶς*; cp Rom. 8 3 Eph. 2 4); 2 13, 'God chose you from the beginning unto salvation' (*εἵλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν*; cp Eph. 1 4, where the idea is the same but not the language), and no argument can be drawn from any of these. On the other hand, there is nothing in the teaching of the epistle which can be pronounced in any way un-Pauline, except possibly the conception of divine recompense and vengeance in 1 6-12. One might almost be tempted, if accepting the epistle as a whole, to regard these verses as an interpolation and to connect the 'to which end' (*εἰς ὅ*) of *v.* 11 directly with 'that ye may be counted worthy' (*εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς*) of *v.* 5.

Much more serious than the objections to the genuineness of the epistle already mentioned is the objection drawn from its close resemblance to

12. From resemblance to 1 Thess.

1 Thessalonians, amounting at times to an almost slavish dependence. A detailed comparison of the two shows that the only new matter in the second is found in 1 5-12 2 2-12 15 3 1-5 10 13 *f.* 17.

Even within these passages there is more or less dependence upon 1 Thessalonians. Thus 2 Thess. 1 7 suggests 1 Thess. 1 10 2 19 4 16; and 2 Thess. 1 10*a* suggests 1 Thess. 3 13. 2 Thess. 2 15, taken with the verses immediately preceding, seems to show the influence of 1 Thess. 5 6-10. 2 Thess. 3 1 and 1 Thess. 5 25 both have the words, 'brethren, pray for us' (προσεύχεσθε, ἀδελφοί, περὶ ἡμῶν), which occur nowhere else in Paul, and 2 Thess. 3 1 and 1 Thess. 1 8 4 15 have the phrase 'word of the Lord' (λόγος κυρίου), which is also wanting in Paul's other epistles, though 'word of Christ' (λόγος Χριστοῦ) is found in Col. 3 16. 2 Thess. 3 3-5 contains reminiscences of 1 Thess. 5 22-24 1 3 3 11, and 2 Thess. 3 15 of 1 Thess. 5 12 14.

The remainder of the epistle, about a third of the whole, is simply a more or less close reproduction of the first epistle.

Thus, in addition to the salutation at the beginning and the benediction at the close, which are identical, except for the addition of 'from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ) in 2 Thess. 1 2, and of 'all' (πάντων) in 3 18, we find that 2 Thess. 1 1-4 is a condensed summary of 1 Thess. 1. 2 Thess. 2 1 has the clause 'now we beseech you, brethren' (ἐρωτῶμεν δὲ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί), which occurs in 1 Thess. 5 12 (cp 4 1) but nowhere else in Paul; also the clause 'touching the Parousia,' etc. (ὑπὲρ τῆς παρουσίας κ.τ.λ.), which is nearly identical with 1 Thess. 2 19 3 13 4 15 5 23, and the remainder of the verse suggests 1 Thess. 4 17. 2 Thess. 2 13 *f.* contains reminiscences of 1 Thess. 1 2 2 13 (though 'we are bound' [ὀφείλομεν] is added as in 1 3); of 1 Thess. 1 4 ('brethren, beloved of the Lord' [ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου] for 'brethren, beloved of God' [ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ θεοῦ]); of 1 Thess. 4 7 (though the combination of 'of spirit' [πνεύματος] with 'sanctification' [ἁγιασμῷ], and the phrase 'belief of truth' [πίστει ἀληθείας] are new); and of 1 Thess. 5 9. 2 Thess. 2 16 *f.* may be compared with 1 Thess. 3 2 12 *f.* (notice the connection of the two words, 'comfort' [παρακαλέσαι] and 'stablish' [στηρίζω]). 2 Thess. 3 6-12 is entirely, with the exception of the latter part of *v.* 10, which is new, a reproduction of 1 Thess. 2 6 *f.* 4 11 *f.*; *v.* 8 being verbally identical with a part of 1 Thess. 2 9 ('wrought in labour and travail night and day that we might not burden any of you' [ἐν κόπῳ καὶ μόχθῳ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐργαζόμενοι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαί τινα ὑμῶν]); and *vv.* 10*a* with the first clause of 1 Thess. 3 4 ('for even when we were with you' [καὶ γὰρ ὅτε ἦμεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς], the particle 'when' [ὅτε] being found nowhere else in either epistle, and 'for even' [καὶ γάρ] only here in 2 Thessalonians). The passage also contains striking reminiscences of 1 Thess. 1 6 *f.* 4 1 11 5 14. 2 Thess. 3 16, 'now the Lord of peace himself' (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος τῆς εἰρήνης) may be compared with 1 Thess. 5 23, 'and the God of peace himself' (αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης). The following words and phrases, which are common to 1 and 2 Thessalonians, but occur nowhere else in Paul, may also be referred to: 'work of faith' (ἔργον πίστεως), 2 Thess. 1 11 1 Thess. 1 3; 'obtaining' (περιποίησις), 2 Thess. 2 14 1 Thess. 5 9 (the word is found once in Ephesians in a different sense); 'stablish' (στηρίζω) with 'heart' (καρδίας), 2 Thess. 2 17 1 Thess. 3 13; 'direct' (κατευθύνω), 2 Thess. 3 5 1 Thess. 3 11; 'patience of Christ' (ὑπομονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ), 2 Thess. 3 5 (in 1 Thess. 1 3, 'patience of the hope of our Lord Jesus Christ' [ὑπομονὴ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ]); 'disorderly' [adv.] (ἀτάκτως), 2 Thess. 3 6 11; 'behave disorderly' (ἀτακτέω), 3 7; 'disorderly' [adj.] (ἄτακτος), 1 Thess. 5 14.

In the light of these many and close resemblances between the two epistles it is clear that the genuineness

13. By Paul?

of the second requires the assumption that Paul had much of the thought and language of the first epistle in his mind when he wrote the second. If it could be supposed that the two were written at a single sitting, or within a few hours or days of each other, as is possible in the case of Ephesians and Colossians, the resemblances might be explained; but an interval of at least some months separates 2 Thessalonians from 1 Thessalonians. The verbal resemblances are altogether too many and too close to be accounted for on the ground that the general situa-

[1] The words and phrases marked with an asterisk are found nowhere else in the NT.

tion in Thessalonica and Corinth remained much the same, and suggested consequently a similar line of thought. The genuineness of the second epistle can be maintained, in fact, only by assuming that Paul had a copy of 1 Thessalonians in his possession, and that he read it over again shortly before writing 2 Thessalonians, and saturated himself with its thought and language. It seems a little unlikely that Paul should have had a copy of his earlier epistle at hand,[1] but it is not impossible; and if he had, it was not perhaps unnatural that, when the report reached him that Thessalonians were appealing to a letter of his in support of their views touching the Parousia, he should read over the earlier epistle to see if it gave any justification for such an appeal.

This would also serve to explain particularly the relation between 2 Thess. 3 6 *f.* and 1 Thess. 2 6 *f.* In both passages Paul refers in almost identical terms to the fact that he had supported himself with his own hands while in Thessalonica; but in the first epistle he cites the fact as a defence against the charges of his enemies, in the second as an example to the disorderly.

The effort of Spitta (*Zur Gesch. u. Lit. des Urchristenthums*, 1 122 *f.*; cp TIMOTHY, § 6) to explain the resemblances and divergencies between the two epistles by the ingenious suggestion that the second was written not by Paul but by Timothy at Paul's request and in the name of the three fellow-workers, while it might relieve the difficulties somewhat, is rendered impossible by the use of the first person singular in 2 5 which cannot, occurring as it does without qualification, refer to Timothy, as Spitta assumes, but must refer to Paul. That the Thessalonians should have known from the handwriting that Timothy was the author of the epistle instead of Paul there is no ground for supposing, for it was Paul's custom to dictate his epistles to an amanuensis, and 3 17 must suggest to the readers of 2 Thessalonians that it was written in the same way.

14. Not by Paul?

Those who deny the authenticity of 2 Thessalonians explain the striking resemblances between the two epistles by the assumption that the author of the second purposely conformed it to 1 Thessalonians in order to gain Pauline authority for its eschatological teaching, and so to displace the earlier epistle, which was giving rise to so much trouble in the Thessalonian church. Such a procedure is not without parallels, nor can it be regarded as in itself more improbable than the unique self-repetition involved in Pauline authorship. Indeed, while the reproduction of the earlier epistle is at times subtle and of such a character as to suggest that the author wrote with a free hand, it seems quite as easy to suppose that some one familiar with Paul's style produced 2 Thessalonians in conscious imitation of 1 Thessalonians as to suppose that Paul unconsciously repeated himself so slavishly. And if this conscious effort be assumed, the reference to Paul's own signature in 3 17 (cp 1 Cor. 16 21 Col. 4 18 Gal. 6 11) need constitute no insurmountable obstacle.

15. Conclusion.

At the same time, in view of the considerations urged above in connection with the apocalyptic passage, the present writer is inclined to think that the evidence points rather in the direction of the Pauline authorship of the epistle, but it must be recognised that its genuineness is beset with serious difficulties, and that it is at best very doubtful.

Upon the epistles to the Thessalonians see the various introductions to the NT, the histories of the apostolic age, and lives of Paul, and the special commentaries: by Schott (1834); Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans* (1856, (3) 1894); Eadie (1877); P. Schmidt, *Der erste Thessalonicherbrief neu erklärt nebst einem Exkurs über den zweiten gleichnamigen Brief* (1885); Zimmer, *Theologischer Kommentar zu den Thessalonicherbriefen* (1891). Of the general commentaries on the NT special mention may be made of Lünemann (Meyer's *Handbuch*(4)), Bornemann (Meyer, (5) and (6)), and Schmiedel in Holtzmann's *Hand-Commentar zum NT*, Bd. 2 (1889). On the integrity of the epistles, see especially Clemen, *Die Einheitlichkeit der paulinischen Briefe* (1894), p. 13 *f.*, and on the text Zimmer, *Der Text der Thessalonicherbriefe* (1893).

16. Literature.

In defence of the genuineness of both epistles, see the NT introductions of Weiss, Jülicher, and Zahn, also Bornemann in Meyer. In defence of the first epistle, see also von Soden in *St.Kr.*, 1885, p. 263 *f.*, and Weizsäcker, *Ap. Zeitalter*, 241 *f.*; in defence of the second, Klöpper in *Theologische Studien und Skizzen aus Ostpreussen*, 8 (1889). Against the genuineness of both epistles, see especially Baur, *Der Apostel Paulus* (1845, (3) 1867); and against the genuineness of the second Weizsäcker, *l.c.*, 249 *f.*; Schmiedel, *l.c.*, 8 *f.*; Bahnsen, *JPT*, 1880, 401 *f.* For further literature see Holtzmann, *Einl.* (3) 210 *f.*, and Findlay in *Expos.*, 1900, 2 251 *f.* A. C. McG.

1 The common notion that copies of Paul's epistles must have been from the beginning carefully preserved, either by Paul himself or by his companions, rests upon a conception of their dogmatic importance which was not shared in Paul's own time, as is sufficiently indicated by the fact that so few of his epistles—so far as we know, only those which we still have—were handed down to the next generation, and that even the author of Acts apparently made no use of them in the composition of his work (see McGiffert, *l.c.*, 436).

THESSALONICA (θεccαλονικη,[1] WH, Acts 17 1 11 13 Phil. 4 16 2 Tim. 4 10; ethnic Θεσσαλονικεύς, Acts 27 2 20 4 1 Thess. 1 1 2 Thess. 1 1 [translated in the three latter passages by the curious syncopated form 'Thessalonians,' EV]). A large and important city (now *Salonica*) at the head of the Gulf of Salonica, which in ancient times was called the Thermaic Gulf, from the city itself. Thessalonica, we are told, was originally named Therma or Therme,[2] from the hot springs found on the coast in its neighbourhood. But Therme seems to have been a small place in the vicinity, from which, as well as from twenty-five other towns on the gulf, the inhabitants were compelled to migrate in order to create the new city (Strabo, 330, *frg.* 21; Plin. *HN*, 4 17).

1. History.

The creation of Thessalonica was due, according to the most probable account (that of Strabo, *l.c.*), to Cassander, who called it after his wife Thessalonica, step-sister of Alexander the Great (about 315 B.C.). The history of the town begins therefore with the Macedonian, and its importance increases as we approach the Roman, period. It was the great Macedonian naval station (Livy, 44 10); and when Macedonia was conquered by the Romans and was divided by them into four districts, Thessalonica was made the capital of the second region, *Macedonia Secunda* (168 B.C.; see MACEDONIA).[3] When the whole of Macedonia was reduced to a single province (146 B.C.) Thessalonica became virtually its capital.

Even before the close of the Republican period the natural advantages of Thessalonica had raised it to importance, for it lay upon the great route which connected Rome with the East (cp Cic. *De Prov. Cons.* 2: 'Thessalonicenses, positi in gremio imperii nostri'), about midway between Dyrrhachium on the Adriatic, and the river Hebrus in Thrace. It was the residence of the proconsul; Cicero during his exile found here a refuge, in the quæstor's house (*Pro Planc.* 41). During the first Civil War the town was the headquarters of the Pompeian party (Dio Cass. 41 18); but in the second war it took the side of Octavius and Antonius (Plut. *Brut.* 46; Appian, *BC* 4 118), and by way of reward was made a 'free city' (Plin. *HN* 4 17).[4] As a free city it was ruled by its own assembly (cp the use of the word δῆμος in Acts 17 5, in accordance with the actual constitutional fact) and by its own magistrates,[5] who here bore the special title of politarchs (πολιτάρχαι, Acts 17 6).

1 Θετταλονίκη in Pol. 23 4; Θεσσαλονίκεια in Str. 330, *frg.* 20 etc.

2 Θέρμη, Herod. 7 121, *et sæp.*; Thuc. 1 61 2 29. Θέρμα, Æschin. *De Fal. Leg.* 29 (Bekker).

3 After 158 B.C., when the right of silver coinage was granted by the Senate, Thessalonica issued silver tetradrachms with the inscription ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ. See Head, *Hist. Numm.* 213. Its bronze coins before and during the empire are plentiful, bearing the name of the town, or the ethnic in the genitive, often with titles μητρόπολις or κολωνία. The latter title dates from the time of Valerian (see Momms.-Marq. 1 320).

4 To this may allude the word ἐλευθερία with female head on some of its coins.

5 Cp Livy, 45 29, where Æmilius Paulus at Amphipolis

The title politarch does not occur elsewhere in Greek literature, but its use here is quite accurate, as appears from an inscription (*CIG*, 1967) which was engraved on a Roman arch of the *Vardar* gate (perhaps a monument of the victory of Philippi) recording its erection when certain persons, whose names are given, were politarchs of the city' (πολιταρχούντων).[1] It is doubtful whether the number of politarchs was five or six (see a paper on the politarchs by Dr. Burton, reprinted from the *Am. Jour. Theol.* [1897], 598, where other inscriptions are cited from Macedonia, and more particularly from Thessalonica, in which the title πολιτάρχαι, or the verb πολιταρχοῦντες, occurs).

The town flourished greatly. Strabo (330, *frg.* 21) calls it the μητρόπολις of the Macedonia of his time, and notes its populousness (323, ἣ νῦν μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων εὐανδρεῖ). Lucian, in the second century A.D., speaks in similar terms (*Asin. Aur.* 46, πόλεως τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τῆς μεγίστης Θεσσαλονίκης).

The spread of the Jews after Alexander's death would doubtless affect the city, well placed as it was for controlling the trade of Macedonia.

2. NT references.

That the Jewish community in Paul's time was fairly large is evident from the fact that it possessed a synagogue here (Acts 17 1; contrast Philippi, and compare with Berœa, which also, being a commercial town, possesses a synagogue, Acts 17 10). The number of the Jews settled in the town had also produced an appreciable effect upon the Hellenic section of the population, and prepared the way for Paul's work of evangelisation by the creation of a large class of proselytes (cp Acts 17 4, 'of the devout Greeks a great multitude,' EV; πλῆθος πολύ). A testimony to the number and influence of the Jews, both in Thessalonica and in all this region of Macedonia, is to be found in the apparent ease with which they excited hostility against Paul. The exact ground of complaint alleged against Paul at Thessalonica should be closely compared with the charge used against him at Philippi, for the difference runs closely parallel with the actual difference of political status between the two towns.

The charge at Thessalonica is virtually one of political innovation or revolution (*v.* 7, 'contrary to the decrees of Cæsar' . . . 'another king')—a thing to which the Empire was very sensitive, and one fraught with grave possibilities of undesirable changes for the people of Thessalonica if the imperial authorities were minded to take it seriously. In Philippi, on the other hand, a Roman colony, where there could be no question of loyalty, the charge touches *religious* innovations (see on this point, Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 229 *f.*). The riot itself, though not so represented in the narrative in Acts, would appear to have surpassed that at Philippi in malignity and violence (cp 1 Thess. 2 14 *f.*). The attitude of the magistrates, so far as can be inferred from the short account, would seem to have differed entirely from that of the magistrates at Philippi, and to have been not in harmony with the feelings of the dregs of the populace stirred up by the Jews. With the attitude of the politarchs and upper classes of Thessalonica we may well compare that of the Asiarchs at Ephesus (Acts 19 31). Nevertheless the politarchs were obliged in the interests of their own safety to fetter Paul's work effectually by taking sureties of Jason and other prominent Christians of Thessalonica against the repetition of the teaching. Paul was therefore cut off from the city by a barrier more effective than the threat of merely personal danger (1 Thess. 2 18, 'Satan hindered us.' Cp Rams. *op. cit.* 230).

As regards the time spent in the city by Paul, nothing certain can be inferred. Probably, however, it would be an error to confine his work to the limited space mentioned in Acts 17 2 ('three sabbath days'). Not only is a longer sojourn indicated by the expression used in 1 Thess. 1 8 ('For from you sounded out the word of the Lord not only in Macedonia and Achaia'), but such is perhaps proved by the statement in Phil. 4 16 ('For even in Thessalonica ye sent once and again unto my necessity'). Further, the church in Thessalonica would seem to have been composed very largely of Gentile converts (whether proselytes or pagans at the time of Paul's teaching is, of course, not to be decided). At any rate the Jewish Scriptures are not employed in the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and in 1 Thess. 1 9 the members are spoken of as having 'turned to God from idols.' Hence we should infer that much time was spent in Gentile circles, apart from the work among the Jews which is most prominent in Acts. It does not appear that the inference as to the length of Paul's stay in Thessalonica derives any further support from a consideration of such passages as 1 Thess. 2 9 2 Thess. 3 8 *f.*, in which stress is laid upon Paul's self-supporting industry.

Though the name of Thessalonica does not recur in Acts, Paul almost certainly saw the town again, both going and returning, on his third missionary journey (Acts 20 1 *f.*). On his return two members of the church of Thessalonica accompanied him into Asia (*v.* 4) [see ARISTARCHUS, SECUNDUS]. Possibly he was also there after his first imprisonment (cp Phil. 1 26 2 24); the visit to Macedonia recorded in 1 Tim. 1 3 might very well embrace an excursion to Thessalonica.

Of members of the church at Thessalonica we can specify Jason (Acts 17 5; possibly identical with the Jason of Rom. 16 21), Demas (probably; 2 Tim. 4 10), Gaius (Acts 19 29), Secundus (Acts 20 4), and above all Aristarchus (Acts 19 29 20 4 27 2; he is alluded to also in Col. 4 10 and Philem. 24).

Christianity, having been once established in Thessalonica, spread rapidly (1 Thess. 1 8), and in later times the city was the bulwark of religion in this region of Europe, so much so that it was designated 'The Orthodox City.' Its name is prominent in the Byzantine historians. It was a safeguard of the Empire during the Gothic inroads, and later during the Sclavonic wars, of which it bore the brunt from the middle of the sixth century A.D. onwards. During the Middle Ages the city was thrice captured, by the Saracens, the Normans, and the Turks. It is now a flourishing place, the second in European Turkey after Constantinople. It is specially rich in remains of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture, surpassing in this respect any other city in Greece (Leake).

3. Literature.

The most elaborate work is that by Tafel, the first part of which was published in 1835 and afterwards prefixed as *Prolegomena* to his *De Thessalonica eiusque agro, Dissertatio geographica* (Berlin, 1839). This is especially full in relation to the topography and the Gothic and Sclavonic wars. For the history Finlay's *History of Greece* (ed. Tozer) may also be consulted. Descriptions of the town and remains are given by all travellers from Clark (1810) to Leake (1835), and onwards. A good succinct account will be found in Murray's *Handbook to Greece*.

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THESSALY (θεccαλια, Acts 17 15 D). Thessaly is mentioned only in an addition to Acts 17 15 in D, which runs, 'and those who conducted Paul brought him as far as Athens; [and he passed by Thessalia, for he was prevented from preaching the word unto them].' It is not clear whether at this time Thessaly was included in the province of Achæa, or fell to Macedonia. If the latter was the case, we should naturally expect to find Paul going from Berœa to Larissa, the chief town in Thessaly, for his call was to Macedonia (Acts 16 10); and in that case his neglect to visit Thessaly must have been due to divine injunction (as in Acts 16 7). If Thessaly fell at that time to Achæa, there was no necessity specifically to mention its omission, unless we assume that already Paul felt that he was called to a wider field than Macedonia. It is indeed a strange omission in Acts that nowhere is it indicated when and how this conviction forced itself upon his mind; already in Athens (Acts 17 17) the special call to Macedonia is forgotten in the absorbing self-imposed task of disputing with the Jews and proselytes of that city. Apparently there is no feeling of restriction to a particular province.

As regards the actual attribution of Thessaly, Ptolemy assigns it to Macedonia, Strabo to Achæa (p. 840). The separation may have been the work of Vespasian.

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declares 'omnium primum liberos esse iubere Macedonas, habentes urbes easdem agrosque, utentes legibus suis, annuos creantes magistratus.'

[1] The arch was demolished about 1867, but the inscription is now preserved in the Brit. Mus. (Murray, *Hdbk. to Greece*, 826). It is remarked as a curious coincidence (Conybeare and Howson, *Life and Epp. of St. Paul*, 1 395) that three of the names on the inscription are identical with those of three of Paul's friends in this region (Sopater, Gaius, and Secundus; cp Acts 19 29 20 4). Possibly a later date should be assigned to the arch than is given above (so Leake and Tafel), but that will hardly invalidate the weight of the inscription as a testimony to the accuracy of Acts in this passage.

THEUDAS

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Theudas (ΘΕΥΔΑΣ[1] Ti. WH) is mentioned only in Acts 5 36, where Gamaliel, in his speech in the synedrium

1. Acts and Jos. on Theudas. in support of his plea for letting the apostles alone, names him as the leader of a movement which, notwithstanding its threatening appearance at first, very soon came to nothing. The peculiar interest which attaches to this passage lies in the fact that a quite similar story is found also in Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 5 1, §§ 97 *f.*). (*a*) As the point to be investigated is whether Lk. has here drawn upon Josephus, it will be convenient to print both passages in close juxtaposition.

Josephus.—*Φάδου δὲ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐπιτροπεύοντος γόης τις ἀνὴρ Θευδᾶς ὀνόματι πείθει τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἀναλαβόντα τὰς κτήσεις ἕπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν Ἰορδάνην ποταμὸν αὐτῷ. προφήτης γὰρ ἔλεγεν εἶναι, καὶ προστάγματι τὸν ποταμὸν σχίσας δίοδον ἔφη παρέξειν αὐτοῖς ῥᾳδίαν. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων πολλοὺς ἠπάτησεν. οὐ μὴν εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφροσύνης ὄνασθαι Φᾶδος, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεμψεν ἴλην ἱππέων ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἥτις ἀπροσδόκητος ἐπιπεσοῦσα πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνεῖλεν, πολλοὺς δὲ ζῶντας ἔλαβεν· αὐτόν τε τὸν Θευδᾶν ζωγρήσαντες ἀποτέμνουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ κομίζουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.* 'While Fadus was procurator of Judæa, a certain charlatan, Theudas by name, persuaded a very great number of people to take their effects with them and follow him to the river Jordan; for he told them that he was a prophet, and said he would at the word of command divide the river and give them an easy passage through it; and by these words he deluded many. Fadus, however, did not permit them to gain aught by their folly, but sent a regiment of cavalry against them, which, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many of them and took many alive. Taking Theudas also alive, they cut off his head, and carried it to Jerusalem.'

Acts.—*πρὸ γὰρ τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς, λέγων εἶναί τινα ἑαυτόν, ᾧ προσεκλίθη ἀνδρῶν ἀριθμὸς ὡς τετρακοσίων. ὃς ἀνῃρέθη καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διελύθησαν καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν.* 'For before these days rose up Theudas, giving himself out to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain; and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed and came to nought.

(*b*) In so far as the differences betwen the two accounts affect their substance, they are so unimportant as in no way to hinder us from believing that the same fact is intended in both.

Lk. naturally is shorter, for his object is not to tell the history of Theudas, but simply to cite an instance appropriate to the purpose of Gamaliel's speech. He therefore mentions only the beginning, and the ultimate issue of the movement. Therefore, there is no contradiction with Josephus when Lk. says of the followers of Theudas simply that 'they were dispersed and came to nought.' If Theudas gives himself out 'to be somebody,' the meaning can well be what Josephus says—that he called himself a prophet.[2] Lk.'s expression recalls Acts 8 9, where almost the same claim is atributed to Simon Magus—an identical claim if 'great' (*μέγαν*) there be a gloss (see SIMON MAGUS, § 1, n.).

The greatest discrepancy is that whilst Lk. is able to give the number of followers of Theudas as about 400 men, Josephus has *τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον*. It does not follow from this expression that he intends a substantially larger number.

Krenkel (below, § 8), 170 *f.*, has collected abundant instances to show that Josephus, in places where we are able to control his statements, often gives much too high figures. On the other hand, we are not precluded from supposing that to Lk.'s 400 men, women and children ought to be added.

That the number must have been a relatively moderate one is evident from Josephus's own statement that an *ἴλη* (=*ala*) of cavalry (some 500 men) was all that was required for the suppression of the rising.

(*c*) Much more serious is the next difficulty. Lk. goes on to say that *after* Theudas, Judas of Galilee raised another revolt in the days of the taxing. As he particularises the taxing by means of the definite article (*ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς*) and in his own Gospel (2 1 *f.*) mentions that under Quirinius (in 6 or 7 A.D.) and that alone, he cannot intend any other here; and it was at the time of this taxing that in point of fact Judas of Galilee did make his revolutionary attempt (see JUDAS OF GALILEE). Thus, Lk. carries the insurrection of Theudas back to a somewhat early date. According to Josephus, however, the insurrection of Theudas was when Cuspius Fadus was procurator, that is, some time between 44 and about 46 A.D. (Tiberius Alexander, the successor of Fadus, held office till 48 A.D.). If Lk. is thinking of the same Theudas, he has thus not merely assigned him to a wrong date but, what is more, has put into Gamaliel's mouth a reference to an occurrence which at the alleged time of speaking had not yet happened.

To avoid the ascription of so serious an error to Lk., it has often been assumed that he has in his mind

2. Not two Theudases. another Theudas than the one mentioned by Josephus. Indeed, the attempt has been made to prove this from Josephus himself. (*a*) Sonntag (below, § 8) thought he had discovered Lk.'s Theudas in the Simon who, originally a slave of Herod the Great, shortly after the death of that monarch (4 B.C.), gathered round him a band of robbers in Peræa, got himself chosen to be their king, burned and plundered royal citadels in Jericho and elsewhere, but finally was defeated in battle by Gratus, an officer of Herod's, pursued and beheaded (*BJ* ii. 4 2, §§ 57-59, *Ant.* xvii. 10 6, §§ 273-276). That this Simon, however, also bore the name of Theudas is a mere conjecture. (*b*) Zuschlag (below, § 8) identifies Lk.'s Theudas with Theudion, brother of Doris, the first wife of Herod the Great and mother of his eldest son, Antipater.

After the execution of Herod's third son, Aristobulus (7 B.C.), Theudion married Berenice his widow (*BJ* i. 28 1, § 553). He subsequently engaged in a plot against the life of Herod the Great which had been set on foot by the Antipater just mentioned. Antipater caused poison to be fetched from Egypt through the agency of Antiphilus, one of his friends; Antiphilus passed it on to Theudion and Theudion to Pheroras the brother of Herod. Pheroras handed it over to the charge of his wife. Not till after the death of Pheroras (5 B.C.) did the matter come to the knowledge of Herod; the result was that Antipater was put to death (*BJ* i. 30 5 *f.*, §§ 592-598; *Ant.* xvii. 4 2, §§ 69-77). It is plain that between this Theudion and the Theudas of Lk. there is not the faintest resemblance, and it is therefore quite useless to inquire whether Theudion could also be called Theudas. In point of fact, Theudas can quite well be an abbreviation of Theudion; but with few exceptions a person was known exclusively either by the full or by the abbreviated form of his name, not by both indifferently (Winer, *Gram.*(8), § 16 9).

(*c*) Wieseler (below, § 8) discerns the Theudas of Lk. in Matthias the son of Margaloth or Mergaloth or Margalos, a teacher of the law, who, together with his colleague Judas the son of Sariphæus or Sephoræus, in the last days of Herod the Great, persuaded a number of their pupils to cut down the golden eagle which Herod, in contravention of the law against graven images (Ex. 20 4 *f.* Dt. 4 15-18 23 5 8 *f.* 27 15), had caused to be placed over the great gate of the temple. Herod roused himself from his deathbed and caused Matthias and Judas and their most prominent accomplices to be burnt to death, and the rest of the forty who had been taken to be executed (*BJ* i. 33 2-4, §§ 648-655, *Ant.* xvii. 6 2-4, §§ 149-167).

This story also has but few points of agreement with what we read in Acts. That Matthias gave himself out to be any great person of any kind is neither asserted nor probable; he simply appealed to the OT command. Nor can it be said that he won over a band of followers; for those who joined in his undertaking were from the outset his pupils, and the entire action was an affair of a few hours, since the temple captain intervened at once with armed force. At the same time all those taking part, who were not captured, were dispersed, and it was only afterwards that Matthias and Judas were seized. Further, Judas was as deeply involved as Matthias; in fact, in *BJ* and in the first two mentions of him in *Ant.* he is named before Matthias, and only afterwards (§ 167) does Josephus name Matthias alone because directly before he has spoken of another Matthias; so also xvii. 9 1, § 206: *Ματθίαν καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ*. The only reason Wieseler has for passing Judas over is that the name Matthias has the same meaning as Theudas.[1] But that Matthias bore this second name also by no means follows.

[1] On the name see next col., n. 1.

[2] If Theudas promised his followers to lead them through Jordan, like another Joshua, this will be not the sole purpose he had in view, but probably only a first trial by means of which he hoped to confirm faith in his miraculous power with a view to being afterwards in a position to take up some bolder enterprise.

[1] *Θευδᾶς* is one of the names formed with the well-known abbreviation-ending (cp NAMES, § 86, end; LUKE, § 6; APOLLOS, § 1,

(*d*) Other critics, with rather more prudence, attempt no identifications, but nevertheless declare that some Theudas other than the Theudas of Josephus must have come forward before Judas of Galilee. Thus, in the last instance, again Ramsay (below, § 8). The scholar who with Ramsay starts from the axiom that Lk. is a historian of the same rank as Thucydides (see GALATIA, § 12, end) will not readily give up this way of dealing with the difficulty. Those on the other hand who take cognisance of the great untrustworthiness of Lk. in specifically historical questions (cp ACTS, §§ 2, 4, 13 *f.*; GOSPELS, § 132; LYSANIAS) will regard the assertion as rash. Ramsay is certainly right in saying (p. 259) of Josephus that 'he does not allude, or profess to allude, to every little disturbance on the banks of the Jordan.' But it is just as certain that Gamaliel must be supposed to be alluding not to a little but to a great disturbance, if his speech is to be in keeping with the gravity of the occasion. An occurrence which could reasonably be placed side by side with the affair of Judas of Galilee would certainly not have been passed over by Josephus.

Therefore also it is quite irrelevant to urge that the name Theudas was a common one, that the later Theudas was perhaps the son or grandson of the earlier (so Blass), or that Theudas was not his original name but only one which he had afterwards assumed (so Ramsay). As for the frequency with which the name occurs, the evidence—particularly that from the inscriptions—will be found in Schürer (*GJV*[2] 1 473, ET i. 2 168 *f.*). That the name was frequent among the Jews, however, is not affirmed. John Lightfoot (on Acts 5 36) mentions two men named תודום in rabbinic literature, with regard to whom he himself adds that neither of them can be the person intended in Acts.

Lastly, some critics have asked: If one or other of the two authors must have been mistaken, why not Josephus 'cui et in historia et in chronologia titubari et vagari non insuetum?' (so John Lightfoot). Joh. Dav. Michaelis (*Einl. i. d. Schriften d. Neuen Bundes,*[4] 1 [1788] p. 62 *f.*) formulates this position with greater precision thus: Lk. dates Theudas correctly; Josephus correctly remembers (from his childhood) that a revolt occurred under Cuspius Fadus, but is mistaken in thinking that Theudas was the name of the leader on that occasion. Blass is conscious that such a charge against Josephus would be inadmissible, but reaches the same result by the extremely bold assumption (which, however, he introduces only with a *fortasse*) that, in describing the rising under Cuspius Fadus, Josephus wrote either another name than that of Theudas or no name at all, and that his copyists, carelessly identifying this narrative with that of Acts 5 36, introduced the name of Theudas into his text. This identification would have been occasioned by the circumstance that with both authors the mention of Judas of Galilee immediately follows.

3. No error in Josephus.

Indeed our problem becomes still more complicated than at first sight it appeared to be, by reason of the fact that Josephus, immediately after the words about Theudas quoted above (§ 1), mentions Tiberius Alexander's succession to Cuspius Fadus in the procuratorship and the famine in Judæa during his term (Acts 11 28), and then proceeds as follows:—

4. Did Lk. know Josephus?

(*Ant.* xx. 5 2, § 102 [Naber]) *πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνηρέθησαν* [Niese, *ἀνήχθησαν*] *τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐδηλώσαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων, οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος*: 'Besides all this, the sons of Judas the Galilæan were now put to death,—[that Judas] who drew away the people from the Romans when Quirinius made a census of Judæa as has been shown in a former part of this work. Their names were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified.'

With this must be carefully compared what is said in Acts 5 37:

μετὰ τοῦτον ἀνέστη Ἰούδας ὁ Γαλιλαῖος ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς ἀπογραφῆς, καὶ ἀπέστησεν λαὸν ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ· κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ διεσκορπίσθησαν: 'After this man rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away [some of the] people after him: he also perished, and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad.'

(*a*) If Lk. cannot be cleared of the charge of having made a mistake about Theudas it will be exceedingly natural to look for the cause of his mistake in this passage of Josephus, on the assumption that Lk. took the latter part of the passage just quoted from Josephus as referring not to the sons of Judas but to Judas himself. If so, it could indeed appear as if Theudas ought to be placed before Judas as long as Lk. confined his attention to the dating of Judas which he found in his own gospel (2 1 *f.*) and left that of Theudas out of consideration (see further, § 7 *b*).

The remarkable collocation, by which the two are mentioned in the same order, has (since Keim) determined most critics who are not shocked at the suggestion of an acquaintance with Josephus on the part of Lk. to see here a proof of such an acquaintance—a view which it is rather difficult to avoid. Indeed, so strong is the proof that it and it alone has led Wendt, who in the seventh edition of Meyer's commentary on Acts had still denied the use of Josephus by Lk., to affirm it in the eighth edition (1899, pp. 35-38); and Blass, who does not admit it, nevertheless says: 'non facile adducimur ut casui tribuamus Theodæ Judæque apud utrumque scriptorem junctam commemorationem,' and has no better way of escape than that mentioned in § 3, end.

(*b*) As for the phraseology: the expression 'to draw away the people' (*λαὸν ἀποστῆσαι*) in particular is one that two authors writing independently would not easily happen upon. Then there is also the mention of the census. In 'obeyed' (*ἐπείθοντο*) Lk. uses, both in the case of Judas and in that of Theudas, the same verb which Josephus uses in speaking of Theudas ('persuades,' *πείθει*). It is specially important to mark that of all the five passages of Josephus in which Judas is mentioned (see JUDAS) only that which we are at present considering exhibits these agreements with Lk. Theudas's description of himself is introduced in both cases by *λέγειν*, and the participle *λέγων* which Lk. employs Josephus has in his second passage. The statement that after his capture Theudas had his head cut off was plainly too detailed for Lk.; but he uses with reference to him the verb *ἀναιρεῖν* ('was slain') which Josephus applies to the death of the followers of Theudas (*ἀνεῖλεν*, 'he slew'), and to the sons of Judas in precisely the same aor. pass. (*ἀνηρέθησαν*, 'were slain') as we find in Lk. Any one of these coincidences can appear indecisive, but taken together they turn the scale.

The last of the coincidences enumerated above is, it is true, denied by Blass. (*a*) Eusebius (*HE* ii. 11 1) quotes the words of Gamaliel regarding Theudas in indirect narration as follows:—*ὡς ἄρα κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον χρόνον ἀνέστη Θευδᾶς, λέγων ἑαυτὸν εἶναί τινα, ὃς κατελύθη, καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείσθησαν αὐτῷ διελύθησαν*: 'that at the time specified Theudas arose, giving himself out to be somebody, who was destroyed, and all, as many as obeyed him, were dispersed.'

5. Text and object of Acts 5 36 *f.*

Although this quotation is far from being verbally exact (notice *ἐπείσθησαν* and the order of the words *ἑαυτὸν εἶναί τινα*), Blass, nevertheless, believes that we have a survival of the original text of Lk. in *κατελύθη*, and that we shall be warranted in supposing the *ἀνηρέθη* of the best authorities to have been first introduced into Lk. by copyists of the Bible, from the text of Josephus

n. 1; SILAS, § 7 *a*). Probably it comes from Θεόδωρος, Θεόδοτος, or some such form, and thus the meaning does coincide with that of Matthias ('gift of God'); but various other forms such as Θεοδέκτης, Θεόδημος and the like could also have produced it. Θευ- for Θεο- rests upon a contraction met with mostly in the Ionic dialect (Gust. Meyer, *Griech. Gram.*[2] § 119; Schweizer, *Gram. der pergamen. Inschriften*, 1898, § 8 2 *b*; Meisterhans, *Gram. der att. Inschriften,*[3] § 19 1). If the accent lies on the first element of the composite name as in the first instances given above (of which Θεύδοτος is established in Attic inscriptions of about 200 B.C. and Θεύδωρος—both with ευ—from the period of the empire, whilst Θεόδοτος is already found in Plato and Θεόδωρος in Thucydides), it is proper to accentuate the word as Θεύδας (see SILAS, col. 4519, n. 2); if such a form as Θευδόσιος—a name met with also in Attic inscriptions of about 160 B.C.—is at the basis of the contraction Θευδᾶς will be the correct accentuation.

(ἀνεῖλεν; cp ἀνῃρέθησαν in his section relating to the sons of Judas), and *vice versa* that the name of Theudas was introduced into the text of Josephus also by copyists (above, § 3). Assuredly a bold hypothesis.

(*b*) Blass considers that some support for this hypothesis can be found in the reading of D*: *ὃς διελύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν.*

Not only, however, does this vary greatly from the rendering of Eusebius; it also appears to be the older of the two. This has been recognised by Blass in so far as he takes up into what he maintains to be the first form in which Acts was written the words αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ (=ἑαυτοῦ) and omits the διελύθησαν. It is all the more remarkable to find that he refrains from proceeding to the natural consequence—that of taking the κατελύθη of Eusebius as a modification of the διελύθη in D which was preferred after the διελύθησαν had been introduced from the ordinary text into the text of D. Καταλύειν will have been selected in the process because it occurs in *vv.* 38 *f.* The converse, that D or his predecessor changed the κατελύθη (of the original text put forward by Blass) which yet was not followed by any διελύθησαν, into διελύθη, might be hard to explain.

(*c*) On the other hand it is nevertheless quite intelligible why Blass should have found difficulty in accepting the text of D entirely, including the διελύθη, as the original. For D's text admits very readily of being regarded as modification—not indeed of the primitive text assumed by Blass, yet certainly of the generally received text of the best authorities. The ἀνῃρέθη καὶ . . . διελύθησαν has here been compressed into one verb διελύθη.

If this διελύθησαν had not lain before the scribe, the single verb διελύθη would never have been chosen. It can be applied to a group of men who have been dispersed or to a thing which has been destroyed, but to apply it to one man is not natural. Only καταλύειν is so used (*v.* 39); but κατελύθη in view of what has been said above cannot be accepted as the original reading. By the compression of the two verbs above referred to, however, the construction also has suffered. The subject to διελύθη is in D not merely ὅς but also the plural as well, πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, and this same second subject receives further a verb in the plural: καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. The Latin translator of D has seen that this is inadmissible, and has therefore taken occasion to delete the καί before ἐγένοντο: 'qui interfectus est, et omnes quotquot obtemperabant ei facti sunt nihil'; and Hilgenfeld (*Acta apost. græce et lat.*, 1899) has found necessary the following punctuation—so completely inconsistent with the genius of the Greek language—of the words of D which he too regards as those of the true original: ὃς διελύθη αὐτός, δι' αὑτοῦ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐγένοντο εἰς οὐδέν. The reason for the compression of the two verbs into one (διελύθη) was perhaps that the eye of the copyist before it reached ἀνῃρέθη had already run ahead to διελύθησαν. Yet the addition of the words αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ seems to indicate that the alteration, even if in the first instance it was due to an accident of the sort indicated, was nevertheless carried out with full consciousness.

(*d*) Blass also urges reasons derived from the context for preferring κατελύθη to ἀνῃρέθη. Gamaliel's design is to persuade his hearers to leave the apostles alone (*vv.* 38 *f.*); but if the revolt of Theudas had been quelled by his being put to death, such an instance would tend to show on the contrary that the right policy was to punish the apostles with death. We are willing to believe that it was this argument, whether by itself or taken in connection with the oversight conjectured above under (*c*), which led to the reading διελύθη αὐτὸς δι' αὑτοῦ in D. But the argument is not conclusive.

Wendt (in Meyer's *Comm.*) has already pointed out that it is not the apostles who are intended to be put in the parallel position to that of Theudas, but Jesus himself as the head of the new movement; Jesus, however, has already suffered the penalty of death, and Gamaliel therefore might all the more assume that his followers were no longer seriously to be feared. At the same time it is by no means indisputable that Lk. was here thinking of Jesus. Had it been so, to have referred expressly to the fact of his death would have been very natural. In point of fact not only is this reference not made, but in speaking of the case of Theudas it is not so much as hinted that his death was the *cause* of the dispersion of his followers; rather are the two facts brought into juxtaposition merely.

Thus the point of the comparison between the movement originated by Theudas and that in which the apostles were engaged will rather be simply that both at first had an apparently threatening character but soon lose it, without reference to the manner in which the change is effected. If this view is correct, it must be conceded that the example of Theudas from Josephus is not in all its particulars quite apposite, and the attempt of Blass to discover or conjecture another Theudas who was not 'slain' (ἀνῃρέθη) but only 'broken' (κατελύθη) must appear to be called for.

(*e*) But let us now for a little leave aside all this argumentation and simply ask: What of Judas of Galilee? What avails it to eliminate the death of Theudas by operations on the text if nevertheless that of Judas remains? True, Josephus knows nothing of it; but this does not come into account, for Lk. makes Gamaliel say, 'he also perished': κἀκεῖνος ἀπώλετο. Against this Blass can only adduce the Perpignan codex cited in ACTS, col. 50, n. 2. This in fact has for ἀπώλετο in the case of Judas, just as for ἀνῃρέθη in that of Theudas, 'dissolutus est'; but must we believe that the original has been preserved in a solitary Latin translation? Is it not very easily conceivable that the second 'dissolutus est' is due to repetition by a careless copyist? And who was it who introduced the ἀπώλετο in the case of Judas? The ἀνῃρέθη for Theudas, Blass will have it, is taken from Josephus; but the ἀπώλετο for Judas could not at all have been taken from Josephus by way of correction of a κατελύθη originally written by Lk. (according to Blass), for Josephus says nothing at all about the end of Judas.

It thus appears that text-criticism is of no avail in the endeavour to show that Lk. has fallen into no error or to disprove his acquaintance with Josephus.

6. Separation of sources.

Our next question therefore must be as to whether analysis of the sources can contribute nothing to a solution of the problems of our passage. Most of the source-critics named in ACTS, § 11, have no difficulty in attributing the mistake as to Theudas along with the entire speech of Gamaliel to the author of their 'secondary' source, to whom also they trace everything else that is inappropriate or incredible in Acts. The situation is changed somewhat if, as Clemen holds, the two verses about Theudas and Judas of Galilee were introduced into Gamaliel's speech by the final redactor only. Clemen shares the view of Blass as to the inappropriateness of both these instances to the purpose of the speech, and therefore assumes that its purpose had not been recognised with sufficient clearness by that redactor. Lastly, B. Weiss, with whom Feine and Hilgenfeld concur, regards only the instance of Theudas (from ἀνέστη in *v.* 36 to ἀνέστη in *v.* 37) as being due to the final redactor. The motive of the interpolation was, he thinks, because the movement led by Theudas, as being of a more religious character, supplied a better parallel to that led by the apostles than the purely political agitation of Judas of Galilee. Even if this is not very convincing, there is nevertheless this advantage gained by means of Weiss's hypothesis that the literatim repetition of ἀνέστη which would seem clumsy if we suppose a single writer, as well as that of πάντες ὅσοι ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, become less inexplicable. All critics who accept separation of sources at all are agreed in admitting the existence of the error in the existing text of Acts; as to acquaintance with Josephus on the part of the author of *v.* 36 they differ in opinion, and this is easily possible, since separation of sources naturally cannot shed any light upon this question.

(*a*) Thus we must resume the question at the point where we left it in § 4 *a*. Lk.'s acquaintance with Josephus was in no case an exact one; in fact it is sometimes denied even from a standpoint for which the chronological difficulty does not exist.

7. Inexact use of Jos. by Lk.

Thus Schürer (below § 8) without holding the priority of Lk. in point of time, says: 'either Lk. took no knowledge of Josephus at all, or if he did he afterwards forgot all that he had read. The first supposition, as the simpler, seems preferable.' With reference to the case before us, he therefore supposes that any knowledge Lk. had regarding Theudas was by hearsay only. In that case, however,

the remarkable degree of coincidence with Josephus must be set down to mere chance—at which explanation even Blass stumbles (above, § 4 *a*).

(*b*) It is difficult to see why the following explanation might not serve. Lk. had made notes from Josephus in which occurred the exact words now common to both authors. According to the order of Josephus, Theudas stood in the first place, Judas in the second. Perhaps in his reading Lk. had overlooked the circumstance that Josephus strictly speaking was dealing with the sons of Judas, and thus erroneously took what was said of the fate of these as referring to the father; perhaps, however, on the other hand he read quite correctly, but at the same time made his note only to some such effect as this, that 'Judas of Galilee stirred the people to revolt in the days of the taxing'; because the instance of the father seemed to him better suited for his purpose than that of the sons. If now he had never before heard anything of a trustworthy kind about Theudas, it will certainly be excusable in him if he did not retain in his memory the date of Theudas (which of course he did not require for his actual purpose and therefore did not note), and (especially if the composition of his work did not follow immediately on the making of his notes) took the order of his notes to be also in chronological order, and therefore represented Theudas as appearing before Judas whose date was well known to him. If he assigns to Judas himself the fate which according to Josephus overtook his sons, this admits of being explained, on the first of the assumptions suggested above, from careless reading of the passage; on the second it explains itself. Even Krenkel concedes that Lk., even without literary authority for it, could believe that Judas must have come to the same end as nearly all the insurrectionary leaders of that period (see JUDAS, 10).

An instructive example of careless reading which no one can dispute is to be met with in Eusebius (*HE* 2 11), who reproduces verbatim Josephus's account of Theudas, including the mention of Fadus, and nevertheless says that it relates to the same event as Gamaliel refers to in his speech. The mention of Fadus had thus failed to suggest to him the question as to the date to which the event ought to be assigned, and as to whether it could possibly be reconciled with the assumed date of Gamaliel's speech.

(*c*) The attempt here made to account for the remarkable degree of coincidence between Josephus and Lk. would have to be abandoned only in the event of its being possible to show that Lk. could not have used Josephus. Not to speak, however, of the great number of cases in which his employment of that author is raised to a very high degree of probability indeed, if not to absolute certainty, the non-employment in the strict sense is incapable of being proved. It is not difficult, indeed, to prove that Lk. did not make use of Josephus in the manner in which a modern scholar does; but all the cases in which he diverges from him admit of being arranged under two classes; either he knows some other account besides that of Josephus and prefers it[1] (whether, in our judgment, rightly or no is not the question), or he fails to use statements of Josephus as to the accuracy of which he would have had no doubts, simply because he has forgotten them, unless indeed, perchance, he had never read them (for it is possible that his use of Josephus may have been sporadic only).

(*d*) Let us suppose, however, the case that a modern scholar has read the whole of Josephus—or most of him. Will he at the end of his reading be in a position to say with confidence, for example, what were the territories included in the tetrarchy of Philip, and particularly whether Ituræa (Lk. 3 1) was one of them (there are, in all, five passages in Josephus, not all of them in full agreement, to be taken account of here; cp HEROD, § 11; LYSANIAS, § 1 *b*), or to recapitulate the facts about Lysanias? He will have to refer to his author again. But not only was such an expedient more laborious and time-consuming in those days in the case of a large work not then, as now, divided into chapters and paragraphs or provided with an index; we do not, above all, in the least know whether Lk. deemed this necessary, or whether he did not rather acquiesce all too willingly in the suggestion that he knew the matter well enough already without verifying it. We do not by any means deny that Lk. often gives way to fancies which a careful reading of Josephus on his part would certainly have dispelled; as for example the notion that two men could be high priest at one and the same time (Lk. 3 2) or that the census under Quirinius which Josephus plainly assigns to 6-7 A.D. could have coincided in date with the birth of Jesus. The question, however, is whether Lk. read Josephus with so much attention as to be able to correct these errors which had already passed into his flesh and blood. If, for example, as has been with probability supposed (see CHRONOLOGY, §§ 59 *f.*; QUIRINIUS), he had already confounded the census under Quirinius with some other, it could not of course make any great impression on him if he found it in Josephus mentioned in another connection than that in which he had already in his own mind placed it.

(*e*) If we are to form any correct judgment as to Lk.'s procedure with reference to sources which in our modern view ought to have been absolutely authoritative for him, it will be our duty to observe the manner in which he uses the Pauline epistles. He leaves so much of their contents unnoticed and contradicts them to so large an extent (cp ACTS, §§ 4, 7, 14; COUNCIL; RESURRECTION, §§ 16-18, 21, 23, 27 *d*, etc.; SIMON PETER, § 3; SPIRITUAL GIFTS, § 9 *f.*) that even some critical theologians have supposed he was entirely unacquainted with them. Yet this, if he wrote about 100-130 A.D., is almost more impossible than it would be on the assumption of his having been a companion of Paul. We could imagine that not every companion of Paul became acquainted with the contents of his epistles before they were dispatched. Yet this is a matter of indifference here; for a companion of Paul became acquainted, from his own observation or from the oral accounts of eye-witnesses, with facts of which but a small number is known to us from the epistles, yet in sufficient number to show us how far it was from Lk.'s intention to pay serious heed even to these authentic sources in constructing his picture of the apostolic age.

(*f*) To return once more to Theudas, it is clear that in this case also Lk.'s divergences (above, § 1 *b*) from the account in Josephus are not decisive against his use of Josephus. It is very easily possible that Lk., as Schürer thinks, knew something about Theudas by hearsay, and indeed that the reported number of his followers reached him in this manner. With this it is not at all irreconcilable that his collocation of Theudas with Judas of Galilee and the chronological error may be due to his use of Josephus. The case is not such as makes it possible to say that every other explanation is excluded; but the explanation here offered has in point of fact a probability that presses, and no counterproof can be brought forward. As against it may be urged, if one chooses, the contradiction apparently involved in the fact that Lk. is found accurately reproducing certain words of Josephus while yet altering so profoundly the general contents of his statements. This last fact seems to counteract the evidential value of the verbal coincidences. We believe, however, that this difficulty has been obviated by the suggestion that the words in question come from Lk.'s notes of Josephus (see above, *b*).

8. Literature. That Josephus had been used by Lk. was first affirmed by Holtzmann (*ZWT*, 1873, pp. 85-93, and especially 89 *f.*; 1877, pp. 535-549). See also Hausrath, *NTliche Zt.-gesch.*(2) 4, 1877, pp. 239-243; Keim, *BL* 5, 1875, pp. 510-513, and *Aus dem Urchristenthum*, 1, 1878, pp. 1-27, especially 18-21; Clemen, *Chronol. d. paulin. Briefe*, 1893, pp. 66-69, and *St. Kr.* 1895, pp. 335-337; and Krenkel, *Josephus u. Lucas*, 1894, pp. 162-174 (very thorough). Lk.'s use of Josephus was denied by Sonntag, *St.*

[1] For example, on the death of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts 12 20-23); see HEROD, § 12, end.

Kr. 1837, pp. 622-652; Wieseler, *Chronolog. Synopse*, 1843, pp. 103-105, and *Beitr. zur Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869, pp. 101-104; Zuschlag, *Theudas*, 1849; Schürer, *ZWT*, 1870, pp. 574-582; Belser, *Tüb. theol. Quartalschrift*, 1896, pp. 61-71; Blass, *St. Kr.* 1896, p. 459 *f.*, and *Acta apostolorum . . . secundum formam Romanam*, Leipsic, 1896, p. xvi *f.* (cp *Acta apostolorum edit. philologica*, Göttingen, 1895, *ad loc.*); Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* 1898, 252-260; Feine, *Theol. Lit.-Blatt*, 1900, 60 *f.*; Cross, *Exp.T*, 1899-1900, pp. 538-540.

P. W. S.

THIMNATHAH (תִּמְנָתָה), Josh. 19 43. See TIMNAH.

THISBE (ΘΙCΒΗ [BN], ΘΙΒΗ [A]), the native place of Tobit (Tob. 1 2).

It was situated 'at the right hand'—*i.e.*, southward—of κυδιως [BN] or κυδιων [A] (Kadesh) in Galilee, and above ασ[σ]ηρ (Hazor?). א adds that it was ὀπίσω δυσμῶν ἡλίου, ἐξ ἀριστερῶν φογωρ.

So far on the hypothesis that we have the Book of Tobit in an approximately original form. There is, however, strong reason to believe that the stories of Daniel (in part), Esther, Judith, and Tobit, have been systematically altered as regards their historical and geographical names (see *Crit. Bib.*). Thus the addition in א represents אחר המערב משמאל הפעור, but this is a corruption of ירחמאל עֲרַב יִשְׁמָעֵאל, and the names *Naasson*, *Raphain*, *Sephet* in It. Vg. come respectively, (*a*) from כּוּשָׁן, (*b*) from רְפָאִים (see REPHAIM), and (*c*) from צרפת. גליל and גלעד are liable to confusion: the original reading was probably not 'Galilee' but 'Gilead'—*i.e.* the southern Gilead in the Negeb. 'Naphtah' is a southern district so called, and 'Asher' represents the southern Asshur or Ashhur. See, however, TOBIT, and on another reference to a Thisbe or Tishbeh, see TISHBITE.

T. K. C.

THISTLE, THISTLES occur in AV as the rendering of the following words:—

1. דַּרְדַּר, *dardar* (τρίβολοι, Gen. 3 18 Hos. 10 8†), a word also found in Aramaic, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but apparently quite distinct from another word *dardār* which, in Persian and Arabic, denotes the 'elm tree' (see Löw, 98 *ff.*). Being coupled in both places with קוֹץ, *ḳōṣ* ('thorns' or 'thorn-bushes,' see THORN), *dardar* has been reasonably identified both in ancient and modern times with the τρίβολος of the Greeks—*i.e.*, either a thistle or more probably a spinous plant of the knapweed kind, such as *Centaurea Calcitrapa*, L. (Ascherson ap. Löw, 427) or the more formidable *C. verutum* (Tristram, *NHB* 426). Petermann (*Reisen im Orient*, 1 74) reported that the name *dardar* was still used in Syria for plants of the thistle kind.

2. For אָטָד, *āṭād*, ῥάμνος, EV 'bramble,' AVmg. offers in Judg. 9 14 the alternative rendering 'thistle.' See BRAMBLE, 1.

3. חוֹחַ, *ḥōăḥ*, is rendered 'thistle' in 2 K. 14 9 2 Ch. 25 18 Job 31 40, and 'bramble' (AV only) in Is. 34 13, elsewhere and in RVmg. exc. Is. THORN (*q.v.*).

4. τρίβολοι occurs twice in NT (Mt. 7 16 Heb. 6 8†); the meaning is probably the same as that of OT דרדר.

Thistledown appears once in AVmg. (Is. 17 13), producing as the result, 'like thistledown before the whirlwind.' But if a definite plant is required, one might think rather with W. M. Thomson[1] of the globe-like branches of the wild artichoke (probably *Cynara syriaca*). When ripe and dry in autumn these 'vegetable globes' are carried far and wide by the wind. AV, curiously, gives in the text of Is. (*l.c.*) 'a rolling thing,' and in the similar passage, Ps. 83 13 [14], 'a wheel' (see WHEEL); RV in both passages renders 'the whirling dust.' The analogy of Syr. *gellā*, Arab. *jill*, would, however, rather recommend 'stubble' as the true meaning of גַּלְגַּל, *galgal*, in these two passages.

N. M.

THOCANUS (ΘΟΚΑΝΟΥ [B], ΘΩΚ. [A]), 1 Esd. 9 14 RV = Ezra 10 15, TIKVAH (*q.v.*).

THOMAS THE APOSTLE. For the order in which the name occurs in the lists in Mt. 10 Mk. 3 Lk. 6 Acts 1, see APOSTLE, § 1 (col. 264).

1. The name. In the Fourth Gospel the name occurs seven times, thrice with the addition 'who is called Didymus,' ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος (11 16 20 24 21 2 14 5 20 26 *ff.*). From Jn. this addition found its way into the Greek and Latin text of Lk. in cod. D. Formerly the name was read also in Jn. 20 29 by the TR without any Greek attestation and in the Vulgate of this passage, though none of the MSS collated by Wordsworth-White have it there.

The spelling of the name is without exception Θωμᾶς, in Latin *Thomas* (only two MSS of Wordsworth-White have frequently *Tomas*); in Syriac *Thōmā* (ܬܐܘܡܐ) according to Bar-Hebræus, but the Nestorian vocalisation is *Theʾōmā* (ܬܐܘܡܐ), preserving the consonantal character of א as in Hebrew; the Syro-Palestinian writes the Grecised ܬܐܘܡܐܣ (cod. A, Jn. 11 16 ܬܐܘܡܐܣ), and for Δίδυμος ܬܐܘܡܐ (cod C, 20 24 ܬܐܘܡܐ). The Syriac appellative for twin is *thāmā* (Nestorian *thĕʾāmā*), and scarcely differs in pronunciation from the proper name, for which reason the explanation ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδ. was omitted in all three passages in Syr. Sin. Syr. Cur. is defective in all passages of the Gospels where Thomas occurs. But in both these Syriac texts the name Thomas occurs in a passage where it is not found in the original Greek, namely Jn. 14 22; instead of Ἰούδας οὐχ ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης, Syr. Sin. gives *Thoma*, Syr. Cur. *Juda-Thoma*; Blass gives now Ἰούδας[, οὐχ ὁ ἀπὸ Καρυώτου]. The Greek Δίδυμος has been preserved as *Didymus* in the Latin versions, but rendered *no creszentz* or *dubitos* in the MSS of Lyon and Carpentras of the Provençal version and *ein zweifeler* in the pre-Lutheran German Bible, as if it were = δίψυχος (see *PRE*(3) 3 66). The *OS* translates the name ἄβυσσος, ἀκατάληπτος βαθύτης = Hebrew *tĕhōm* (תְּהוֹם, in Pal.-Syr. *tūmā*), and δίδυμος. The meaning 'twin' is certain, but the original form of the Semitic word is much disputed (see, on the one hand, Olshausen, § 181 *b*, Lagarde, *Uebersicht*, 144; Barth, 182 *b*, n. 1; Ges.-Buhl, *Lex.*; on the other hand, Siegfried-Stade, *Lex.*; König, 269; Dalman, *Gramm.* 112, n. 4). The question is whether the Hebrew word be *tĕʾōm* (rather than *tōʾem*) or *tōʾām* (in Arabic *tauʾam*). Still more doubtful is the relation to the corresponding Ethiopic word. The spelling *tĕyōm* in the Targums is merely due to the pronunciation of א between two vowels. No example of the use of the noun as a proper name older than the NT is known to the present writer. There is no Thomas for instance in Josephus, but cp Phœn. תאם בן עבדמלך in *CIS* 1 no. 46, where also Θαμος Αβδουσιρου, though the name became very frequent in all parts of Christendom; for modern Syriac instances, see Maclean's *Dictionary*.

From the reading 'Thomas' or 'Judas-Thomas' for 'Judas not Iscariot' in Jn. 14 22, it is apparent that

2. The person. Thomas was identified at a very early date with 'Judas of James' in the lists of Lk. 6 and Acts 1. This is strange enough, since the name Thomas also occurs in these lists. Yet so it is, and this identification has been maintained by Resch (*Texte u. Unt.* x. 3 824 *ff.*), who explains 'Judas of James' as *brother* (not son) of James, and finds the other twin in James the son of Alphæus, taking Lebbæus-Thaddæus to be different from 'Judas of James' (see JUDAS, 7, col. 2623). This 'Judas of James' has been identified further with Judas (or Jude) the son of Joseph, the brother of Jesus, and thus Thomas has been made brother of Jesus himself. On the latter identification see especially Th. Zahn, *Forschungen*, 6 346 *ff.*, who thinks that it is an invention of the author of the *Acts of Thomas*. A Syriac origin for these Acts has been maintained by Nöldeke and supported lately upon valid grounds by Burkitt (*Journ. Theol. Stud.* 1 280 *ff.* 294 *f.*). The name Judas-Thomas occurs also in the Syriac Doctrine of Addai (see Lagarde, *Reliquiæ Syriace*, p. 42 *ll.* 16 *f.*; *Græce*, p. 94 *l.* 35; Cureton, *Documents*, 33; ed. Phillips, 5; Barhebræus, *Chron. Eccl.* 3 2), and it was doubtless from a Syriac source that Eusebius got his Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς (*HE* 1 13, where the Syriac text of Eusebius has only *Judas Thomas*). Ephrem Syrus, too, called him Judas-Thomas (6 16 F of his works, where the Roman edition printed 'Thomas,' see Burkitt, *Texts and Studies*, vii. 2 4). Others make Simon Zelotes a brother of Judas or James (see the Armenian Commentary of Ephrem on Acts in Rendel Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of Acts*, 37), and from this combination the other fact may be explained, that for Lebbæus also Judas Zelotes is found in Latin MSS in Mt. 10 3, in Münter's Sahidic version, Jn. 14 22 (see Lipsius, 3 163), in the Latin Chronicle of the year 334 (ed. Mommsen, 670, ed. Frick, 100, who wrongly presupposes a lacuna between Judas and Zelotes). For the question whether under the 'things

1 *The Land and the Book*, 563 = *S. Palestine and Jerusalem*, 112 *f.*

which Judas Thomas wrote from India' (Lagarde, *Reliquiæ Syr.* 41 6; Cureton, *Documents*, 32) the epistle of Jude is to be understood, see Lipsius, 3 194; Zahn, *Forschungen*, 5 116 122 6 347, n. 4. The 'Gospel of the Twelve Apostles' (ed. by J. Rendel Harris, 190) makes him a member of the tribe of Benjamin, the 'Book of the Bee' (ed. Budge, 1886) of the tribe of Judah.

The legends that gathered round this apostle are of the most fanciful kind and too intricate to be treated at length here; cp the Greek edition of Bonnet, the Syriac of Wright, and its supplement by F. C. Burkitt in *Studia Sinaitica* 9 25-44, and the treatment of these Acts in Lipsius, *Die Apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*.

In the Clementine Homilies Thomas has a twin brother Eliezer (or, Eleazar, see Lipsius, *Ergänzungsheft*, 24), in another list a twin sister Lysias (*app. ad Chron. pasch.* 2 142, ed. Bonn). In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, vi. 14 (173, ed. Lagarde) the name Thomas is omitted in the list of the Apostles by the MSS *wx*, supplied between Bartholomew and Matthew by *oyzt*.

In the 'Apostolic Church order or Third book of Clement's *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, as published by T. P. Arendzen (in *J. Theol. Stud.* 3 60) the order is (7) James, (8) Nathanael, (9) *Thomas*, (10) Kephas, (11) Bartholomew, and (12) Judas *son* of James (the Sahidic version has 'brother of James,' see Arendzen, 74). In the corresponding text (to be published by Mrs. M. D. Gibson in *Horæ Semiticæ*, 1 20) we get (7) James, (8) Judas son of James, with (9) Nathanael, (10) Thomas, (11) Bartholomew, (12) Matthias. A MS in the possession of R. Harris agrees with the text of Arendzen (Gibson, appendix).

In the *History of Mary* (Budge, ET, 105) Thomas is said to have preached to 'the Indians, and the Chinese, and the Cushites, and (the people of) all the islands near and far' . . . His day in the Western church is the 21st Dec., in the Greek the 6th Oct., in the Syriac the 3rd July (see Nilles, *Kalendarium*). On the 22nd Oct. 394 his coffin was deposited in the great church of Edessa; but this was, perhaps, only a removal, as other sources tell of his grave at Edessa at a much earlier time. On the church of the Thomas-Christians of Malabar, which refers its origin to the apostle himself, see Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (1877); on the character of the apostle see the Commentaries on the Gospel of John and exegetical and homiletical books. That the legends make him a carpenter and builder may have arisen from his association with Jesus. E. N.

THOMEI (θομει [A]), 1 Esd. 5 32 RV, AV **Thomoi.** See TEMAH.

THORN, THORNS, occur in AV as the rendering of many different words. It is in nearly all cases impossible to arrive at a determination of the particular species intended, and indeed most of the words may be presumed to be of somewhat general application.

1. אָטָד, *āṭād* (see BRAMBLE), is probably some species of Rhammus. MT in Ps. 58 9 [10] where אטד occurs is probably corrupt. [In Cheyne's restoration the 'pots' and 'thorns' disappear in a sentence which may remind us of Job 27 20 *f.* Duhm here is more conservative. Olshausen's note, however, still deserves consideration.]

2. חֵדֶק, *ḥédeḳ*, is rendered 'brier' in Mic. 7 4 (but cp 𝔊), and 'thorns' in Prov. 15 19†. See BRIER, 6.

3. חוֹחַ, *ḥōăḥ* (2 K. 14 9 2 Ch. 25 18 Job 31 40 Prov. 26 9 Cant. 2 2 Is. 34 13 (cp 𝔊) Hos. 9 6), rendered in AV thrice 'thorn,' thrice 'thistle,' and once 'bramble,' is a word which elsewhere denotes a 'hook' (Job 40 26 [41 2] 2 Ch. 33 11)[1]; the חֲוָחִים, *ḥăvāḥīm*, of 1 S. 13 6† is probably a corruption (Dr., *ad loc.*). 𝔊 has in three places ἄκανθαι ('thorns') and once κνίδη ('nettle'); in 2 K. ακαν (accus. ακανα[ν] but ακχαν [L]); in 2 Ch. 25 18 the word is merely transliterated. ὁ χοζει, τὸν αχουχ [B], ὁ οχοζ, τὸν αχ. [A], ὁ ακχαν [L]. It is usually taken to be a tall and strong thistle, such as *Notobasis syriaca* (*FFP* 336), whose 'powerful spines' (*NHB* 424) would explain the connection with the meaning 'hook'; but some other thorny plant may be intended. Arab. and Pers. *ḫawḫ* ('peach' or 'plum') is probably quite a different word, and does not justify the rendering 'sloe' adopted by Celsius, 1 478 *ff.* See Löw, 147 *ff.*

4. נַעֲצוּץ, *na'ăṣūṣ* (σπήλαιον Is. 7 19, στοιβή[2] Is. 55 13†), is probably a general name for a prickly plant or bush, and connected with the verb נעץ (*nā'aṣ*), to 'pierce' or 'prick,' which appears in post-biblical Hebrew (see Barth, *Nominalb.* 213).

5. סִירִים, *sīrīm* (Eccles. 7 6 Is. 34 13 Hos. 2 8 [6] Nah. 1 10†), denotes 'thorns,' 'thorny branches,' or 'thorny bushes.' 𝔊 has in Eccles. ἄκανθαι, in Is. ἀκάνθινα ξύλα (?), and in Hos. σκόλοπες; in Nah. its text differs from MT, which is corrupt (see Wellh. *ad loc.*). As the etymology is unknown, no nearer speculation is possible.[1] The form סִירוֹת, *sīrōth*, in one place denotes 'hooks' (Am. 4 2).

6. סִלּוֹן, *sillōn* (Ezek. 28 24, σκόλοψ), and סַלּוֹנִים, *sallōnim*, παροιστρήσουσι? (Ezek. 2 6). See BRIER.

7. צִנִּים, *ṣinnīm* (Job 5 5 Prov. 22 5†) and (8) צְנִינִים, *ṣĕnīnīm* (Nu. 33 55 Josh. 23 13†), are also general words for 'thorns.' The former is rendered τρίβολοι by 𝔊 (in Prov. 22 5); the latter βολίδες. The Hebrew words are possibly connected with צִנְצֶנֶת, *ṣinṣéneth*, Aram. צַנָּא, Ar. *sinn*, which all mean 'basket.' In Job 5 5 the reading of MT is not supported by 𝔊 and seems suspicious (see Hoffmann, *ad loc.*).

9. קוֹץ, *ḳōṣ* (ἄκανθα, Gen. 3 18 Ex. 22 5 [6] Judg. 8 7 16 2 S. 23 6 Ps. 118 12 Is. 32 13 33 12 Jer. 4 3 12 13 Ezek. 28 24 Hos. 10 8†), is the commonest OT word for 'thorn' or 'thorns,' but is also (so far as we know) quite general (Löw, 198).

10. קִמּוֹשׁ, *ḳimmōš* (Prov. 24 31 Is. 34 13 Hos. 9 6†). See NETTLE.

11. שַׁיִת, *šayith* (Is. 5 6 7 23 *ff.* 9 17 [18] 10 17 27 4†), a word which only occurs in Is., is, in all the seven places where it appears, combined with שָׁמִיר, *šāmīr*, and is probably of similar meaning (see BRIER, 2). Dietrich (*Abhandl. zur semit. Wortforsch.* 73) proposes a derivation from שָׁאָה, *šā'āh*, 'to be waste,' but this is unlikely.

12. ῥάμνος occurs Bar. 6 71 [70]. Cp BRAMBLE.

13. σκόλοψ, 2 Cor. 12 7. See above (5), (6). In Ecclus. 43 19 Heb. is ספיר. For the meaning of the expression see PAUL, § 32, EYE, DISEASES OF, § 4. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

THRACE. A 'Thracian' horseman (τῶν ἱππέων τινὸς Θρᾳκῶν) is incidentally mentioned in 2 Macc. 12 35 as one of the bodyguard of Gorgias, the governor of Idumæa under Antiochus Epiphanes. The opportune arrival of the Thracian saved Gorgias from capture by one Dositheus.

Thrace at this period was the general name for the entire region included between the Strymon and the Danube, embracing a variety of tribes (cp Herod. 5 3). With the death of Lysimachus in 281 B.C., all chance of Thrace becoming an independent kingdom ceased. The country became a recruiting ground for all who needed troops and could pay for them. Thracian troops were chiefly light-armed infantry and irregular horse (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2 9; *Memor.* iii. 9 2). Frequent references are made to them as an element in Macedonian, Roman, and other armies; probably the name came to be applied to indicate a certain type of equipment and mode of fighting rather than actual nationality.

[For Θρακων of 𝔊A, however, 𝔊V* reads Θαρσος, and 𝔊va Θαρσους; and it is, to say the least, quite as likely that the Syrian cavalry was drawn from Cilicia as from Thrace (cp ARMY, § 7). As to the possible identification of Tiras (Gen. 10 2) with Thrace, see TIRAS.] W. J. W.

THRASEAS or (RV) **THRASÆUS** (θρασαιου [A], θαρσιου [V*vid.], θαρσεου [Va], *thrasius* [Syr.]), father of APOLLONIUS, 2 Macc. 3 5. The name may possibly be another form of Tarsus.

THREAD (חֶבֶל, etc.), Josh. 2 18 etc. See CORD.

THREE CHILDREN, SONG OF THE. See DANIEL (BOOK), § 22.

THREE-STRINGED INSTRUMENT (שָׁלִישׁ), 1 S. 18 6 EVmg. See MUSIC, § 3 [4].

THREE TAVERNS (τριων ταβερνων [Ti. WH]; Acts 28 15†, AV 'The three taverns,' RV 'The Three Taverns.').

Here Paul was met on the final stage of his journey

[1] On the reading in 2 Ch. see MANASSEH.

[2] This word appears in Dioscorides (4 12) as the name of a common plant. According to Pliny (21 15, § 54) it had a prickly stalk. Fraas (*Syn. Pl. Fl. Class.* 78) identifies στοιβή with *Poterium spinosum*, a low herb occurring in Syria, the branches of which terminate in intricate branching spines.

[1] ἄκανθα in both Greek and Latin writers was undoubtedly *Acanthus spinosus*. The nearly allied *A. syriacus* is abundant in Syria.

to Rome by a company of the Roman Christians. It was a station on the Via Appia; evidently, from the order of the names, lying between Rome and Appii Forum. From Cicero (*Ep. ad Att.* 2 12, 'emeseram commode ex Antiati in Appiam ad Tris Tabernas'), we learn that it stood just where a cross road from Antium on the coast fell into the Appian Way from the W. Tres Tabernæ stood therefore very near the northern end of the Pomptine marshes, in the midst of which Appii Forum actually lay (cp Horace, *Sat.* i. 5 3 *f.*). The *Ant. Itin.* gives 17 R.m. between Aricia and Tres Tabernæ, and 10 R.m. from Tres Tabernæ to Appii Forum; Aricia stood 16 m. S. of Rome. These distances locate Tres Tabernæ at about 3 miles from the modern *Cisterna* on the Appian road. W. J. W.

THRESHING INSTRUMENT (מוֹרַג), 2 S. 24 22. See AGRICULTURE, § 8.

THRESHOLD. This is the rightful rendering of (1) סַף, *saph* (some scholars compare Ass. *sup(p)ū*), the more usual term (see DOOR); (2) מִפְתָּן, *miphtān*, is probably the special term for the threshold of the sanctuary proper (Thenius), 1 S. 5 4 *f.* (Dagon's temple), Zeph. 1 9 Ezek. 9 3 10 4 18 46 2 47 1 (cp DAGON, § 3). The rendering 'threshold' in AV of 1 Ch. 26 15 17 needs correction (see ASUPPIM). We also find the plural סִפִּים, *sippīm*, 'thresholds.' So in Is. 6 4, 'And the foundations of the thresholds shook at the sound of their voices' (read אַדְנֵי הַסִּפִּים, and cp Job 38 6). We are probably to suppose the front of the temple divided by one or more pillars into several entrances. So, too, in Am. 9 1, 'Strike the capitals (of the pillars) that the thresholds may tremble.' The temple at Bethel is spoken of. These 'thresholds' had special keepers (EV 'porters'), 1 Ch. 9 22 2 Ch. 23 4. Elsewhere the phrase is 'keeper (or keepers) of the threshold' (but סַף may be used collectively); so, *e.g.*, Jer. 35 4 2 K. 22 4 23 4 etc., for which in Esth. 2 21 𝔊 gives ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, taking the Hebrew phrase as synonymous with 'Keeper of the king's head' (1 S. 28 2, 𝔊 ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ). In Ps. 84 11 (if the text is correct), a psalmist values even this Levitical office highly (הִסְתּוֹפֵף, but 𝔊 παραριπτεῖσθαι). Gates and thresholds being sacred, it was of course a privilege to guard them. But though it is usual to quote this passage, it is doubtful whether this is critically justified.

1. Hebrew terms.

Sacrifices for the family were originally at the entrance of the home. According to Hommel, the Ass. *sup(p)ū*, 'prayer,' is a denominative form *sippu*, 'threshold.' In modern Egypt a threshold sacrifice may be offered to welcome the incoming master of the house,[1] and, in ancient times, Herodotus reports that every Egyptian sacrificed a hog to Osiris before the door of his house (2 48). Trumbull makes it probable that, in the narrative of the institution of the Passover, the words 'and he shall take a bunch of hyssop and dip it in the blood that is in the bason' (Ex. 12 22) misrepresent the true meaning. בַּסַּף might in fact mean either 'in the bason' or 'at the threshold,' and Trumbull prefers the latter rendering (𝔊 παρὰ τὴν θύραν, Vg. *in limine*). To set foot on the threshold in a careless manner was probably unlucky; Trumbull reports that even now in Syria 'it is unlucky to tread on a threshold,' and that in Upper Syria the bride is sometimes carried across the threshold of the bridegroom's house by the friends of the bridegroom. In Egypt it is the bridegroom who does this, and in ancient Greece and Rome, also in ancient India, similar customs are well known to have existed. Obscure passages in 1 K. 18 21 and Zeph. 1 9 can now be understood; also probably the name of the Pesaḥ (EV 'Passover'). פסח, *pāsaḥ*, means 'to leap, to dance. The Pesaḥ was perhaps so called because the Israelites 'leaped' over the threshold after the special sacrificial rite referred to had been performed at the threshold in recognition of its freshly attested sanctity, or performed a ritual dance near it.

2. Sacredness of the threshold stone.

In 1 K. 18 21, 'How long halt ye between two opinions' (AV), is admittedly most improbable. The revisers, however, not being allowed to correct the text without ancient authority, could find nothing that was plainly better. But Klostermann has provided the easy and natural correction הַסִּפִּים (for MT הַסְּעִפִּים). It only remains to interpret the reference to the *sippīm* aright. The true explanation seems to be, 'How long will ye leap over both thresholds?'—*i.e.*, enter with the same scrupulous awe the sanctuaries of the two rival deities, Yahwè and Baal. And in Zeph. 1 9 (reading *v.* 9*b* as in 𝔊) we may paraphrase, 'And on that day I will punish those who, though they leap with scrupulous awe over the sacred threshold, yet bring with them into Yahwè's house hands stained with cruelty and injustice' (Che. *JQR* 40 568 *f.* [1898]; cp Jastrow, *JBL* 17 108 *ff.* [1898]). See further, *Crit. Bib.* Trumbull has already explained 1 S. 5 1-5 by the light of the same archæological facts. The explanation in 1 S. 5 5 is of course an uncritical guess akin to that in Gen. 32 32.

T. K. C.

[1] So on the arrival of the new Khedive at his palace in 1882 (H. Clay Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant* (1896), 7, quoting *Folk-Lore Journal*, 1 92).

THRONE. It will be convenient under this heading to deal with seats in general, the Hebrew word for throne being applied to all articles of furniture of that description. The terms are :—

1. Terms.

1. *kissē'* (כִּסֵּא, but כִּסֵּה 1 K. 10 19 Job 26 9 †), is apparently derived from the Ass. *kussū* 'seat, throne,' the Aram. equivalent *korsē'* (כָּרְסֵא Dan. 5 20, etc., cp Syr. *kūrseyā*), from which is borrowed Ar. *kursī* 'chair,' being probably an earlier form.[1] Purely colourless are the two terms—

2. *mōšāb* (מוֹשָׁב, 1 S. 20 18, etc., EV 'seat,' lit. 'place of sitting' from *yāšab*), or *šébeth* (שֶׁבֶת, Am. 6 3, EV *ib.*, 𝔊 καθέδρα; and

3. *tĕkūnāh* (תְּכוּנָה, Job 23 3 'seat,' lit. 'fixed place'), used of the dwelling-place of the Almighty.

4. βῆμα, Acts 12 21 (RVmg. 'judgment-seat'). Properly a raised platform (Lat. *tribunal*, cp *suggestum*) upon which, as Jos. *BJ* ii. 1 1 shows, the θρόνος (Lat. *sella*) was erected. In Neh. 8 4 βῆμα stands for *migdāl*, 'tower'—*i.e.*, an elevated stand or pulpit.

5. καθέδρα, Ecclus. 7 4 (Heb. *mōšāb*), cp Mt. 21 12 Mk. 11 5 (seat of the dove-sellers).

6. πρωτοκαθεδρία, the first or chief seat in a synagogue (Mt. 23 6 Mk. 12 39, etc.). Cp SYNAGOGUE, § 9 *f.*

7. θρόνος (in 𝔊 for 1 above), Rev. 4 4 11 16, etc., a state chair having a footstool. Plu. in Col. 1 16 as the name of a class of angels; cp *Test. Levi*, 3, where they appear as in the seventh heaven. See ANGEL, § 1.

Such pieces of furniture as chairs, seats, or stools are unknown to the ordinary tent-dweller, and doubtless the Hebrews first came to use them after they occupied Canaan (see MEALS, § 3*b*). It is true that in the representation of Sennacherib's camp before Lachish a kind of seat or bench is to be seen in some of the tents, but this departure from the ordinary custom is doubtless due to the superior culture of the Assyrians (see TENT, fig. 1). As in Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt, seats were no doubt to be found in every house in Canaan, and together with a bed, table, and lamp formed part of the equipment of a well-appointed room (2 K. 4 10; EV 'stool').[2] The word used in this passage (*kissē*) elsewhere refers to the seat or throne of Eli the priest (1 S. 1 9 4 13 18), of the governor 'beyond the River' (Neh. 3 7, see Ryle, *Camb. Bible, ad loc.*), and of the throne of Solomon (1 K. 10 18 *ff.*, 2 Ch. 9 17 *ff.*).

2. References.

The reference to Satan's throne at Pergamos (Rev. 2 13, see PERGAMOS, § 2), if the great altar of Zeus is meant, is associated

[1] According to another view the *r* in the Aram. forms has been inserted to compensate for the loss of the doubled *s* (for a statement of the views see Bevan, *Daniel*, 104 *f.*). It is to be noticed that the form with *r* occurs in the old Aramaic inscription of Bar-rekub (Zenjīrlī, B5, temp. Tiglath-pileser III.). The same form appears to recur in Phœnician inscriptions from Cyprus of the beginning of the fourth century B.C. (*CIS* 1, nos. 22, 44, 88), where מלץ (ה)כרסים, 'interpreter of the two thrones,' is perhaps the ἑρμηνευτής (cp Gr. inscr.) between the rulers of Cyprus and Persia (see *CIS* 1 65).

[2] But note perhaps that the hostess is said to have been a 'great' woman.

with the interesting question of throne-worship. That there is a very close connection between the throne of the deity and his altar appears certain, and it is not improbable that they were originally identical. On the whole subject see Reichel, *Vorhellen. Götterculte*, 3 *ff.* (Vienna, 1897), with Budde's remarks, *Exp.T* 9 396 *ff.*; and Clermont-Ganneau, *Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* 4 247 *ff.*

3. Description. There are three main varieties of seats to be noticed: (*a*) the seat with neither back nor arms, (*b*) the seat with straight back, and (*c*) the straight-backed seat with arms. The three practically correspond to the classical *sella*, *cathedra*, and *thronus* respectively. The first of these is frequently represented upon Assyrian and Babylonian seals,[1] and bears a general close resemblance to the primitive altars and table upon the Assyrian slabs.[2] In a large number of cases it is shaped like a square stool, often with several cross-bars, though instances are by no means wanting where the legs cross transversely, not unlike the construction of the modern camp-stool.

These shapes are found in the ancient classical world and were probably borrowed from the East. The Greek term for them, δίφρος, is used by 𝔊 to render *kissē'* in 1 S. 1 9 4 13 18 2 K. 4 10, and in accordance with Gr. usage occurs in 1 S. 28 23 to render *miṭṭāh*. On the use of beds, couches, and divans, cp Bed, § 3.

Representations of the second and third variety are likewise found in Assyria where they are often accompanied with a footstool; cp the analogy of the Gr. *θρόνος* and its *θρῆνυς*.

The OT references to the footstool (*hădōm*, הֲדֹם, 𝔊 ὑποπόδιον, always metaphorical) would show that the Hebrews were well acquainted with seats of this nature. On *kĕbeš* (כֶּבֶשׁ), 2 Ch. 9 18, see below, n. 6.

The two last-mentioned varieties lent themselves to decoration and elaboration to a greater extent than the *sella*. They were frequently of the finest workmanship and adorned with gold and plaques of carved ivory (see Ivory, § 2).[3] An overspread or baldachino was often added, and a reference to this is perhaps rightly seen in the *šaphrīr* (Kr., but Ktb. שפרור) of Jer. 43 10.[4] A common form of ornament was the representation of animals or men, to support the arms or seat.

If Benzinger is correct in his suggestion that Solomon's throne (situated in the Porch of the Throne, 1 K. 7 7) was the work of Hiram, it is natural to suppose that it was based upon the familiar Egyptian or Assyrian models. The throne was decorated with ivory and gold, and was approached by six steps (cp Is. 6 1 'a throne high and lifted up'), at each end of which was the figure of a lion.[5] The back appears to have been adorned with heads of bulls. The second Targ. on Esther adds many fanciful details which are devoid of value.

On the text of 1 K. 10 18 *ff.*, 2 Ch. 9 17 *ff.*, see the *Comm.* of Ki. and Benz. In 1 K. 10 19 the reading 'rounded top' (head-rest) appears obvious, but we should probably read רָאשֵׁי עֵגֶל, 'the heads of bulls' (𝔊 προτομαὶ μόσχων). In 2 Ch. 9 18 the words have been seriously misunderstood.[6]

The meaning of *yādōth*, EV 'stays' (lit. hands, 𝔊 χεῖρες, *manus* [K.], ἀγκῶνες, *brachiola* [Ch.]) is not clear. Jos. *Ant.* viii. 5 2 offers ἐνήλατον, which means (*a*) the slats of the framework of a bed, (*b*) the rungs of a ladder, and (*c*) axle-pins (cp 1 K. 7 32). Following (*a*) we might think of the slats forming the seat of the throne, but the idiomatic 'on either side' (מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה), and 𝔊's ἀγκῶνες in Ch. points rather to the arms. Such arms are represented, *e.g.*, upon the throne of Ašur-bani-pal (Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Chald.* 1 108, fig. 28), and of Sennacherib before Lachish (*ib.* 2 105, fig. 47, cp Ball, *Light from the East*, 193). What is meant by the 'two lions standing by (near) the stays' is also obscure; the words are omitted by 𝔊A in 1 K. 10 19, perhaps rightly. S. A. C.

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[1] See Menant, *La Glyptique Orientale*, 1, and cp S. I. Curtiss, *Prim. Sem. Rel.* 267-276 (1902).

[2] Cp the table in Tent, fig. 1.

[3] For details see Perrot and Chipiez, *Art. in Chald.* 2 313-321.

[4] See Hoffmann, *ZATW*, 1882, p. 68, and on verss. see Field, *ad loc.*

[5] 1 K. 10 20 אריים † elsewhere אריות. In a Phœnician inscription from Citium in Cyprus (*CIS* 1, no. 10) mention is made of the offering of an altar and two ארום—*i.e.*, perhaps (on the analogy of our passage) 'lions' (אֲרִים).

[6] כֶּבֶשׁ, footstool' (𝔊L ὑποπόδιον, *scabellum*) is for כבש, a variant of עֵגֶל in 1 K. (emended text). See, primarily, Geiger, *Urschr.* 343.

THRUM (דַּלָּה), Is. 38 12 RV$^{mg.}$ See Weaving.

THUMMIM (תֻּמִּים), Ex. 28 30. See Urim and Thummim.

THUNDER (רַעַם, Ps. 77 19 [18] 81 8 [7] 104 7 Job 26 14 Is. 29 6; βροντή; also, much more frequently, קוֹל י׳, Ps. 29 3 Is. 30 30, cp Jer. 10 13, plur. קֹלוֹת, Ex. 9 23, or קֹלֹת אלהים 9 28; in NT φωνὴ βροντῆς, Rev. 6 1 14 2 19 6 (βροντῶν), φωναὶ καὶ βρονταί Rev. 4 5 8 5 11 19, etc.

This most sublime of natural phenomena is represented by a poetical echo of primitive myth as the voice of God, Ps. 104 7 Job 37 4 *f.*, 40 9 Ps. 18 13 [14], and especially Ps. 29. In Ps. 2 4*a* (cp *v.* 5*a*) as his laugh (see Del. and Che. *Ps.*(2)). When, however, in Ezek. 10 5 the sound of the wings of the cherubim is likened tautologically to 'the voice of El Shaddai (EV God Almighty) when he speaketh,' we naturally ask whether this is not some error in the text, and the result is interesting, for it opens up a vista of possible rectifications of early mistakes (see Shaddai). And if we lose the traditional reference in Ezek. 10 5 (and 1 24), we have still enough to show that thunder to the ancient Israelites had a special sanctity as the expression of the divine omnipotence (Ps. 29 3), and of the terrible divine vengeance (1 S. 2 10 Ps. 18 13 [14] Is. 30 30). Thunder in summer-time was peculiarly awful (1 S. 12 17), though perhaps the case mentioned is but a poetical way of stating that with God nothing is impossible; Tristram (*NHP* 33) says, 'it is unknown in summer.' The wise men of later times, such as the poet of Job, were well aware that thunderstorms did not occur capriciously, but were subject to laws appointed by the Creator (Job 28 26 38 25, cp Ecclus. 43 17).

'Right-aiming thunderbolts' (Wisd. 5 21) has been changed in RV into 'shafts of lightning (βολίδες ἀστραπῶν) with true aim.' In Ps. 78 48 'hot thunderbolts' remains, though רְשָׁפִים more probably means here 'burning sicknesses' in accordance with the requirements of parallelism. Another peculiar phrase, 'in the secret place of thunder' (בְּסֵתֶר רַעַם, ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ καταιγίδος), still remains in the RV of Ps. 81 7 [8]. Duhm explains, 'in the cloud which hides the thunder and at the same time veils God from sight (Job 22 13 *f.*).' This is no doubt a worthy explanation; but the Hebrew phrase does not appear to suit the parallelism. On the so-called Bath-ḳol, see Voice, and on the title given to James and John, and rendered 'sons of thunder,' see Boanerges.

THYATIRA (θυατειρα [Ti. WH],[1] Rev. 1 11; ἐν Θυατείροις [Ti. WH], Rev. 2 18 and 2 24; πόλεως Θυατείρων, Acts 16 14).

1. Position and history. Thyatira was a town in northern Lydia, so close to the indefinite borderland between Mysia and Lydia that some preferred to reckon it to Mysia (Strabo, 625, ἣν Μυσῶν ἐσχάτην τινὲς φασίν). It lay east of the Lycus, a tributary of the Phrygius, which river itself falls into the Hermus from the north. Thyatira thus was placed almost exactly midway between the Caicus (N.) and the Hermus (S.), on the great road which crossed this region going to the SE., into the valley of the Mæander. Its geographical position is the key to its historical importance. The watershed in which it lay was, in fact, of the utmost importance strategically, as it was the line of demarcation between the territory of competing sovereigns. For in 301 B.C. Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Seleucus I. (Nicator), king of Syria, had partitioned Asia Minor, which they had taken from Antigonus, in such wise that Lysimachus had the western portion, as far as central Phrygia, whilst the remainder fell to Seleucus (see Seleucidæ, § 2). When, subsequently (from 283 B.C.), hostilities broke out between the two monarchs, the district in question would be of great military importance; and, still later, when in 277 B.C. the Gauls (Galatia) invaded Asia Minor and founded their robber state in north-eastern Phrygia (cp Galatia,

[1] Neut. plur., τὰ Θυάτειρα; but the *v.l.* in Rev. 1 11, εἰς Θυάτειραν, is 'well attested' (WH 2 App. 163). Cp the case of Lystra (*q.v.*). The form *Thyateira* gradually gives place to *Thyatira*. The place is now called *Ak-hissar*, 'a large town of mud houses' (Murray, *Hdbk. to AM* 84).

§ 1), its importance was enhanced. Consequently, we find established here a group of so-called 'Macedonian colonics'; and Strabo describes Thyatira as such a colony (625, κατοικία Μακεδόνων).[1]

The word Macedonian in this connection undoubtedly implies, firstly, Macedonian blood and descent, and secondly the nucleus of the standing armies kept on foot by the Seleucidæ, Ptolemies, and other kings. This nucleus of trusted troops was in reality the remnant of the soldiers of Alexander the Great, or their children, their numbers being continually recruited by drafts of volunteers from Macedonia itself.[2]

In course of time many men who were not of Macedonian blood would doubtless find their way into these select corps of guards. It is in this sense that the term 'Macedonians' is used in 2 Macc. 8 20 (see MACEDONIA, § 1; THRACE). It is abundantly clear from the extant inscriptions from the region in which Thyatira stood that the bulk of the colonists were 'Macedonians' both in the sense of being men of the standing army and also as being of Macedonian blood.[3]

The date of the foundation of Thyatira as a military colony is uncertain; probably it was subsequent to 277 B.C. The name is a compound; *-teira* = 'village' or 'town,' and the whole name signifies 'the town of Thya' (for Thya, cp the town-names Thyessus, Thyassus [see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.* 114, 148, 437]). We are told that previously the place was called Pelopeia, or Semiramis, or Euhippa (Plin. *HN* 5 31)—names which scarcely sound historical. According to a piece of false etymologising based upon mere similarity of sound, it was said that the name Thyatira was derived from Thygatira (Θυγάτειρα), because Seleucus heard here of the birth of his daughter (θυγάτηρ). (See Steph. *Thes. s.v.*; and cp Rams. *op. cit.* 127, note.)

The town became of importance owing to its favourable position in two respects.

2. Importance: military.

(*a*) It was here, for example, that Antiochus the Great assembled his troops for the campaign which ended so disastrously for him at Magnesia (see SELEUCIDÆ, § 7) a few miles to the S. In consequence it submitted to the Romans as a matter of course, and was included within the territory made over by them to their ally the king of Pergamus. Then followed a long period during which Thyatira does not appear in history; not until the time of the empire, in fact, does it seem to have realised to the full the natural advantages of its position as above described. Naturally it was only in a peaceful direction that such could, under the empire, make themselves felt, as it was not until the later Byzantine period that strategic advantages came again in question. A glance at the network of Roman roads in western Asia Minor is sufficient to reveal the importance of Thyatira at this time. Starting from Pergamus, an important road ran through Germe and Nakrasa 48 R. m. to Thyatira, thence 36 R. m. to Sardis, and so through Philadelphia and Hierapolis to Laodicea on the Lycus (Rams. *Hist. Geog.* 167). When we take into account the fact that an important road runs northwards along the coast from Ephesus through Smyrna to Pergamus, we see that the order of names of the seven churches is capable of easy and rational explanation, quite apart from any question of political or ecclesiastical precedence. The order is in fact simply that of the occurrence of the towns as one follows the main road from Ephesus in a great loop through Pergamus, and so down to Laodicea (Rev. 1 11).

3. Commercial.

(*b*) Thyatira owed its importance to its connection with the wool trade, or rather the manufacture of woollen goods, and more especially to that of dyed fabrics. This was always a staple industry in Lydia.[4] The 'certain woman named Lydia' (so EV in Acts 16 14; perhaps 'called the Lydian' would be more correct) was a 'seller of purple,' 'of the city of Thyatira'—that is to say, probably an agent of some great house of dyers and manufacturers in Thyatira (Rams. *St. Paul*, 214).

The dyers and other handicraftsmen in Thyatira were united in guilds (called ἔργα in inscr. from Thyatira, ἐργασίαι elsewhere, as, *e.g.*, at Hierapolis), as was the case at other Asiatic towns (*e.g.*, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Philadelphia). The Thyatiran guild of 'dyers' (βαφεῖς) is known to us from inscriptions, as well as the guilds of 'cloakmakers' (ἱματευόμενοι), 'potters' (κεραμεῖς), 'brass-workers' (χαλκεῖς), and numerous others (see Clerc, *De rebus Thyat.* 92, quoted by Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 1 105 n. 2. Cp *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 10 407, and 1900, p. 592 *f.*).

4. Rev. 2 18 *f.*

In the epistle to the Thyatiran church (Rev. 2 18 *f.*) there does not seem to be any reference to this prominent side of the life of the town, such as lies on the surface of the epistle to the Laodiceans (Rev. 3 14 *f.*). Nevertheless, in Rev. 2 20 the reference to 'that woman Jezebel'[1] points to something distinctive and characteristic of the place. From the context it is clear that under this figure is concealed some form of teaching or practice, or some intellectual movement, which presented itself as a rival or perversion of Christian teaching.

The following interpretation has been suggested. Outside the city there stood the Σαμβαθεῖον or sanctuary of Sambatha (Σαμβήθη), a Chaldean or Persian Sybil or prophetess.[2] Apparently this was some form of eastern superstition, of great popularity, if the reference in Rev. 2 20 is to this shrine. 'Jezebel,' if (Schürer and others) a definite person, must be the Sibyl of some shrine connected with an eclectic (pagan-Hebrew-Christian) system. It appears more probable, however, that we should interpret the denunciation more broadly, with reference to the prevailing tone of Thyatiran Christianity rather than to a superstition idolatrous in origin and general content, which could hardly have infected the majority of the church. In other words, the expression in the message obtains full significance only if we understand the church of Thyatira to have developed some heretical or impure form of belief or practice, such as might naturally be typified by a notorious figure drawn from OT history (cp 2 K. 9 22). We here touch upon the relation of the Jewish settlers and colonists in Phrygia and neighbouring districts to the mixed population amid which they dwelt. The evidence of the Talmud is clear, that these immigrant Jews were divided from their brethren and failed to maintain their peculiar religious position (see Neub. *Géogr. du Talm.* 315; and Rams. *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, 2 674 *f.*). The population of Asia Minor was undoubtedly attracted to the religious system of the Jews; but the other aspect of this fact was that the Jews became merged with them (see Rams. *St. Paul the Traveller*, 142 *f.*; *Comm. on Gal.* 189 *f.*, where the position of the Jews in S. Galatia is treated at length). Such syncretism must have had its dangers for the Christian churches, based as they were in general upon proselytes and containing a more or less large admixture of Jewish elements. It is to some form of gross degeneration of Jewish practice and belief that reference is made in the epistle to the Thyatiran church (see art. by Schürer, 'Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira' in *Abhand. Weizäcker gewidmet*, 39 *f.*). In Cyprus (Acts 13 6) and Ephesus (Acts 19 13) also we find that certain Jews had abandoned themselves to the practice of magical arts forbidden by the Mosaic law.

For a parallel to the church factions produced by a question about pagan institutions, cp the case of Corinth (1 Cor. 10 15 *f.*; cp Ramsay, *Expos.* 1900 *f.*; Zahn, *Einl.* 2 608 *f.* [also NICOLAITANS, col. 3411]).

W. J. W.

THYINE WOOD (ξύλον θύϊνον [Ti.WH], Rev. 18 12†) is mentioned among the precious wares sold in the market of the apocalyptic Babylon. The wood intended is no doubt that of the tree called θυία or θύα by the Greeks, and *citrus* by the Latins (cp Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, 386). The former name would seem to refer to the fragrance of the wood; and *citrus* is probably a corruption of κέδρος and so points to a tree of aromatic, antiseptic wood.

[1] This is confirmed by inscriptions; see *Bull. de Corr. hell.*, 1886, p. 398; 1887, p. 456; *CIG* 3496.

[2] Cp Diod. Sic. 18 12, ἐσπάνιζε καὶ ἡ Μακεδονία στρατιωτῶν πολιτικῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ διαδοχὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς—speaking of the time of Antigonus Gonatas.

[3] See on this Schuchhardt, 'Die Maked. Kolonien zwischen Hermos und Kaikos' in *Mitth. Arch. Inst. zu Athen*, 1888, p. 1 *f.*

[4] Cp Hom. *Il.* 4 141, ὡς δ' ὅτε τίς τ' ἐλέφαντα γυνὴ φοίνικι μιήνῃ | Μῃονὶς ἠὲ Κάειρα. Cp Claudian, *De Rapt. Pros.* 1 270, 'non sic decus ardet eburnum | Lydia Sidonio quod femina tinxerit ostro.'

[1] τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ [WH]; τὴν γυναῖκά σου is a reading which led to the interpretation that the denunciation was directed against the bishop's wife. Cp JEZEBEL, *ad fin.*

[2] Cp *CIG* 3509, ἐπὶ τόπου καθαροῦ, ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τῷ Σαμβαθείῳ ἐν τῷ Χαλδαίου περιβόλῳ.

The *θυία* (or *citrus*) *par excellence* was a N. African tree (Theophr. 5 3, § 7, Plin. 13 15, § 29), probably to be identified with *Thuia articulata*, Vahl., which, according to Sprenger (*Erläuterungen zum Theophrast.* 205), is a tree resembling the cypress and growing to a height of 24 ft. In accordance with Pliny's statement (*l.c.*), it is found in the region of Mt. Atlas. In the days of Roman luxury the citrus was much used in the making of costly furniture; the phrase '*all* thyine wood' (Rev., *l.c.*) probably alludes to the great variety of objects constructed from it.

TIBERIAS (τιβεριας), on a narrow strip of plain under a hill, on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee, was founded by Herod Antipas, apparently not before 26 A.D., and so was quite a new place at the time of the public life of Jesus in Galilee. Its founder named it in honour of his friend and patron the emperor Tiberius. Though it became the capital of Galilee, it was at first a purely Greek city, which accounts for its not appearing among the scenes of the Galilean ministry. It joined in the war of liberty, but yielded without resistance to Vespasian, and was restored by him to its master Agrippa, on whose death in 100 it fell directly under Roman rule. The place came to be a great seat of Jews and Jewish learning; it was the residence of R. Judah, the editor of the Mishnah; and, though the schools of Palestine were ultimately overshadowed by those of Babylonia, the school of Tiberias was still famous in the time of Jerome. On Jn. 6 1 23 21 1 see GALILEE, SEA OF, §§ 1, 4 *f.*

Half an hour to the S. of the modern *Ṭabarīyeh* (a town of some 4000 inhabitants) are the famous hot baths (now *el-Ḥammeh*) which are mentioned by Pliny (*HN* 5 15 [71]; Tiberiade aquis calidis salubri) and by Josephus (*τοῖς ἐν Τιβεριάδι θερμοῖς ὕδασιν*, *BJ* ii. 21 6). In *Ant.* xviii. 2 3, *BJ* iv. 1 3 he alludes to the *θερμά* as not far from Tiberias and as being called Ἀμμαθους, 'which being interpreted is *θερμά*.' It seems to be the Hammath of Josh. 19 35. See HAMMATH. This Hammath is mentioned in Egyptian records (see PALESTINE, § 15, no. 16). The Talmud of Babylon identifies Tiberias sometimes with the biblical Hamath, sometimes with Raccath (see also Talm. Jerus.), sometimes with Chinnereth. See Neubauer, *Géogr.* 208; Schürer, *GJV*(2) 2 126 *ff.*; ET ii. 1 143 *ff.*

TIBERIAS, SEA OF (η θαλασσα της τιβεριαδος [Ti. WH]), Jn. 21 1. See GALILEE, SEA OF.

TIBERIUS (τιβεριος [Ti. WH]) is mentioned only in Lk. 3 1, where the commencement of the ministry of John the Baptist is assigned to the fifteenth year 'of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar' (*τῆς ἡγεμονίας Τιβερίου Καίσαρος*).

Tiberius Claudius Nero succeeded Augustus as Emperor of Rome in 14 A.D., and reigned until 37 A.D. He was son of Tiberius Claudius Nero and Livia, so that he was only the stepson of Augustus. The two chief authorities for his life are Suetonius, who revels in court scandal, and Tacitus, whose political views marred his historical accuracy. Hence little justice has been done to Tiberius. The *Annals* of Tacitus have been in fact maintained to be 'almost wholly satire' (Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, ch. 64), and it cannot be denied that the satiric tendency, 'to take extreme acts as typical of the man, and extreme men as typical of the age,' is a conspicuous feature of the book. Consequently, his portraiture of Tiberius, the most elaborate analysis of character in his writings, is most often attacked as untrustworthy. We have in fact, in accepting the picture in Tacitus as historical, this problem before us—to explain how Tiberius, who up to the age of fifty-five (when he became emperor) had shown himself a commander with more than ordinary talent, an orator of no mean calibre, and an administrator of acknowledged sagacity, degenerated from the moment of assuming the purple until he became that monster of cruelty and vice and impotence which perhaps for all time he is in the imagination of mankind. This is not the place in which to attempt to review either the private life or the public acts of Tiberius. Thus much is certain, that his life cannot be disposed of in a 'cascade of epigrams' (Beesly, *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius*, 115), such as compose the summary in which Tacitus gives his most deliberate judgment on Tiberius (*Ann.* 6 51).

Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, vol. 1, Introd. chaps. 4 and 8 gives a careful review of the evidence, with an unfavourable verdict. Beesly's *Catiline, Clodius, and Tiberius* is a vigorous defence. Champagny, *Les Césars*, an unmeasured invective. See also Boissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars*. For the chronological questions in connection with the NT, see Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* and the articles CHRONOLOGY, LYSANIAS, QUIRINIUS, etc. W. J. W.

TIBHATH (טִבְחַת; μεταβηχας [Bℵ], ματεβεθ [A], ταβααθ [L]; Pesh. *ṭebaḥ*), a city of Hadadezer, 1 Ch. 18 8. See TEBAH.

TIBNI (תִּבְנִי, § 79; see below on meaning; cp Ass. *Tabni*, *Tabnê'a*, Phœn. תבנת, *Tabnith*; θαμν[ε]ι [BA], θαβεννει [L]; *Thebni*), b. GINATH, a competitor with Omri for the throne of Israel after the death of Zimri (1 K. 16 21 *f.*†). See ISRAEL, § 29, OMRI, § 1.

Like so many other successful adventurers, including his rival Omri (=Imri=Jeraḥmeeli), Tibni seems to have been of Jeraḥmeelite origin. His name is a gentilic in form, and probably should be read נבטי (Nebaṭite) or נביתי (Nebaiothite). Cp 1 Ch. 5 15, where (in the original form of the text; see SHAPHAM) Guni is a clan-name in the southern Gilead (temp. Jeroboam ii.). T. K. C.

TIDAL (תִּדְעָל; θαργαλ [EL], θαλγ. [D? and A in 5 9], θαλγα [A]; Pesh. *tār'īl*), 'king of Goiim,' an ally of Chedorlaomer (Gen. 14 1 9). Nothing has yet been made out either as to a king called Tid'al (or Tar'al) or as to the 'Goiim' or 'nations' over which, according to MT and 𝔊, he ruled. The identification of Tid'al with a supposed ancient name in a very late cuneiform tablet is in the highest degree precarious (see King, *Letters of Ḥammurābi*, 1 p. liii; and cp Haupt, note on Gen. 14 1 in Ball's *Genesis*, Heb. text, *SBOT*). Sir H. Rawlinson thought that 'Goiim' was a corruption of Gutium, the situation of which district (see KOA) accords well with the mention of 'Goiim' after Elam. It is certain (see inscription quoted by Rogers, *Outlines of Bab. Hist.* 10) that Gutium was early subject to Babylonian influence. If 'Goiim' comes from 'Gutium,' Tar'al (if we may follow 𝔊EL) may conceivably be a Babylonian name. The only word which approaches it, however, seems to be *targul*, 'rudder' (Deluge-story, 97), which is sometimes a title of the god 'Ninib' (see Jensen, *Kosmol.* 422). But 'seductive' as Rawlinson's theory is, it is too hazardous (see Hal. *Rev. sém.* 1894, p. 279) to make *g* correspond to *y* in לָעֹמֶר (*lagamari*) and to ג in גוים (=gutium?).

So far we have assumed that MT and 𝔊 correctly represent the original text. But in the general failure of critical theories based on this assumption, it becomes reasonable to suppose that Tidal and the other names in Gen. 14 1 are deeply corrupt, that תדעל (EV Tidal) is a corrupt fragment of ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel) and that גוים (Goiim) as often has the same origin. See SODOM, 1. T. K. C.

TIGLATH-PILESER (תִּגְלַת פִּלְאֶסֶר, 2 K. 15 29 16 10, תִּגְלַת פִּלֶסֶר, 2 K. 16 7) or **Tilgath-pilneser** (תִּלְּגַת פִּלְנְאֶסֶר, 1 Ch. 5 6 2 Ch. 28 20, תִּלְּגַת פִּלְנֶסֶר, 1 Ch. 5 26).

𝔊's readings are: in 2 K. 15 29, *αλγαθφελλασαρ* [BA]; 16 7, *θαλγαθφ.* [B], om. A; 16 10, *θαλγαλφ.* [B]; *αγλαθφαλλασαρ* [A]; *θεγλαφαλασαρ* [L] throughout; in 1 Ch. 5 6, *θαλγαβανασαρ* [B]; *θαγλαθ' φαλνασαρ* [A]; 5 26, *θαγναφαμασαρ* [B]; *θαγλαθ'. φαλνασαρ* [A]; 2 Ch. 28 20, *θαλγαφελλαδαρ* [B]; *θαγλαθ'. φαλνα | σαρ'.* [A]; *θεγλαθφαλασαρ* [L] throughout.

In the Zenjīrli-Inscriptions תגלתפלסר and תגלתפליסר, Assyr. *Tukulti-âpil-êsarra*, 'My help is the son of Êšarra.' Êšarra, 'the house of the multitude,' was the name of the temple of Ninip, who was therefore called 'the son of Êšarra.'

1. His name.

The strange form in Chronicles is, according to Kittel (*Chron.* Heb. *SBOT* 68), 'merely an accidental corruption of a familiar name at the hands of the Chronicler or of his Midrashic source.'

The biblical Tiglath-pileser was the third of the Assyrian kings of that name, and came to the throne in 745 B.C. Nothing is known of his origin and parentage, but as he is called in the Babylonian Canon Pulu (PUL, 2 K. 15 19, etc.), it is thought that he was not of royal race, but was probably a general under Ašur-nirari, his predecessor, and that he called himself Tiglath-pileser on coming to the throne on account of the renown attaching to this royal name.

2. Possible origin.

The chief sources of the history of his reign are the inscribed slabs found in the remains of his palace at Calah, and two tablets which appear to have been copied from records on stone similar, in some respects, to the slabs. With regard to the latter, several of them are only known from squeezes now in the British Museum, where also the clay tablets referring to his reign are preserved. The chronology of his reign has been placed beyond a doubt by the Eponym Canon with historical references (*KB* 1 212-213), from which it appears that he mounted the throne on the 13th of the month Iyyar (April-May) of the year 745 B.C., as successor to Ašur-nirari (II.), in the last year of whose reign there was a rising in Calah; not improbably Tiglath-pileser seized this opportunity to assume the supreme power. Whether the fact that the Eponym for the next year was the governor of Calah supports this supposition or not, is a matter of opinion.

3. Sources of history, and accession.

The first campaign of this king, which took place in the year of his accession, is stated to have been 'into the midst of the rivers'—*i.e.*, 'to Babylonia.' His object was, not so much to conquer the country as to break the excessive and dangerous power of the Aramæan tribes. In this he was fully successful, and the Babylonians themselves, who suffered from the tribes in question, thankfully acknowledged his suzerainty. Owing to this success, he seems to have assumed, from the first, the title of 'king of Šumer and Akkad.'

4. History of his reign. The Aramæan tribes.

The next year (744 B.C.) Tiglath-pileser turned his attention to the mountainous district on the E. of Assyria, inhabited by wild tribes who had always been troublesome to the Assyrian kings. This district, which was called Namri (cp ZIMRI ii.), he wasted with fire and sword, annexing a portion of it to Assyria.

5. Namri.

In 743 B.C. affairs in the W. claimed his attention. The state of which ARPAD (*q.v.*) was the capital, supported, to all appearance, by the king of Urarṭu (ARARAT), seems to have thrown off the Assyrian yoke; it had to be reduced again to submission. This probably gave an opportunity to Sar-durri, king of Urarṭu, to march towards Assyria. It was therefore necessary to put off the subjection of Arpad, and proceed against the northern foe, who was completely defeated. In 742 operations against Arpad were resumed, and in 741 (to judge from the Eponym-list) the city was taken, though the Assyrian army remained in the same district in 740 B.C. One result was the annexation of Unḳi (identified by Tomkins[1] with 'Amḳ), a district which had already felt the Assyrian might.

6. Arpad, Kullani, etc.

In 739 B.C. Tiglath-pileser carried on war in Ulluba, on the N., taking several cities and founding another, which he called Ašur-ikiša ('Ašur has presented'). It was apparently during this period that the Assyrian subject-states in Syria and northern Phœnicia rebelled. The operations into which the Assyrians were thus led resulted in the capture of Kullanî—*i.e.* (according to P. Rost), the CALNO (*q.v.*) of Is. 10 9[2] (738 B.C.).

1 'Geography of Northern Syria' in *BOR* 36. For the extent of Unḳi see Rost, *Tiglath-pileser*, 1 p. xxi, n. 1.

2 With regard to the identification there given, it may be noted that Kullani would seem from *WAI* ii. 53 6*a* to be one of the towns along the Taurus, implying an extension of operations in that direction.

The question now arises whether Azriau or Izriau (Rost)—*i.e.*, Azariah of Judah—came into touch with Tiglath-pileser on this occasion. It must be confessed that the frequent mention of his name in the exceedingly mutilated portion of the annals which seem to refer to this period gives Tiele justification for replying in the affirmative (*BAG* 230 *f.*; on the whole question, however, see UZZIAH). All the princes of middle and northern Syria now submitted and paid tribute, including Raṣunnu (see REZIN) of Damascus, Menihimme (Menahem) of Samaria, Ḥirummu (Hiram) of Tyre, and others, including Zabibi queen of Arabia (see OREB and ZEEB). There is no statement, so far as the texts are preserved, that the Assyrian king penetrated as far S. as Samaria, but the fact that he received tribute from that country (cp 2 K. 15 19 *ff.*) is a sufficient indication that he at least threatened it, and had to be bought off (see MENAHEM). The policy of deportation was on this occasion resorted to extensively.

7. Azariah.

The following year (737 B.C.) the state of affairs on the E. called the Assyrian king to Media (*mât Madâa*) and the district, where he set up images of himself, and peace again reigned—at least, as far as the Assyrians were concerned. This left Tiglath-pileser free to march, in 736 B.C., to the foot of the Nal mountains, on the N. of Assyria, where he took a large number of cities, thus preparing the way for the conquest of the land of Urarṭu, which, in the following year (735), he proceeded to carry out. He penetrated as far as Sar-durri's capital, Ṭurušpâ, and though, on account of its naturally advantageous position on the lake Van, he was unable to take the city, he nevertheless broke the power of the kingdom of Urarṭu for many years to come.

8. Media and Urarṭu.

For the year 734 B.C. the Eponym-list has this entry: 'to the land Pilišta'—*i.e.*, 'to Philistia.' Schrader in 1878 (*KGF* 126), in consequence of *WAI* 1 35, n. 1, 11 *ff.*, considered this to involve a campaign against Judah, Samaria, Phœnicia, etc. Rost, however, thinks differently, contending that the mere reception of tribute from the countries mentioned in *WAI*, *loc. cit.*, would sufficiently account for the references to the southern districts. As, however, the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser, where they speak of relations with Judah, have no date (the text being defective at the important points), he follows the indications of the Eponym-list, which makes Philistia (*i.e.*, the small states on the shores of the Mediterranean) the chief object of the campaign. In proceeding thither, Tiglath-pileser, like the Assyrian kings in general, would take the coast-road from N. to S. The name of the city which was first threatened is broken away, but Rost conjectures it to have been Ashdod or Ekron. Its prince bought his reinstatement only by means of heavy tribute. It was Ḥanûnu of Gaza, however, who was to all appearance more especially aimed at by Tiglath-pileser, and, feeling this, he lost no time in seeking refuge in Egypt.[1] Gaza then fell an easy prey to the Assyrians; its treasure and its gods were carried away, the worship of Ašur was introduced, and the royal throne and image set up in the palace of Ḥanûnu.

9. Philistia.

The entry for 733 and 732 B.C. is 'to the land of Dimašḳa'—*i.e.*, Aram-Damascus. No doubt it was part of the king's plan to subjugate the states of the W., but he was also induced to make this campaign by the appeal of Ahaz of Judah for help against REZIN and PEKAH. The appeal was supported by the sending of gifts in acknowledgment of vassalage. It would seem that the allied kings despaired of resisting the advance of the Assyrians, and retreated to their own territories. They thus played into the

10. Ahaz.

1 For another view see Wi. *Muṣri*, 50 34 *f.*, and cp ISAIAH, BOOK OF, § 12, n. 1; MIZRAIM, § 2*b*.

hands of Tiglath-pileser, who may perhaps refer to this in his annals (11 227 *f.*) as follows:—

'In my former expeditions, I had counted (as spoil) all the cities (of Pekah) and had carried off his . . . and he forsook Samaria alone . . . their king . . .'

Rost completes the last phrase '(they overthrew Pekah), their king,' which is not impossible, and is supported by his revised text of *WAI* 3 10, no. 2, 50 28.

11. Rezin. Previously to this, however, as it would seem, the king paid a visit to the Phœnician states to assure himself of their fidelity, and on this occasion he may have annexed wide tracts of Israel, including 'all the land of Naphtali' (2 K. 15 29). No reference to this, however, occurs in his inscriptions (though, perhaps, as Hommel suggests, the *-li* of 17 of *WAI* 3, pl. 10, no. 2 may be the end of that word, for the preceding line refers to Bit-Ḫumria or Israel). Rezin of Damascus boldly resisted the invader, but on this occasion fortune deserted the Aramæans; Rezin took to flight, and fortified himself in Damascus. A siege of the city followed, during which the surrounding country was completely devastated. A successful expedition was also made against Samsi, queen of N. Arabia, which led to the submission of other tribes of that region, as far as Sa'ba (Yemen). Damascus itself fell at the end of 732 B.C.; it is not again mentioned as an independent state. The fate of Rezin is related in 2 K. 16 9. See DAMASCUS, §§ 10 *f.*; REZIN.

12. Israel and the neighbouring states. The relations of Hoshea, who seized the crown of Israel, to Tiglath-pileser are treated elsewhere (see HOSHEA). A third rebel against Assyria now claims our attention, namely Mitinti of Ashkelon, who had been joined by Metenna of Tyre. According to Rost, the Assyrian statement is[1] that Mitinti went mad on realising that he might soon have to share the fate of Rezin. His son Rûkipti now mounted the throne on account, as it would seem, of his father's mental state, and hastened to reconcile himself with the Assyrian conqueror by means of tribute and gifts. Tiglath-pileser now sent his rab-sakê (see RAB-SHAKEH) against Metenna of Tyre, who, finding no other course feasible, decided to submit and pay tribute. The rab-sakê was also successful in bringing about the submission of Uassurmi, chief of Tabal, who, however, was deposed, and a man named Ḫullî set in his place.

13. Operations in Babylon. To all appearance, affairs in the W. had reached a satisfactory settlement for the Assyrians. Leaving that district in 732 B.C., Tiglath-pileser found trouble awaiting him in the following year in Babylon, owing to the restlessness of the Chaldæans and Aramæans. Nabonassar had been succeeded by his son Nabû-nadin-zêri, who was killed after a reign of two years. His murderer, Nabû-šum-ukîn, made himself king, but was deposed after rather more than two months' rule by the Chaldæan prince Ukîn-zêr (Chinziros) of Bît-Amukkâni. At this period, the Babylonians proper had but little love for the dominion of the rough Chaldæans, and probably encouraged an Assyrian intervention in order to get release from a thoroughly distasteful rule. Tiglath-pileser therefore entered Babylonia, and besieged Ukîn-zêr in his capital Sapia, but without result. He wasted the territory of the other tribes, however, and carried Zakiru, prince of Bît-sa'alli, into captivity. According to the Eponym Canon, the Assyrian king did not engage in any campaign in 730, but remained at home 'in the land.' Apparently his army continued the siege of Sapia, which fell in the following year. The result was, that Ukîn-zêr lost his throne, and the other Chaldæan chiefs submitted, including MERODACH-BALADAN (*q.v.*), prince of the land of Tâmtim ('the sea-coast'). Tiglath-pileser could now celebrate one of his greatest triumphs. He proceeded to Babylonia as the saviour of his people, and was universally acknowledged as king; in the Babylonian Chronicle, and on at least one contract-tablet, he is called Tukulti-âpil-êšarra. (This has a bearing on the question whether PUL [*q.v.*] was his official name at Babylon, or not.)

[1] The preceding passage is very defective.

14. Last years and death. The next year (728 B.C.) found the king again in Babylonia, performing the ceremony of 'taking the hand of Bel,' which would thus seem to have been a yearly duty for one who claimed to be ruler of the land. The Eponym Canon mentions the name of a city, which may be Dir; it may be surmised that a rebellion had taken place there. It is probably to this city that the entry in the same document with regard to the expedition of 727 B.C. refers; after which it is stated that Shalmaneser set himself on the throne. The death of Tiglath-pileser, as we learn from the Babylonian Chronicle, took place in the month Tebet, thus closing a reign, than which none was more glorious for Assyria or more fateful for Israel.

15. Buildings. Turning now to other signs of progress, we note that the material prosperity of Assyria was well maintained, and one can see from the extant sculptures of the period that Assyrian art, too, had not declined. When at home, the king seems to have generally resided in Calah, but also in Nineveh. Being more of a warrior than a builder, he apparently contented himself with rebuilding and changing the great central palace at CALAH, which had been founded by his predecessor Shalmaneser II., copying the Hittite style, and adorning it with the objects sent as tribute by Hittite and Chaldæan princes.[1] Unfortunately, this building was for the most part demolished by Esarhaddon, so that the sculptures and inscriptions were partly destroyed, partly mutilated. This, added to the ravages of time, has deprived us of much valuable material, rendering the records of Tiglath-pileser very fragmentary. Happily the order of his campaigns is well preserved by the Eponym Canon with historical references, though the meagreness of the entries leaves one or two points still uncertain.

[As in the case of the articles SARGON and SENNACHERIB, it is necessary to warn the reader that the basis of the ordinary representation of the history of Israel needs to be tested afresh by textual criticism, and that one result of this is that the influence of the N. Arabian neighbours of Palestine is seen to have been at least as strongly felt as that of Assyria. In PROPHET, § 35, it is shown that the captivity foretold by Amos was most probably a N. Arabian one, and the region which was to bear the brunt of the invasion was that part of the Negeb which was in Israelitish occupation. Similarly in 2 K. 15 29 it is not the Assyrian king commonly called Tiglath-pileser, but Jeraḥmeel king of Ashḫur in N. Arabia who carries away captive the people of certain places and districts, which places and districts are not in N. Israel, but in the Israelitish Negeb. The critical proof of this is both interesting and suggestive. It entirely clears up the mystery of the three names, Pul, Tiglath-pileser, Tilgath-pilneser. See *Crit. Bib.*—T.K.C.]

16. Bibliography. Rost, *Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pilesers III.* (1893); G. Smith, *Assyria* (*Ancient History from the Monuments*), 74 *ff.*; Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 2 104-138; Mürdter-Delitzsch, *Gesch. von Bab. u. Ass.* 177 *f.* (1891); Hommel, *GBA* 648 *ff.* (1885); Schrader, 'Zur Kritik d. inschr. Tiglat-Pilesers II.' (*Kgl. Pr. Akad. der Wiss.* 1881); *COT* 1 213 *ff.* 242 *ff.*; *KB* vol. 2.

T. G. P.

TIGRIS (חִדֶּקֶל), Gen. 2 14 RV^mg., Dan. 10 4 RV^mg.; EV HIDDEKEL (*q.v.*).

TIKVAH (תִּקְוָה 'hope,' § 74; θεκουε [AL]—*i.e.*, TEKOA).

1. Father of SHALLUM (2), 2 K. 22 14 (θεκκουαυ [B], -κκουε [A]). Cp TIKVATH.

2. Father of JAHAZIAH, Ezra 10 15 (ελκεια [BN]); in 1 Esd. 9 14 he is called THEOCANUS, RV THOCANUS (θοκανου [B] θω. [A]).

TIKVATH, RV TOKHATH (תוקהת, Kt.; תָּקְהַת, krê), father of SHALLUM (2), 2 Ch. 34 22 (καθουαλ [B], θακουαθ [A], θεκωε [L]). See TIKVAH.

TILE. (1) For לְבֵנָה, *lᵉbēnāh*, πλινθος (Ezek. 4 1 †), see BRICK. (2) For κέραμος (Lk. 5 19), see HOUSE, § 4.

[1] According to Frd. Delitzsch, however, the palace built by Tiglath-pileser III. was on the W. side of the great terrace of Calah, beside that of Shalmaneser I.

TILGATH-PILNESER (תִּלְּגַת פִּלְנְאֶסֶר), 1 Ch. 56 26 2 Ch. 28 20. See TIGLATH-PILESER (with appendix).

TILON (תִּילוֹן, Kt. תולון; ινων [B], θιλων [A], θωλειμ [L]), son of SHIMON a Judahite (1 Ch. 4 20 †).

TIMÆUS (τιμαιος [Ti. WH]), Mk. 10 46 RV, AV **Timeus**. See BARTIMÆUS.

TIMBREL (תֹּף, *tōph*), Ex. 15 20, etc. Cp TABRET, and see MUSIC, § 3 (1).

TIME. See CHRONOLOGY; also DAY, MONTH, WEEK, YEAR.

TIMES, OBSERVER OF (מְעוֹנֵן), Dt. 18 10, etc. See DIVINATION, 3 (2).

TIMNA (תִּמְנָע, תִּמְנַע, § 54; θαμνα [BADEL]) in Gen. 36 12 ranks as the concubine of Eliphaz b. Esau and mother of Amalek; but in 1 Ch. 1 36 Timna and Amalek are among the *sons* of Eliphaz (so 𝔊^L; but 𝔊^B, *καὶ τῆς θαμνα αμαληκ*; 𝔊^A *θαμνα δὲ ἡ παλλακὴ ελιφαζ ἔτεκεν αὐτῇ τὸν αμαληκ*). Timna appears, however, as the sister of Lotan b. Seir (see LOT) in Gen. 36 22 1 Ch. 1 39 (*αιλαθ καὶ ναμνα* [B], *ἀδελφὴ δὲ λωταν θαμνα* [A], *καὶ ἀ. λ. θ.* [L]); and as an Edomite phylarch or rather clan in Gen. 36 40 1 Ch. 1 51 (*θαιμαν* [B], *θαμανα* [A]; in Gen. EV, against rule, gives TIMNAH).

These inconsistencies are not surprising (see GENEALOGIES, § 1). Perhaps, however, Gunkel is right in supposing that Gen. 36 12*a* (Timna a concubine) is a later insertion in P. Cp AMALEK, § 4.

TIMNAH (תִּמְנָה; θαμνα [BAL]; also תִּמְנָתָה, Josh. 19 43 Judg. 14 1 2 5; *i.e.*, 'allotted portion').

1. A town in the hill-country of Judah, in the same group with Maon and Carmel (Josh. 15 57; *θαμναθα* [B]), and therefore not to be identified with *Tibneh* or *Tibnah*, 4 h. W. of Bethlehem. There must have been a Timnah SE. of Hebron. Most scholars have supposed this place to be intended in Gen. 38 12-14 (*θαιμνα* [A] in *v.* 12; *θαμναν* [L] in *v.* 14), but the emended reading of the first place-name in *v.* 14 (see TAPPUAH, 1) favours the view that the Timnah (see below, 2) of Josh. 15 10 Judg. 14 1 is meant. The gentilic of this Timnah, 'Timni,' seems to occur, miswritten as TEMENI (*q.v.*), or Tīmĕni, in 1 Ch. 4 6.

2. (AV **Timnath**, and once, Josh. 19 43, THIMNATHAH, where 𝔊 varies as in 15 57 [see above]. In Judg. *θαμναθα* [BAL]. The gentilic תִּמְנִי, *θαμνει* [B], *θαμναθαιου* [AL], **Timnite**, Judg. 15 6.) A place on the northern frontier of Judah (Josh. 15 10, where 𝔊 has *ἐπὶ λίβα* [BL], *ἐπὶ νότον* [A]), assigned to Dan in Josh. 19 43, but according to Judg. 14 inhabited by Philistines in the pre-regal period. The latter narrative describes most graphically an occasion on which Samson 'went down to Timnah' (Judg. 14 1) from Zorah. The Chronicler includes it among the cities taken from Ahaz by the Philistines (2 Ch. 28 18; om. 𝔊^B), and the contemporary evidence of Sennacherib in the 'Prism-inscription' (*KB* 2 92 *f.*) records that king's capture of Tamna after the battle of Altaku before he laid siege to Amkaruna or Ekron. Timnah is now represented by the village of *Tibneh*, on the S. side of the Wādy Ṣarār, 2 m. W. of 'Ain Shems (Beth-shemesh) and a little farther to the SW. of Ṣar'ah (Zorah). The site, however, has been robbed of three-fourths of its ruins by the builders of a neighbouring village (Guérin, *Jud.* 2 30 *f.*). But cp ZORAH.

3. A third Timnah (possibly the same as TIMNATH-HERES) may be recognised in the THAMNATHA of 1 Macc. 9 50 (on the readings, see PIRATHON), which was one of the Judæan cities fortified by Bacchides. It is doubtless the Thamna mentioned by Josephus (*BJ* iii. 3 5) and Pliny (*HN* v. 14 70) as giving name to one of the toparchies (the Thamnitica) of Judæa, and incorrectly described by Eusebius and Jerome (*OS* 260 3 156 6) as being in the district of Lydda on the road to Jerusalem. The topographical notices in Jos. *BJ* iv. 8 1 confirm the view that this Timnah or Thamna is the northern *Tibneh*, a village about 10 m. NW. of Bethel, with extensive ruins which have been described at length by Guérin (*Sam.* 2 89 *ff.*). Cp Clermont Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 1875, p. 169; Schürer, *GVI* 2 138.

TIMNATH-HERES (תִּמְנַת חֶרֶס, as if 'Portion of the Sun,' see NAMES, § 95; Judg. 2 9 *θαμναθαρες* [BL], *θαμναθαρ·εως* [A], also called in Josh. 19 50 24 30 **Timnath-serah** (תִּמְנַת סֶרַח; *θαμαρχαρης* [B], *θαμνασαραχ* [Ba. mg.], *θαμναθσαρα* [A], *θαμναθασαρ* [L] in 19 50; *θαμναθασαχαρα* [B], *θαμνασαχαρ* [A], *θαμναθσ.* [L], in 24 30).

A locality 'in Mt. Ephraim on the N. side of the Mt. GAASH' (*q.v.*). According to the book of Joshua it was assigned to Joshua at his own request; he fortified the city, dwelt there, and was buried there. The place has been identified with the modern *Tibneh* (see TIMNAH, 3), where, on the N. slope of the hill to the S., are some remarkable tombs described by Guérin (*Sam.* 2 89-104). This, however, assumes that there is only one Ephraim, whereas the probability is that there was a second Ephraim (= Jerahmeel) in the Negeb.

The alternative identification with Kefr Ḥārith (a small village NE. of Tibneh), proposed by Conder, has only the support of a late Jewish and Moslem mediæval tradition (see *ZDPV* 2 13 *ff.* 6 195 *ff.*, and cp Goldziher, *PEFQ*, 1879, pp. 193 *ff.*). It also implies the correctness of *-ḥeres*, whereas Josh. (*ll.c.*) gives *-seraḥ*, which is hardly to be treated as a *deliberate* metathesis (so Moore).

But possibly חרס (whence by error סרח) comes from שחר—*i.e.*, אַשְׁחוּר (this also accounts best for 'Mount Heres'). This will become still more probable if 'Nun' in 'Joshua son of Nun' should really be Naḥshon[1] (apparently a Rehobothite or Jeraḥmeelite name). Joshua surely represents a clan of the Negeb; see JOSHUA. It is also important that Eleazar son of Aaron (apparently a kinsman of Joshua), is said to have been buried in Gibeath-pinehas, 'which was given him [omit בנו] in Mt. Ephraim,' for *pi[nᵉ]has* is not improbably another corruption of Jeraḥme'el. See PHINEHAS. T. K. C.

TIMON (τιμων [Ti. WH]), one of the seven deacons (Acts 6 5). He has a Greek name and was perhaps a Hellenist. Traditions contained in Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus make him bishop of Bostra in Arabia, and according to the former he suffered martyrdom by burning at the hands of the heathen.

TIMOTHEUS (τιμοθεος [AℵV]). 1. An 'Ammonite' leader; whether an Ammonite with a Greek name, or a Greek who had been put by the Syrian general in command of the Ammonites is unknown. He was defeated on various occasions by Judas the Maccabee; first in the campaign which resulted in the capture of Jazer, and again in that which included the battles of Dathema and Raphon and the relief of Bosora, Bosor, Alema, Casphor, Maked and Carnaim (1 Macc. 5 6-13 24-44). He is also mentioned in 2 Macc. 8 30 32 9 3 10 24 32 37 12 2 10 18-21 24, where the scene is transferred to Western Palestine and a chronology implied which has suggested to many scholars that a different person must be intended. The most probable explanation of the discrepancies, however, is that suggested under MACCABEES (SECOND), §§ 2, 3; col. 2870 middle, col. 2871, viz., the inadequacy of the sources, and the uncritical character of the compiler, of that book.

2. See TIMOTHY.

TIMOTHY

Birthplace, etc. (§ 1). Journeys (§§ 3-5).
Circumcision (§ 2). An author? (§ 6).
Traditions (§ 7).

This Hellenistic name (see TIMOTHEUS) is in the NT (τιμοθεος [Ti. WH]) borne by one of Paul's younger companions who was connected with, and probably born at, LYSTRA (§ 3) in Lycaonia, where the apostle first came across him.

In Acts 16 1 *ἐκεῖ* is epexegetic of *καὶ εἰς Λύστραν*, and the text

1 For a parallel cp חל in חל אביב, which may represent חובל; see TEL-ABIB.

of 20 4 is too secure to justify any alteration which (GAIUS, 2) would connect Δερβαῖος with Τιμόθεος, identifying this Gaius with the Macedonian of the same common name (19 29) from whom in all likelihood the epithet Δερβαῖος is expressly intended to distinguish him. Cp Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe*, 65 *f.* (1880).

1. Birthplace and family.

The diminished strictness of local Judaism (PHRYGIA, § 3) is betrayed by two features in the Lystran household where Timothy was brought up; his Jewish mother had married a pagan, and their son was allowed to reach manhood uncircumcised. His father, it has been conjectured, died during the boy's early years; this is corroborated at any rate by the absence of all reference to him as well as by the strong influence assigned in reliable tradition to the lad's mother (EDUCATION, § 5) and (maternal?) grandmother, even though we hesitate to lay stress on the slight textual evidence for Eunīcē's widowhood (Acts 16 1, add χήρας 25: χ. for Ἰουδαίας, gig. fu.), or even on the tense of ὑπῆρχεν (fuerat, Acts 16 3; ὑπάρχει would have been used, had he been alive [Blass]) Whether her husband was among 'the men that worship God' (σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν) or not, Eunīcē (Acts 16 1, cp *v.* 15) seems to have become a Christian at Paul's first visit to Lystra (Acts 14 6 *f.* 20-22). Later notices, embodying a tradition which there is no reason to suspect, indicate that her mother Lois had assisted her to train[1] the lad in the knowledge and piety of the OT previous to their joint conversion (2 Tim. 1 5 3 14 *f.*, cp 1 Tim. 5 4); and it may be inferred that their influence subsequently brought Timothy over to the new faith some time before the return of Paul a couple of years or so later. Passages like 1 Cor. 4 17 (contrast *v.* 15), 2 Tim. 2 1, etc., refer to kinship of spirit, and Phil. 2 22 expressly identifies Timothy's 'genuine sonship' with his loyal service to Paul, not with spiritual parentage. At any rate his intimate connection with Paul dates from the latter's second tour with Silas, when he found the young Lystran not a neophyte but a full member (μαθητής) of the local church.

The allusion in 2 Tim. 3 10 *f.* (a genuine fragment) simply means (Lk. 1 3) acquaintance with the facts and experiences narrated—an acquaintance involving moral imitation (1 Tim. 4 6)—and does not imply that Timothy accompanied Paul on the journey described in Acts 13 14-14 20. In this flight, according to *Acta Petri et Pauli*, etc. (ed. Lips. 1891, pp. 235 *f.*), Paul is accompanied by Demas and Hermogenes ὁ χαλκεύς, ὑποκρίσεως γέμοντες, καὶ ἐξελιπάρουν τὸν Παῦλον ὡς ἀγαπῶντες αὐτόν.

2. Circumcision.

The language of Acts 16 1 (καὶ ἰδού, cp 1 10 8 27 10 17 12 7) is intended to denote a remarkable and happy episode in the tour (cp Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 178 *f.*). It seemed providential that another youth was found willing and fit to join Paul's company and enterprise, after the defection of John Mark and Barnabas. Characteristically (cp 6 3 10 22 22 12) an excellent reputation is singled out as one essential feature in his moral equipment; Acts 16 2 suggests also, though it does not necessarily imply, that he had already preached in the neighbourhood. However, as his father's nationality was notorious in the locality, Paul had him circumcised. He carried out this long-deferred rite upon the eve of proceeding farther on a tour among the Phrygian churches with their Jewish surroundings and partially Jewish atmosphere, his object being to prevent people taking needless offence either at Timothy's connection with Paul or at his entrance into Jewish circles.

Acts 16 3*b* is often taken as an editorial gloss (*e.g.*, Clemen, Jüngst, Hilgenfeld, and Wendt), and on different lines the last-named critic and McGiffert (*Apostolic Age*, 232-234) have attempted to explain the whole passage as the popular and later misstatement of an actual fact, in opposition to the dominant view (cp ACTS, §§ 4, 7) which—apart from minor variations—generally regards the story as an invention of the author, introduced in order to illustrate what he conceived was or should have been Paul's deferential and conciliatory attitude towards Jewish-Christian scruples. But the existence of a strong Timothy-tradition in the later church makes it hard to believe that a strange story like this could be spread not long after Timothy's death, if it did not correspond to fact. And psychological reasons can be adduced which render the tradition fairly acceptable (cp Renan, *S. Paul*, 125, 313; Hort, *Jud. Christ.* 85 *f.*). Paul, either before or after the conference at Jerusalem, was independent of petty scruples against or for circumcision, which he probably regarded as among the *adiaphora* (1 Cor. 7 18). Particularly in the case of a half-caste or semi-Jew like Timothy, where no principle was at stake, Paul could not have felt bound to abstain from circumcision, if it promoted effectiveness, any more than to insist upon it uniformly. His liberal views (cp Rom. 2 28 *f.* 14 13-21) left him free to act upon his own judgment and to decide any case upon its merits, free even to accommodate himself to scruples felt by Jews when such accommodation could not fairly (yet cp Gal. 5 11, and Rams. *Hist. Comm. Galat.*, § 8) be misunderstood. Timothy's circumcision was a matter of convenience, not of principle; and Paul would make that perfectly clear before permitting his friend to become legally a Jew to save the Jews.[1] Upon the whole, therefore, there is a distinct case to be made out on behalf of the historicity of this paragraph, as against the plausible but somewhat arbitrary view that it represents a make-weight to Gal. 2 3 *f.* The case of Titus was entirely different. And it is one thing for a writer to omit an awkward fact, another and a much more serious thing—requiring greater motives and historical justification than can be reasonably brought forward in this case—deliberately to invent a story which hundreds of contemporary Christians (cp Heb. 13 23) could have readily refuted. This forms an almost insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting the ordinary hypothesis of criticism upon Acts 16 1-3; and it seems therefore more natural to regard Paul's action as somewhat exceptional, though it depends on the view taken of the date of Galatians (cp 5 2) whether we suppose Paul deliberately made this exception afterwards (so Weber, *Abfassung des Galaterbriefes*, 77 *f.* [1900]), or advanced to a clearer and more consistent line of action.

In sketching at a later date some personal traits of Timothy, the author of the pastoral epistles, either drawing upon Acts or upon independent oral tradition, lays characteristic stress on the questions of good character and reputation as a requisite for the ministry (*e.g.*, 1 Tim. 3 7), preserves the names of Eunīcē and Lois (2 Tim. 1 5), suggests timidity and backwardness as qualities of Timothy (2 Tim. 1 7 *f.*), and refers to several circumstances attending Paul's selection of the younger man. There is no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of such notices or of the tradition that this momentous event (1 Tim. 1 18 4 14) was due to some local Christians, possibly including Paul himself, who felt themselves inspired in the assembly to single out the youth as a fit companion for Paul. The statement agrees at any rate with phenomena such as those noted in Acts 13 3, etc., and merely implies that the local prophets and leaders felt themselves divinely guided in selecting Timothy, or in ratifying Paul's judgment on a matter which may have already occupied his mind. But ecclesiastical tendency of a later age is felt in the further description, throughout these passages and elsewhere (*e.g.*, 2 Tim. 1 6, cp TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 7), of a supernatural χάρισμα due to solemn ordination; although the fact of the laying-on-of-hands at such a time is in itself quite credible (cp Acts 13 3 14 23).

3. In Macedonia.

Accompanying Paul and Silas on their European tour (PAUL, § 20), Timothy apparently took a specially keen interest in the Macedonian churches which he helped to found at Philippi and Thessalonica, although it is remarkable that the narrative in Acts only mentions his name quite incidentally (Acts 17 14 18 5). With the former church (Phil. 2 20-22) his relations remained singularly close and warm, but it is impossible to see him (with Völter, *Th. T*, 1892, p. 124) in a second-century allusion (4 3) to σύνζυγε (cp SYNZYGUS). His subsequent movements between Berœa (BEREA, 3) and Corinth are not quite clear owing to the loose and general statements of Acts at this point. The probability is, however, that (1 Thess. 3 2 being parallel to 3 5) Timothy rejoined Paul soon at Athens, and was sent back (perhaps with a letter, cp Rendel Harris: *Expos.*, 5th ser., 8 161 *f.* 401 *f.*) to Thessalonica to confirm the local Christians and bring back news of their condition to their anxious apostle. Returning from this errand Timothy, now accompanied by Silas, found that in despair Paul had gone across from Athens to Corinth. Cp THESSALONIANS, § 1 *f.*

[1] As the nearest synagogue was at Iconium, the religious instruction of the child devolved on Eunīcē, who probably possessed a copy of some part of the OT scriptures as well as 'the little parchment rolls, specially for the use of children, containing,' *e.g.*, the Shĕma', the Hallēl, the history of Creation down to the Flood, and Lev. 1-8 (Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, 114-117).

[1] Zahn (*Einl.* 1 479 *f.*) subtly traces an allusion to this characteristic of Timothy in the ἡμεῖς of Phil. 3 3, which he insists on taking (as in *v.* 17) as a reference to Paul's coadjutor (Phil. 1 1). See further K. Schmidt's *Ap.-gesch.* 358 *f.* (1882).

TIMOTHY

The 'awkward and badly constructed' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 233) narrative of Acts 17 10*f.* shows that the author, or the source which he followed here, was ignorant of this Macedonian mission; he offers no explanation of the extraordinary delay which—on his own statement—transpired between 17 13*f.* and 18 5, imagining that Silas and Timothy had simply remained in Berœa. Whereas it is probable that the visit of Paul's two emissaries extended to Philippi as well as to Thessalonica, and that they conveyed from the former church to Paul (2 Cor. 11 9? Phil. 4 15) a gift of money.

4. At Corinth and elsewhere.

At Corinth and throughout Achaia, Timothy, as an 'apostle' (1 Thess. 1 1 2 6) in the wider sense of the term (cp MINISTRY, § 17; McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 648 *f.*), shared Paul's pioneering work (cp 2 Cor. 1 19) and was associated with him in the epistles (epistle?) to Thessalonica, which were written in the earlier part of the apostle's stay on the Isthmus—for although the mention of Athens (1 Thess. 3 1) does not exclude the possibility of that city as the place where they were composed (see 1 Cor. 15 32 16 8), it is plain from other allusions (cp 1 Thess. 1 8) that they presuppose the apostle's entry into Achaia. From Corinth two years later Timothy seems to have accompanied Paul as far as Ephesus, where he became known to the churches in the neighbourhood (Col. 1 1) and to local individuals (Philem. 1).[1] At any rate (cp CHRONOLOGY, § 68) towards the close of the two or three years spent by Paul in Ephesus and the surrounding district, Timothy and Erastus (Acts 19 22), as two assistants of Paul upon the spot, were despatched to Macedonia and Achaia (possibly; ἐὰν ἔλθῃ, 1 Cor. 16 10) in advance of their leader, who intended to follow up his letter to Corinth (despatched by sea after March 5, when navigation became open) by a personal visit. It is plain, from 1 Cor. 4 17 16 10*f.*, that there was a chance of Timothy failing to arrive until after the letter reached its destination; for Paul bespeaks a courteous reception for his young representative. The absence of any greeting from the latter, and the temporal aorist ἔπεμψα ('I have sent,' 1 Cor. 4 17), show that he had left before the epistle was despatched. His instructions were to return with some other Christians directly (*i.e.*, by the sea-route) to Paul at Ephesus (1 Cor. 16 11), after instructing the Corinthians afresh upon Pauline methods and views (1 Cor. 4 17) and generally consolidating their faith.

The obscurity of the Corinthian episode at this stage (cp TITUS, § 2) renders it difficult to decide whether Paul's silence in 2 Cor. upon the mission of Timothy and any results attending it forms a tacit proof that Timothy did not manage to reach Corinth (so, *e.g.*, Lightfoot, Weiss, and Ramsay), or that he did arrive and then, failing to cope subsequently with the fresh trouble, returned to Paul or simply sent him word of the crisis. On the last-named hypothesis he may have been either (so Beyschlag, Pfleiderer, G. G. Findlay) in person, or with Paul on the latter's painful visit (2 Cor. 2 1 5 *f.*), actually the man insulted (ὁ ἀδικηθείς; 7 12) by the recalcitrant majority at Corinth. On the whole intricate question see Schmiedel, *HC* ii. 1 220-223.

Whatever happened to Timothy in the interval, Paul at last met[2] him somewhere among his favourite Macedonian churches (2 Cor. 1 1 7 5) whither he had retired from Corinth probably to find a more congenial sphere; unless we are to suppose that he accompanied Paul thither from Ephesus. Evidently he had not been in Achaia lately (2 Cor. 7 5 *f.* 13). But when Paul went on to Corinth, Timothy accompanied him (Rom. 16 21), and formed a member of the apostle's *entourage* on his return to Asia in the spring of the following year.

5. Later movements.

Whether he accompanied Paul to Rome or was summoned by him afterwards, the scanty data available do not permit us to determine; the latter conjecture (cp TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 12 *f.*) fits in well with the tone of 2 Tim. 4 13-15 21-22*a* when that fragment is assigned to a genuine note sent by Paul either late in the Cæsarean or early in the Roman imprisonment, urging his friend to join him. At any rate it is obvious that Timothy did stay beside him at Rome for a considerable period (Col. 1 1 Philem. 1 Phil. 1 1). Later on, however, Paul's concern for the Philippian Christians led him to arrange for the disinterested and zealous Timothy paying them a visit (Phil. 2 19-22) in order to relieve the apostle's mind by bringing back news of his old friends. Timothy had a tried character by this time and his 'solicitude for the Philippians had become a second nature' (Lightfoot). 'Clearly he was not a prisoner, but free to come and go. His journey may have detained him; or he may have proceeded farther to Ephesus.[1] At least a genuine fragment preserved in 2 Tim. 1 15-18 4 6-12 16-19 shows that at some subsequent period Paul had been forced to abandon his hope of release and now, in view of a martyr's death, wanted to have Timothy beside him again in his isolation. We do not know if the summons was obeyed in time, or at all. A final glimpse of the envoy is afforded, some twenty years later, by a casual remark in an epistle apparently addressed to some Christians at Rome (Heb. 13 23), from which it would appear that Timothy, who was familar to this circle of readers (cp Rom. 16 21, HEBREWS, § 9), had been recently released from imprisonment somewhere and might possibly revisit Rome in company with his friend the writer.

6. As author.

Apart from a hypothesis, which needs only to be chronicled, that he actually edited the two pastoral epistles bearing his own name, three lines of critical reconstruction connect Timothy with authorship either independently or as an amanuensis of Paul. (i.) Least probable of all is Spitta's ingenious attempt to find in him the author of 2 Thess. (*Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristenthums*, 1 22 *f.*), an epistle written by him in the name of his companions (2 Thess. 1 1)—hence its somewhat formal and official tone—and saturated with apocalyptic fantasies of Judaism peculiar to himself (cp Acts 16 1 2 Tim. 3 15 *f.* 1 Tim. 1 4 4 7). See THESSALONIANS, § 14. (ii.) When 2 Cor. 10-13 is accepted as part of an intermediate letter to Corinth, written previous to 2 Cor. 1-9, it is natural (Pfleid. *Das Urchristenthum*, 106 *f.*) though far from necessary to suppose that these four chapters were preceded by a part (no longer extant) written by Timothy or by some other companion of Paul interested in the local church. On this view the αὐτὸς δὲ ἐγὼ Παῦλος means that Paul now strikes in to speak alone and independently. (iii.) With more plausibility the composition of the 'We-journal' in Acts has been assigned occasionally to Timothy (*e.g.*, by Königsmann, Ulrich, Beyschlag, de Wette, Bleek, and [?] Weizsäcker), although the threads of positive proof are extremely subtle (cp ACTS, § 9 *b*) and the general probabilities point rather to Luke as the diarist. Besides, even if the Bezan reading in Acts 11 27 *f.* be rejected, a passage like Acts 20 4-6 (unless we are to suspect a serious dislocation of the text) tells against the composition of the journal by Timothy. Sorof, however, has followed a modified form of Mayerhoff's theory in attributing to Timothy the task of editing Acts in its extant shape from (*a*) a Lucan sketch of early Christianity in connection with Paul and (*b*) a rather legendary Petrine source (*Die Entstehung der Ap.-gesch.* 1890).

7. In tradition.

The widespread belief of Christian tradition (*Ap. Const.* 7 46, Euseb. *HE* 3 4, Photius, *Bibl.* 254), that Timothy was appointed by Paul as the first bishop of Ephesus, is probably nothing better than an inference from the pastoral epistles (1 Tim. 1 3 *f.*), which, however, may echo some historical relationship. The story is occasionally improved by some circumstantial details: *e.g.*, that he was succeeded in his episcopate by the apostle and the presbyter John, suffering martyrdom (Jan. 22, Greek church; Jan. 24, Latin; Sept. 27, Ephesus) during the former's exile at Patmos towards the close of the first century A.D. (see Nicephorus in *HE* 3 11). No miracles are narrated of him in the fifth century *Acta Timothei* (ed. Usener, 1877). For these and other legends see further Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-gesch.* (1884), 372-400, and, for the traditional connection of Timothy and Ephesus, Zahn, *Einl.* 1 426 *f.* His martyrdom

[1] If the note to Ephesus, incorporated in Rom. 16, extended (as, *e.g.*, Weizsäcker and McGiffert suggest) to *v.* 23, the mention of Timothy in *v.* 21 would be highly appropriate. But the note probably contained *vv.* 1-20 and no more. [Cp, further, ROMANS, § 13.]

[2] Or, sent for him; if one plausible reconstruction of the period, based on a critical view of 2 Tim. 4 9 11-18 20 *f.* (see TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 12), could be established.

[1] If so, this would be the basis for the literary setting adopted by the later author of the pastoral epistles in his third composition (1 Tim. 1 3 *f.*, cp TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 11). The casual way in which Timothy's connection with Ephesus is assumed there, may be pure fantasy; but it is more likely that it may reflect some actual tradition of his career after Paul's removal; certainly (although the far from exhaustive or accurate nature of Acts as a record of Paul's later life does not make this an insuperable objection) there is no recorded period in Acts when Paul started for Macedonia leaving Timothy to superintend matters at Ephesus.

(1 Tim. 6 12 *f.*) is connected in one tradition with wild orgies in vogue possibly at the local festival of Diana, the mob having clubbed him to death for protesting against their licentiousness.

J. Mo.

TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES)

Contents of epistles (§§ 1-3).	Second imprisonment (§ 10).
Period and object (§ 4).	Genesis of pastorals (§ 11).
The errorists (§ 5).	Critical analysis (§§ 12-14).
Paulinism (§ 6).	Order of composition (§ 15).
Sub-Pauline elements (§ 7).	Author (§ 16).
The faithful sayings (§ 8).	Pseudonymity (§ 17).
Style and diction (§ 9).	Bibliography (§ 18).

These three epistles commonly form a group[1] in the NT canon,[2] and the general similarity of their diction, aim, and atmosphere makes it convenient to discuss them side by side. Their contents are as follows :—

1. 1 Tim. 1 Tim. is somewhat loosely knit together; the contents are miscellaneous rather than orderly, as if the writer had had no single topic dominant in his mind. But in spite of this desultory character the general trend of the epistle is not obscure.

After the usual greeting (1 1 *f.*) the epistle opens by describing the commission already given by Paul to his lieutenant at Ephesus and now urged afresh upon his attention that he may be able to counteract local errorists of antinomian proclivities. This commission enforces sincerity and moral earnestness, according to the Pauline standard presented as an apostolic trust and tradition to which Timotheus is naturally heir (3-11). Here a digression occurs, suggested by the closing words of *v.* 11; Paul claims to be the staunch though unworthy representative of this evangelical standard, and summons Timothy to unflinching loyalty (12-20) in view of some recent instances of aberration (Hymenæus and Alexander). The epistle then passes away from polemic and personal allusions into the first of its two sections (2 *f.*). Directions are laid down for the regulation of church-life in general: (*a*) for whom (2 1 *f.*) and by whom (8) prayer is to be offered in church—both paragraphs expanding into slight digressions upon the universality[3] of salvation in the Pauline gospel (3-7) and upon the subordinate place of women (9-3 1). The writer then proceeds from Christian worship to the more vital question of (*b*) organisation, laying

[1] As 'personal' letters ('pro affectu et dilectione,' Murat. Can.) they usually share with Philemon the last place in the list of Pauline epistles. After the Murat. Canon, where for some reason Titus precedes the other two, the normal arrangement is 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Titus.

[2] The allusions and citations in early Christian literature simply prove the existence and (by no means unanimous) acceptance of these epistles during the second and third centuries. Neither their rejection by writers and leaders outside the catholic church, nor their welcome within it, can be supposed to throw independent light upon the question of their actual origin and authorship. Errorists usually refused to admit what was in more or less plain conflict with their own tenets, and one has always to suspect the bias of moral dislike (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 2 11) behind their so-called literary verdicts upon authorship. But as little do the employment and the approbation of such writings by church-authors tell in favour of their reputed authorship. When admitted to the canon as documents bearing Paul's name, they were judged healthy in religious tone, practically serviceable to the church ('in honore ecclesiæ catholicæ in ordinatione ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ sanctificatæ sunt,' Murat. Can.), and generally congruous with the Pauline tradition and temper. Those who thus stamped them with approval had no independent knowledge of their composition; it was enough that the epistles contained nothing which jarred with what was judged to be apostolic or Pauline; and the early Christian attitude towards 'Hebrews' is abundant evidence of how loose that judgment could be. The modern critic is therefore justified in going behind such ecclesiastical tradition in order to face directly problems of origin and authorship which, in the nature of things, could hardly have been present to the consciousness of those who with sound instinct preserved writings handed down by religious usage from the past. No one would dream of challenging the verdict of the Homeric χωρίζοντες, simply because in common with antiquity generally Aristotle (with the same facts before him) found no difficulty in treating the Iliad and the Odyssey as products of the same mind. And the identification of canonicity or worthiness with direct apostolic authorship, which tacitly controlled nearly all early Christian discussions upon the primitive literature of the church, is a literary convention which it is needless at this time of day to spend space in refuting. Consequently, in the case of the pastoral epistles, there need not be any hesitation in concentrating attention upon their internal evidence when problems such as pseudonymity are raised. This is just one of the instances in which the naive presuppositions of early Christianity imposed limitations upon its judgment, when that judgment was exercised upon the remote literary and historical sources of its treasures.

[3] J. Turmel, 'Histoire de l'interprét. de 1 Tim. 2 4' (*Revue d'Hist. et de Litt. Rélig.* 1900, Sept.-Oct.).

down the moral criteria (see Education, §§ 16 *f.*) of *episcopi* (3 2-7) and *diaconi* (8-13, incidentally deaconesses are included), and closing the whole section[1] with a lofty stanza or fragment of a primitive confession upon the incarnate Christ (3 14-16).

The second section (4-6), which resumes the tone of polemic, is thrown into the form of rules for the personal conduct and ministry of Tim. in view of serious moral aberrations fostered by the ascetic tendencies of certain Christian teachers; these sophistries and superstitions he is authoritatively to refute (4 1-16). He is further advised upon his attitude to the practical problems created by differences of age and sex within the membership of the churches (5 1 *f.*), and some space is devoted to the maintenance and control of two special classes of officials—widows[2] (3-16) and presbyters (17-25). After[3] a word on the relative duties of slaves and masters (6 1 *f.*), the epistle comes round to lash the errorists, attacking them with considerable vigour for making a trade of religion. Naturally this suggests a warning to Christians in general[4] against the passion for money (3-10), and with an impressive charge addressed to the 'man of God,' the epistle dies away in a doxology (11-16).[5] In a postscript, some words to rich people are appended, together with a supplementary warning to Timothy against contemporary γνῶσις (17-21).

2. 2 Tim. In 2 Tim., after the greeting, Paul gives thanks for Timothy's inheritance and experience of faith (1 1-5). He then warns his friend against false shame, urging his own life and teaching to the contrary (6-14),[6] as well as a recent example of energy and fearlessness on the part of an Asiatic Christian called Onesiphorus (15-18). Especially for one who like Timothy is heir to the Pauline trust and tradition, endurance for Christ's sake and adherence to the Pauline gospel (of which, indeed, endurance is a note) form a pressing duty; the former is certain of a reward (2 1-13), whilst the latter is the one useful and honourable course of action open for a Christian teacher (14-26) amid the heightening temptations of unpractical controversy and immorality. After vigorously exposing the principles and methods of these errorists (3 1-9, see Jannes and Jambres), Paul bids Timothy maintain the principles of the Pauline gospel, even when they involve suffering and obloquy, and at the same time adhere to the OT scriptures (10-17);[7] then follows a *résumé* containing his final charge and the swansong of his own confession (4 1-8). Data of personal information and private messages close the letter (4 9-22).

3. Titus. After a somewhat elaborate greeting (1 1-4), the epistle to Titus opens by reiterating Paul's instructions with regard to the choice and duties[8] of

[1] The personal reference elsewhere in the NT (Gal. 2 9, Rev. 3 12) does not justify Bois in bracketing 'which is the church of the living God' (ἥτις . . . ζῶντος : 3 14-16) and connecting 'pillar' (στῦλος) with the subject of 'behave' (ἀναστρέφεσθαι).

[2] The concern to keep the widow-class under the bishop's control is thoroughly sub-apostolic (cp Ignat. *ad Polyk.* 4, 5). See Ministry, § 41, and Hastings' *DB* 4 916 *f.*

[3] The interpolated remark (5 23), if not an aside suggested by 'pure' (ἁγνόν), may have originally lain between 4 3 and 4 4 or 4 12 and 4 13, from which it has got displaced (instances of this in *Hist. New Test.*(2) pp. xxxix 676; also Jahn on Juv. 3 12 16 and Che. on Is. 38 22). Its insertion after 5 22, which must have taken place very early, would thus be due to a copyist who read the sentence as a qualifying definition of 'pure' (ἁγνόν)—Christian purity being no Essene-like abstinence. Epictetus (*Diss.* 3 22) similarly regards bodily health as a necessary part of the true Cynic's religious equipment; 'for if he has the appearance of a consumptive, pale, and thin person, his testimony has not the same weight.' Jülicher and Bacon group *vv.* 23-25 together, and von Soden links 25 to 23, 24 to 22, whilst Calvin plausibly suggested that 22*c*-23 was a marginal note of the author.

[4] In particular to teachers who found Christianity a lucrative trade (cp Did. 11 *f.*, Barn. 10, Ignat. *Ephes.* 7, Tit. 1 11).

[5] The absence of any greetings to members of the Ephesian church, together with the paucity of personal allusions, shows that the epistle is not a letter in the strict sense of the word. The author is writing with his eye on the Christian church of his own day, as the phrases (2 Tim. 4 22 Tit. 3 15 1 Tim. 6 21) prove for all three epistles. In Philemon, the one genuine 'private' note of Paul extant [cp, however, Philemon], the 'your' (ὑμῶν) in *v.* 25 refers to the different persons associated with Philemon in the introduction. Cp also the variant 'know ye' (γινώσκετε : Lachm.) in 2 Tim. 3 1. The alternative open to the traditionalists is the gratuitous assumption that passages like 1 Tim. 2 1-3 13, etc., were meant to be communicated by their recipients to wider circles (Zahn); which of course destroys the character of the writings as private letters. Cp 1 Tim. 2 8 (1 Cor. 7 17).

[6] On the contents of 1 6 see below (§ 7). But even if 'us' in *v.* 7 referred to Paul and Timothy (which is not absolutely certain) it would simply allude to them as the persons immediately under consideration, not as officials. The passage, therefore, does not in itself betray the narrowing of the Spirit to a class; and the contents of the Spirit are distinctly ethical: vigour issuing in love to others and in self-control.

[7] On 3 13 cp Aristides 6 16 (Wendland, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1894, 49 309).

[8] The curious antipathy of the writer to second marriages on the part of presbyters, episcopi, diaconi, and 'widows' (χῆραι, see Widow), is quite un-Pauline, but corresponds to the more general cast of feeling prevalent in the second century throughout

presbyters or episcopi in Crete,[1] in order to sharply check erroneous teaching and immoral practices on the part of some Judaising propagandists who were upsetting the churches (5-16).[2] Titus is then instructed how to enforce the moral obligations of Christianity upon aged men (2 1 *f.*), aged women,[3] and married women (3-5), younger men like himself (6-8), and slaves (9 *f.*). Paul insists on this moral life as an essential of the Christian faith (11-14, see PECULIAR PEOPLE), and urges Titus to press home the positive duties of obedience to authority and of pure conduct, instead of wasting time over controversialists and sectaries (2 15-3 11; cp EXCOMMUNICATION, § 3; HERESY, § 2). With some brief personal notices (12-15) the epistle closes; the mention of the jurist Zenas and the evangelist Apollos is perhaps intended to suggest that it was conveyed by their hands to its recipient.

The cluster of problems offered by these epistles is intimately connected with the dual nature of their contents.

4. Period and object.

Within a setting and alongside of material which, upon all available criteria of internal evidence, must be pronounced distinctly sub-Pauline,[4] the reader meets passages apparently alien which have high claims to be considered as directly due to the apostle whose name the letters bear. The task of criticism is to do justice to both of these elements. The sub-Pauline element is primary, and in view of it any reasonable appreciation of the whole question, not merely of isolated details, leads almost inevitably to the conclusion—one of the best established in NT research—that the three epistles are pseudonymous, composed by a Paulinist in Asia Minor[5] not earlier than the close of the first century, and not later than the second decade of the second century, based in part upon genuine fragments from the apostle's pen as well as upon more or less reliable oral tradition, and intended to express and instruct the common Christianity[6] of the day in terms, as far as was possible or useful, of the great Pauline tradition. Substantially they were written and circulated early in the second century, as is evident from their employment in the epistles of Ignatius and Polycarp. During the period 90-120, and during that period alone, they possess a career and object which corresponds to their own

the churches (*e.g.*, Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 33, 'respectable adultery,' εὐπρεπὴς μοιχεία, Herm. *Mand.* 4 1 4; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 3 1). See Jacoby, *Neutest. Ethik* (1899), 378-399.

1 The concrete and bitter description of the Cretan character—with its prevalent traits of falsehood, avarice, drunkenness, and restless sedition—does not favour the ingenious hypothesis that Cretans in this epistle are an allegorical equivalent for Philistines (Κρῆτες, cp CRETE), whom tradition occasionally connected with the island. There is no evidence for such personification in the pastorals as would represent the church under the figure of the twelve tribes scattered in the dispersion (Jas. 1 1) and opposed by enemies of the true Israel.

2 In *v.* 16 ὁμολογοῦσιν (EV 'profess') is (as Heb. 11 13) 'to make public avowal,' especially when called upon (1 Pet. 3 15). The writer's point is, not that the errorists made extravagant claims, but that they did not act up to the normal profession of the Christian faith.

3 For πρεσβῦτις in early Christianity see Achelis, *ZNTW*, 1900, pp. 92 *f.*; 'young men' (νεώτεροι) came to mean 'laymen,' as 'presbyters' (πρεσβύτεροι) passed into an official term (see MINISTRY, § 43).

4 It is only fair to the ascertained results of criticism to adopt this position, although one still meets statements like the following: 'It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that nothing really un-Pauline has been proved in any of the disputed epistles' (Sanday, *Inspiration*, 338 *f.* 363 *f.* 379 *f.*, 1896, a discussion characterised by Dr. Hincks of Andover thus: 'General assertion, bolstered up by the opinion of those like-minded—this is not the way in which an intelligent man, who has solid arguments at his disposal, maintains an imperilled cause').

5 Cp von Dobschütz, *Die urchristlichen Gemeinden*, 127-139 (1902), Harnack, *Ausbreit. d. Christ.* (1902) 461 *f.*

6 The motto of the pastorals lies in a sentence like (RV) 'For the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation to all men, instructing us' (Tit. 2 11, ἐπεφάνη γὰρ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ σωτήριος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις παιδεύουσα ἡμᾶς). In their age Christianity had to fight for its life against a subtle spirit in the air rather than against civil persecution; visionaries and sophists were more deadly than proconsuls and lictors. Thanks to the moderation and steady sense of writers like the author of the pastorals, however, ordinary Christians came safely through the struggle with four truths as a secure possession; the unity of the Creator and the Redeemer, the unique and sufficient value of Jesus for redemption and revelation, the vital tie between morals and faith, and the secure future assured to the church of God.

internal evidence as well as to the data afforded by more or less contemporary literature. The latter point is minor though real. Their literary affinities are beyond question with Lk.-Acts,[1] Clem. Rom., Barnabas, and the epistles of Jude and 2 Pet., as well as with the fourth book of the Sibylline oracles (Asia Minor, *circa* 80 A.D.) which, like 4 Maccabees, reiterates the term 'pious' (εὐσεβής). Unlike Paul, the author also makes copious use of the vocabulary of 2 Maccabees, and, at least in Titus and 1 Tim., there are traces of acquaintance with 1 Pet.

The distinctive element, however—*i.e.*, the prominence assigned to Timothy and Titus, is intelligible only upon the supposition that the author had specially in view the ulterior end of vindicating the legitimate evangelic succession of contemporary episcopi and other office-bearers in provinces where this was liable for various reasons to be challenged. The pastorals were composed, says Tertullian, to expound church affairs ('de ecclesiastico statu'). The craving (visible in Clem. Rom.) for continuity of succession as a guarantee of authority in doctrine (and therefore in discipline[2]) underlies the effort of this Paulinist to show that Timothy and Titus were genuine (γνήσιοι) heirs of Paul, who himself (as the author goes out of his way to repeat and assert) was a divinely commissioned herald of the gospel. Inferentially, the successors appointed by Paul's lieutenants possessed the true central deposit of the faith. Conscious of this inheritance, and alive to its value, they are urged even as novices to instruct[3] the churches personally upon the faith in a peremptory and positive manner,[4] instead of allowing converts to lie exposed to unreliable teachers or false leaders. Such teachers and leaders abound. Indeed, one note of the age is the flaunting confident temper of the errorists (2 Tim. 2 23 *f.* 3 1 *f.* 4 3 *f.* Tit. 1 10 *f.* 3 10 1 Tim. 1 7 4 1 *f.* 5 24 Acts 20 29 *f.* Jude 8-10 12 19 Rev. 2 20 1 Jn. 4 1 5 2 Jn. 7 3 Jn. 9; Ign. *Ephes.* 7, *Trall.* 6, etc.).

Open attempts, as well as cunning intrigues (2 Tim. 3 6 Jude 4), are on foot to exploit the principles of the faith, and

5. The errorists.

the new tone of overbearing petulance, among other traits, answers to the tradition preserved by Hegesippus (*circa* 160 A.D.)[5] that such a phase occurred first of all during Trajan's reign (Eus. *HE* 3 32), previously to which the church[6] had remained 'a

1 Cp von Soden, *Theol. Abhandlungen*, 133-135 (1892). A comparison of the pastorals with Lk.-Acts, etc., establishes not their priority or literary filiation, so much as the relatively late period at which all were composed. Diction, ideas, standpoint—all indicate unmistakably the sub-Pauline period, with its stereotyped expressions and current phraseology.

2 The concern of the pastorals, less avowed yet none the less real than in Ignatius and Clement, is to vindicate the authority of the elders or bishops over the enthusiasts and ascetics in the church; the second century reveals this perennial struggle going on particularly in Asia Minor. Hence this Paulinist is forward to claim Paul's authority on behalf of the organised discipline of the churches.

3 The prominence given to 'teaching' qualities shows that one danger of the contemporary churches lay largely in the vagaries and crude speculations of unauthorised teachers (*Did.* 15 1). The author's cure is simple. Better let the *episcopus* himself teach! Better let those in authority themselves be responsible for the instruction of ordinary members! Evidently teaching was not originally or usually (1 Tim. 5 17) a function of the presbyters; but abuses had led by this time, as the *Didachè* proves, to a need for combining teaching with organised church authority. A contemporary spirit of contempt for young episcopi (Ignat. *Magn.* 3 etc.) is answered by the repeated encouragements of Paul in 2 Tim. 2 22 *f.* Tit. 2 6 *f.* 1 Tim. 4 11 *f.* 5 1; these are effective from the writer's standpoint, though such a tone would have been singularly inappropriate from Paul to lieutenants of mature experience. Here, however, they are types of loyalty to the Pauline gospel; that is all.

4 Timothy (2 Tim. 4 5), *e.g.*, is not an evangelist, but he is to do an evangelist's work as part of his full service. See EVANGELIST, MINISTRY, § 39 *b*, and Dieterich in *ZNTW*, 1900, pp. 336-338. The whole evidence from the allusions to ecclesiastical organisation points to the period immediately preceding that of Ignatius (MINISTRY, § 54).

5 Also to the statement of Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* 7 17) that Gnostic heresies first became threatening about Hadrian's reign, whilst the apostolic age and teaching ended with Paul's ministry under Nero.

6 Emphasis on the visible church as a bulwark of morals

pure and incorruptible virgin' (παρθένος καθαρὰ καὶ ἀδιάφθορος), her seducers lurking somewhere in obscurity (ἐν ἀδήλῳ που σκότει). This comparatively virgin purity of the church lasted not merely till the death of the apostles, but till the close of the next generation, 'of those thought worthy to be immediate listeners to the very words of the divine wisdom' (τῶν αὐταῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ἐνθέου σοφίας ἐπακοῦσαι κατηξιωμένων), when the deceit of teachers of other doctrine (τῶν ἑτεροδιδασκάλων, cp 1 Tim. 1 3 6 3) produced impious error in the communities. 'Since none of the apostles survived, these [ἑτεροδιδάσκαλοι] now attempted, unabashed and openly, to preach 'so-called gnosis' (τὴν ψευδώνυμον γνῶσιν; cp 1 Tim. 6 20) in opposition to 'the preaching of the truth' (τῷ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματι; cp 2 Tim. 4 17 Tit. 1 3). Of these Marcion[1] was the foremost.

In the pastorals, as in Jude and 2 Peter, this movement in its incipient stage is met by equally frank methods, which seem denunciatory merely because we no longer possess any statement of the other side and are, therefore, prone to forget that such rough and decisive ways are at times the soundest method of conserving truth. Popular applications of gnosticism were, as a rule, brilliant and poisonous fungi. Instead of writing a botanical treatise on their varieties, this writer felt the simpler and more practical plan was to make people either avoid or destroy them. It was a short and easy plan, and probably effective at the time, although its expression in literature runs the natural risk of being reproached for containing more heat than light. Firmness and even ridicule have their own place as ethical weapons of defence, and the opening of the second century offered Christianity some admirable occasions for their use.

The physiognomy of the errorists is indistinct, for several reasons. The author had to preserve the verisimilitude of a Pauline situation, for one thing; and the desire of avoiding undue anachronisms prevented him from being more explicit about the details of errors which had arisen in his own later age. Besides, the errors were familiar to his audience and might be taken for granted on the whole. It is even probable that he abstained purposely from confining his range to any one set of visionaries and opponents, inasmuch as his letters were intended (like 1 Peter, James, and 2 Peter) to be manifestoes to the church in general, rather than homilies for any local audience. The numerous forms of opinion and conduct in and around contemporary Christendom, which by a sound instinct he regarded as a menace to the faith, had certain common features; and to describe these as due to a syncretism of Gnosticism and (Tit. 1 10 *f.* 3 9 1 Tim. 1 7) Judaism, is to go as far as the evidence of the pastorals warrants.

The environment (as in Rev. 2 *f.*, and the Ignatian epp.) is marked by the incipient phases of what afterwards blossomed out into the Gnosticism of the second century: an amalgam of tendencies towards dualism[2] and docetism (1 Tim. 2 6 3 16, as in 1 Jn.), the multiplication of media between God and man (1 Tim. 2 5 *f.*), a distinction between the God of creation and the God of redemption (1 Tim. 4 3-5, cp Herm. *Vis.* 1 3), a depreciation of the OT (2 Tim. 3 16),[3] and a penchant for magic and superstition (2 Tim. 3 8 13; cp Acts 8 9-24 19 11-19 for Ephesus, 13 6-12 for Cyprus). These tendencies were allied to ascetic predilections (like the prohibition of marriage among the Encratites, of marriage and flesh among the Saturninians and the Marcionites), which as usual bordered on antinomian license, to an aristocratic exclusiveness (opposed in non-Pauline fashion, 1 Tim. 2 4 *f.* 4 10), to a semi-philosophic evaporation of primitive beliefs—*e.g.*, on the resurrection[1] (2 Tim. 2 18; so Menander and Dositheus), to indulgence in superficial theories and rhetoric, and so on. To our author's eye these errorists were heterogeneous. 'For there are *many* insubordinate people, chatterers and cheats, *especially* those who have come from the circumcision' (Tit. 1 10). The mischievous feature about them was their presence within the churches and their combination of plausible errors with apparent, even ostentatious, fidelity to the principles of the faith—a trouble elsewhere reflected (Acts 20 29 *f.*) in connection with the Ephesian church towards the close of the first century.

(2 Tim. 2 19 *f.* etc.) is accompanied by its elevation to the rank of foundation (θεμέλιος), hitherto reserved for Christ (1 Cor. 3 11), or, at least, for the prophets and apostles (Eph. 2 20). The church now takes her place in a fairly stable world; the old anxious outlook for an immediate return of Jesus is no longer central. The really pressing questions concern not the next world but the present, and institutions are brought forward as a means of moral discipline and religious settlement.

[1] Marcion's omission of the pastorals from his canon tells heavily against their origin as preserved in tradition. Philemon was accepted by him, though far more of a private note than any of the pastorals; and the presence of elements antagonistic to his own views need not have made him exclude them, since he could have easily excised these passages in this as in other cases.

[2] Cp von Dobschütz, 180-187, 189.

[3] The lack of homogeneity in the description of the errorists prevents this trait from telling against the reference (GENEALOGIES, § 4; Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 135 *f.*) of the 'genealogies' (γενεαλογίαι) in Tit. 3 9 1 Tim. 1 4 to legendary pedigrees of Jewish heroes. But the phrase came to have a conveniently appropriate colour afterwards in view of the interminable series of æons and emanations developed especially by Gnostic sects like the Valentinians. The Jewish legalism of Tit. 1 14 3 9 1 Tim. 1 7 *f.* recalls Cerinthus decidedly.

6. Paulinism.

Even if the author had any single system of error in mind (which, in view of the contemporary fusion of paganism and Judaism, is unlikely), the vague and somewhat indiscriminate fashion in which he endeavours to confute their pretensions, renders it impossible to reconstruct any coherent picture of his opponents. Several traits suggest influences similar to those which fostered Essenism; others[2] recall the picture of Cerinthus sketched in later tradition, others again the errorists Carpocrates, Menander, and Dositheus. The two indisputable facts are, that the collective evidence of the early Christian literature, as well as of later tradition, places the origin of such phenomena (upon any considerable scale) not earlier than the close of the first century, and that their *locus* was primarily Eastern, in Syria and particularly Asia Minor, where we find the pastorals, like the Ignatian epistles, pouring a scattered fire upon manifold forms of antagonistic theosophy.

Against the seductive influences of local paganism, with its ethical miasma and religious cravings, the author assumes a moralistic standpoint based upon the popular conception of Paulinism.

No writer after Paul's death could maintain, even when—as in Marcion's case—he happened to sympathise with, the deeper aspects of the apostle's thought, which survived mainly, so far as the subsequent literature was concerned, but in altered form throughout the Fourth Gospel. As a general rule Paulinism was either misunderstood or modified. The sub-Pauline epistles, like the Roman symbol (Kattenbusch, *Das Apostolische Symbol*, 2 498 *f.* 596 *f.* 720 [1900]), show instances of both attitudes, and the pastorals are a vivid proof of how even a devoted Paulinist had to alter the emphasis at many points of his master's teaching upon religious and practical topics[3] in a restatement of it for some later age—being forced, for example, to meet the common objection to Paul's severe view of the Law, and to admit the high estimate of its value throughout the diaspora as an ethical code and check (1 Tim. 1 5-11),[4] as well as to correct abuses and misunderstandings of certain Pauline ideas (*e.g.*, the resurrection, 2 Tim. 2 18).

7. Sub-Pauline elements.

The author rightly felt that Paul was essentially anti-Gnostic, and that the tenets of the incipient Gnostic theosophy would have been repugnant to the man who had theoretically and practically attacked its precursors at Colossæ. But his own practical bent and prudent sense of the situation prevent him from developing in reply Paul's peculiar theory of gnosis as a special endowment, superior to faith, and mediated by the

[1] This notion is either ultra-spiritualist (cp Jn. 5 24, qualified carefully by 5 28 *f.*, etc.) and due to Gnostic tendencies, or chiliastic—the reign of Christ, eternal life, has already begun; therefore there can be no marrying (Lk. 20 35 *f.* 1 Tim. 4 3).

[2] If Cerinthus and Carpocrates really rejected the virgin-birth (Iren. *Adv. hær.* i. 26 1 25 1), it is strange that neither the author of the Fourth Gospel nor the author of the pastorals defended this point. The former, probably, had reasons of his own; but the latter, who had no semi-philosophic christology to state, seems to have omitted the virgin-birth from his rhythmic summary (1 Tim. 3 16 *f.*) owing to his genuinely Pauline standpoint. This adherence to the older view is all the more remarkable side by side with the eager insistence on it in *Asc. Isaiæ*, 11 2-22, and Ignat. *ad Eph.* 19 (where a Pauline citation occurs, 1 Cor. 2 8), both contemporary writings.

[3] Note, *e.g.*, the varying proportion of the two currents—one spontaneous and prophetic, the other veering towards order and organisation. The former is in some writings of this age almost wholly subordinated to the latter (Clem. Rom., Past., even Ignat.); in others it is dominant, almost exclusively important (Barnabas, 1 Jn., Rev., Jude, 2 Pet.).

[4] Antiphanes (*Fragm. Com. Graec.*), 'He who does no wrong needs no law' (ὁ μηδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδενὸς δεῖται νόμου).

spirit. Such methods would not have been appropriate. Popular Christianity had always been wider and more varied than Paulinism, even during Paul's lifetime, and the new period which found Christianity in fresh relations with the wider empire in the generation following Paul's death, stimulated fresh energies and fresh methods of expression, native to the age but more or less an advance upon all previous conceptions. To the author of the pastorals, loyal to the apostolic and especially the Pauline tradition, but none the less free to interpret afresh his Christian consciousness, God appears—in un-Pauline fashion—as a Saviour; Jesus not as the son of God but as a mediator,[1] or rather *the* mediator; baptism (Tit. 3 5) as almost a sacrament of salvation, the Law simply as a useful code of morals. Anthropomorphism is carefully avoided, as in the Fourth Gospel; God is the Absolute—his unity, awe (1 Tim. 6 16, cp En. 14 21 *f.*), and eternity, his universal purpose, but not his fatherly love, being prominent.[2] The pressing question of religion is the consolidation of the churches rather than the extension of the gospel to those as yet unreached. We are in the age of the *Epigoni*, when the creative genius has almost disappeared and is yielding place to practical activities which are mainly devoted to conserving ground already gained. The spirit of defensiveness has increased. Christianity is now more self-conscious than ever. Her outlook is not eschatological so much as secular, directed to a useful though troubled career in the world. The church has behind her a sound body of religious truth, which it is her business to teach and enforce; and this is presented by the writer in brief, crystallised phrases and paragraphs, which recall the incipient liturgies and symbols of the church.[3] Faith consequently is tending to become more than ever *fides quæ creditur*. It is predominantly the confident apprehension of the truth or the conviction that the gospel-message is authentic, sometimes the virtue of fidelity; but neither the author nor his age has any intelligent sympathy with Paul's characteristic idea of faith as the warm tie between Jesus and the redeemed Christian. Nay more, the old Pauline antithesis of faith and works (like the idea of justification by faith, or of salvation from sin's guilt) is put into the background, evidently as misleading or apt to be misunderstood. 'Piety,' nourished by sound[4] teaching, is the root out of which all human virtues spring; and the conceptions of reward, a good conscience, and the value of a respectable reputation, come to the front. In effect, this is practically the ethical result of Paulinism. But how differently[5] the apostle and the later church reached even the same conclusions! Here eternal life is the boon granted to good works, and 'faith' (πίστις) is a man's relation to the 'truth' of 'the teaching.'

Similarly the church, to this unmystical author, is no longer *the bride* or *the body* of Christ but God's building, or rather a *familia dei*, quite in the neo-catholic manner. It is beginning to assume the place occupied by the Holy Spirit in Paul's theology, the latter doctrine having become liable to abuse as well as proving too profound for later generations. As in books like the Apocalypse, Jude, and 2 Peter, the Spirit in the pastorals is essentially prophetic;[1] as a means of union between the individual and Jesus, it is almost if not entirely ignored. The exceptions—and they are apparent or partial exceptions—are Tit. 3 5 *f.* 2 Tim. 1 14; even the personal relation of the believer to Jesus is not cardinal (2 Tim. 1 12 2 11 *f.*).

8. The 'faithful sayings.'

These and other items of the creed, now rapidly crystallising in Rome and Asia Minor, are conveyed partly in hymnal fragments[2] which, like those in the Apocalypse of John, sprang from the cultus of the churches; partly in the shape of aphorisms such as the terse and weighty axioms called the five 'faithful sayings' (cp Ps. 111 7 *f.*). These are like proverbs; they mark a comparatively advanced stage of experience, expressing in concentrated form the outcome of prolonged reflection.

(i.) 2 Tim. 2 11-13*a*.—Here the 'faithful saying' (πιστὸς λόγος)[3] resembles a fragment of some primitive hymn or confession, if it is not—like the rhythmical snatches (cp also Rev. 21 5 22 6, λόγοι πιστοί) in the Apocalypse—an outburst of the Spirit-raptures in the early church (cp Weinel, *Die Wirk. des Geistes*, 80 *f.* [1899]). (ii.) Tit. 3 8.—As the phrase implies a condensed and pregnant statement, it seems better in Tit. 3 8 to find its contents in *v.* 7 rather than in 4-7, which it is sometimes supposed (*e.g.*, by von Soden, Bernard, Weiss) to recapitulate. (iii.) 1 Tim. 1 15.—Here the phrase not merely is expanded by the non-Pauline addition[4] 'and worthy of all acceptation' (καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος; as in 4 9), but also precedes its contents which are in this instance introduced by 'that' (ὅτι). (iv.) 1 Tim. 3 1—The use of the phrase in this verse, which of course refers back to 2 15 ('saved in child-bearing'; Chrysost. Erasm. etc.)—a wife's salvation being worked out in her own sphere of motherhood (despite the associations of Jewish tradition), not in ecclesiastical position—is remarkable for the variant (accepted by Zahn. *Einl.* 1 482) 'human' (ἀνθρώπινος)[5] in D*g (Ambrosiast. Sedul.). In 1 15 as here, 'save' (σώζειν) has an indirect eschatological reference. (v.) 1 Tim. 4 9.—In this verse (which Bois and

[1] Sub-Pauline idea (Heb. 8 6, etc.). In *Test. Dan.* 6, the angel of peace is the mediator between God and man.

[2] The heaping up of predicates, especially in the negative, recalls earlier attempts by Jewish thinkers (*e.g.*, Philo and Josephus) to define God semi-philosophically, as a reaction from the earlier realism and its love of theophanies. Passages like 1 Tim. 1 17 6 16 mark the sub-Pauline transition from this to the later efforts of the Greek spirit, as in the 'Preaching of Peter' and Aristides. The pastoral 'Trinity' corresponds, however, to the apocalyptic (*e.g.*, Rev. 1 4 Lk. 9 26, etc.)—*i.e.*, God, Jesus, and the angels (elect); while Christ's appearing (1 Tim. 6 14 *f.*) is stated in Pauline terms of subordination, and with the substitution of epiphany (ἐπιφάνεια) for the Pauline parousia (παρουσία).

[3] The pastorals, like Ephesians, are absorbed in an un-Pauline devotion to the church which ignores the local churches. This trait, absent even from Ignatius, significantly illustrates their authorship and real aim as tracts for the officers of the Catholic church. Timothy and Titus are portrayed as receiving instructions and ideals which were to control the contemporary teachers and other office-bearers of the author's age.

[4] This un-Pauline use of ὑγιαίνειν in διδασκαλία ὑγιαίνουσα ('sound doctrine') is anticipated in the Philonic phrases 'sound learning' (ὑγιαίνουσα μάθησις), and 'sound words' (οἱ ὑγιαίνοντες λόγοι); it tends occasionally to become almost equivalent to 'rational,' or 'sane.'

[5] Paul could have written Tit. 2 11 14; but he would have had something to say also about peace with God and reconciliation. He 'could no doubt have said all this' (*i.e.*, Tit. 3 4-7) also, but 'probably he would have said it otherwise, and not all at a time.' Practically it is the use of such stereotyped and almost formal language which makes it reasonable to say that 'St. Paul was inspired, but the writer of these epistles is sometimes only orthodox' (Denney, *The Death of Christ*, 1902, p. 203).

[1] In 1 Tim. 1 18 4 14, where a symbol is trembling into a sacrament (cp Acts 20 28, not 13 1-3 which denotes a commission for some special service), divine inspiration prompts the Christian prophets, of whom Paul is one, to select men for office in the church, and to confer upon them a supernatural charism (χάρισμα) by means of the rite of imposition of hands (see HANDS, LAYING ON OF, and SPIRITUAL GIFTS, also MINISTRY, § 37, *b*, *c*). The idea of such a special rite, even in the form of 2 Tim. 1 6 (1 Thess. 5 19 *f.*), could hardly have come from the man who wrote 1 Cor. 12 4 (diversities of gifts), 11 (dividing to every man), and represents the water-mark of later catholicism; the semi-official tinge lent to a primitive ceremony is palpable (see Gunkel's *Wirkungen des heilig. Geistes*,(2) 7 [1899], and especially Weinel's *Wirk. des Geistes und der Geister*, 140-142, 216-218 [1899], with the conveyancing of influence through physical contact as traced by Volz in *ZATW* 21 93 *f.* [1901]). The other function of the Spirit in the prophets—*i.e.*, prediction of woes and perils (1 Tim. 4 1 *f.* 2 Tim. 3 1 *f.*)—is naturally referred by the sub-apostolic age (Acts 20 29 *f.* Clem. Rom. 44 1 Jude 17 *f.* 2 Pet. 2 1) to the apostles. *They* foresaw what their successors suffer. Hence the pseudonymous pastoral epistles credit Paul with anticipations of the errors current in their own age.

[2] In 1 Tim. 3 16 the statement of the resurrection ('justified in the spirit,' ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι) is an un-Pauline development of Rom. 1 4 (cp Iren. ii. 32 3 *f.*) after 1 Pet. 3 18 4 6 and Jn. 16 10, as that of the incarnation is un-Pauline and distinctly Johannine (1 Jn. 3 5 8, cp 1 Pet. 1 20); 'seen by angels' is a sub-Pauline development (Eph. 3 10 1 Pet. 1 12 3 18 *f.*), 'world' (κόσμος) appears to have its sub-Pauline emphasis of 'evil,' and 'was taken up in glory' (ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ), if an allusion to the Ascension, is thoroughly un-Pauline. On the Messiah as the copestone of this new temple of Truth, see Briggs, *Messiah of Apostles*, 228-232 [1895].

[3] The reference is neither to *v.* 8 (Weiss) nor to what immediately precedes (Chrysost.), but to 11*b*-13*a* which, like Tit. 3 8 and 1 Tim. 4 9, looks out directly upon the future and final hope of the Christian disciple. 13*b* is probably an explanatory comment; but there is no need to regard 13 (with Ewald, Hesse, Hilg.) as a gloss or interpolation.

[4] Cp En. 9 41, 'the paths of righteousness are worthy of acceptation.'

[5] So r (*humanus*), 1 15.

Baljon delete) the contents of the 'saying' (λόγος) might be either *v.* 8 (Chrysost. Weizs. Hilg. Weiss, von Soden, Horton) or *v.* 10 (Bengel, Schleierm. Holtzm., cp 'for' [γάρ] and ἀγών. 2 Tim. 2 11). It is noticeable that of these *sententiæ* (i.) alone is in thought and style somewhat parallel to Paul,[1] who never associates 'heirship' or 'hope' (as Tit. 3 7 *f.*) with 'eternal life' (ζωὴ αἰώνιος). The colouring of (iii.), as of Tit. 3 5 (2 Tim. 1 10 1 Tim. 2 4[2] 6 13 *f.* Tit. 1 1 *f.* 16) is Johannine, whilst (iv.) contains the pastoral triad of *faith, love, and soberness*, and the ἅπ. λεγ. *childbearing*, which is besides an idea generally strange to Paul's mode of thought (particularly if childbirth is considered as a means of salvation). In (v.) characteristically un-Pauline terms abound (*e.g.*, 'bodily' [σωματικός], 'bodily exercise' [γυμνασία], profitable' [ὠφέλιμος], *v.* 7 *f.*; σωτήρ of God, *v.* 10). The 'faithful sayings,' therefore, not merely are characteristic of the pastorals, but betray an essentially un-Pauline conception of the *regula fidei*.[3]

This difference in ground-work is endorsed by the difference in style and diction between Paul and the author of the pastorals, an argument which forms a cumulative and almost final proof of the sub-Pauline origin of the epistles.

9. Style and diction.

Out of the 176 hapax legomena, a proportion two or three times as great as in the Pauline epistles, nearly 80 are in LXX and were therefore consciously neglected by Paul. Favourite Pauline phrases and words are totally wanting (*e.g.*, 'unjust' [ἄδικος], 'uncleanness' [ἀκαθαρσία], 'adoption' [υἱοθεσία], 'our Father' [πατὴρ ἡμῶν], 'covenant' [διαθήκη], 'reveal' [ἀποκαλύπτειν], 'free' [ἐλεύθερος] and compounds, 'be operative' [ἐνεργεῖν], 'perform' [κατεργάζεσθαι], 'boast' [καυχᾶσθαι], 'folly' [μωρία], 'tradition' [παραδοσις], 'persuade' [πειθειν], 'abound' [περισσεύειν], 'do' [πράσσειν, = ποιεῖν, in past.], 'perfect' [τέλειος], 'be gracious' [χαρίζεσθαι], 'think' [φρονεῖν], with 'ordinance' [δικαίωμα], 'greater' (μείζων], 'small' [μικρός], 'body' [σῶμα], 'good' [χρηστός], etc.; also particles like 'then' [ἄρα], 'wherefore' [διό], 'because' [διότι], 'then' [ἔπειτα], 'still' [ἔτι], 'behold' [ἴδε, ἰδού], etc., etc., prepositions like 'with' [σύν = μετά of pastorals], 'instead of' [ἀντί], 'until' [ἄχρι], 'before' [ἔμπροσθεν], 'beyond' [παρά, acc.]). Many fresh terms are coined, new compounds and Latinisms are introduced, whole families of words appear for the first time (cp those in ά privative, διδασκ-, οἰκο-, σωφρ-, φιλο-, etc.), and others are used with unwonted frequency (*e.g.*, κάλ-). The extent and significance of this change in vocabulary cannot adequately be explained even when one assigns the fullest possible weight to such factors as change of amanuensis, situation, or topic, lapse of time, literary fertility, or senile weakness; for the wider evidence of syntax and style, to be felt even through a translation, comes in to verify the impression already made by the vocabulary. Particularly where the writer is most himself and least dependent on previous letters (as in 1 Tim.), the idiosyncrasies of his composition appear, neither accidental nor trivial by any means. The comparative absence of rugged fervour, the smoother flow, the heaping up of words, all point to another sign-manual than that of Paul. In short, the relative proportions of likeness and unlikeness (especially to Romans and Philippians) between the style of Paul and the style of these three letters, are explicable only upon the hypothesis that the writer of the pastorals modelled his diction in part upon that of his master, but not slavishly—certainly not to the prejudice of his own originality and cast of thought. These proportions are precisely what we should expect in such a literary relationship. Upon any other hypothesis they do not seem credible or reasonable. Questions of style are proverbially delicate, but the linguistic data of the pastorals and the Pauline epistles may be said to resemble those of the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel; both ratify the conclusion that we have to do with kinship, not identity, of authorship.[4]

[1] Yet 'deny' (ἀρνεῖσθαι) is non-Pauline, and the stanza reads like a popular version of Paul's own words, adapted to the requirements of a martyr-period. See Denney, 202.

[2] The knowledge of God or of the truth = salvation or eternal life (Jn. 17 2 *f.* 17); cp Jn. 17 3 with 1 Tim. 2 5, the same combination of monotheism as against polytheism, and of Christ's unique and sufficient position as against Judaism or Gnosticism, besides ('the *man* Christ Jesus') a Johannine protest against the Gnostic or Docetic tendency to resolve Christ into a phantom of abstract spirit. On the Christology of the epistles (1 Tim. 3 16), see A. Klöpper in *ZWT* (1902) 339-361.

[3] No possible change of circumstances could make Paul oblivious (through three separate letters) of God's fatherhood, of the believing man's union with Jesus, of the power and witness of the Spirit, or of reconciliation. They might be taken for granted? But surely in enforcing the ethical requirements of the pastorals, Paul would never have demanded the blossom without urgently pressing the need of these spiritual facts as its root!

[4] There is no ground for the idea that the prosaic tone of the pastorals is due to their preoccupation with the practical steps of organisation, whilst in Paul's earlier letters he had been mainly employed in sketching the ideal of the church. A letter like 1 Cor., to say nothing of passages in the other letters, is enough to refute this explanation and to show how Paul would have dealt with the problems of organisation and church order, had these met him in an acute form. It would have been different from the method of this Paulinist, for Paul ever came down upon ethical tasks from a spiritual height.

Still further proof in corroboration of their un-Pauline origin flows in from the impossibility of placing the epistles within Paul's lifetime. With practical unanimity[1] defenders[2] of the traditional hypothesis abandon all attempts to fix them previous to Paul's Roman imprisonment; but their conjecture of a release, followed by a further extension of activity and a second imprisonment, is quite gratuitous and hardly furnishes a more tenable ground for the pastorals. It is not indeed bound up with the acceptance of their Pauline authorship; the two positions are independent and may be held separately. But even apart from the evidence of the pastorals (which never mention Spain, nor allude to so momentous a tour in the Western Mediterranean), the evidence for this second imprisonment must be pronounced inadequate (CHRONOLOGY, § 79 *f.*, PAUL, § 31), resting mainly on a vague rumour (λόγος ἔχει) reported by Eusebius, and the allusion in the Muratorian Canon (possibly derived from apocryphal *Acta*) which is simply an expansion of Rom. 15 24 28—the devout and imaginative fantasy of later tradition being convinced that because Paul proposed a visit to Spain, he must have carried it out. No such tradition lingered in Spain itself, whilst the express statement of Acts 20 25 38 and the significant silence of Clemens Romanus imply that the tradition nearest to Paul's life knew of no return to Asia Minor. The very passage in Clemens Romanus (5), which has been supposed to refer to this western journey, tells against it. Charged with rhetorical feeling, as Baur pointed out, it narrates (like Rom. 15 19) the sweep of Paul's career from Jerusalem to Rome: 'after teaching righteousness to the whole world, and reaching the limit of the West, and bearing testimony before the authorities, so he left the world.' Paul's sun had ended its course (Acts 13 47). Clement is speaking from the standpoint of his Eastern readers who would naturally take 'the limit of the west' (τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως) as the Imperial capital (cp 'east' [ἀνατολῆς] and 'west' [δύσις] of Syria and Rome in Ignat. *Rom.* 2), and incidentally clinches the proof by adding that the Neronic martyrs of 64 were 'gathered unto Paul and Peter,' implying that the latter had already died. Were the 'earlier' chronology adopted, which brings Paul to Rome early in the sixties if not even earlier, space would of course be won before 64 for the two or three years' interval required by the traditional hypothesis of the 'pastorals' (CHRONOLOGY, §§ 64-66). Otherwise no time is left, and it is almost incredible that the 'pastorals,' if written after 64, should breathe no hint of the shock produced upon the Christian consciousness of the age, especially at Rome, by Nero's massacre which outraged even the Roman conscience. But even chronological resetting only makes the hypothesis possible; its acceptance or rejection rests on other grounds, and—to put it mildly—these do not seem at any point secure.

10. The second imprisonment.

The genesis of the pastorals is therefore sub-Pauline. To account for the Pauline, or presumably Pauline element, including not merely phrases and conceptions such as could be gathered from the extant letters of the apostle or from tradition, but also private details and personal matters affecting about sixteen new figures (some of whom are not mere names)—recourse must be had to theories of compilation, whose common feature is the presupposition that the author was in possession of genuine *reliquiæ Paulinæ*. No doubt a pseudonymous writer would endeavour to stamp his figures and scenery upon the reader's mind by means of circumstantial

11. Genesis of pastorals.

[1] Bartlet, Bowen (*Dates of Pastoral Letters*, 1900), and Lisco (*Vincula Sanctorum*, 1900) are the chief exceptions recently.

[2] Especially Spitta in *Zur Gesch. und Litt. des Urchrist.* 1 2-108; also Lightfoot (*Biblical Essays*, 215-233), Zahn (*Einl.* 1 435 *f.*), Steinmetz (*Die zweite röm. Gefang. des Apostels Paulus*, 1897), C. H. Turner (Hastings, *DB* 1 421, etc.), and Frey (*die zweite röm. Gefang. und das Todesjahr des Apostels Paulus*, 1900).

details, especially when (as in this case) the authentic letters would suggest the introduction of a certain quantum of personal matter—though in the sub-Pauline letters (Eph., Heb., 1 Pet.) this quantum is noticeably small. But, while it is conceivable that this may be sufficient to account for 1 Tim.,[1] it fails to afford an adequate rationale for 2 Tim. The latter is flooded with items which by no means fall under the category of romantic ornament or literary *vraisemblance*, and lift the letters quite above the level of later Pauline romances.

Even when such passages do not part from their context, they suggest to a critical inquirer the advisability of admitting that they are based upon authentic tradition and that they reproduce, with more or less freedom, information still accessible to the immediately sub-Pauline generation. It may be allowed, still further, that genuine notes have been incorporated, although these cannot any longer be deciphered. But the advocates of compilation attempt the subtler task of actually separating original notes from the strata in which they lie embedded,[2] upon the hypothesis that, whilst the author's direct aim was to instruct and move the church of his own day and not to preserve literary relics, he was able to use certain Pauline notes in the composition of 2 Tim. at least and even Titus. The preservation of such letters is far from incredible.[3] Paul was the first 'man of letters' in early Christianity, and the extant canonical collection represents only a part of his actual correspondence. In the nature of things, private notes would be more likely to remain overlooked than others, unless, like the letter of recommendation to Phœbe (Rom. 16 1-20), they were attached by late editors to some larger epistle.

In addition to this, the pastorals have suffered accretion as church documents, and thus three stages of their composition must be distinguished: (i.) the primitive notes from Paul's lifetime, (ii.) the incorporation of these by the author of the pastorals in his epistles, substantially composed about forty years after Paul's death, and (iii.) glosses added to these epistles by subsequent copyists to render them more suitable than ever for the needs of the second century. The last-named process naturally ceased by the time that the letters passed into the canon.

Whether the letters are substantially Pauline and only interpolated by some editor,[4] or whether—as is highly probable, in the case of 1 Tim. at any rate—the Pauline element, such as it is, has been submerged in later work, cannot be decided till each letter has been separately examined upon the principles of literary morphology. As the amount of presumably authentic material is obviously largest in 2 Tim. and least in 1 Tim., it will be advisable to discuss the epistles in that provisional order.

12. 2 Tim.: analysis.

Second Timothy.—Although the address of 2 Tim. (1 1 *f.*) is fairly[5] Pauline, the strange emphasis on the fact and purpose or standard of Paul's apostolate ('according to the promise' [κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν]) in a letter to one who could hardly have doubted it, at once reveals the real genius of the writing and corroborates the general evidence afforded by all three epistles, especially by 1 Tim. and Titus. They are not private letters at all, not even semi-private, and the very form of a private letter is not strictly preserved. They resemble rather 'pastorals' in the modern sense of the term, and find their real audience among people (primarily teachers and officials, it may be)[1] inclined to doubt the validity and misunderstand or misapply the tenets of the Pauline gospel. As even Liddon admits (*Explan. Analysis of 1 Tim.*, 1897, *ad loc.*), of Paul's apostolic authority 'Timothy did not require to be reminded; St. Paul has other readers of the epistle—perhaps false teachers[2]—in view.' Behind 1 3*c*-6*a* lies a tradition of Timothy's temporary absence (Phil. 2 19 *f.*) from Paul during his last captivity; but neither here nor elsewhere is it feasible in 1 3-14 to disentangle any written source. On the other hand, 1 15-18 is perhaps a displaced (after 4 10 M'Giffert, 4 13 Knoke),[3] and at any rate a genuine, fragment, probably written from Paul's Roman captivity. So most editors and critics (Lemme,[4] Hesse,[5] and Krenkel[6] omitting rather needlessly 15*b* and 18*a*). Again, 2 *f.* hardly seems homogeneous[7] (cp 2 16 3 13 with 3 9); 2 2 seems a gloss (om. Hesse, Hilg. *ZWT*, 1897, pp. 1-86); 2 14 *f.* is awkwardly introduced, and the thoroughly un-Pauline passage 3 1-9 may well be a later insertion, due to the process of accretion. 3 10-12, however, is an interpolated genuine fragment; its isolated position and contents mark it off from the surrounding context. Furthermore, the bulk, if not the whole, of 4 (6) 9[8]-22 is generally allowed to have come directly from Paul's own hand (9-18*a*, except 'having loved this present world' [ἀγαπήσας τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα] 10 11*b*, Bahnsen;[9] 9-15 19-22, Ewald;[10] 9-18, Immer;[11] 9-21, Pfleid.). But it is not homogeneous; evidently 11*a* and 21*b*, like 6-8 and 9-15, reflect different situations in Paul's life, and the whole passage offers an admirable proof of the composite character of even the directly Pauline strata in the pastoral epistles. Following the various dates and moods, one can detect approximately in 1 15-18 4 6-12 16-19 a note (or part of a note) written after Philippians; the situation has become more grim, and Paul pines in loneliness for his younger ally. Again, 4 13-15 21-22*a* go back[12] to a still earlier period, when

[1] 1 Tim. 1 3 *f.* might be developed from the hint in Philem. 22 (the Asiatic *locus* being shown in the failure to use the companion allusion in Phil. 2 24 to a return visit to Macedonia). The personal matter here is principally meant to furnish a suitable setting for an epistle dealing with general questions of church life and work in the Asiatic provinces, and reflecting that cardinal importance of Ephesus as a centre of early Christianity to which Lisco has rightly but extravagantly called attention (*Roma Peregrina*, 1901). Cp Harnack, *Ausbreitung*, 333 462 482.

[2] Perhaps 2 Pet. also contains material worked up from earlier sources; certainly it has incorporated parts of Jude. And the canonical 2 Cor. is a compilation of two separate letters in reverse order. But even were the pastorals, as compilations, without any analogy in the NT literature (cp, further, JAMES [EPISTLE], § 5), this would not of itself discredit the analytic hypothesis. The pastorals present quite unique features, and it is only reasonable that the complexity of their structure should demand somewhat unique and exceptional methods of treatment.

[3] *E.g.*, the correspondence of Cicero and Atticus, the letters of King Agrippa II. (Josephus), etc. See Peters, *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur* (1901), 27 *f.* 78 *f.*, and Wehofer, 'Untersuch. zur altchristliche Epistolographie' (*SWAW: phil.-hist. Klasse*, 143, 1901).

[4] Ménégoz, for example (*Le Péché et la Rédemption*, 5 *f.*), treats them as authentic, but supposes that copyists under the direction of bishops subsequently added glosses; these, however, affected only questions of discipline and order, leaving the genuinely Pauline spirit unimpaired.

[5] The insertion of 'mercy' between 'grace' and 'peace' (so 2 Jn. 3) is un-Pauline. Deleting it among other phrases Hausrath (*Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, ET, 1895, 4 160-163) finds a genuine letter to Timothy in 1 1 *f.* 15-18 4 9-18, Sabatier in 1 1-18 4 6-22.

[1] 'Les communautés vaudront ce que valent leurs conducteurs; voila l'idée générale qui se dégage de ses instructions' (J. Réville).

[2] Cp *Asc. Is.* 3 20 *f.* (before 100 A.D.) for the contemporary feeling that an apostasy would precede the latter days, when the disciples of Jesus would desert 'the prophecy of his twelve apostles and their faith (cp 1 Tim. 1 19, etc.) and love and purity (1 Tim. 4 19), and there shall be many sects, etc.' (τὴν προφητείαν τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πίστιν [cp 1 Tim. 1 19, etc.] καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην αὐτῶν, καὶ τὴν ἁγνείαν αὐτῶν [1 Tim. 4 12] καὶ ἔσονται αἱρέσεις πολλαί κ.τ.λ.).

[3] *Praktisch-theol. Comm. zu den Past.* 1887-1889.

[4] *Das echte Ermahnungsschreiben des Ap. Paulus an Tim.*, 1882.

[5] *Die Entsteh. der NT Hirtenbriefe*, 1889.

[6] *Beitr. zur Aufhellung der Gesch. und der Briefe des Ap. Paulus*, 395-408 [1890].

[7] Chap. 2 contains two passages paralleled in Epictetus (*Diss.* 3 10, 'God saith to thee, Prove to me whether thou hast contested according to requirement' [εἰ νομίμως ἤθλησας] = 2 Tim. 2 3 ['good soldier']; and 3 22 where, as the Cynic is in an army arrayed for battle, it is urged that he should not be 'entangled' [ἐμπεπλεγμένον] but wholly devoted to God's service—cp 2 Tim. 2 4 ['entangleth himself,' ἐμπλέκεται]—and free from distraction; ἀπερισπάστως, 1 Cor. 7 35). Five parallels to the pastorals in Seneca are cited by Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 290.

[8] Upon the difficulties of geography in *v.* 10, see CRESCENS, DALMATIA, GALATIA § 32. The figurative expression in *v.* 17 is paralleled by an old proverb that one should 'visit the poor in his affliction and speak of him in the Sultan's presence and do one's diligence to save him from the mouth of the lion' (Rendel Harris, *Story of Aḥiḳar*, p. lxvii). The conjecture 'Melita' [Μελίτῃ] for 'Miletus' [Μιλήτῳ] is neither probable nor helpful.

[9] *II. Timotheus* (1876).

[10] *Sieben Sendschreiben* (1870).

[11] *Theologie des NT*, 399 (1877).

[12] These 'commissions and cautions' at least are 'unlike a dying man; the writer is in a hurry for Timothy to come simply because he is old and lonely,' not because he fears his friend will be too

Paul had left Troas on some journey; 4 20 (cp Acts 21 29) seems to belong to Acts 18 18 *f.*, though the historicity of Acts 21 29 is not above suspicion (cp ACTS, § 11, TROPHIMUS; with J. Weiss, *Ueber die Absicht u. d. literar. Charakter der Ap.-gesch.* 39 *f.* [1897]).

A dual analysis of 2 Tim. has been carried through by several critics from Credner onwards. Hesse, *e.g.* (pp. 170 *f.*), regards it as the compilation of a genuine brief letter of recall (1 3*c*-4 16 *f.* 18*bc* 4 9-22*a*) with a later pseudonymous letter (1 1-3*b* 5-10 2 3-8*a* 14-26 3 1-8 13*b*-17 4 1-5). Lemme's reconstruction of the genuine letter underlying 2 Tim. is even more intricate (see O. Holtzmann's critique, *ZWT*, 1883, pp. 45-72) and less convincing (= 1 1-9 except 'pity' [ἔλεος] 2 3*b* 6*b*, 'and a sound mind' [καὶ σωφρονισμοῦ] 7, 'in Christ Jesus before the world began' [ἐν . . . αἰωνίων] 9, 10, except 'but is now made manifest by the appearing' [φανερωθεῖσαν, . . . ἐπιφανείας], 11 except 'and a teacher' [καὶ διδάσκαλος], 12 except 'against that day' [εἰς . . . ἡμέραν], 14 except 'that good thing which was committed' [τὴν . . . φύλ.] 15*a* 16 *f.* 18*bc* 2 1 3-5 8*a* 9 *f.*, except 'with eternal glory' [μετὰ δόξης αἰωνίου], 4 6 *ff.* except ἐν ἐκ. τ. ἡ., 9-22), while Hilgenfeld's analysis of the epistle into two sub-Pauline notes is quite in the air (A = 1 1 *f.*, except 'according to the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus' [κατ' . . . Ἰησοῦ], 3*a* 5-10, except 'before the world began; but is now made manifest by the appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished death and hath brought life and immortality to light' [πρὸ χρόνων . . . ἀφθαρσίαν], 11 12*a* 16-18*a* 2 1 3-8*a* 9-12 19-26 3 1-4 10-12 14 *f.* 4 1 *f.* 6-8 19-22; B = 1 1*b* 3*b*-4 9*c*-10 12*b*-15 18*b* 2 2 8*b* 13-18 3 5-9 13 16 *f.* 4 3-5 9-18). More is to be said for M'Giffert's hypothesis that the epistle is a redacted version of one written by Paul towards the close of his Roman imprisonment (1 1-12 2 1-13 4 1 *f.* 5-8 16-19 21*b* 10 1 15-18) (so Clemen for 1 15-18; from Rome 61 A.D.), whilst 2 Tim. 4 9 11-18 20-21*a* represents an earlier note written from Macedonia before 2 Cor. which was composed (1 1) after Timothy had obeyed his summons. Similarly Bacon places 4 9 11-18 20-21*a* 22*b* in the period immediately previous to 2 Cor. 2 12 *f.*, when Paul was in Macedonia, whilst von Soden takes 1 15-18 4 9-19 21*b* 22 as a note written after Philippians from Paul's Roman captivity. Hitzig had already found a letter of Paul written about 58 A.D. from Cæsarea in 1 15 4 13-16 20-22*a* (so Clemen: 4 9-18, about 60 A.D. ?), and another letter written from Rome about 63 A.D. in 4 6-12 19 1 16-18 4 22*b*; whilst Bartlet recently has distinguished (in 4 9-13 21-22*a*) a note written between Ephesians and Philippians, the rest of 2 Tim. being the swan-song of the apostle. Less probably Clemen puts 4 19-21 into 57 A.D. (from Jerusalem, previous to his imprisonment), dating the epistle as a whole slightly earlier than Titus (*circa* 100 A.D.), which again preceded 1 Tim. (100-110 A.D. Asia Minor) and the author's interpolations in 2 Tim. (1 13 *f.* 2 14-26 4 1-8) and Titus (1 7-11 3 1-11).

13. Titus: analysis.

Titus.—The attempts to find in Tit. 1 1-4 a genuine address interpolated by some redactor are not convincing. But, even when the epistle as a whole is taken as sub-Pauline, 1 7-9 certainly appears a further gloss (so O. Ritschl, *TLZ*, '85, 609; Knoke; Harnack, *Chron.* 710 *f.*; Clemen, and M'Giffert). The sudden transition from presbyters to episcopi, and the general contents of the passage, mark it off as the insertion of some later editor who was interested in promoting the monarchical episcopate. Hesse and Clemen carry the gloss on to the end of 11; but, although 10 connects with 9 (which partly explains the insertion of the gloss at this point), 12 would be abrupt after 6, for κακὰ θ. are not an antithesis to ἀνυπ., nor 'slow bellies' (γαστέρες ἀργαί) to 'riot' (ἀσωτίας), much less 'liars' (ψεῦσται) to 'faithful' (πιστά which here = believing, not reliable or trustworthy). The passage 7-9, then, was inserted, perhaps from the margin, in the original text which ran: 'unruly, for there are many unruly' (ἀνυπότακτα. Εἰσὶν γὰρ πολλοὶ ἀνυπότακτοι, κ.τ.λ.). No man could discharge a presbyter's duties effectively, if the members of his own family were tainted with the local disease of insubordination and profligacy. 2 1-14 and 2 15-3 7 are somewhat parallel (cp 2 5 and 3 2, 2 14 and 3 1); but no analysis of the passage into a Pauline and a later source is plausible. The 'genuinely Pauline ring' of much in 3 1-7 (M'Giffert) is not very audible, though Sabatier detects genuine material in it and 3 12-15. The latter passage certainly, 3 12-13 [14] 15*b*, contains an authentic fragment, as is admitted upon almost all hands (*e.g.*, Weisse,[1] Ewald, Krenkel, Knoke, Hesse, von Soden, Clemen, M'Giffert). Hesse (pp. 150 *f.*) finds further in Titus (1 1 *f.* 4-6 12-13*a* 16 3 1-6 12 *f.* 15) a complete letter

late (G. A. Simcox, *Expos. T* 10 430-432, finding in Heb. 13 also two commendatory letters).

[1] *Philosoph. Dogmatik*, 1 146.

of Paul, written shortly after he left Crete; it has been expanded by the addition of passages which, although rising out of the original text (with the possible exception of 2), are intended as a proviso against heresy. Similarly M'Giffert regards the canonical epistle as a redacted version of some letter (1 1-6 partly, 3 1-7 12 *f.*) written to Titus before Paul reached Corinth in Acts 20 2. The alternative to these dual hypotheses is to reconstruct (with Krenkel) out of 2 Timothy and Titus three letters of Paul; (*a*) one written to Titus at Crete, perhaps from Illyricum during Paul's second journey to Corinth (Acts 20 1-3) = Tit. 3 12 2 Tim. 4 20 Tit. 3 13; (*b*) another, from his Cæsarean imprisonment, to Timothy at or near Troas = 2 Tim. 4 9-18, subsequent to Colossians and Philemon; (*c*) a third = 2 Tim. 4 19 1 16 *f.* 18*b* 4 21, written from his Roman imprisonment to Timothy at Ephesus. The Cæsarean date of Colossians, however, is untenable; and otherwise this ingenious resetting of the fragments fails to explain satisfactorily how such notes came into their present curious position.

14. 1 Tim.: analysis.

First Timothy.—In spite of its unwieldy anacoluthon (cp Rom. 1 1-7) 1 Tim. 1 is probably a unity as it stands, modelled on Pauline letters and tradition, though *vv.* 12-17[1] resemble in part something more definite. Certainly 1 3-11 and 1 18-20 hang together. After 1 1 *f.* a thanksgiving would naturally follow, in the Pauline manner; but when the thanksgiving does come (*v.* 12-17) it is occasioned not by the person addressed but by Paul himself. Even the 'therefore' (οὖν) of 2 1, resuming either 1 3-11 or 12-17 or 18-20, forms a loose transition; but it illustrates the zigzag course of the epistle rather than any phenomena of compilation. Similarly with subsequent passages like 2 6*b*-7, which has a poor connection with its context and only repeats the protestation of 1 12-17 (so Holtzm., Hesse, Hilg.), 2 9 *f.* (the odd juxtaposition of rules for prayer with a sumptuary regulation for women) 4 1-8 which would readily part from its context, and 5 which has suffered accretion towards the close. No fragment of the epistle can be referred, however, to the apostle himself with much confidence. The incidental allusions to Paul's personality (3 14 *f.* 4 13) merely betray the writer's consciousness that there was a certain awkwardness in such elaborate commissions and instructions upon the commonplace regulations of a Christian community being addressed to one who was not merely himself in mature life but *ex hypothesi* separated from his superintendent only for a short time. In such touches we feel the author's literary conscience and his tactful attempt to preserve the *vraisemblance* of the situation or to justify the existence and point of such an epistle.

As it stands, in fact, 1 Timothy is a free composition; it consists of a sub-Pauline letter which has been subsequently enlarged by interpolations, especially in chap. **6**. 6 17-21 is plainly an addition (Harn.), in thought and diction perhaps the least Pauline paragraph in all the pastorals; its contents and context are against it as an integral part of the letter. The 'antitheses' of 6 20 are not the casuistic subtleties of dialectic in the Halacha, but the tabulated passages from the OT and the gospel arranged by Marcion to prove the diversity of the two dispensations and the superiority of the later. Such arguments are dismissed as secular and verbose and pseudo-scientific. See 2 Tim. 3 16, '*every* scripture,' etc., and the significant collocation of an OT sentence and an evangelic saying in 1 Tim. 5 18. Another un-Pauline element is of course the connection between eternal life and almsgiving (*vv.* 17-19) as already between salvation and religious work or personal conduct (2 15 3 13). Hence, like Tit. 1 7-9 and some other passages in

[1] The motive of this section is to throw the glorious gospel into relief against the unworthiness and weakness of its original bearers, as in Barn. 5 9: 'he chose for the preaching of his gospel his own apostles ὄντας ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἁμαρτίαν ἀνομωτέρους, that he might show he had not come to call the righteous but sinners.' See Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis* (1901), 107 *f.*

1 Tim. (3 1-13[1] 5 17-20?) or even 2 Tim. (2 20-26?), 6 17-21 shows the process of accretion familiar in documents bearing on church organisation and discipline.

Here again Hesse, admitting (like Schleiermacher) the irregular course of the epistle, attempts *acutius quam verius* to disentangle an original letter of commission (1 1-10 18-20 4 1-16 6 3-16 20 *f.*) containing the duties and rights of an episcopus at Ephesus. This is conjectured to have been enlarged by the addition of independent pieces bearing on the work of the episcopate: *e.g.*, 1 11-17 (justifying the apostolate to the Gentiles), arrangements for the worship (2 6*b*-7, so Hilg., and 2 9*b*-10, glosses) and the officials of the church (3 14-15*a*, a further insertion to justify the author dilating on such topics; 3 15*b*-16, to connect with 4 1 *f.*), a general mandate for bishops (5 : 5 23, however, being genuinely Pauline), and extracts (6 1-3 17-19) from a table of ethical duties. Knoke pushes the epistle much nearer Paul by his hypothesis of two letters from Paul's pen, one—an instruction (παραγγελία) written to Timothy from Corinth (1 3 *f.* 18-20 2 1-10 4 12 5 1-3 4*c*-6 11-15[2] 19-23 24 *f.*?), another—more doctrinal in character—composed in his Cæsarean imprisonment (1 12-17 3 14-16 4 1-11 13-16 2 12-15 5 7 *f.* 6 17-19 1 5-11 6 2*c*-16 20 *f.*?). These have been combined with an un-Pauline church-directory (3 1-10 12 *f.* 2 11 5 9 *f.* 16 4*a b* 17 6 1 *f.*), whilst passages like 3 11 and 5 18 are to be regarded as marginal glosses. It is not easy, however, to see adequate psychological motives for this sort of extensive compilation, and the criteria of style are by no means equal to the inferences drawn from them.

Hypothetical and contradictory as such conjectures may appear to be, however, a not inconsiderable agreement prevails even amid the most independent analyses of these epistles. All partition-theories presuppose an editorial function which certainly is unexampled in previous early Christian literature, even in Acts and the Apocalypse. But this is not an insuperable objection; and whilst it is idle to dogmatise upon the particular and original setting of verses, or at every point to distinguish precisely between redactor, author, and source, the composite nature of these epistles and (within general limits) the main strata of their contents have been substantially proved. Such analytic criticism is upon the right lines, and as a working hypothesis it is historically superior to the conjectures which attribute the writings *en bloc* to Paul or as unpromisingly set down the Pauline element to vague tradition or the inventiveness of a literary artist.

15. Order of composition. As the titles formed no part of the original autographs, the early church naturally argued from the internal evidence that 2 Tim., with its reflection of a climax and rich individual references, represented the last phase of the apostle's life, and that 1 Tim. was earlier. But the comparative study of the epistles suggests that 2 Tim. is the earliest, and 1 Tim. the latest production of the author.[3]

The relative amount of hapax legomena (46 in 2 Tim., 28 in Tit., 74 in 1 Tim.), the increasingly sub-apostolic colour of 'faith' (πίστις) and 'saviour' (σωτήρ), the diminution of freshness and intimate feeling in the allusions to Paul, the predominance of ecclesiastical interests and church organisation in Tit. and 1 Tim.,[4] the gradual shifting of emphasis from the personality to the sheer authority of the apostle, the gradual increase of severity towards errorists, evident as the epistles proceed—these and other traces form a cumulative and sufficient argument for this order of composition. When the author wrote 2 Tim. he had considerable Pauline material at his disposal. Even in the epistle to Titus, he falls back on genuine tradition, and Pauline material preponderates though to a less degree. But in 1 Tim. the situation has become more advanced; he writes more freely and less under the influence of his master, confutes errorists with greater sharpness, assigns more dictatorial powers to the officers of the church, and elaborates the various ecclesiastical canons with unprecedented care. The third epistle (1 Tim.) is thus, as Schleiermacher was the first to point out, an expansion and in some respects a repetition of the others, further from their Pauline background of reminiscences and tradition, but more characteristic of the writer himself. The superiority of 2 Tim., with its ample personal allusions and less formal tone, is quite obvious; and superiority means here priority. That it comes from the same pen as the others, need not be doubted, although in it the writer is more of an editor than an original author. The general sub-apostolic style and spirit of all three is fairly uniform and affords no adequate evidence for suspecting a plurality of writers.

16. Author. Like most of the NT writings, the pastorals have a communal origin. In them a current of the age becomes articulate, and hence the inconspicuous personality of their author[1] cannot be rightly deduced from his writings. It was an age when, as in the days of Haggai, men had to 'fetch wood and build the house,' while others had to encourage and direct their efforts. To furnish such inspiration may not have been a very heroic task, demanding writers of exceptional insight and pioneering ardour like Paul, but it was timely and serviceable; and after all 'edification' (οἰκοδομεῖν) was the criterion and aim of early Christian literature. This Paulinist had singular capacities for the labour of instructing the churches of his day. Thoroughly convinced that he had a message for it, or rather that in Paul's teaching and life lay the pattern for true doctrine and godliness, he addressed himself to the duty of curbing and stimulating his contemporaries in the spirit of his master, writing like a shrewd and experienced man of affairs who feels (unlike his contemporary, the prophet who wrote Rev. 2 *f.*) that the moral plight of the age demanded consolidation—consolidation as opposed to speculation in belief or looseness in organisation. If he lacks the authority of intuition, he at least possesses the intuition of authority. He has much in common with the unconciliatory element in Paul. Unlike the later apologists, he refuses to discuss points of disagreement or to meet objectors on their own ground, but is content with the more congenial method of insisting in a rather dictatorial fashion upon the fixed truths of the faith. In this he is a precursor of Polycarp, yet in all likelihood the majority of his opponents, perhaps even of his readers, were none the worse for being somewhat sharply reminded that the ultimate proofs of religion lay open to faith and the moral sense; there may have been an effectiveness in the resolve of this censor to assert and enlighten, not to argue. The genuine faith is to him a 'tradition' (παράδοσις) or a 'deposit' (παραθήκη),[2] involving 'testimony' (μαρτυρία), which lays a moral responsibility upon the officials of the church especially. The tone of his instructions to them reminds one often of Butler's famous *Charge to the Clergy* (1751) not to trouble about objections raised by 'men of gaiety and speculation,' but to endeavour to beget a practical sense 'of religion upon the hearts of the common people.' This task demands moral purity above all things, together with teaching ability in the higher officials. True to his master, this mentor is

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[1] Among the qualifications of the Jewish *šĕlīăḥ ṣibbūr* (שְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר, the man who on any given occasion offered common prayer in the synagogue) were: 'to have many children and no money . . . to be of sound age, and humble, popular, well-mannered . . . to be practised in the study of the law, the prophets, and the psalms; able to expound the allegoric meaning, traditions, and histories, etc.' (R. Jehuda, quoted by Selwyn, *Christian Prophets*, 208 *f.*).

[2] The difficulty of μανθάνουσι (*v.* 13) would certainly be eased by the adoption of the attractive conjecture λανθάνουσι (Hitzig, Naber, Baljon, Clemen).

[3] See ACTS, § 16, and MINISTRY, § 31. Besides Mangold, De Wette, Reuss (*La Bible*, 7 243 *f.* 307 *f.*), and some others, the main advocates of this order are denoted by an asterisk in the bibliography at the close of the present article. It is of course possible that the author himself rearranged the epistles in this order, having written them otherwise, as Vergil is said to have composed the various books of the *Æneid* irregularly (*e.g.*, the third before the second) and subsequently placed them.

[4] The pronounced element of 'ecclesiasticism' in 1 Tim., which in several passages is simply a manual of church order, betrays its more advanced situation. For some not insignificant details of style, see 'certain men' (τινὲς ἄνθρωποι), or 'certain' (τινές) [7 times in 1 Tim., never in others], 'faith' (πίστις) in objective sense (4 times in 1 Tim., once in Tit. 1 4), 'saviour' (σωτήρ) of God alone in 1 Tim. (in the second-century piety 'no one could any longer be a God who was not also a sōtēr,' Harn., *Dogmeng.*, ET, 1 118); cp also 2 Tim. 2 17-20 as preceding 1 Tim. 1 20, and the heightening scale of 2 Tim. 2 23 Tit. 3 9 1 Tim. 1 4, of 2 Tim. 1 11 and 1 Tim. 2 7, of 2 Tim. 3 1 and 1 Tim. 4 1 *f.*, of Tit. 1 7 and 1 Tim. 3 2.

[1] The pastorals in fact voice a tendency of popular Christianity rather than any individual writer's cast of thought; cp Wrede, *über Aufgabe und Methode der sog. NT Theologie*, 35 *f.* (1897). Authorship is here quite subordinate to function.

[2] Cp Herod. 9 45: 'Men of Athens, I leave these words with you as a trust' (ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραθήκην ὑμῖν τὰ ἔπεα τάδε τίθεμαι κ.τ.λ.) with 2 Tim. 1 12 *f.*, etc.

utterly indifferent to the sacerdotal heresy[1] which was already beginning to tinge unhealthily the primitive ideas of the church (MINISTRY, § 59 *a*, PRIEST, § 8). In resisting incipient Gnosticism with its attempt to Hellenise the faith into an evaporated intellectualism, the pastorals refuse to employ the tendency, which ultimately secularised the Catholic church, of Hebraising the religion of Jesus by means of a retrograde movement to ritual and priestly conceptions. Indeed the impression made by these letters is revealed in nothing so clearly as in the fact that they came to be cherished by those who more or less unconsciously were either ignoring or modifying or defying their principles under the constraining influence of the *Zeitgeist*.

Like the authors of Matthew's gospel, Barnabas, Hebrews, the Fourth Gospel and 2 Peter, the author of the pastorals belongs to the great anonymous period of early Christian literature. The religious life of the primitive church, as of ancient Israel, was 'at certain periods very intense, and at these periods the spiritual energy of the nation expressed itself almost impersonally, through men who forgot themselves and were speedily forgotten in name by others' (Dav. *Job*, lxviii.). His work, too, was pseudonymous.[2] To write under Paul's name was, for a Paulinist, quite a legitimate literary artifice; and although pseudepigrapha in the second century—that period rich in rhetorical forgeries (Jebb, *Homer*, 87)—ranged from mere fabrications to high-toned compositions, the pastorals, like 2 Peter, belong to the latter class, breathing not a crude endeavour to deceive but self-effacement and deep religious motives. Hence the oblivion in which the writer chose to work and has been allowed to remain. It was due not merely to the necessity of throwing a certain air of mystery round the situation in order to secure the circulation of letters long after their putative author's death, but to a sort of Pythagorean feeling that unselfish piety required a pupil's work to be attributed to his master—a canon of literary ethics not unfamiliar to early Christianity itself (Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 4 5). This author wrote from what he conceived to be the standpoint of Paul.[3] But it would be unjust to estimate him by the measure of the man whose spirit he endeavoured to propagate and apply in his own way. The correct standard is to be sought in the sub-Pauline literature. And if the author of the pastorals is inferior to the genius who wrote the fourth gospel, even in appreciating some of the more inward aspects of Pauline thought, he is superior in range and penetration to those who wrote Barnabas, Jude, the Ignatian epistles, the Christian section of *Ascensio Isaiæ*, and 2 Peter. The prevailing deference shown to the apostles and to Paul by contemporary and later writers[4] who disclaim all pretensions to equality with them, as well as the fact that mere literary ambition was utterly foreign to the early Christian consciousness at this period, may serve to guarantee the ethical honour of the pastorals and to corroborate the impression left by themselves that their author[5] was right in feeling himself not merely justified but obliged to sanction and support his message by his master's name. Not long before, another 'Paulinist' had composed speeches for Paul which were based on oral tradition and yet were indubitably free products of a historian who had skill and sympathy enough to give fairly faithful transcripts of the situation in question (Acts 13 16-41 17 22-31 20 18-35, etc.). It was but a step from this to the other recognised method of literary impersonation, which chose epistolary rather than historical expression to gain its religious end.

17. Pseudonymity.

18. Literature.

Since Schmidt and Schleiermacher almost a century ago suggested a sub-Pauline date for 1 Tim., a conjecture which Eichhorn amongst others speedily (1812) extended to all three epistles, there has been a remarkable continuity of criticism, starting from *F. C. Baur (*Die sogenannten Pastoralbriefe des Apostels Paulus*, 1835). For the critical work up to 1880 see *H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Pastoralbriefe kritisch und exegetisch behandelt* (1880), a monograph which is far from being superseded. Subsequent contributions in general support of Baur and Holtzmann, with modifications and adaptations, have come along three main lines:—(*a*) editions: *H. von Soden (*HC* iii. 1 155-254,(2) 1893); *Moffatt (*Histor. New Testament*,(2) 556-575 [1901]); O. Cone (*Internat. Hdbks. to NT*, vol. 3 [1901]). (*b*) monographs and essays on—(1) general criticism of epp.: Renan (*S. Paul*, xxiii.-lii., *l'église Chrétienne*, ch. 6); *Harnack (*Chronologie*, 480-485, 710-711); *Pfleiderer (*Paulinismus*, ET, 2 196-214, *Das Urchristentum*, 801-823 [1887]); *M. A. Rovers (*Nieuw-test. Letterkunde*, 1888,(2) 66-78); van Manen (OLD-CHRIST. LIT., PAUL); *Bruckner (*Die Chronol. Reihenfolge der Briefe des NT*, 277-286 [1890]); Prof. E. Y. Hincks, *JBL*, 1897, pp. 94-117, Réville (*Les origines de l'épiscopat*, 1 262 *f.*), and the NT introductions by Hilgenfeld (1875); H. J. Holtzmann(3) (272-292 [1892]); *S. Davidson,(3) 1-75 [1894]; B. W. Bacon (127-139 [1900]); Baljon, *Geschiedenis v. d. Bb. d. NV* (1901) 150-174; *Jülicher ((4) 136-156 [1901]) and Sabatier, art. 'Pastorales,' *L'ency. Sciences rel.*, 10 250 *f.* (2) textual features: Henri Bois, *JPT* (1888) 145-160 'zur Exegese der Pastoralbriefe'; *Clemen, *Einheitl. d. paul. Briefe*, 142-176 [1894]; P. Ewald, *Probabilia betr. d. Text des 1 Tim.* (1901). (*c*) Discussions on special phenomena of epp.:—(1) ecclesiastical organisation: See under MINISTRY and add (to lit. there cited) defences of conservative standpoint in Hort, *Christian Ecclesia* (1898), 189-217, and J. W. Falconer *From Apostle to Priest*, 109-146 (1900); against Kühl (*Die Gemeinde-ordnung in den Pastoralbriefen*, 1885) see Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1886, pp. 456-473); and on their connection with *Apostol. Constitutions*, Harnack, *Texte und Untersuch.* ii. 549 *f.* (ii.) the errorists; Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1880, pp. 448-464): Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 4 376-380 (1884); and Bourquin, *Étude critique sur past. épîtres*, 51-64 (1890). (iii.) general setting and religious standpoint: Hatch (*EB*(9), articles 'Paul' and 'Pastorals'); *Beyschlag's *Neutest. Theol.* (ET, 1895), 2 501-517, Holtzmann's *Neutest. Theol.* 2 259-281 (1897); O. Cone (*Gospel and its Interpretations*, 327-338 [1893]); W. Mackintosh (*Nat. Hist. of Christ. Rel.* 465-490 [1894]); Weizs. *Das. Apost. Zeitälter*,(2) (ET) 2 163-165 329 *f.*; *A. C. M'Giffert, *The Apostolic Age*, 398-423 (1897); E. P. Gould, *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, 142-150 (1900), also Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte* (ET) 1 156-162 189-192 215 *f.* 223 *f.*, and Wernle, *Die Anfänge unserer Religion*, 347-368, 380 *f.* (1901).

Although the general critical position, outlined in these contributions, is unquestionable, it is unhappily not unquestioned. The traditional view survives, with more or less hesitation and a far from uniform presentment, in the editions of Kölling (1882-1887; on 1 Tim.), Weiss (-Meyer, (6)1893, also *Die Paulin. Briefe*, 16 *f.*, 604-682 [1896]), Riggenbach-Zöckler (1897), and Stellhorn (1900), and in the representative NT introductions of Weiss, Godet, Zahn, and Belser; so still most English commentators (Ellicott, Plummer, J. H. Bernard, Horton, J. P. Lilley), writers on NT introduction (Salmon, Gloag, and Adeney), and others, *e.g.*, G. G. Findlay (appendix to ET of Sabatier's *L'apôtre Paul*, 341-402 [1891], Hastings' *DB* 3 714-716), and Rams. *Church*,(5) 248 *f.*, *Expos.* 4th ser. 8 110 *f.*, etc. Add Bertrand (*Essai critique sur l'authenticité des épîtres Past.*, 1888), Ruegg (*Aus Schrift und Geschichte*, 59-108 [1898]); Roos (*Die Briefe des ap. Paulus und die Reden des Herrn Jesu*, 156-202), G. H. Gilbert's *Life of Paul*, 225-232 (1899); and G. T. Purves, *Christianity in Apostolic Age*, 170-176 (1900). Also (published since this article was written) Lock's studies in Hastings' *DB* 4 on the epistles.

J. MO.

[1] Louw, *Het ontstaan van het Priesterschaap in de Christelijke Kerk*, 32 *f.* 62 *f.* 79 *f.* 110-126 (1892).

[2] See EPISTOLARY LITERATURE, § 4; MINISTRY, 35 *d*; and, to the literature cited in *Hist. New Test.* 597 *f.*, 619-624, add W. Christ, *Philologische Studien zu Clem. Alex.* 30-39 (1900), and (for the pseud-epigrapha, mainly Gnostic, of the 2nd cent., etc.) Liechtenhan in *ZNTW*, 1902, Hefte 3-4.

[3] He is least successful in reproducing what would have been Paul's tone and temper to colleagues like Timothy and Titus. The curt, general instructions put into the apostle's mouth are often incongruous with the character of their primitive recipients as well as with the situation presupposed by the epistles in question.

[4] *E.g.*, Ignat. *Rom.* 4, 'I do not order you, as did Peter and Paul; they were apostles, I am a convict'; also *Acta Phoc.* 4, οὐκ ἀπαυτομολῶ τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων τοῦ Θεοῦ εὐαρεστίας.

[5] His success, undoubtedly deserved, becomes all the more remarkable where failure was so easy. The Asiatic presbyter who half a century later composed the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* no doubt acted with a sincerity equal to his affection (*id se amore Pauli fecisse*), but failed to appreciate the vital elements of Paulinism and was deposed—not for using an illegitimate method so much as for employing it to promote notions which the common-sense of the church rejected as palpably alien to the faith. Pseudo-Pauline epistles ('fictæ ad hæresim Marcionis'), were widely circulated during the second century; the superiority of the pastorals to all such is a difference of degree rather than of kind.

TIN (בְּדִיל, *bĕdīl*, lit. 'that which is separated' [from precious metal], see Is. 1 25, where render 'alloy' [RVmg. Che., see 𝔊]; κασσίτερος [4 times], μόλιβ[δ]ος [twice], *stannum*), Ezek. 22 18 20 (Israel to be cast into the furnace like one of the baser metals), 27 12 (exported from Tarshish), Zech. 4 10 (material of plummet, κασσιτέρινος), Nu. 31 22 (cleansed by passing through fire).

Being a component of bronze, tin was used as a metal from a very early date (see COPPER). A ring from a tomb at Dahshūr (dated about the third dynasty) contains 8.2 per cent of tin; a vase of sixth dynasty 5.68 per cent of tin. When the unalloyed metal was first introduced cannot be ascertained with certainty. All we know is that about the first century the Greek word *κασσίτερος* designated tin, and that tin was imported from Cornwall into Italy after, if not before, the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar. From what Pliny says (*HN* 34 16 339), it appears that the Romans in his time did not fully realise the distinction between tin and lead; the former was called *plumbum album* or *candidum* to distinguish it from *plumbum nigrum* (lead proper).[1] The word *stannum* definitely assumed its present meaning in the fourth century. (See Jer. on Zech. 4 10).

TINKLING ORNAMENTS (עֲכָסִים), Is. 3 18 AV, RV ANKLETS (*q.v.*).

TIPHSAH (תִּפְסַח; wanting in the true 𝔊 but ραφει [B] in 1 K. 2 46 f.; θαψα [A]; *tahpīs—i.e.*, Tahpanhes [Pesh.]; *thaphsa* [Vg.]).

1. A place in the Eber-han-nahar (see EBER) mentioned as the NE. boundary of Solomon's empire (1 K. 4 24 [5 4]), corresponding to Gaza in the SW. It is generally held that Tiphsah is the ancient Thapsacus, and that Solomon's occupation of this place was connected with his commercial enterprises, Thapsacus being the great zeugma, or place of passage, of the river Euphrates alike for caravans and for invading armies.

It was there that the Ten Thousand first learned the real object of the expedition of Cyrus the Younger, and crossed the stream (Xen. *Anab.* i. 4 11). There too, Darius Codomannus crossed after the fatal battle of Issus, and Alexander after him. In the sixth century A.D. it passed out of knowledge.

The true site was identified about the same time by J. P. Peters (*Nation*, May 23, 1889) and B. Moritz (*Ber. der Berl. Akad.*, July 25, 1889) with *Ḳal'at Dibse*, a small ruin 'at the bend of the stream where it changes from a southerly to an easterly course, 8 m. below Meskene, and 6 below the ancient Barbalissus.' Among other points in which the situation of Dibse agrees with the statements of Xenophon and Strabo is the existence of a camel-ford at this very spot. There is no philological objection to this combination, but excavations still wait to be made (cp Peters, *Nippur*, 1 96 *ff.*).

At the same time, there are good reasons for testing this theory afresh. The realm of Solomon was not as extensive as a tradition based on incorrect readings of the text has represented (see SOLOMON, § 9). Tiphsaḥ and 'Azzah are most probably places on the frontier of Solomon's dominion in the Negeb. The former may come from Tappuaḥ (=Nephtoah), the latter may perhaps represent the strong city Zarephath. These points are doubtful.

2. A town in Ephraim which opposed the pretensions of Menahem, and was punished by him (2 K. 15 16 †), identified by Conder with *Kh. Tafsah*, on an old site 6 m. SW. of Shechem (*PEFMem.* 2 169). The 'Tiphsah' of MT is as much conjecture as the 'Tirzah' (*θερσα*) of 𝔊^B (*θαιρα* [A]). The right reading, as many think, is that of 𝔊^L—*viz.* TAPPUAH (*ταφωε*). So Thenius, Klostermann, Renan (*Hist.* 2 450), Köhler (*Bibl. Gesch.* 3 399), Guthe. There were at least three places called Tappuah (or Nephtoah). Whether this Tiphsah or Tappuah was really in the neighbourhood of Shechem, and not rather in the Negeb (cp 1), is one of the most recent critical problems. See *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 15 16.

T. K. C.

TIRAS (תִּירָס; θ[ε]ιρας [BADEL]), son of Japheth, mentioned after Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, Gen. 10 2 (P), 1 Ch. 1 5. It is usually assumed that he must be the representative of a northern folk. The older commentators mostly think

1. A northern people?

of the Thracians (Θρᾷξ; Jos. *Ant.* i. 6 1). But after removing the Gk. nom. suffix *s*, we get a form which has no similarity to Tiras. Hence Tuch, Nöldeke (*BL* 5 519 *f.*), and W. Max Müller (*As. u. Eur.* 382 *f.*) think of the Tyrseni, who are spoken of not only as Etruscans but also as pirates on the Ægean Sea (cp TARSHISH, § 6, and note quotation from E. Meyer on the probable distinction between the Etruscan Tyrseni and the Turuša of the Egyptian inscriptions). This is certainly plausible, and has suggested (to the present writer) that after correcting תירס in *v.* 2 into תורס, the latter word should be substituted for תרשיש in *v.* 4. The order of the names in *v.* 4 seemed to favour this, and granting that 'Tarshish' is the Hebrew name for Tartessus or S. Spain, no better course seems to be open, for one cannot expect Tartessus to be inclosed between Elishah (*i.e.*, S. Italy and Sicily [Lag., Di., Kau.]), and Kittim (*i.e.*, Cyprus?). The Tyrseni, however, might naturally enough be so grouped. How easily Tiras (or Tures?) and Tarshish might be confounded is suggested by the fact that in Judith 2 23 [13] Vg. actually gives *filios Tharsis* where Vet. Lat. gives *filios Thiras et Rasis*. Cp ROSH. A better view, however, can possibly be found (see § 2).

Jensen connects Tiras with the Hittite T(a)rš = Tarzi (so Shalmaneser II.) = Tarsus (Jensen, *TLZ*, 4th Feb. 1899, col. 70), but see TARSHISH, § 6.

2. A corruption of Asshur?

The increasing evidence (see *Crit. Bib.*) that many parts of the OT, which came down to the late editor or editors in a corrupt form, have been manipulated by him in accordance with incorrect views of geography and history, compels us to consider, as we pass through the Table of Nations, what may have been the original form of each ethnic or place-name that we find there. It has already been suggested by others (see JAPHETH) that Japheth in the original legend meant either the Phœnicians or the Philistines. It may be added here that there is great reason to doubt whether either the J portions or the P portions of Gen. 10 in their original form extended their range beyond Palestine and Arabia.

It is a characteristic of P's lists (and to P *vv.* 2-4, according to the critical analysis, belong) that he in naive ignorance repeats the same name in different corrupt and independent forms. Thus 'Tiras' in *v.* 2 is ultimately the same as 'Tarshish' in *v.* 4; 'Gomer,' 'Magog,' 'Madai,' 'Javan,' and 'Togarmah' are all most probably corrupt and independent forms of 'Jeraḥmeel.' 'Tubal' (cp TABEAL), as the connection in which the name occurs in Ezek. 32 26 ought sufficiently to show, is a Palestinian or rather a N. Arabian name.[1] 'Meshech' (מֶשֶׁךְ) should be 'Cusham' (כּוּשָׁם)—*i.e.*, the N. Arabian Cush (see CUSH, 2). 'Elishah' in *v.* 4 should be 'Ishmael'; 'Kittim' probably comes from 'Reḥōbōthim'; 'Dodanim' should be Dedanim. If these emendations are in the main right—and the evidence referred to above would seem to make this a reasonable contention—it follows that 'Tiras' as well as 'Tarshish' (see TARSHISH, § 7), is most probably a corruption and distortion of the N Arabian ethnic name Ashḥur or Asshur (=Geshur). Cp GESHUR, 2.

T. K. C.

TIRATHITES (תִּרְעָתִים), 1 Ch. 2 55. See JABEZ.

TIRE. 1. שַׂהֲרֹנִים, *śahărōnīm*, Is. 3 18 Judg. 8 21 26 RV 'crescents.' See NECKLACE, 2.

2. פְּאֵר, *pĕ'ēr*, Ezek. 24 17 (AV), 23 (EV): see TURBAN, 2.

3. שֵׁשׁ, *šēš*; Ezek. 16 10 RVmg. translates '[a tire of] fine linen.' A headtire seems to be meant. See TURBAN, 2.

4. *μίτρα* Judith 10 3 16 8 (AVmg. 'mitre') Bar. 5 2 (EV 'diadem'). See DIADEM.

TIRHAKAH (תִּרְהָקָה; θαρακα [A in 2 K., B in Is.], θαρθακ [L], -ρα [B in 2 K.], -ραθα [ℵAQ* in Is.], Vg. *Tharaca*). According to Is. 37 9 = 2 K. 19 9, the Assyrian general (rab-shakeh) had heard that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia (𝔊 of [the] Ethiopians), was coming forth to fight against the Assyrian armies occupying Judah before the siege of Jerusalem (701 B.C.) in order to assist Hezekiah.

1. Name.

This is the third king of the twenty-fifth (or Ethiopian) dynasty of Egypt (EGYPT, § 66 *b*). His name is written

[1] So in 𝔊 the distinction between *κασσίτερος* and *μόλιβος* is uncertain.

[1] 'Elam' of course should be 'Jeraḥmeel' (as probably always in OT), and most probably (if not certainly) 'Zidonians' should be 'Miṣrites.'

in Hieroglyphic signs *Ta-h-ru-ḳ*.[1] The vowels (a and u) are written quite constantly, although they appear to us unintelligible and useless. The cuneiform transcription is *Tarḳû*. Manetho gives *Tarkos* or *Tarakos*, Strabo, i. 3 21, *Tearko* (he strangely makes the king a great conqueror, who reached the pillars of Hercules; cp Megasthenes, Fragm. 20, in Strabo, 686). The biblical rendering would seem to need a transposition; *Teharḳo*, *Teharḳa* (תהרקה).

2. Date. The king seems to have been an usurper,[2] who legalised his crown afterwards by marriage with the widow of king Shabako. When the usurpation took place, can be determined with certainty (see So). Tirhakah reigned, according to a stele of the Serapeum, twenty-six complete years; according to Assyrian sources he died in 668/67;[3] consequently his accession to the throne was in 694/93 B.C. This shows at once that in the biblical account there is an impossible conjunction of facts. Either the original form of the text did not give the name of the 'king of Ethiopia' referred to—later scholars would then attempt to identify the king and insert Tirhaka-Taharko instead of Shabako who reigned in 701 (see, however, So on the improbability of Shabako's attacking the Assyrians)—or Taharko was mentioned as the Ethiopian governor of Lower Egypt, and the later recension made him a king. Otherwise, we should have to acknowledge a confusion of the events of 701 with others of the time between 693 and 676 B.C.

3. Assyrian data. The first expedition of the Assyrians against Egypt, in 676, was in all probability caused by such a provocation as military aid from Egypt to Palestinian rebels against Assyria. Esarhaddon mentions indeed that Ba'al, the king of Tyre, was induced to rebellion by Tarḳû. This may have occurred earlier; but 693 is, as has been said, for Tirhakah the superior chronological limit.

Tirhakah, however, could not really play the part of an aggressor in Syria. The difficulty of maintaining Egypt and keeping the nomarchs in subjection must as a rule have absorbed his whole strength. An Assyrian army penetrated into Egypt in 676 and seems to have occupied a considerable portion of it, but in 675 was annihilated.[4] In his tenth year, 671, king Esarhaddon secured the road to Egypt by an expedition against the Arabs, invaded (then, or by another army?) Egypt by way of a city in the desert called *Magdali* or Migdol (see MIGDOL), and met and defeated the forces of Taharko near a place called *Ishupri*. The Ethiopian king had finally, after losing the third battle, to withdraw from Egypt. The Assyrians marched as far as Thebes, which capitulated and was mildly dealt with. The country was divided among twenty nomarchs, descendants of Libyan generals. Some of these may have called in the Assyrians to free them from the Ethiopian yoke, and submitted to the Assyrian supremacy without resistance. Nevertheless we read of a conspiracy with Taharko against the Assyrians by the three most influential leaders (Nikû-Necho I. of Sais and Memphis, Šarludari of Tanis and Pakruru of *Pi-saptu*). Evidently, they felt too weak to resist the Ethiopians when these threatened to invade Egypt again, and therefore tried to maintain good relations with them. In point of fact Taharko invaded Egypt again in 669. Esarhaddon hurried to the rescue of his vassals, and died on the expedition. His army, nevertheless, entered Egypt, defeated Taharko's army, coming from Memphis, at Karbanit (near Canopus?), and forced him to retreat as far as Thebes. The cities Sais, Mendes, and Tanis were cruelly punished for joining the Ethiopians; prince Necho, however, when sent to Nineveh as a prisoner, obtained a pardon and his dominion. Evidently, the Assyrians needed his influence. They even gave the city of Hathribis to his son Psametik and thus furthered the rise of the next dynasty (the Saitic). Taharko, in the meantime, fortified a camp near Thebes and, while the Assyrian troops were engaged in the Delta, forced this city to surrender. At first, the prince of Thebes seems to have closed the door to the fugitive Ethiopian king. Preparing for a new invasion of northern Egypt, Tirhakah died there. His step-son Ten(wa)t-Amon (Tandamani of the Assyrian reports), son of Shabako, became king, and made the last attempt to expel the Assyrians (668/67).[1]

4. Egyptian data. On the Egyptian monuments, nothing of this warlike activity of the king can be observed. Tirhakah left many buildings and restorations, especially in his residence Napata (mod. Gebel-Barkal) and at Thebes. North of Thebes, the difficulties caused him by the nomarchs seem to have prevented him from building much; but inscriptions bearing his name have been found at Tanis, and at Memphis his name is represented at the burial of an Apis bull in his tenth and twenty-fourth year (directly before the Assyrian conquest?). Nominally, also, the two years following 668/7 seem to have been counted to him in Egypt, so at least later by Psammetichus I. At Thebes, the nomarch Mont(u)-m-ḥē't was in the time of the Assyrian invasion practically independent (he built considerably at Karnak) and does not seem to have always been faithful to his suzerain in Napata (see above).

A (rather conventionalised) portrait of Tirhakah is given elsewhere (ETHIOPIA, fig. 1, right-hand picture); the Negro blood is more strongly indicated in several other portraits; the full Negro type on the Zinjīrli-stele of Esarhaddon is therefore no caricature.

[The view expressed elsewhere (SENNACHERIB, § 5) as to the possibility of a confusion between an Assyrian and an Asshurite (N. Arabian) invasion of Judah may possibly require a reinvestigation of the meaning of מלך כוש in 2 K. 19 9 = Is. 37 9. 'Cush' may be, not Ethiopia, but a region in N. Arabia (see CUSH, § 2). If so, תרהקה (Tirhakah) will have to be admitted into the group of personal names which have (according to the new theory) been modified by redactors to suit their own limited historical knowledge. See *Crit. Bib.* on 2 K. 19 9 and other parts of 2 K.] W. M. M.

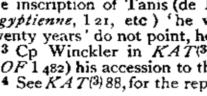
TIRHANAH (תִּרְחֲנָה; θαραμ [B], θαρχνα [A], θαρααναa [L]), a son of Caleb by his concubine Maacah (1 Ch. 2 48).

TIRIA (תִּירְיָא; om. B, θηρια [A], εθρια [L]), the name of a son of Jehallelel (1 Ch. 4 16), may have arisen from יתר in the following verse.

TIRSHATHA (תִּרְשָׁתָא; either = *taršatā*, Pers. partic. = 'feared' [Meyer, Ryssel, and most scholars], or an official title from Old Pers. *antare-kshathra*, 'royal representative in the province,' Lag. *Symmicta*, 1 60; αθαρασθας [L generally]), a title like 'Your Excellency' (Meyer), or an official title (Lag., Stade) of the Persian governor of Judah, or perhaps a corrupt form of a personal name, or of a gentilic, of Semitic origin. The article is always prefixed.

(*a*) Ezra 2 63 (*αθερσαα* [B], *-σαθα* [A], *-ασθας* [L]) = Neh. 7 65 (*ασερσαθα* [B], *αθερ.* [אA]) = 1 Esd. 5 40 (see next small type); (*b*) Neh. 7 70 (om. B, *αθαρσαθα* [א^{c.a mg.} A]); (*c*) 8 9; (*d*) 10 1 [2].

The sense in (*a*) Ezra 2 63 = Neh. 7 65 = 1 Esd. 5 40 and (*b*) Neh. 7 70 depends on the critical view adopted as to the origin of the list of 'sons of the province.' If, with Meyer, we admit it to be a list of exiles who returned

1 

2 See Maspero, *Histoire*, 3 361, on this point. The words of the inscription of Tanis (de Rougé in *Mélanges d'Archéologie Egyptienne*, 1 21, etc) 'he went to the Delta at the age of twenty years' do not point, however, to a revolution necessarily.

3 Cp Winckler in *KAT*(3) 93. Why he places (p. 87 and *AOF* 1 482) his accession to the throne in 691, does not appear.

4 See *KAT*(3) 88, for the report of the 'Babylonian Chronicles.'

1 So far after Winckler's arrangement, *KAT*(3) 90-94.

with Zerubbabel, the Tirshatha will of course be Zerubbabel; to Kosters, however, it is a list of post-exilic residents in Judah and Jerusalem, and the Tirshatha is Nehemiah.

Cp 1 Esd. 5 40 (= Ezra 2 63), where we find *ν.* [ὁ] *καὶ ατθαριας* (BA), *αταρασθας* [L], ATHARIAS, RV ATTHARIAS).

In (*c*) Neh. 8 9 = 1 Esd. 9 49 and (*d*) Neh. 10 1 [2], Nehemiah is mentioned by name as the Tirshatha, but is it certain that the text is correct? Guthe (*SBOT*) points out that 1 Esd. 9 49 (= Neh. 8 9) gives simply *καὶ εἶπεν ατταρατη* ([B], *ατθαρατης* [A], *αθαρασθας* [L], ATTHARATES)—*i.e.*, 'and the Tirshatha said,' and infers that נחמיה הוא is a gloss. Smend, however (*Listen*, 18), prefers to omit 'that is, the Tirshatha' (so 𝔊 [BℵA] in Neh.), whilst Meyer (*Entst.* 200) omits both 'Nehemiah' and 'Tirshatha.' In (*d*) Guthe (*SBOT*) and Wellhausen (*GGN*, 1895, p. 177) omit 'the Tirshatha,' because it separates the proper name from the patronymic (𝔊BℵA, but not 𝔊L, supports this). Very possibly here as well as in (*c*) both 'Nehemiah' and 'Tirshatha' are intrusive (cp Marq. *Fund.* 34). The two laymen, Nehemiah and Zedekiah, are very isolated just before the names of priestly classes (see ZEDEKIAH). Nehemiah's usual title is פֶּחָה, 'governor.' It is not certain that Nehemiah had yet returned. To this it may be replied that Nehemiah's change of title may be connected with a limitation of his jurisdiction during his second period of office to matters connected with a religious reformation. For the grounds of this hypothesis see NEHEMIAH. On the name see, further, *Crit. Bib.*

T. K. C.

TIRZAH (תִּרְצָה? 'agreeable,' § 102; θερcα [BAL]; but in Josh. 12 24 *θαρσα* [BF], *θερμα* [A], in 1 K. 14 17 *γῆν σαριρα* [A; see ZARETHAN], in 2 K. 15 14 *θαρσειλα* [B], *θερσιλα* [A], in Cant. 6 4 *εὐδοκία* [BℵA], in Targ. תרעיתא).

1. An ancient city of Mt. Ephraim (see below) which had a king of its own before the Israelitish conquest (Josh. 12 24), and was the residence of the N. Israelitish kings from Jeroboam to Omri (1 K. 14 17 15 21 16 6 8 *f.* 15 17 23). According to Klostermann's emendation of haṣ-Ṣĕrēdah in 1 K. 11 26 (and of the *σαρειρα* of 𝔊 in 1 K. 12), Jeroboam was a native not of 'Zeredah' but of Tirzah, which place he fortified while still nominally in the service of Solomon (see JEROBOAM, 1, ZARETHAN, § 2). Shortly afterwards we read (1 K. 12 24 *f.*) that on Jeroboam's return from Egypt he built a castle (*χάρακα* = כַּרְכָּא) at Sarira. Whether Klostermann is right in holding Tirzah to be the original form of the name of Jeroboam's city, will be considered later; at any rate, we may follow him in his statement that Zeredah (צְרֵדָה), or haṣ-Ṣĕrēdah, *σαρειρα*, and Tirzah are fundamentally the same. The next fact recorded of Tirzah is that, when, after a reign of seven days, Zimri saw that he could not hold Tirzah, he burned the citadel, and himself perished in the flames (1 K. 16 17 18); the usurper Omri then took up his abode in Tirzah. Even after Samaria had supplanted Tirzah as the capital, it continued to be a fortress of strategic importance. Menahem b. Gadi won Tirzah first and then Samaria, when he slew Shallum b. Jabesh and mounted the throne of Israel. From the context (on 2 K. 15 16 see TIPHSAH) Tirzah appears to have been not far from Tappuah (in Ephraim, but on the border of Manasseh). In the Book of Judges too there is one more reference in the narratives, which, if based on fact, should come first in chronological order. Nor must we omit a famous poetical reference in the ordinary text. In Cant. 6 4, as given by MT (𝔊, however, has *ὡς εὐδοκία*), we find the Shulammite compared to Tirzah. But whether a methodical criticism can accept this reading, is doubtful (see CANTICLES, § 14, and cp ROSE). We need not therefore discuss the question whether Tirzah really was as beautifully situated as the ordinary text of Cant. 6 4 seems to imply. It is enough to find out *where* this northern city lay.

There are three current identifications. (1) Robinson and Van de Velde thought of Ṭallūzā,[1] a picturesque village on a hill 2040 ft. above the sea-level, E. of Samaria, and slightly N. of Mt. Ebal. The phonetic resemblance, however, is but slight, and the description of Thersa quoted by Robinson from Brocardus ('on a high mountain, three leagues from Samaria to the E.') suits Ṭūbās (Thebez?) better than Ṭalluza. (2) The Midrash represents Tirzah as Tir'an (cp CANTICLES, § 14, note) and the Targum as Tar'itha. Hence Buhl (*Pal.* 203) suggests that Tirathana, a village close to Gerizim (Jos. *Ant.* xviii. 4 1), may be intended, and he (doubtfully) identifies this with *eṭ-Ṭīreh*, on the W. side of the plain of Makhneh. But this is not a sufficiently important site. (3) Conder (*PEFM* 2 216) suggests the village Teyāṣir, 11 m. N. of Shechem, and 12 m. E. of Samaria (see ASHER, 2). The site appears not unsuitable; but nothing can be based on the name.

But is the name Tirzah really the correct form? Is it likely to have been corrupted into Zeredah or haṣ-ṣĕrēdah? And is it the most natural name for an important fortress? Add to this that another corrupted form of the same original may be ZARETHAN (*q. v.*). The problem is to find a name out of which all these forms can have been corrupted. Such a name is בֵּית צוּר 'Beth-zur' (see col. 2405); such a name, too, is צָרְפַת, 'Zarephath.' It so happens that all the OT passages referred to above most probably, in their original form, referred to the Negeb (Cant. 6 4 of course is excluded). It will therefore be safer to pronounce in favour of Zarephath.

2. One of the five daughters of ZELOPHEHAD—the fifth (Nu. 26 33 27 1 [om. L] Josh. 17 3), or the second (𝔊BL the first), Nu. 36 11, perhaps = Zarephath.

T. K. C.

TISHBEH OF GILEAD (תשבי גלעד; єκ θєcβωn thc г. [BA], o єκ θєccєβωn thc г. [L]), 1 K. 17 1 RVmg., AV 'inhabitants of Gilead,' RV 'sojourners of Gilead.' See TISHBITE and reff.

TISHBITE (תִּשְׁבִּי;[2] θєcβ(є)ιthc;[3] *Thesbites*), *i.e.*, a native of Tishbeh, 1 K. 17 1 21 17 28 2 K. 1 3 8 9 36. See ELIJAH, § 1, and n. 1; JABESH, § 1; and especially PROPHET, § 6, and *Crit. Bib.*, where it is conjectured that Elijah and Elisha both came from Zarephath in the Negeb, then perhaps the extreme limit of the southern dominions of N. Israel. Cp THISBE.

TITHES[4] (מַעֲשֵׂר, pl. מַעַשְׂרוֹת; Δєκατη; *decima*).

1. Terms; history. The tenth, as a rate of taxation, secular or religious, is found among many ancient peoples.

See Ryssel, *PRE*(2) 17 428 *f.*, and for the Greeks, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* 4 2423 *f.*; Romans, *ib.*, 2306 *ff.*; Carthaginians, Diod. Sic. 20 14; Justin, 18 7; Egyptians, Maspero, *Struggle of Nations*, 312 (spoil of war, tribute, etc., to Amon); Syrians, 1 Macc. 10 31 11 35; Sabæans, Plin. *NH* 12 63; Lydians, Herod. 1 89; Nic. Damasc. frg. 24 (*FHG* 3 371); Babylonians, Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 668; Chinese, Legge, *Chinese Classics*, 1 119, etc.

The oldest use of the word seems to have been secular, designating a tax or tribute in kind levied by a ruler from a subject or vassal people, or from his own countrymen. The obligatory offerings to the gods were *ἀπαρχαί*, *primitiæ*, Heb. *rēšīth*, *bikkūrīm*. When these offerings came to be regarded as a tribute due to the deity as the ruler or the proprietor of the land, the name 'tithes' was applied to them also. The dedication of a tithe of the spoils of war, an early and widespread custom, may have contributed to this extension of the use of the term.

The 'tenth,' doubtless, originally roughly expressed the proportion exacted; and in later times also, for example in Sicily under Roman rule (Pauly-Wissowa, 4 2307 *ff.*), was the actual rate of taxation; but frequently the notion of tax or tribute predominated, so that the term 'tithe' might be used in cases where the

[1] Probably the Tarlusa of the Talmud (Neub. *Géogr.* 268).

[2] König (*Exp. T* 12 383 [1901]) explains the י in the Gileadite place-name חשבי as a radical (√שבי)

[3] A om. in 1 K. 17 1, BAL om. 1 K. 21 28; 𝔊 has *θεσβ(ε)ιτης* also in 1 K. 18 27 [BAL], 29 [L] Mal. 4 4 [3 23] [BℵAQΓ].

[4] The tithe in relation to other sacred dues is discussed elsewhere (see TAXATION; see esp. §§ 9 *ff.*, to which the present article is supplementary).

rate was different—as in Moslem law the 'tithe' is sometimes $\frac{1}{20}$ or $\frac{1}{40}$—or where there was no fixed per cent. Thus in the religious sphere ἀπαρχαί and δεκάται are often synonymous: so, *e.g.*, in Dion. Halic. 1 23 *f.*, cp δεκάτευσις, *ib.* 24, for the payment of a vow of firstlings; so Philo calls the tithe which was to be paid the priests out of the Levites' tithe, ἀπαρχῆς ἀπαρχή (*De mutat. nom.* 1 607, Mangey).

Similarly in the OT: to exact a tithe from the grain-fields, vineyards, and flocks is a royal prerogative (1 S. 8 15 17). The oldest laws prescribe that the aparchæ (*rēšīth*) of the first fruits of the land shall be brought to the house of Yahwè (Ex. 34 26,[1] cp Dt. 18 4 26 2 Ezek. 44 30). The term 'tithe' was in use, however, in the northern kingdom in the eighth century for religious dues (Am. 4 4, cp Gen. 28 22, E). In Dt. the word occurs repeatedly (12 6 11 17 14 22 *ff.* 28 *f.* 26 12 *ff.*); the tithe of grain and wine and oil is to be brought to Jerusalem and—as in Amos—used for a feast; in the third year, however, a tithe is to be reserved for charity (see TAXATION, §§ 9 *f.*). Together with the tithes Dt. 12 6 11 17 names the *tĕrūmāh* (*tĕrūmath yādkā*; EV 'heave offering'; more accurately 'reserved portion'), by which it is commonly thought that the first fruits are intended (see Dillm. *in loc.*), but this is doubtful; more probably the terms are to be taken as synonymous; cp Nu. 18 24. In Ezekiel we find *rēšīth* and *tĕrūmāh* (20 40), which are assigned to the priests for their support (44 30); but no mention of tithes. There is nothing on the subject of tithing in H.

It seems probable, therefore, that the name 'tithe' was employed at some sanctuaries in the period of the kingdoms, while elsewhere other names were in use. It is not improbable, moreover, that the nature and quantity of the obligatory offerings, and the use made of them, differed at different places as well as times. When the fragmentary remains of old sacred laws were brought together with later rules (P) in one code, these various terms were treated as so many different dues, and combined in one system of religious taxation. The critic, on the other hand, sometimes falls into the hardly less serious error of assuming that all the laws lie in one serial development.

2. Use of the tithe. Until the aparchæ were offered to God, the crop might not be used by men in any way (see, *e.g.*, Lev. 23 14). The presentation was the natural occasion of a feast at the holy place. This is the use of the tithe in Dt. (12 6 14 23). The portion dedicated to the deity may at some time have been actually consumed upon the altar; or, as in the case of the voluntary *minḥāh*, a representative part may have been thus consumed; but in the rituals we possess the offering is symbolical (cp the wave sheaf and the two loaves, Lev. 23 9 *ff.* 15 *ff.*); God ceded his share to the priest (Nu. 18 11). At the feast given by the offerer the priest had a place by custom; and thus from early times the offerings of first-fruits or tithes indirectly contributed to the support of the clergy. The poor, also, shared in the feasts by a religious guest-right.

The deuteronomic reformers foresaw that the suppression of the village high-places would deprive both the country priests and the poor of the community of no small part of their living. They provided, therefore, that every third year the land-owner, instead of taking his tithe to Jerusalem, should set it aside for charity at his own home. Here, again, it is not improbable that they found a precedent in earlier custom; there are many examples, *e.g.*—among the Arabs—of sacrifices left wholly to the poor, this being a work of superior piety.

The new model of Ezekiel provides for the support of public worship, including the feasts at the great seasons, by the prince, out of the proceeds of a general tax (*tĕrūmāh*, 45 13 *ff.*) at a fixed rate. The old *rēšīth bikkūrīm* and *tĕrūmāh* are all assigned to the priests for their support (44 30). Ezekiel's programme was never put into operation, but in the Persian period the tithe seems to have been converted to the use of the temple (Mal. 3 8-10). Some such provision must have proved necessary, not only for the support of the priests but also for the maintenance of public worship.

In P all sacred dues, under whatever name, go to the support of the ministry (Nu. 18 8-20); the 'tithe' is specifically the portion of the Levites (*vv.* 21-24); of it they in turn make over a tithe to the priests (*vv.* 25-32). See NUMBERS, § 11. According to Neh. 10 37 *ff.* (Chronicler), the plan was for the Levites to collect their tithe in all the cities and villages, under the supervision of a priest, and then deliver the tithe of the tithes into the storehouse in the temple for the priests. There is complaint, however, that the tithes were not paid, so that the Levites had to support themselves (Neh. 13 10 *ff.*).

It is impossible to say whether this system was ever actually worked. It is often inferred that Neh. 10 37 *ff.* represents the practice of the Chronicler's own time; but it is quite as likely that it is one of the many *pia desideria* which he projects into his 'history as it ought to have been.' The fortunes of the Levites in these centuries are involved in dense obscurity (see LEVITES, § 7). What is certain is that at the beginning of the Christian era the tithes were collected by the priests for themselves (Jos. *Vita*, 12 15; *Ant.* xx. 8 8 9 2). This departure from the law is recognised in the Talmud: Ezra took the tithe away from the Levites because so few of them were willing to return to Palestine (*Kĕthūbōth*, 26*a*; *Yĕbāmōth*, 86*a b*; *Ḥullīn*, 131*b*, etc.).

3. Things tithed. The deuteronomic laws name grain, wine, and oil as subject to tithe (12 17, cp 14 22 Nu. 18 27); Lev. 27 30 is more general: 'all the tithe of the soil, whether of the seed of the ground or the fruit of the tree, is Yahwè's.' The general rule of the Mishna is: 'Everything that is eaten and is watched over and grows out of the ground is liable to tithe' (*M. Ma'ăsĕrōth*, 1 1). The scrupulosity of the Pharisees in matter of garden herbs—'mint, anise, and cummin'—is commented on in the NT (Mt. 23 23 Lk. 11 42); the Mishna and the Palestinian Talmud go into minute details and discussions of what should be tithed, and when, and how. The tithe of agricultural products paid to the Levites or to the priests, is called by the Jewish writers on the law 'the first tithe.'

Lev. 27 32 *f.* puts by the side of the tithe of seed crops and fruit (*vv.* 30 *f.*) a tithe of animals of the flock or herd; every tenth one, as the flock is counted, shall belong to Yahwè. The complete parallel between *vv.* 30 *f.* and 32 *f.* naturally suggests two inferences: first, that it is the increase of the year that is to be tithed (so *M. Bĕkōrōth*, 9 3 *ff.*, etc.); and, second, that the tithe of cattle, like that of the fruits of the earth, was to go to the priests. This is the view of Philo (*De praemiis sacerdot.* § 2, 2 234, Mangey; *De carit.* § 10, 2 391); so also Tob. 1 6 (cod. ℵ) and—what seems not to have been noted—Jubilees, 32 15 (on Gen. 28 22): 'all tithes of neat cattle and sheep shall be holy to God and belong to his priests, who eat them year by year before him.' On the other hand, the legal authorities unanimously take the whole passage, Lev. 27 30-33, to refer to the 'second tithe'; the animals were sacrificed by their owners as thank offerings (*tōdāh*), or as 'joyous peace offerings' (*šalmē śimḥāh*) at the feasts.[1] Modern critics generally assume that the chapter is a late supplement to the 'Priests' Code,' and that the tithe is therefore to be understood in accordance with Nu. 18 21 *ff.* But if, as is more probable, it be a supplement to a body of law which included Dt., the rabbinical interpretation is equally possible (cp *vv.* 9-15). There can be no doubt that the Mishna and Siphrē represent in this particular the practice of the first century. And it is not difficult

[1] Ex. 23 19 is brought over by a redactor from 34 26.

[1] *Siphrē*, Dt. § 63; *M. Ḥăgīgāh*, 1 4; *M. Mĕnāḥōth*, 7 5, etc. See Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 251 n. So also Maimonides, Rashi, and the Mishna commentaries.

to conceive that the claim of the priests to all the firstlings—once the accompaniment of the tithe of corn and wine and oil (Dt. 12 6, etc.) —made it necessary to make some other provision for the sacrificial feasts; the tithe of cattle is a natural form for this provision to take. It is, therefore, not so certain as has sometimes been thought, that Lev. 27 32 *f.* is the last monstrous demand of a greedy priesthood or the fiction of an imaginative scribe.

4. Jewish system of tithing.

On the basis of the Pentateuch as a whole, the system included three tithes: the 'first tithe,' a tax of one tenth of all edible vegetable products collected by the ministry for its own support (Nu. 18 21-24); the 'second tithe' of the same products, which, together with the cattle tithe (Lev. 27 32 *f.*), furnished a feast for the owner and his guests at Jerusalem (Dt. 14 22-27); and the 'poor tithe,' set apart every third year for charity (Dt. 14 28 *f.* 26 12). The last, in the original intention of the law probably only a particular use of the tithe every third year, was in later times made, at least by some, a 'third tithe' falling twice in every seven years, in the third and sixth years of the Sabbatical cycle (Tobit, 1 7 *f.*; Jos. *Ant.* iv. 8 22; Trg. Jer. Dt. 26 12 *f.*); see Geiger, *Urschrift*, 176 *ff.*; Schürer, *GJV*(3) 2 252.

5. Literature.

Spencer, *De legibus ritualibus*, lib. 3, diss. 1, cap. 10; Selden, *History of Tithes*; Reland, *Antiquitates sacræ*, lib. 3, cap. 9, reprinted with extensive notes by the editor in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, 2 1031 *ff.*; J. C. Hottinger, *De decimis Hebræorum*, also in Ugolini *Thesaurus*, 20 283-490 (valuable for its Rabbinical erudition); Riehm, *HWB*, art. 'Zehnten'; Ryssel, 'Zehnten bei den Hebräern,' *PRE*(2) 17 428 *ff.* lit. *ib.* 444); A. S. Peake, 'Tithe' in Hastings' *DB* 4 780 *ff.*; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 244 *ff.*; Nowack and Benzinger, *HA*; Schürer, *GJV*(3) 250 *ff.*

G. F. M.

TITLE. 1. צִיּוּן, *ṣiyyūn*, 2 K. 23 17 RV 'monument.' See MASSEBAH, § 1 (*e*)

2. *τίτλος*, Jn. 19 19 *f.* See CROSS, § 4.

TITUS (ΤΙΤΟϹ: on the accentuation see Winer-Schmiedel *Gramm.* Th. i., § 6 2) is the name of a rather enigmatic minor figure in the apostolic age, who is known almost entirely from Paul's allusions to him (in Gal. and 2 Cor.) as a friend and trusty lieutenant. He is not associated with Paul in the address of any extant epistle, and nothing is known of his birthplace, age, or nationality, except that he was a pagan by birth (Ἕλλην ὤν) and apparently a native of Asia Minor (cp Gal. 2 1-5).

1. At Jerusalem.

Later tradition (Tit. 1 4) may be correct in hinting that he was brought over to Christianity by Paul himself. At any rate he appears at an early stage of the apostle's public career (possibly in 49 A.D.; cp CHRONOLOGY, § 74, PAUL, § 16) as a private individual who accompanied Paul and Barnabas (cp Acts 15 2) at the former's request upon their visit to Jerusalem, evidently to represent the success of the Pauline gospel outside Judaism. The burning question at the conference of Jerusalem was the value and validity of Christian faith if unsupplemented by circumcision, and (as Paul had foreseen) the case of Titus inevitably came up for discussion. Whether it was made a test case or not, it led to bitter feeling between the conservative party and their challengers. Paul and Barnabas, however, stood their ground against the orthodox centre and repudiated any compromise involving their companion; 'not even Titus,' says Paul triumphantly, 'was obliged to get circumcised'—much less (as the Judaising Christians appear to have insisted) Gentile Christians in general, who were not (like Titus) in direct daily touch with a circumcised Christian. Nothing is said of what Titus himself thought and felt. His attitude is passive. The natural inference, however, is that he left himself in Paul's hands, sharing, or at least sympathising, with that 'inward impulse' of Paul's spiritual nature, which 'went straight to the results of its principles . . . and thus carried him past a form of Christianity which was simply another form of Judaism' (Baur). Cp COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM, §§ 4, 7.

The textual problem raised by the omission of οἷς οὐδὲ (Gal. 2 5) in some western MSS is not serious (cp Lightf. *Gal.* 121-123, and Klostermann's *Probleme im Apostel-texte* [1883], 54 *f.*); besides, even were the external evidence more considerable, the internal probabilities of the case put the matter beyond doubt. The curious silence of Acts upon this notorious controversy (ACTS, § 4) is due to the irenical tendency of the author or of the sources which he edited at this point of his story. Even if he did not know the Pauline Epistles, Titus must have been familiar to him, as familiar at any rate as several of the minor figures who flit across his pages. But by the time he wrote, the circumcision-question was obsolete, and he probably deemed it prudent to pass by allusions which might revive unpleasant memories better left unstirred. Some such explanation is distinctly preferable to Ramsay's hypothesis that the Antiochian Luke omitted the name of Titus because he was his relative (*St. Paul*, 389 *f.*). Further, the disinclination to report so discreditable and unedifying an episode as that of the local dispute at Corinth naturally led to the omission of any later reference to Titus, who thus had the misfortune to be sacrificed to the special aims and interests of the first historian of the early church.

2. At Corinth.

Three or four years elapse before Titus reappears, in connection with the Corinthian church.[1] His lack of circumcision would naturally prevent him from being a suitable companion during Paul's second tour (49-52 A.D.) which embraced as a rule—for so much is visible even under the religious pragmatism of Acts—an initial attempt upon the synagogues in almost every city. But, since Titus is found at Paul's disposal in Ephesus, it is possible that the apostle took him from Antioch, after the dispute with Peter (Gal. 2 11-21), upon his third tour through Galatia and the Phrygian highlands as far as the Asiatic metropolis—a 'carefully planned stroke of policy,' according to Ramsay, which effectually answered the unfair deductions drawn by Judaisers in favour of Judaic Christianity from Timothy's circumcision previous to *his* promotion. Be that as it may, the keenest interest shown by Titus was in the Achaian Christians, an interest only equalled by that of Paul himself (2 Cor. 8 16), who stamped him as 'my comrade and fellow-worker in your interest' (2 Cor. 8 23), 'my brother' (2 Cor. 2 13), and a colleague actuated by the same high motives (2 Cor. 12 18)—an estimate borne out by the record of what transpired during the Corinthian episode, where Titus proved himself a prudent, active, and reliable commissioner of Paul. His connection with the Achaian Christians appears to have begun upon the occasion of a visit paid either at the despatch of 1 Cor. (which he may have carried, as one of 'the brothers': 1 Cor. 16 11; cp 2 Cor. 12 18) or shortly afterwards, when he set on foot arrangements for a local contribution to the great collection (cp Rendall, *Expos.*(4) 8 321-336, and E. Lombard, *Rev. d. Théol. et Philos.*, 1902, p. 113 *f.*) on behalf of the Judæan Christians which Paul was negotiating throughout the Gentile churches, partly as a timely act of charity, partly as a tangible evidence of sympathy between the two branches of the church, and partly to show his own belief and interest in their unity. Acquainted with the instructions already given by Paul to the Galatians in this matter of the λογία (1 Cor. 16 1), Titus was well adapted[2] for this financial work, which began in the year previous to that in which 2 Cor. 8 10 9 2 were written.

1 On the movements of Titus and Timothy at this period see especially and variously Lightfoot (*Bibl. Essays*, 273 *f.*), Schmiedel (*HC* ii. 1 82-86 267-269), Heinrici (*Der zweite Brief an die Kor.* [Meyer, 1900], 46-51), and A. Robertson (Hastings' *DB* 1 492-497). The scantiness of the available data renders any outline rather hypothetical at more than one point; upon the whole the most satisfactory view of the episode in general and of its extant literary evidence seems to lie somewhere among those which are based upon an acceptance of 2 Cor. 10-13 as the 'intermediate letter' (literature in Moffatt's *Hist. New Testament*,(2) 1901, p. 174 *f.*).

2 In describing the collection of temple tribute among the Jews, a custom which no doubt suggested to Paul the idea or at least the form of this collection, Philo notices the periodical assignment of the funds in each district 'to men of good standing whose duty it is to convey them to Jerusalem. For this purpose it is always men of the highest rank who are chosen, as a kind of guarantee that what forms the hope of every Israelite may reach the Holy City untampered with' (*De monarchia*, § 3, cited by Schür. *Hist.* ii. 2 289). Evidence for such collections in Egypt is displayed by Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka* (1899), 1 253 *f.* 6 15 *f.* See DISPERSION, § 16, and Harnack's *Ausbreitung*, 133-135.

As the context implies (2 Cor. 12 13-17), 2 Cor. 12 17 *f.* (ἐπλεονέκτησα) refers to the collection; neither in person, nor by my agents (Paul retorts), did I overreach you. In view of this it seems inadequate to deny (with Zahn, *Einl.* 1 244 *f.*) that the collection is the topic of 2 Cor. 8 6. As Titus had previously made a beginning (προενήρξατο) with this bounty, so (Paul urges) let him complete it now in addition to (καί) the other local tasks—such as that of acting for Paul during the estrangement—which, as 2 Cor. 1-9 implies, he had brought to a happy issue.

Then and there he won the esteem of the Corinthians. Along with some other agent, he supported himself as Paul had done, thereby putting his disinterested zeal beyond suspicion; as Paul's language indicates (2 Cor. 12 18), he was evidently the last man in the world whom the Corinthians would have dreamed of accusing (cp J. H. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of Paul to the Corinthians*, 1900, p. 119). The business of the collection prospered famously (2 Cor. 9 1 *f.*). But it was rudely interrupted by the painful, discreditable, and contemptible affair which led to a rupture beween Paul and the Corinthian church. At this outbreak of bad feeling Titus in all likelihood returned to Ephesus, although this is one of several details which are far from luminous or coherent. It is possible that he contented himself with simply reporting the crisis. At any rate, he seems to have borne somewhat later to Corinth from Ephesus the vehement, severe letter (preserved in whole or part in 2 Cor. 10-13 10) which Paul precipitately wrote with caustic and passionate indignation, his aim being to test their loyalty and bring them to their senses (2 Cor. 2 13 7 6 *f.* 13 *f.*). The misgivings and apprehensions[1] of Titus on this errand proved happily unfounded. He was received and obeyed heartily by the majority, and eventually found himself able to rejoin Paul with good news of the Corinthians' repentance and affection. Some delay occurred, however, and meantime the outbreak at Ephesus (PAUL, § 25) had driven the apostle to Troas. Dismayed to hear at Corinth of the grief produced by his sharp letter (2 Cor. 7 8), he felt driven by restless eagerness for further news across to Macedonia. There at last he met his friend returning by land, and in an access of delight and relief at his favourable report composed 2 Cor. 1 1-9 13 11-13, which he concludes by planning to have the collection resumed and completed under charge of Titus accompanied by two anonymous but able subordinates. The former was not only willing but eager to return to Corinth (2 Cor. 8 16 23), so satisfied had he been with his recent experience of the church's temper (2 Cor. 7 6 *f.* 13-15). Thus Titus disappears from the scene. He probably returned with the letter to Corinth and reorganised the λογία or voluntary assessment throughout Achaia. For although no Corinthian deputies are mentioned among those named in Acts 20 4, it is evident from Rom. 15 26 that the long-promised liberality of the Corinthians (2 Cor. 9 5) had not been withheld, and that the financial labours of Titus (2 Cor. 8 6 9 2) were crowned with success. Curiously enough, among the virtues of the Corinthian church celebrated some forty years later, liberality (ἥδιον διδόντες ἢ λαμβάνοντες) is reckoned as one of its leading and traditional characteristics (Clem. Rom. 1 1 2 1).

3. Later traditions.

The genuine fragment incorporated in Tit. 3 12 *f.* (cp CHRONOLOGY, §§ 68 *f.*, TIMOTHY AND TITUS [EPISTLES], § 13) probably belongs to the period after the composition of 2 Cor. 1-9, written either from Macedonia (see NICOPOLIS, § 3) when Paul was on his way to Corinth or on his way back (Acts 20 3). How the connection with Crete arose, and whether Titus managed to rejoin him or not, it is impossible to say. The only light thrown upon his subsequent movements is afforded by a remark two years later in a genuine Pauline fragment preserved in 2 Tim. 4 10, from which it appears that Titus, who must have turned up during Paul's captivity in Rome, had left (on a mission?) for DALMATIA (*q.v.*). The trustworthiness of this notice need not be doubted, although the phrase 'this present world' (τὸν νῦν αἰῶνα, cp 1 Tim. 6 17) is un-Pauline. Nor is a substantial basis to be denied to the tradition (reflected in Tit. 1 5) that links Cretan Christianity to Titus at any rate (whatever may be thought of the allusion to Paul), although the tendency and object of the sub-Pauline author is naturally to suggest that the anarchic condition of the local Christians 'was one considerable cause of the evidently low moral condition to which they had sunk' (Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 176), and characteristically to lay stress upon organisation as a safeguard.

Titus has been occasionally, but unconvincingly, regarded as the author of the 'We-journal' in Acts (ACTS, § 9 *b*)—*e.g.*, by Krenkel, Kneucker, Seufert, Jacobsen, O. Holtzmann (*ZWT*, 1889, p. 409), and Bartlet (*Apost. Age*, 69, 100 [1900]). But all that the curious silence of Acts enables us to adduce in favour of such a conjecture is the wholly inadequate fact that Titus was a companion of Paul, possibly—though only possibly—during part of the time covered by the diary in question. Besides, it is significant that no writing, canonical or extra-canonical, is assigned to him in tradition, which is content to elaborate his connection with Crete and—by a strange shift of fortune, after the Venetian régime—with Venice. The meagre allusion to Crete which happens to occur in the Epistle to Titus, may quite well rest upon a nucleus of historical fact; but the luxuriant fancy of later generations proceeded among other developments to make him the first bishop appointed by Paul over Crete (*Ap. Const.* 7 46, Euseb. *HE* 3 4, Theod., Theophylact, Jerome, etc.), dying indeed at Candia, as archbishop of Gortyna, in his ninety-fourth year (Fabric. *Cod. Apocr. NT* 2 831 *f.*). Cp Tozer, *Islands of the Egean*, 65 *f.* In the Roman legends of the gnostic πράξεις Παύλου, Titus is connected with Paul, and plays along with Luke a rôle in the *Passio sancti Pauli Apostoli* and *Martyrium Pauli*, 114-117 (cp Lips. *Acta Apost. Apocryph.*, 1891, 1 23-44). Like Timothy he is of course reckoned among the seventy disciples by *Chron. Pasch.* 420 (ed. Bonn), and, according to *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, 2 *f.*, he gives information regarding Paul to Onesiphorus at Iconium. One of the epistles of the pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita is addressed to Titus as bishop of Crete. The rather slight contents of the *Acta Titi* (see Lips. *Apocr. Ap.-gesch.* 3 401-406) are as legendary as the panegyric on Titus pronounced by Andreas of Crete (ed. Paris, 1644).

Like Timothy, Titus also has had some ado to preserve his individuality. But it seems needless to do more than chronicle even the attempts made to identify him (see Wieseler) with the Titius (Τίτου [ℵE]) Justus of Acts 18 7 or with Silas (Silvanus); against the latter as advocated especially by Zimmer, see the conclusive statement of Jülicher, *JPT*, 1882, pp. 528-552[, also SILAS, § 5 *f.*].

J. Mo.

TITUS (EPISTLE). See TIMOTHY AND TITUS (EPISTLES).

TITUS JUSTUS (ΤΙΤΙΟϹ ΙΟΥϹΤΟϹ [Ti. WH]), Acts 18 7 RV, AV JUSTUS (*q.v.*, ii.).

TITUS MANLIUS, RV **Titus Manius** (ΤΙΤΟϹ ΜΑΝΙΟϹ), 2 Macc. 11 34. See MANLIUS.

TIZITE (הַתִּיצִי; ο ιεαςει [Bℵ], ο θωςαει [A], ο αθωςι [L]; *Thosaites* [Vg.], all presupposing the form הַתּוֹצִי); a gentilic attached to the name JOHA (1 Ch. 11 45). David's warriors were presumably, like himself, from the Negeb. 'Shimri,' the name of Joha's father, also favours this. If TIRZAH (*q.v.*) was really a place in the Negeb, we might suppose corruption from תרצתי 'a Tirzathite.'

T. K. C.

TOAH (תּוֹחַ), 1 Ch. 6 34 [19]; in 1 S. 1 1, TOHU.

TOB (טוֹב; τωβ [BAL]), a region in which Jephthah 'the Gileadite' took refuge (Judg. 11 3 5), and whence the Ammonites obtained allies in their war against David (2 S. 10 6 8, RV; cp ISH-TOB). Sayce plausibly identifies it with Tubi, a place conquered by Thotmes III., and mentioned a little before Astiratu—*i.e.*, Tell 'Aštera (*RP*(2) 5 45; cp Maspero, *ÄZ*, 1881, p. 124). This does not, however, suit the original story which underlies Judg. 11 1-33 (see JEPHTHAH); a district of Ḥaurān is not to be expected here. Tubiḫi is much more appropriate (see TIBHATH); this very ancient city was probably in the Lebanon district, NW. of Damascus. The identification also suits the mention of Tob in 2 S. 10 6 8 in connection with ZOBAH (*q.v.*). The same region may be meant by the land of TUBIAS (AV TOBIE; 𝔊 τουβιου) in 1 Macc. 5 13, the people of which appear to be called TUBIENI (2 Macc. 12 17; see CHARACA)—

[1] As a personal friend of Paul and as a Gentile Christian over whom an acrimonious feud had been already waged (Gal. 2 3 *f.*), Titus cannot have felt comfortable at the prospect of confronting the Jewish Christian intriguers who were busy at Corinth. Probably it was dislike of them, if not their active malice, that had driven him away. At the same time his diplomatic qualities, no less than his organising capacity, made him evidently a more capable man than Timothy to deal with a difficult situation of this kind, and Paul's generous confidence in the sterling qualities of the Corinthian church (2 Cor. 7 14), as well as his sagacity in the choice of a new envoy, must have been amply justified by events.

i.e., the men of Tub or Tob. These identifications, however, only suit a fairly conservative view of the MT. If the Gilead originally meant in Judg. 11 and in 1 Macc. 5 be a southern Gilead in the Negeb, and if the Zoba originally meant in 2 S. 10 be Zarephath in the Negeb, we must consider whether טוב may not be a mutilated form of תובל (see TUBAL).

The *n* in the Gk. and Syr. forms (τουβεινους [A], τουβιανους [V], ܛܘܒܝܢܐ) is clearly not radical. See GASm. *HG* 587, n. 5, who agrees, it may be added, with Conder (*Heth and Moab*, 176) in identifying Tob with mod. *eṭ-Ṭayyibeh*, NE. of Pella.

T. K. C.

TOB-ADONIJAH (טוֹב אֲדוֹנִיָּה; τωβαδωβεια [B], -δωνια [AL]), a Levite temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 8). Note that Pesh. omits the name and that of the preceding Adonijah and Tobijah; 𝔊[BA] omits the second. If not a corruption (*e.g.*, for עֹבַדְיָה or עֶבֶד אֱדֹם—ע and ט are very similar in Samaritan script) the name should probably be omitted; a scribe may have begun to re-write טוביהו and then invented the most suitable name he could think of. [But cp *Crit. Bib.*, *ad loc.*]

S. A. C.

TOBIAH (טוֹבִיָּה), Ezra 2 60; see TOBIJAH, 2.

TOBIAS (τωβ[ε]ιας—*i.e.*, טוֹבִיָּה). 1. The son of TOBIT (*q.v.*).

2. The father of HYRCANUS (*q.v.*).

TOBIE (τογβιογ [AℵV]), 1 Macc. 5 13 AV, RV TUBIAS. See TOB.

TOBIEL (τωβιηλ [BℵA]—*i.e.*, טוֹבִיאֵל; cp Tabeel), the father of TOBIT (Tob. 1 1). Cp TOBIJAH.

TOBIJAH (טוֹבִיָּה, once טוֹבִיָּהוּ, 'Yahwè is good,' § 28, but ultimately, like TOBIEL, perhaps from Tubali, 'a man of TUBAL'; τωβιας [AL]).

1. A Levite temp. Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 17 8; טוביהו; om. BA). All the associated names in 2 Ch. (*l.c.*) admit of being traced to Negeb ethnics or gentilics.

2. EV TOBIAH, a post-exilic family, unable to prove its pedigree: Ezra 2 60 (τωβεια [B], τουβιου [L]) = Neh. 7 62 (τωβια [BℵA]) = 1 Esd. 5 37 where the name is corrupted to BAN, RVmg. BAENAN (βαεναν [B], βαν [A]), and he appears as the father of Ladan (see DELAIAH). See GENEALOGIES i., § 3, and note the place-names in Ezra 2 59 = Neh. 7 61 = 1 Esd. 5 36 (*e.g.*, TEL-MELAH, TEL-HARSHA), all of which may plausibly be viewed as Negeb-names.

3. One of a party of Jews from Babylon (?), temp. Zerubbabel (Zech. 6 10 14; 𝔊 translates χρησίμων [-οις] αὐτῆς [-ῶν], *i.e.*, טוֹבֶיהָ). See ZERUBBABEL.

4. EV TOBIAH (the form τωβ[ε]ια is a constantly recurring form for no. 4 instead of τωβιας. The form τωβις [ℵ*] occurs in Neh. 4 3 [9]). An 'Ammonite,' one of the chief opponents of the fortification of Jerusalem by Nehemiah (Neh. 2 10, etc.). Whether 'Ammonite' is a race-name (cp AMMON, § 8) or means 'native of Chephar-Ammoni' (see BETHHORON, § 4) is uncertain. The latter view is superficially plausible through Tobiah's connection with leading Judæans (Neh. 6 17-19), from one of whom—the priest Eliashib—he received a chamber in the temple formerly used by the Levites, for his own special purposes. But we incline to think that 'Ammonite,' as often, = 'Jerahmeelite'; a connection between nobles of Judah and Jerahmeelites is historically probable.

The title 'the servant' given him in Neh. 2 10 19 ('the servant, the Ammonite'), but nowhere else, is explained as meaning 'the officer of the government' (Ryssel), or, 'one who had formerly been a slave' (Rawlinson). Both explanations are forced. העבד is almost certainly corrupted from הָעַרְבִי, 'the Arabian,' which the scribe in Neh. 2 19 (𝔊[B*] omits Tobias altogether) wrote as a gloss on העמני, 'the Ammonite.' From this passage it made its way into Neh. 2 10 (through the harmonising of an editor), most probably also into Neh. 4 1 [7]; if והערבים והעמנים (regarded by Guthe as an addition of the Chronicler, or a later gloss) is miswritten for הערבי העמני. In Neh. 2 10 19 the senseless הערבי became העבד; in 4 1 [7] (as we have seen) it went through another transformation. Later, in 4 1, והאשרודים (not in 𝔊[BℵA]) was added, not by an ill-timed reminiscence of Neh. 13 23, but (reading הָאַשּׁוּרִי, 'the Asshurite'), as a second gloss on העמני. Here, as in Neh. (*l.c.*), not Ashdod, but Asshur (Ashhur), the name of a N. Arabian district, is most probably referred to. Cp Che. *Das Relig. Leben nach dem Exile* (by Stocks), appended note.

T. K. C.

TOBIT

Various recensions (§ 1).
I. Interpolations (§§ 2-10).
Ahikar additions (§ 2).
Hist. of Ahikar story (§ 3).
Various forms (§ 4).
Common matter (§ 5).
Stages of growth (§ 6).
Story foreign (§ 7).
Ultimately mythical (§ 8).
Didactic additions (§ 9).
Summary (§ 10).
II. Uninterpolated text (§ 11 *f.*).
Not original (§ 11).
How redacted (§ 12).
III. Conjectural reconstruction (§ 13 *f.*).
Reconstruction (§ 13).
Hist.: time of greatest vogue (§ 14).
IV. Ultimate sources (§§ 15-20).
Final redactor (§ 15).
His work (§ 16).
Basis in folk-lore (§ 17).
Armenian form (§ 18).
Feature common (§ 19).
Foreign origin (§ 20).
Bibliography (§ 21)

Tobit (τωβ[ε]ιτ [BA], τωβειθ [ℵ]; *Tobias*) is one of the books of the OT APOCRYPHA (*q.v.*, § 5, 3). In the first sentence of the work itself it is called 'Book of the words [= doings: see CHRONICLES, § 1] of Tobit, son of, etc.' (βίβλος λόγων Τωβειτ [BA; ℵ -βειθ]). More than in the case of the other apocryphal writings of the OT the investigation is complicated by our having various *groups of texts*.

1. Various recensions. 1. To begin with, there are three Greek forms: (*a*) that of 𝔊[BA] which the Syriac [Syr.] follows down to 7 9; (*b*) that of 𝔊[ℵ], which is for the most part that followed by the *Vetus Latina* [Vet. Lat.]; and (*c*) that of Codd. 44, 106, 107 (Tob. 6 9 13 8). From 1 1 to 6 8 the text of these codices agrees with 𝔊[AB]; and the continuation of the Syriac version (from 7 10 onwards) coincides with it exactly.

2. Jerome's version is independent of all these; he tells us that he made it from an Aramaic original (*præf. in vers. libri Tob.*). Here it is noteworthy that the whole story of Tobit is told in the third person.

3. The same is the case with an extant Aramaic text edited by Neubauer.[1] This text, however, to judge by its language, would appear to be recent[2] and cannot therefore be identified with the MS used by Jerome, but is to be classed with three Hebrew versions which are also extant, as productions of a later date.

The recent essay by Margarete Plath 'Zum Buche Tobit' (in *St. Kr.*, 1901, pp. 377-414), which gives an analysis of the book with special reference to its stylistic peculiarities, will be found singularly helpful towards a right understanding of Tobit. As, however, it simply takes 𝔊[A] for its basis without any discussion of the originality of that text, this essay, which otherwise might be regarded as final on the stylistic features of the book, as a matter of fact is valid only for one of the traditional forms in which it has reached us. Before entering upon an analysis of style, therefore, it will be necessary to go into the question as to the original form of the book. In the first place we must examine the versions and seek to ascertain the form of text to which they carry us back; next, this form will have to be examined with a view to testing whether it be original or whether rather it does not show traces of having been worked over; the approximately original form will then have to be analysed; and finally the ultimate source of the materials will have to be considered.[3]

I. INTERPOLATIONS

In the first place we may be sure that the Aḥiḳar-episodes do not belong to the original form of the book.

2. Aḥiḳar-additions. (*a*) In 1 20 we are told that all Tobit's goods were forcibly taken away and there was nothing left to him save his wife Anna and his son Tobias. In 2 1, however, we read that on his return home these two were *restored* to him. The contradiction is manifest, but becomes explicable if we consider how it arose: this good deed also had been attributed to Tobit's protector; and the supplementer has betrayed himself by his incorporation of the Aḥiḳar-episode. The original sequence in 1 21, though it has been smoothed down in 𝔊[A], is observed in 𝔊[ℵ]: 'And Sacherdonos, his son, reigned in his stead—and in the reign of king Sacherdonos I returned to my home.'

1 *The Book of Tobit, a Chaldee Text from a unique MS in the Bodleian Library*, ed. by Neubauer, Oxford, 1878.

2 So Dalman, *Gramm. des jüd.-palästin. Aramäisch*, 27-29.

3 [On some special points relative to the original form of the text of Tobit, see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp THISBE.]

Underlying this we have the truly oriental idea that a new accession generally, an accession after a revolution always, brings with it a complete change of system. By א, Aḥiḳar is represented as having been cupbearer and keeper of the signet, steward and overseer of the accounts, as early as in the time of Sennachereim (Sennacherib, 705-682), whilst $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ and $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$ have it that he first received his appointments from Sacherdonos (Esarhaddon, 682-669). א has the older reading; that it is the older is shown by the whole structure of the sentence. In the other Greek text the statement that Aḥiḳar was, even in the reign of Sennachereim, the most influential person in the kingdom has been deleted so as to avoid making Aḥiḳar in any way responsible for the expedition against Judæa and the resultant cruelties of the Assyrian against Aḥiḳar's own people. Thus we perceive that the original story of Aḥiḳar needed a rectifying hand in order to connect it with the story of Tobit with as little inconsistency as possible: again a proof that it was not from the first an integral part of it. Our opinion of the text offered by Jerome may be a poor one, yet when we note that to all appearance the story of Aḥiḳar seems to have had no place in the authority that lay before him, we may perhaps venture to say that, even if it has been greatly manipulated, Jerome's text still points back to a form of the text which had not yet passed through the hands of the supplementer.

(*b*) Aḥiḳar, the protector, afterwards becomes the supporter of the blind Tobit. Here the episode is brought in to lead up to an effective climax; first a relative takes care of the unfortunate man, afterwards his wife has to support him by doing work for strangers. In א even the duration of this period is given; it is two years. In the same text, all his brethren are represented as sorrowing for Tobit, though to judge by the scorn shown by the neighbours at his burying of the dead we should rather expect the opposite. In fact, the original story itself seems to have been so constructed as to exclude the notion of compassion by outsiders. His toiling wife is the blind man's only support, and when even she turns against him he longs for death. This Aḥiḳar feature also is wanting in Jerome.

It ought not to surprise us if even so secondary an authority should still be able to show us something original. In other cases as well as in that of the present book it will gradually come to be recognised that we must emancipate ourselves from the gratuitous assumption that all forms of an extant text can always ultimately be traced back to one of these which must accordingly be regarded as the original.

(*c*) Aḥiḳar appears again in 11 18, this time as a wedding-guest along with his nephew Nasbas. א mentions Aḥiḳar and Nabad as Tobit's nephews. That some wedding-guests should be specified ought not to seem strange in a book that deals so lavishly in names; and if we consider how insecure the tradition of names is, we cannot lay much stress on the fact that one of the wedding-guests bears the same name as Tobit's quondam protector and supporter. Moreover, Jerome gives Achior, like Syr. (1 24, ܐܚܝܩܪ). Perhaps, therefore, the mention of two wedding-guests by name may be original, one of them, however, having been transformed into that of Tobit's patron and supporter.

(*d*) Lastly, the story of Aḥiḳar is introduced in order to give Tobias an example of what compassion can accomplish. So $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$ Syr. and Vet. Lat. adduce it as showing the depravity prevalent at the time in Nineveh. א has it in both connections. One sees from this that uncertainty was felt as to the purpose of the story in Tobit's discourse to his son, and that various conjectures were made. The story was, therefore, no original part of the organism. Here again Jerome supports our inference.

The wording of his version leads to the conclusion that possibly it goes back to a form of the text which bore no traces of the work of the Aḥiḳar supplementer. If we arrange the text recensions by reference to their attitude towards these interpolations, we shall find that Jerome's original stands in contrast with that of all the others. The latter already has the Aḥiḳar interpolations. Whilst the paths by which A and B on the one hand, and Syr. and Vet. Lat. on the other, were reached are quite independent, א seems to represent a union of the divergent forms of the text at a certain stage of the development.

The introduction of the Aḥiḳar episodes shows that his story was widely known; it was possible to add weight to an admonition by a reference to what had happened to him. Like the story of Tobit, that of Aḥiḳar relates to the period of the exile.

3. History of Aḥiḳar-story.

The present writer has elsewhere[1] endeavoured to show that among the Jews of the exile there gradually arose a cycle of exilic legends. The individual legends belonging to this cycle have reached us not in original but in revised form; the persons figuring in them who of old maintained their fidelity amidst the most trying circumstances are exhibited by the various editors to the people of their own time, in circumstances of renewed distress, as conspicuous examples of Jewish piety and of Jewish patriotism. Our attitude indeed may well be sceptical, as regards the sources again and again cited—in Esther the chronicles of the kings of Media and Persia, in Tobit the relater of the wonderful experiences in 12 20—but we are not thereby justified in refusing to believe in the existence of widely circulated collections of legends from which the present texts had their origin, especially when we bear in mind the passion for writing which characterised those times.

The peculiar way in which the stories of Tobit and of Aḥiḳar are worked together points also in the same direction. The supplementer has made out the two men to have been kinsmen; this was all the easier as Tobit himself is represented as having once upon a time held an important position at the Assyrian court. So also Aḥiḳar, the son of Anael, is represented as already cupbearer, keeper of the signet, steward and overseer of the accounts under Sennachereim, and confirmed in his offices by Sacherdonos. א makes mention of his journey to Elymais (Elam); A and B, which make Tobit go there himself, present an unwarranted alteration of the text, and, we may be pretty certain, are hardly to be corrected in conformity with Vet. Lat. with which they otherwise in these episodes have but little affinity. Perhaps the circumstance may be taken as an indication that both forms of the text come from a region where the allusions to Aḥiḳar would have been unintelligible, his story being unknown. The chief event of Aḥiḳar's life is touched on in chap. 14 10. It will be of interest to place in juxtaposition the various forms in which it is given.

4. Its various forms.

SYR.	VET. LAT.	B (A)	א
So, my son, after thou hast buried me and thy mother, do thou leave Nineveh, for there are many unrighteous persons there. For there 'Akab evilly requited 'Akiḳar who had nourished him for happiness (?): for no cause did he bring him down into the earth. And 'Akab descended into darkness, and 'Akiḳar went forth into light out of the snare which	But now, my son, do thou leave Nineveh, and tarry no longer here, but on the day that thou hast buried thy mother beside me tarry no longer within her territory; for I see that there is much unrighteousness there and much deception is practised, and her people will not be moved therefrom. Behold, my son, what Nadab did to Aḥiḳar who had nourished him, whom he	Bury me decently and thy mother with me, and dwell ye no longer in Nineveh. Behold, my child, what Adam (Haman) did to Achiacharus that nourished him, how out of light he brought him into darkness and how he requited him; and indeed, he saved (there was saved) Achiacharus, but that other had his recompense, and he himself went down into darkness.	And now, my child, leave thou Nineveh, and tarry not here. On the day thou hast buried thy mother beside me, on that same day stay no longer in her territory. For I see that there is much unrighteousness in her and much deception is practised, and they are not ashamed. Behold, my child, what Nadab did to Achikarus who had nourished him; was he not brought alive down

[1] *Die Purimsage in der Bibel: Untersuchungen über das Buch Ester und der Estersage verwandte Sagen des späteren Judentums* (1900), 45-59.

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Syr.	Vet. Lat.	B (A)	ℵ
'Akab had set for him, and this one went down into the earth.	brought down alive to the earth. But God requited that man's wickedness before his own face, and Aḥiḳar went forth into light, but Nadab went down into eternal darkness, because Nadab had sought to kill Aḥiḳar.	Manasseh practised mercy and escaped the snare of death which he had set for him, but Adam (Haman) fell into the snare and perished. And now, my children, behold what mercy does, and how righteousness doth deliver.	into the earth? And God requited his infamy to his face; and Achikarus ascended into light, and Nadab descended into eternal darkness, because he had tried to kill Achikarus. Since he showed mercy to me, he escaped the snare of death which Nadab had set for him, and Nadab fell into the snare of death, and he (death) destroyed him. And now, my children, see, what mercy does, and what unrighteousness does, for it kills.

The various recensions agree in the following points: Aḥiḳar brings up a youth who, however, drives him down into the earth (darkness). Aḥiḳar in the end is saved, and the other has to suffer the fate he had contrived for his benefactor.

5. Their common matter.

The young man's name is given variously: 'Akab, Nabad, Nadab, Adam, Haman. A and B unexpectedly call Aḥiḳar Manasseh. 'Akab is probably a corruption of Nakab and may perhaps go back to one or other of the forms Nabad, Nadab, as also may Adam. On the other hand the names Manasseh and Haman point to a separate tradition which, to all appearance, first came out in A and B. In this the introduction of the story of Aḥiḳar has its motive in the reference to the value of mercy. The characteristic phrase of this variant is: 'the snare of death which was set.' This phrase must have had a definite meaning in the narrative as well as that which occurs in the first: 'he was brought to the earth (darkness).' This is shown by the fact that, doubtless independently of A and B, the other variant has also found its way into ℵ; this becomes evident if we consider that here it is plainly not original. It has already been brought into connection with the story of Tobit; what is accentuated is that the showing of compassion has brought deliverance to Tobit. Moreover, the original names have given place to those which we now find. Along with this variant the new motive for referring to the Aḥiḳar episode has made its way into the ℵ text. Accordingly we shall have to imagine the steps in the process of interpolation somewhat as follows. With the formula: 'Behold, my child!' a supplementer introduces a Nineveh story with which he is acquainted. Afterwards it is endeavoured to bring it into connection with the book of Tobit, first by means of the moral it supplies 'Such wickednesses are done in Nineveh,' and next (with the view of securing a still closer connection) by introducing a variant which lays stress upon the virtue of compassion.

6. Successive stages of growth.

Whilst the first variant deals with the ungrateful youth and with the punishment of his ingratitude, what is emphasised by the other is that an act of compassion saves him who is lost. The two are not mutually exclusive; both may have their origin in one and the same story though in different aspects of it. The important thing to observe is that they are taken from different forms of this story, and in point of fact, as the introduction of the various separate elements occurred at different dates, we are thus enabled to gain an insight into the history of the story amongst the Jews. First we find the story which tells of Aḥiḳar and Nadab. The names are, to all appearance, foreign, and show at once that this material had been appropriated by Judaism comparatively recently. Next, the names, and especially that of the hero, give place to Jewish ones, and so the process of appropriation is completed. Nor are the new names insignificant or chosen at random; Manasseh is the name of the husband of the brave heroine of the Book of Judith, Haman is that of the notorious enemy of the Jewish race. By the alteration of the names of the chief actors the story of Aḥiḳar itself received a new stamp of nationality, and so became an integral part of the cycle of exilic legends.

That the story of Aḥiḳar is not native to Jewish soil is shown by its wide diffusion (cp the literature of this subject in *The Story of Aḥiḳar* by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and A. Smith-Lewis, London, 1898).

7. Aḥiḳar-story of foreign origin.

It is found in Syriac, Armenian, Arabic, Greek, and Slavonic redactions, and is to be met with in the *Arabian Nights* and in the fables of Æsop (cp ACHIACHARUS). It runs somewhat as follows:—

The vizier and privy councillor of the Assyrian king Sennacherib, Aḥiḳar by name, having no child of his own, brings up his nephew Nadan and receives from the king the assurance that Nadan will be his successor in the offices that he holds so advantageously for the kingdom. Nadan receives from his uncle in wise discourse the ripe fruits of a rich experience. Soon, however, he begins to abandon himself to a loose and dissipated life, so that Aḥiḳar finds himself compelled, with the king's permission, to disinherit him. Nadan then begins to intrigue for the overthrow of his uncle, and at last with success; by means of forged letters Aḥiḳar is made to appear a betrayer of his country. The deluded Sennacherib condemns his faithful vizier to death and charges an executioner to carry out the sentence in front of Aḥiḳar's own house. But with the help of his devoted wife the vizier is able to induce the executioner, who is grateful for a former act of kindness, to spare him, and to substitute a criminal slave in his place. He himself is hidden in a cavity beneath the door of his house, and secretly fed by the executioner and his own wife, whilst overhead his ingrate nephew begins a reckless life. At this juncture the king of Egypt sends a letter to Sennacherib in which he challenges him to solve a problem. In the event of his succeeding, the king of Egypt will pay him tribute; should he fail, Assyria is to become tributary to Pharaoh. Sennacherib is to get a palace high up in the air built for him in Egypt (the same motive is found also among the Suaheli in a story of Abunawas).[1] In Assyria everyone is helpless; if only Aḥiḳar were still alive! Whereupon the executioner comes forward and tells the king the truth. Sennacherib is overjoyed. Aḥiḳar is fetched from his den and brought before the king; his unshorn, unkempt hair reached down to his shoulders, and his beard to his breast. His nails were like eagle's claws, and his body had become withered and disfigured. The fashion of his countenance was changed, and was like ashes (cp Dan. 4 30). Carefully tended he is speedily restored, takes the problem in hand, and sets out for Egypt, where he is able to meet cunning with cunning and Pharaoh is compelled to acknowledge defeat. Crowned with glory the hero returns home, and now condign punishment overtakes Nadan. First he is scourged, and next he is thrown into a foul den near his uncle's door: and as often as Aḥiḳar went in and out, he railed at him, his words of chastisement still taking proverbial form. 'As Nadan heard these words, in that same moment he became inflated like a leather bottle, all his members and bones swelled, and he split open and burst. Thus he came to his end and died' (cp as to this manner of death the account of Marduk's triumph over Tiāmat in the Babylonian creation-myth; Jensen, *Ass.-bab. Mythen u. Epen*, Berlin, 1900, p. 26 *ff.*).

The manner in which the story is told in the Book of Tobit points very clearly beyond the legendary form in which it has been handed down to an original which exhibited mythological motives. Some one is delivered from the snare of death—so a legend says. This is the latest shape the material receives; it is at the same time also a new interpretation and explanation. We meet with

8. Ultimately mythical.

1 *Lieder und Geschichten der Suaheli*, transl. and introd. by Büttner, Berlin, 1894, p. 89 *ff.*

the characteristic colouring of myth, however, when we read of someone being brought down from light into darkness, how he reascends to light, and how his adversary is plunged into eternal night. These are characteristic features of the original form which first are gradually smoothed down and then continue to be carried along as a metaphorical manner of speaking for a considerable length of time, but finally the bold myth is toned down till it becomes a mere illustration of a popular proverb: 'He who digs a pit for others falls into it himself,' or: 'Behold, what mercy does, and how righteousness delivers,' or: 'Mercy delivers from death, and will not suffer him who practises it to go into darkness.'

The appropriation of this story by Judaism through a change of names, depends on a primary affinity of material which made it possible and easy. Manasseh in the Book of Judith, who is struck down by a burning wind in the days of the barley-harvest, and so deeply lamented by his widow (Judith 8 2 *f.*), and Haman the persecutor of the Jews are both of them figures which Judaism found and appropriated in foreign lands. They afterwards became typical figures for the whole cycle of exilic legends; but originally it was between mythical figures that the struggle lay as to which should thrust the other down into everlasting darkness.

From the fact that the Book of Tobit contains references to the story of Aḥiḳar, we must not, with M. Plath, draw the inference that the Tobit material is the later: 'The story of Tobit is set forth in full detail whilst the other may be taken for granted as known already.' On the contrary we here see in operation the natural desire to bring the characters of legend into relation with each other and with contemporary life. In this way Judaism is exhibited, even by its legends dating from those days of oppression which had become classical for subsequent post-exilic times, as a close and mutually coherent community in which each individual helps his neighbour. It is in a similar manner that, on German soil, the figures of Siegfried and Dietrich have been brought into relation with each other in the 'Great Rosen-garden.' But whilst the Jews help one another the German heroes are at war. The former sort of legend circulates among a people that finds itself in adversity, the later in a nation that finds its delight in battle and tournament.

9. Didactic additions.

There can be no doubt that the didactic portions of Tobit have also received interpolations; this is evident from the extant texts.

Chap. 4, which contains Tobit's exhortations to his son before his departure, is shortest in ℵ, fuller in Jerome, most copious in A, B, and Vet. Lat. Whilst in Jerome there is prefixed an exhortation to attend to what is about to be said, and lay it to heart, in the other MSS Tobit, starting from the actual situation, begins with an admonition to Tobias to attend to his father's burial and care suitably for his widowed mother. This admonition is all the more effective, and *eo ipso* shows itself to be an integral portion of the story, because shortly before the blind old man has had to listen to bitter reproaches which almost drove him to despair from the very wife whom he now so thoughtfully remembers. Natural, too, in like manner is the admonition, generalising as it were the fundamental thought of what precedes, to be pious and to keep God's commandments. The prospect of a happy life is held out as a reward for such conduct.

The climax of the exhortation having thus been reached, the conclusion we expect is 'Remember these commandments, and suffer them not to be effaced from thy heart!' Only ℵ, however, closes thus; assuredly it represents the original rounded form. We cannot suppose any omission or shortening; for elsewhere ℵ is much the more detailed and copious.

The other texts have forcibly introduced into this rounded text manifold pieces of good advice: (1) Practise compassion, for this will give the best results; (2) Live chastely and marry within your own people as the patriarchs did, for this brings great blessing in its train; (3) Be not proud, above all not to any of your own people: pride brings ruin; (4) Give the hireling his wages; be well-bred in all your actions, and refrain from doing to others what would be unpleasing to yourself; (5) Beware of drunkenness; be compassionate; (6) Walk with the righteous and the wise.

Jerome has a like number of separate counsels, but they are more concisely worded, and it is noteworthy that the advice to marry within one's own kin is absent.

Thus there has been a gradual interpolation of this apparently favourite chapter of the Book of Tobit. People liked to read how the old man instructs the youth. More and more words were put into his mouth, of the sort which the various redactors would like to impress upon the minds of readers. It is interesting to see that the Aḥiḳar story also exhibits the same mixture of the epic and the didactic styles. Certain of the actual words too in the rules of wisdom it contains echo those of Tobit. The following examples are among the most noticeable:—

Aḥiḳar Story.	Vet. Lat.	Jerome.	A and B.
My son, pour out thy wine on the tombs of the just, rather than drink it with wicked and base people.	Pour out (funde) thy wine and thy bread on the tombs of the just, and give it (illud) not to sinners.	Place thy wine and thy bread upon the tomb of the just; but eat and drink not of it with sinners.	Dispense freely thy food at the burial of the just; but give not to sinners.

The original meaning of this saying, which has reference to libations at sepulchres, has gradually been toned down until at last what has come out of it is an exhortation to prepare a funeral repast. Thus we can clearly see that the counsels which by degrees found their way into Tobit's exhortation have in part at least been taken from the general oriental stock of quotations. On the other hand the accentuation of definite Jewish precepts of morality is deliberate. The time, from which their introduction dates, loved to inculcate them at every possible opportunity. Apparently it had every need to do so.

The peculiar circumstance that the advice to marry within one's kin is wanting in ℵ and Jer. raises the question, whether this element, upon which much weight is sought to be laid in the history itself, be original.

There is the further fact that in 6 16 [ℵ] Azariah reminds Tobias of it, although the admonition itself has not been previously recorded in this form of the text. The verse in question must therefore have been introduced by way of correction from the other forms of the text. We are confirmed in this inference when we observe that Jerome makes no mention at all of Azariah's reminder. But as in the dialogue between Azariah and Tobias, he deviates much from the other MSS, his evidence would not be so weighty as it is if we did not read in the third Greek recension simply these words: 'Dost thou not remember all thy father's commandments?' thus without express allusion to the particular exhortation now in question.

Further, the statement that Tobias is related to Raguel disturbs the whole structure of the story. If Raguel would indeed become by the Mosaic law guilty of death should he give his daughter to any other than Tobias,—an assertion of the angel's which in point of fact is not correct,—then it becomes inconceivable how the narrator could possibly have found any excuse for his having already previously betrothed her to seven suitors in succession. Sara herself, before abandoning herself to despair, must surely have had some thought of the one possibility of escape from her sad predicament—that, namely, of being married by the man whom the law required. Her prayer must have been that God should send her this deliverer. Nor is it possible that Tobit in receiving his daughter-in-law into his house, could have failed to recall the ties of kinship that united them. Raguel himself must have given thanks to God not merely 'for having had mercy upon two only children'; he would also have had every reason for pointing out how a faithful keeping of the law had found its reward.

Finally, the scene which above all others must determine as to the relationship between the two families, that namely in which Tobias enters the house of Raguel, is not always rendered in the same way. According to one version of the story the two travellers first meet with Sara and are afterwards led by her to the house, and according to another they first find Raguel himself sitting at his house door, and are hospitably welcomed by him; according to the one Tobit's loss of sight is already known to those in Raguel's house, whilst according to the other they first hear of it from the travellers. Also, ℵ shows a much greater interest than A and B in the relationship (cp 6 13 and 7 10), although it does not contain the exhortation mentioned above. The editor therefore, we may be quite certain, would not have omitted it if he had found it lying before him.

This want of agreement shows clearly the smoothing

touches of later hands. It is plausible to conjecture that without all arriving at one and the same result they all sought to incorporate the discovery by Raguel and his family that their new arrival was their nearest kinsman. This addition, intended to exhibit in concrete form by means of the story of Tobit the blessing which such marriages of kinsfolk bring, must have been made in a time which was trying to set aside this ancient Jewish custom. People 'turned away with haughty minds from the sons and the daughters of their own nation, nor took they wives from amongst them' (4 13 [A]). 'In pride—such was the teaching of this addition—lies destruction and much confusion.' On the other hand the progeny of those who are true to the customs of their forefathers 'inherits the land.' We see that political and religious hopes were believed to be affected by such deviations from traditional practice.

If we take a comprehensive survey of the work that has been expended upon the Book of Tobit, so far as can be judged from the extant forms of the text, it becomes plain that the introduction of certain episodes points to a heightening of the didactic character of the story, and to a desire to give it more and more the character of a family tale. In other respects, though the various MSS vary from each other in many ways, they never do so to such an extent that the course of events is changed. But copyists and translators seem to have treated their text with a good deal of arbitrariness; they might almost be called redactors. They have fully exercised what they deemed their own proprietory rights in copy or translation. The various forms of text thus produced were again compared at a distinctly later period, and here and there we find unmistakable attempts to harmonise them. It is therefore difficult to define in any brief formula the nature of their mutual relationship. We can do so, however, quite definitely so far as their attitude towards the Aḥikar episode is concerned.

10. Summary of foregoing discussions.

II. Uninterpolated Text

At this stage there arises at once the question whether the text to which the various extant MSS go back presents us with the original form of the Book of Tobit. In the opinion of the present writer it does not. Various indications go to show that what it offers us is a redaction of a story previously fixed in writing.

11. Not original.

In the speech in which the angel makes himself known he declares the part he has taken in the events in the life of Tobit (12 12 *ff.*). He it was who brought the memorial of his prayer before God; who was by his side when he buried the dead; likewise when he did not delay to rise up and leave his dinner in order to go and cover the 'dead' (sing. in ℵ, pl. in A). The allusion to Tobit's activity in burying the dead in the times of oppression caused by Sennacherib is abrupt; to say the least it stands in the wrong place, the events being enumerated in reverse order of their occurrence. It has the appearance of being an element that has been introduced at a late stage into the text with the effect in *v.* 13 of making 'the dead man' into 'the dead' (pl.). If this impression be correct, the originality of the introduction would then come into question. And in point of fact it is given as the hero's own account of himself in the first person whilst everywhere else the book is written in the third person. At a very early date this difficulty was felt. Jerome and the Aramaic (ed. Neubauer) give the introduction in the third person. M. Plath indeed points to the similar change between the first and the third person in the Aramaic version of the story of Aḥikar. In the latter case, however, it would seem as if we had to deal with an oversight or slip of the Chronicler rather than with a peculiarity of style. 'If the editor of the Book of Acts, skilled in literature as he was, placed in immediate juxtaposition the we-passages and those written in the third person,' his intention was that the impression of dependence on ancient sources which gives his narrative the stamp of authenticity might be left unimpaired. Thus M. Plath's reference to Acts goes rather to prove the opposite of what is intended; the inference is that here also as well as in the Book of Acts the manner in which the subject is presented enables us to discern the traces of a second hand.

Again, the mention of the various Assyrian kings, and the references to the history of that period altogether are quite uncalled for so far as the remainder of the narrative is concerned. Only at the very close of the narrative are similar allusions at all met with; but here too the various versions do not agree (*e.g.*, as to the ages of the persons).

Once more, Tobit's loss of sight is given as the sole reason for his impoverishment. After the return from the flight before Sennacherib he can afford to have a rich meal prepared; thus his poverty is not the consequence of the confiscation of his goods by Sennacherib.

Lastly, it is left wholly unexplained why it is that the neighbours say on the burial of the dead man at the feast of Pentecost that Tobit 'was no more afraid to be put to death for this matter.' No mention has previously been made that the Jew referred to had been slain by King Sacherdonos. The corpse is lying in the market place; but the Jews put to death by Sennacherib are not, it need hardly be said, left lying in the middle of the town; they are thrown outside the walls of Nineveh. The saying of the neighbours just cited, therefore, being irreconcilable with the narrative itself, and presupposing impossible conditions, cannot be original. If not original, the things to which it alludes, the Sennacherib story, are also brought into question.

We shall be safe, therefore, in excluding from the original text of the Book of Tobit, both this Sennacherib-story and the reference to the burials of the dead. What we have here is simply a later reduplication of one and the same motive—viz., that of the burial of the dead man—just as in the story of Esther the feast is reduplicated. In Esther the object is to interweave the Mordecai episodes by means of which the book read at the Purim festival was brought into harmony with the spirit of the age; we may well suppose a similar motive to have been at work in the case of the Book of Tobit. Preiss[1] has placed its date in the middle of the second century A.D., that is to say, immediately after the suppression of the Jewish revolt, and the annihilation of all their national hopes. If now we endeavour to represent to ourselves what it was that the redactor of the original text of the book of Tobit (possibly written in Hebrew) aimed at and has accomplished we shall arrive at some such conclusion as the following:—

The story, such as the redactor found it already reduced to writing, as an edifying tale of family life, was laid in the Assyrian times. The redactor shows himself to be, for his time, a man possessed of a certain degree of historical knowledge. He was acquainted with the almost legendary story of Sennacherib's fruitless expedition against Judah; and this he blended with the story of Tobit, perhaps after having first put it into a Greek dress. With the adoption of so free a treatment is explained also the stylistic character of the Greek text, which led Nöldeke to maintain its originality.[2] The redactor had along with his contemporaries passed through the bitter experiences of the suppression of the Jewish revolt against Rome. It had been a life-and-death struggle. 'In this conflict of races, that ended in 135 with the complete subjugation of the Jews, the fields were strown with dead bodies; nay (as Graetz has it) "the whole Jewish nation lay like one huge corpse on the gory fields of its native land" and in Media alone was peace any more to be found' (Preiss). These ghastly experiences were introduced by the redactor into an old tale of family life. He threw them back into the Assyrian time; and thus the old book with its limited horizon, with its personages who are 'no heroes in deeds, but heroes in suffering' (M. Plath) was adapted to the times for which he wrote.

12. How redacted.

Tobit who, braving the wrath of the king, buries the slaughtered brethren, thus receives a touch of the heroic valour of the fighters of Bar Kochba's time; but, at the same time, by his resignation and by his quiet patience and persistent hopefulness he could also become a conspicuous example to the Jews of those days, disheartened as they were by the failure of their effort to shake off the Roman yoke. As they read the new introduction to the old book, their hearts were captivated by this bold kindred spirit, to be guided by him forthwith along the only road on which they could possibly find healing for their grievous wounds. Perhaps therefore it was psychologically a very skilful touch on the part of the redactor to introduce this man at the outset as speaking *in propria persona*. Possibly he allowed himself here to be guided by his own feeling. In any case his intervention has impaired the compactness of the older narrative.

1 'Zum Buche Tobit' in *ZWT*, 1885, pp. 24 *ff.*
2 *MBBA*, 1879, pp. 45 *ff.*

The introduction of passages from general history into such a tale as this, dealing with events so domestic and private, strikes us as out of place; we instinctively feel that here some extraneous element has been imported into an already completed unity, that we have to do with the work of some editor, that a local and temporary interest is at work which has no universality in its appeal.

Our account of the redactor's interference with the older narrative is not yet finished. In 12 20 the angel, when taking his departure, bids Tobit commit to writing all that has happened. The reader notes that the matter is exhausted, and what he expects next to hear is that Raphael's command has been carried out. Perhaps afterwards the deaths of Tobit and Anna might have been added, and the removal of Tobias into Media,—a removal that considered in itself seems quite natural when we remember that his wife's relations live in Ecbatana and are possessors of great wealth which Sara and her husband are destined one day to inherit. But instead of any such natural conclusion as this we have in the first instance a thanksgiving prayer of Tobit's, of which we are told in A and B that it was put into writing by Tobit himself. The Syriac version has the same prayer in a shorter form. The other versions, however, make Tobit's discourse rise to a climax in an apocalyptic prophecy of the upbuilding of the heavenly Jerusalem. According to this discourse God's tabernacle in Jerusalem is for the present destroyed, and thus the city taken away from the nation and from its God.

Tobit appears of course to speak from his own proper standpoint, which has in view the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. It need hardly be said, however, that in reality the prophecy relates to the time of the author. Now it might not be impossible to think of the oppression of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes. The glowing colours, however, with which the rebuilding of the holy city is depicted suggest a period when a speedy natural restoration of the city and its worship was hardly to be expected. At such a period, when it is plainly seen that self-help is of no avail, men cling to the hope of some miraculous intervention. Heavenly powers shall build up Jerusalem (13 16) 'with sapphires, and emeralds, and precious stones, her walls and towers and battlements with pure gold; and her streets shall be paved with beryl and carbuncle and stones of Ophir.' A joyful expectation of this sort takes us beyond the times of the Maccabees. And as the opening of the book most probably emanates from one who had lived through the struggles of the second century A.D. it will be to him that we ought most probably to attribute not only the placing of the story in a similar historical background, but also the introduction into it of those ardent wishes and hopes regarding the future which at the time of writing were stirring his own heart. By this supposition we are best able to understand on the one hand the interest shown in events in the far East in the introduction, and on the other in the rebuilding of Jerusalem and the restoration of its worship at the close. For a contemporary of the Maccabæan struggles Palestine alone would have come into consideration.

The interest felt at one and the same time in the far East and in the city of Jerusalem finally reaches pointed expression in the parting speech of Tobit to his son (chap. 14). 'For a time' Jerusalem shall be desolate and God's worship be suspended there. During this period 'in Media there shall rather be peace for a season.' But at last the fulness of time shall be accomplished, the Jews shall be restored, and the gentiles turn from their idolatries. Jerusalem shall rise in glory and with her the house of God, 'but not like unto the first.' This prophecy clearly refers to the last times. The temple, which is to be built anew, will not be the production of human hands, but in contrast to the first will be God's own workmanship. Jerusalem will be the splendid city of the latter days, the heavenly Jerusalem, the temple of God's glorious building, not to be likened to any building of former times, not even to that of a Herod. It is therefore a mistake to attempt to determine from this passage the historical standpoint of the writer as if he had lived sometime within the period between the post-exilic building of Zerubbabel and the work of Herod (so Schürer in *PRE*(3) 1644). Rather are all temples of former times brought into contrast with this splendid structure destined to be raised in the end of the ages. The writer of this prophecy discloses himself by his simultaneous interest in the far East and in the West. A characteristic note is that he takes pains to make out the events of the future as fulfilment of prophetic prediction. We can perceive from this how important the time in which he lived must have been for the text of our prophetical books. In particular we must attribute to it a large share in the enlargement by way of commentary of our book of Jeremiah, the Hebrew text of which is much more copious than that of the Greek translation.[1]

This peculiar method, of filling out the ancient story with the prophecies, hopes, and interests of a later time, strikes the reader just as much as does the introduction of universal history into a tale of family life. The mixture of styles resulting from this combination is neither elegant nor pleasing. Beautiful or attractive it can have been only to an age which found reflected in it its own expectations and wishes. Here once more we come to the conclusion that a redactor has been at work whose inherent weaknesses escaped notice for but a short time. The moment the interest which has dictated the procedure relaxes, we inevitably perceive the violence it has done to the ancient story by the improbabilities which it has forced upon it.

III. Conjectural Reconstruction

If we pursue our inquiry as to the original form of the book of Tobit which lay before the redactor and was operated on by him, we shall find the story to be somewhat as follows:—

13. Reconstruction.

In Nineveh there lives a pious man, Tobit by name,: his wife is Anna, and his son Tobias. He is one of the Jewish exiles. On a certain occasion, at Pentecost, just before sitting down to meat, he sends out his son to invite any needy one from among his brethren. Tobias returns with the news that a Jew who has been strangled is lying dead in the market-place. Tobit buries the body, and as incidental to this loses his eyesight. He thus becomes dependent on his wife; on one occasion a misunderstanding arises between them and she casts his alms and his righteous deeds in his teeth. Deeply stirred, he falls into great sadness and prays for death. In Ecbatana, Sara the daughter of Raguel is cherishing the same wish. An evil spirit, Asmodeus, has slain seven successive husbands of hers on the wedding-night. Her father's maidservants reproach her with having herself put her husbands to death. In answer to the prayers of Tobit and Sara God sends forth the angel Raphael to cure Tobit of his blindness, and bring about a union between Tobias and Sara and thus deliver the virgin wife from the evil spirit.

Such, in brief outline, is the scheme of the story; the scene is laid at Nineveh and Ecbatana, and the theme is the deliverance from undeserved misfortune of two families living in these two places. The solution is brought about by the direct intervention of God and Raphael, the powers of the celestial world.

The occurrences in Nineveh are related at some length, but only one scene is devoted to the story of Sara. At Nineveh we are first of all introduced to the pious, benevolent Tobit. His benevolence leads him to show an act of mercy to a dead man and this act of mercy in turn becomes the cause of misfortune to himself. The development of this scene indicates that Tobit's misfortune is wholly undeserved. A pious man such as this—so the reader is given to understand from the very beginning—cannot possibly remain unhappy, if there is a righteous God.

In the second scene we see how poverty comes on the back of misfortune. Tobit's wife becomes dependent for her own and her husband's support upon the kindness of aliens. And, strange to say! to the benevolent Tobit who now finds himself in the same position as those whom he has so often formerly befriended there never occurs the thought of any possibility that his former kindnesses may now be requited to himself and to his house. In the end Tobit, after the misunderstanding with his wife,

[1] Cp Erbt, *Jeremia und seine Zeit*, 1902, and see Jeremiah ii., § 21.

finds himself completely isolated. Where is he to look for either comfort or support? The good deed which has been the outward occasion of his misfortune is cast in his teeth. Must he remain an innocent sufferer throughout all the rest of his life? His prayer is the answer to either question; it is thus of vital importance for the course of the narrative. Forsaken by men, Tobit turns to God from whom alone comfort and help can come. He prays that death may come to his rescue. We are deeply moved by the spectacle of the aged sufferer. Any other man would have prayed for recovery. Thus our feelings are kept in tension. In what way will God intervene?

The composition of the two scenes at Nineveh can almost be characterised as faultless. We are greatly moved as we see this pious man brought to misfortune by an act of kindness. In the train of the original calamity comes poverty. It is the indirect cause of a misunderstanding between Tobit and his loyal wife. A venial fault leaves the old man absolutely friendless; it instantly brings its own punishment, but at the same time drives him into the arms of Him who alone can help. For the time being we are reassured, and free to turn our attention to the other scene of action.

Sara scourges her maids, whether with reason or without, we are not told, nor does it matter. Her maids know how to avenge themselves on her passionate temper. They reproach her with her undeserved misfortune. Misfortune, scorn, and open contempt; we are touched by the maiden's fate. She would fain lay down life's burden; another proof of her passionate nature. The aged man bears his troubles quietly; only when they pass the limits of endurance does he pray to God to take away his life. For a moment Sara thinks of ending her troubles with her own hand; but it is only for a moment: she is too good a daughter; she remembers her father. In the one case, Tobit's difference with his wife throws him into the arms of God; in the other case, the same effect is wrought by the daughter's reflection on what would be the sorrow of her father.

The narrator relieves the fatiguing similarity of the two scenes by contrasting the motives. Sara's prayer is framed after the same model as Tobit's: invocation and adoration; petition for deliverance from distress. Whilst, however, the prayer of the old man moves quietly towards its climax, Sara's emotion is manifest throughout. Thus her prayer is much more concrete. She had just been on the verge of suicide, and now she implores God to let her die. But again the image of her father rises before her eyes. The love of life breaks in once more upon this passionate nature, the secret, unuttered wish that God may help her in some other way.

Thus the narrator has still further prepared us for the divine intervention. The scene that follows is laid in heaven—God sends down Raphael to deliver the two petitioners out of their distress. The reader at once perceives how the business is to end. Our story is no drama that gradually unfolds itself before the eyes of the spectator; the various personages henceforth lose their dramatic interest, for we know what the end must be. All that remains still unknown is merely the working out of the details. With disclosure of the final issue the question is at the same time started as to how God will bring it about. To this the reader is intended to give his undivided attention. God's wisdom has to show itself in the skill with which the result is effected; from this point onward the story will be an illustration of the wisdom of divine providence. And the illustration being so naive, our interest in it is but small. The art of the narrator, which we were able to admire in the opening chapters, seems to leave him. This, however, is only because he has attempted too ambitious a task and not kept within the bounds of his limited abilities. He laboriously seeks to keep up our interest by a succession of minor artifices.

Tobit sets his house in order before his death to which he is looking forward. At Rages in Media he has deposited a sum of money with Gabael, and Tobias must go and fetch it. We are not now able to say whether this element figured in the original form of the Book of Tobit. In the present text we have word of it as early as in 1 14. To Rages the way lies through Ecbatana; we are thus able to divine that God is about to make use of the journey of Tobias for fulfilment of his plans. But we must have patience.

First the father has to give wise instructions to his son; they are, he may well believe, the last words he will ever speak to Tobias. We for our part know that Tobit is to be rendered happy once more by this journey, and thus, touched by the old man's love, we are tided over the delay in the action. Next, the father provides for the safety of his son as best he can: he chooses for him the most trustworthy travelling companion he can find. Again the narrator discloses too much. The companion is no other than Azaria, the angel Raphael in human shape. It is touching to read how strictly Tobit examines the stranger, so strictly that he has almost to apologise for his zeal. With our minds fixed on the blind father and his affectionate solicitude, we again forget that we are being detained. At last an agreement is come to, even in the matter of wages. A start can be made at last. The father gives his blessing, and wishes that the angel of God may go with his son. We smile to ourselves, knowing that the father's prayer is already fulfilled. With the narrator, the religious interest, that of showing his readers how God guides the destinies of men beyond all human thinking, predominates over the æsthetic interest which should have taught him not to relieve the tension prematurely. At the parting, there are tears; the blind old man has faith in God and remains calm, but not so the mother, whose one thought is that her only child is leaving, and when she reflects that some sacrifice has to be made if the money is to be recovered, she deems the present one too great; 'We have enough to live on.' Has the narrator forgotten that Tobit is reduced to poverty? Or is it his intention to touch us still more deeply by putting into Anna's mouth the sentiment that she would rather go on with her present life of care and toil, if only her dear son might stay at home? Tobit attempts to divert his wife from her sorrow by 'gently trying to excite her pity for himself; thine eyes shall see him! He himself is blind: even should he survive till his son's return, still he will not see him!' (M. Plath).

We see how the author's main endeavour is to keep up the reader's interest by touching his heart. He tries to reach his audience where it is most susceptible; it is one of the artifices he employs to maintain the life of a narrative which has lost the element of suspense.

The departure in its various scenes—the decision, the parting instructions, the choice of a companion, the farewell—occurs in Nineveh. The next scenes, describing the journey, naturally are laid in a variety of places; the most important are the encampment by the Tigris, and the stay at Raguel's house, so important that the original object of the journey, the recovery of the money entrusted to Gabael at Rages, becomes a mere episode, appended to the scene in Ecbatana. We know beforehand the real providential purpose of the journey, and thus are not surprised at the turn it takes. But that in the end the angel, not Tobias, should fetch the money, seems a small but charming variation: 'things fall out quite differently from what we imagine' (M. Plath).

Before going to sleep one night young Tobias bathes in the Tigris. A fish leaps out upon him and snaps at his foot. A and B have aggravated the natural situation, in order to make the story as marvellous as possible. With them the fish threatens to swallow the youth. And yet, at the angel's bidding, he is forthwith able to seize hold of it and to cast it on the bank so that there is no real danger. At Raphael's request he takes with him the heart, the liver, and the gall of the fish. The pair continue their journey and draw near to Media, the true goal predetermined by God.

The decisive stay at the house of Raguel is led up to by two preparatory scenes—conversations between the angel and Tobias in the course of their journey—and is followed by two others relating to the recovery of the money from Gabael, and the arrival of the latter at Ecbatana. The two dialogues, on the borders of Media, before Ecbatana is reached, are intended to shorten the long story of the journey and to relieve the reader. Again the artist deprives us of all the pleasure of suspense by elaborately describing beforehand everything that is going to happen.

Tobias himself gives occasion for this before Media is entered (so א; A and B less effectively have substituted Ecbatana) by his question as to the object in carrying with them the heart, gall, and liver of the fish they had killed on the evening of their first day's journey. When we learn that an evil spirit can be driven away by the fumes of this liver and heart, we at once perceive exactly how it is that Sara is to be

delivered. All that remains in doubt is as to whether Tobias will make up his mind to marry her, and whether Raguel is going to give him his daughter in marriage. That the son, however, should not think at once of his blind father when he hears that with the gall the malady Tobit is suffering from can be cured, astonishes us, especially when we see later how mindful Tobias is of his father: 'My father counts the days!' are the words with which he sends the angel to Gabael. Nor does he linger with his parents-in-law an hour beyond the exact time he had promised. Clearly the narrator took no special interest in the characterisation of his various personages; his main interest is in exhibiting and proving the wise governance of God: 'God rules supreme and rules all things well' is his central theme.

The way having been prepared by an explanation of the healing virtues of the various parts of the fish, the angel proceeds to disclose his plans. They are now before the gates of Ecbatana (A and B again read, wrongly, Rages). Their next lodging-place is to be Raguel's house. He has but one child, a daughter, who is fair and wise. Azaria will speak to her father that she may be given in marriage to Tobias. The wedding will be held after the return from Rages. ('Afterwards things turn out differently from what had been thought.')

To Tobias, more than to any other, does the right of inheritance belong. This proposition, which doubtless originally simply meant that Tobias, the son of a poor but pious father, was the husband chosen for the girl by the wise counsel of God ('she is appointed unto thee from the beginning,' 6 18) was only at a later date thought out in the manner of commentary to the effect that the two were nearly related, and their marriage as near relations would be well-pleasing to God and to the Jewish nation.

Had Tobias known nothing of Sara's misfortune, he would now have consented on the spot. As it is, he pleads that, being the only son of his parents, he dare not lightly risk his life. In itself considered the plan which the angel unfolds is not to be rejected.

He is already strongly prepossessed in favour of it. The young man's love for his parents is most touching. He thinks only of their sorrow, and does not fear the evil spirit except on their account. That Sara's story should be known even in Nineveh, presupposes a lively intercourse between the two places. And such there may have been, not only in the narrator's own time but also in former days; we must not fall into the error of underestimating the trade of antiquity.

To repel his scruples, the angel reminds the youth of his father's injunctions. Unquestionably his reference at present is to the one injunction which bade him marry a woman of his own kindred. Originally, perhaps, no such reminiscence may have stood in this place.

Or possibly, as is also supported by tradition, the reference may have been simply to the father's injunctions generally. In that case we shall perhaps have to think of some such precepts as those in א: 'They who practise sincerity, shall be blessed in their works; and to all that work righteousness, God shall give good counsel.' In this case the angel will have seen an act of righteousness in the deliverance of Sara. To the present writer this explanation seems the best.

The argument brought forward by the angel constitutes the main point to which the whole dialogue leads up; the means exist, by which the evil spirit can be driven away.

Once more we get a description of the virtue that lies in the heart and liver of the fish. The narrator tries to make it interesting by giving Tobias at the same time precise directions as to the manner in which the remedy is to be applied. Tobias now changes his mind; he is in love with Sara, or, we should say, he finds the proposed marriage with the fair and wise daughter of the rich man most acceptable. Such sentiments to the ancient conception furnish foundation enough for a happy union.

The second scene before the stay at Ecbatana represents a dialogue of persuasion, the first one of instruction. Judged from our æsthetic standpoint the whole of the preliminary scene ought to have been given in the form of a single dialogue of persuasion. The narrator's tendency is to break up the action into as many scenes as possible. In the discussion as to the derivation of the material, we shall have to keep this consideration in mind (§ 16).

There is no agreement in the rendering of the principal scene, that at Ecbatana. All that can be clearly seen from the varying versions of it is the emphasis that is everywhere laid on Raguel's hospitality. In the end the betrothal comes about as planned by the angel.

Here again, according to A and B, which may reproduce the oldest reading, Azaria takes the most important part, inasmuch as it is he who communicates to Raguel the wish of young Tobias. In א, where, exceptionally, in these scenes the relationship between Sara and Tobias is particularly dwelt upon, Raguel overhears the young man talking to the angel about the marriage, and is at once captivated by the idea.

A marriage contract is drawn up in writing. Thereupon Edna prepares the bridal chamber for her daughter. Again tears are shed; the intention is to move the heart of the reader; there is something pathetic about the lot of the maid who has already buried seven spouses. The effect of the scene, however, has been destroyed from the outset as we already know of the impending happy issue. In the bridal chamber Tobias, at last, makes use of the angel's prescription. The fumes put the demon to flight. That he should be fettered by the angel in Upper Egypt is something we were not prepared for. From all we have been told so far, we should have expected the mere fumigation to suffice for complete deliverance from the evil spirit. The prayer the young man now offers is specially Jewish. In arrangement it resembles those previously recorded.

Meanwhile Raguel is digging a grave for his daughter's betrothed. The bridal is to be in secret; the unhappy man dreads his neighbours' evil tongues. This proceeding shows that Sara's latest betrothal does not differ in any way from those which preceded it. No relationship, therefore, between the couple is presupposed. For the rest, we are at a loss to understand the feelings of the actors now before us who with cold hearts dig graves out of fear of their neighbours, who send a maidservant quickly into the bridal chamber to see whether the grave shall be needed; nor yet the feelings of the readers who felt edified by the prayer of thanksgiving offered immediately afterwards by the digger of the grave. Instead of a funeral there is now a wedding. In the end it is the angel who has to collect the money for the happy bridegroom. Gabael himself comes to Ecbatana to the wedding. It is probable that א has here the more original text; in A and B the phraseology is so curt as to be almost unintelligible.

Gradually the story draws to an end. Two scenes prepare for the close. Again the narrator keeps his readers waiting. He takes us first to Nineveh. The old people are awaiting their son's return in vain. Whilst Tobit is patiently resigned, the mother in her anguish spends her nights in weeping and her days in watching the road along which her son had passed. At Ecbatana, on the other hand, the son amid all his happiness has not forgotten his lonely parents. Vainly does the hospitable Raguel press him to tarry. Amid the blessings of his new relations Tobias takes his departure along with his wife and the angel. After he has given his blessing, the father reminds his daughter of her duty to her parents-in-law. The mother, on the other hand, urges her son-in-law to be kind to his wife.

Shortly before Nineveh is reached the angel once more takes the part of a faithful adviser; again, he gives instructions to Tobias how to heal his blind father. In a touching way the narrator brings before our eyes the helplessness of the blind old man before he is healed. The cure accomplished, Tobit praises God, and to the great astonishment of the neighbours, himself goes out to bring his daughter-in-law home. A seven days' wedding follows. At this point, now that the angel has brought Tobias safely back, rescued his wife, recovered his money, and healed his father, his task seems done, and we expect him to take his leave. But first he must carry out his rôle as travelling companion to the end. As trusty guide he must receive his wages. Tobias proposes to share equally with him the wealth he has acquired. Now at last the angel reveals to them

his true nature. In a long discourse which, as M. Plath has observed, recalls the style of the psalms and of Sirach, he makes himself known after declaring that he had been a witness to the burial of the dead. They are bidden praise God and commit everything to writing. 'After the angel's command to write in a book all the things that have happened, what we expect to read is: And they wrote everything down, and here is the book' (M. Plath).

14. History of story: time of greatest vogue.

(*a*) On a survey of the book and its history, it becomes clear in the first place that it must have greatly interested the reading world. This is shown by the varying MSS. Each individual possessor, copyist, and translator has by the introduction of certain turns and small alterations which commended themselves to him, given expression to his sympathy with the lot of those pious people who are the subjects of our story.

(*b*) Next we are carried back to a time in which this material was read with peculiar eagerness; the time, namely, about 150 A.D. The failure of the Jewish rebellion presented a temptation to abandon Jewish peculiarities and the ancient manner of life altogether. It was at this time that the pious exhortations of Tobit were amplified, and the duty of cohesiveness was insisted upon since pride towards one's own brethren brings only confusion. Quite recently these days of woe had been made to throw their dark shadows on the very pages of the book. Tobit the faithful Jew of the unhappy Assyrian days, the pious sufferer in evil times, was the man to speak an earnest word to those of the Jews who had escaped the oppression of the revolt. At the same time he could also give them a word of comfort, by telling them about the Jerusalem of the final future. In such manner was the original form of the book modified so as to adapt it to the needs of the time.

(*c*) The original form must at one time have had a separate existence—perhaps in a collection of legends, since it represents a complete story, artfully constructed.

IV. Ultimate Sources

15. Tendency of final redactor.

The form of a book depends on three factors: the character of the material, the personality of him who gives it shape, and the wants of him who reads. There must have been a public to welcome it if we find here a melting story, with characters doomed to suffer and to bear, to whom angels from heaven are familiar beings, whose lives are spent in prayer and pious contemplations. The readers rejoice over those who are compassionate, but only heaven can reward them. The story is not written for the rich but for the poor. These do not undertake long journeys; but they like to hear about them. They know well what anxiety a son's journey can cause to a father and mother. To be sure, everyone has heard of people who have travelled; these will be welcome as companions should necessity for travelling arise. Such things as these are not the staple in stories that circulate among traders and merchants. In those stay-at-home circles there is belief in magical medicaments such as are supposed to be found in foreign lands. In the great rivers of distant lands swim fish whose heart and liver can exorcise evil spirits, whose gall can heal blindness (cp § 6). Such readers are at the same time rigorously exacting. Each marriage has to be preceded by a written contract; money is not handed over without a document. A reading public of this sort could have been found in Palestine, but in Egypt, as also in Babylonia, the Jews were doubtless, for the most part, engaged in trade. Moreover, the knowledge of the regions of Mesopotamia is by no means exact, and we read that the evil spirit is chained in Upper Egypt. Only a writer living sufficiently far off could think of that country as the battlefield for contending spirits. Yet the men address their wives as 'sister,' in the Egyptian manner. Thus the flourishing period of Palestinian history under the rule of the Ptolemies about 300 B.C., and the influence they wielded, must have previously made itself felt. The year 200 B.C., therefore, may be suggested as the approximate date of the original form of our book.

In the analysis given above (§ 13) allusion has already been made to the tendencies shown by the individual who gave its final shape to the material before him. He is fond of breaking up the story into short separate scenes, of sharp contrasts, of elaborating particular scenes. Let us now try, on the basis of these observations, to ascertain what was the nature of his work upon the material handed down to him, and so to obtain approximately some idea of the story as it was when he found it.

16. His work.

First of all then, our attention is claimed by the artistic composition of the opening of the story. A popular legend does not deal in so complicated a manner with two separate scenes of action. The artful parallel composition of the scenes in Nineveh and in Ecbatana is the narrator's own work. The elaborate parting scenes in which we see the old man giving wise advice, the young man looking out for a travelling companion, the anxious father, the weeping mother, cannot be imagined otherwise than as a narrative definitely fixed in writing; it is impossible to regard it as a tale popularly handed down by word of mouth. The dialogues between the two travellers are also highly artificial compositions. The waiting parents as contrasted with Raguel hospitably pressing his guests to tarry, seem also to have been introduced by the narrator. There remain, accordingly, only the following elements (which perhaps, however, might be still further reduced) to be noted as appertaining to the material upon which the narrator has operated. (1) The burial of a dead body, and the blinding of a head of a family; (2) impoverishment, so that the blind man's wife has to work for their living; (3) a son, accompanied by a stranger, makes a journey to recover money; (4) on the way they have an adventure with important consequences; (5) a marriage with a rich heiress, whose lot has been made intolerable by the jealousy of an evil spirit who will not suffer her husbands to live; (6) the healing of the blind father; (7) the stranger declines to accept the acknowledgement offered to him (half of the entire estate) in order at last to disclose himself to be an angel who has been a witness of the burial of the dead.

17. Basis in folk-lore.

Since the appearance of Simrock's work *Der gute Gerhard und die dankbaren Todten* (Bonn, 1856) zealous efforts have continuously been made to trace back the raw material of the Book of Tobit to a widely-spread story of the gratitude of a departed spirit, of which several versions are collected by Simrock. A similar Armenian story has also been unearthed (originally published by A. v. Haxthausen in his *Transkaukasia*, Leipsic, 1 333 *ff.*, and recently again by M. Plath). In dealing with the question whether the story of Tobit goes back to a tale of this sort, we have to bear in mind that all the kindred stories hitherto brought forward, whether from Germany, Holland, France, Italy, Denmark, or Armenia, have in every case passed through a long development. They have been current in many lands, and been told in many tongues.

18. Armenian form of tale.

The Armenian tale knows nothing of the father of the hero. The hero pays the dead man's debts with a view to his burial and finally is himself reduced to poverty. Here the impoverishment is not so well accounted for as in the Book of Tobit. Just as in our tale the Armenian hero also wins a rich but unfortunate heiress in marriage. He is aided in this by a man who afterwards makes himself known as the spirit of the dead man whom he had buried. To him, too, half of the estate is assigned;

but, full of gratitude, he declines to accept the gift. Here, plainly, the tale is essentially simpler. There is no journey. This last feature may have been introduced by preference in places where people liked to hear about such journeys into foreign countries. Elsewhere this feature of the story came to be forgotten. In the Armenian tale the inner connection of the parts is not so close; oral tradition is not so strict about details as one who writes down his stories. The spirit fights with his sword against a serpent that on the wedding-night comes out of the bride's mouth and seeks to kill the bridegroom. The serpent, we may safely take it, represents an evil being. A reminiscence of a similar struggle is found also in the Book of Tobit; Raphael binds the evil spirit. We are therefore led to the conclusion that two variations can be shown; in the one the hero wins the bride by conflict with an evil spirit, in the other it is by a magical charm. The interest in magical effects was particularly strong among the Babylonian Jews.[1] Possibly the tale may have acquired this feature in the course of its journey westwards from the regions of the Euphrates. A third variation, of a specially Jewish character, tells of the hero's effective prayer on the night after his wedding. This variation, the most important from the Jewish point of view, has not been able to supplant the other two in the Book of Tobit. In the Armenian tale the blind father is forgotten. Popular tradition has thought only of the hero, whilst in the Book of Tobit the narrator who, we might almost say, is constantly occupied with the endeavour to find a motive for each separate incident in the narrative, has endeavoured also to account for the father's loss of sight; possibly it was he who gave to the story the turn by which the father who buries the dead man is made to become blind. In that case we must suppose him to have attributed the meritorious work of burial to the old man. The son it is, indeed, who obtains the reward, but the old man recovers his sight, and, according to a truly Jewish notion, is rewarded in his son. An important element may have been lost in transit—the payment of the dead man's debts. But M. Plath is right in pointing out that the Jews, who were painfully punctilious about such things, may have found themselves unable to take any special interest in this feature of the story. Thus the Jewish narrator may willingly have dropped the point, seeking instead to explain the hero's impoverishment in another way—namely, as caused by his loss of sight.

The stories collected by Simrock have one more feature in common: the hero runs the risk of losing his newly-won wife. She is restored to him by the aid of the spirit. What we have here is simply a favourite method of amplifying stories by repetition of the same motive.

19. Feature common to all.

People listened with such interest to the story of the manner in which a wife was won, that they were eager to hear it again and again. Hence the hero has to be in danger of nearly losing his wife; by some one—often a previous suitor, or several of them (here we find the circumstance still preserved that the maid had many suitors)—the attempt is made to kill the hero, drown, wound, burn him. Frequently it is only at the crisis of these perils that the grateful deceased is brought into action, and helps in restoring the lost wife to the hero by whom she has previously been won single-handed. To the first successful effort to win the maid there was added another, and it was sought to make the repetition attractive by introducing variations. In doing so, no hesitation was felt in omitting the spirit's share in the exploit if this was thought desirable. The influence of Christianity also occasionally makes itself felt.

In one form of the story the rebuilding of a ruined church of St. Nicholas takes the place of pious burial of the dead. The saint afterwards plays the part usually assigned to the helpful spirit.

In many forms of these stories the aged father of the hero is retained, only he does not come so much to the front as in the Book of Tobit. It is he who sends the son forth on a journey.

Also the trait which represents the old man as blind and recovering his sight by the skill of the departed spirit, occurs in one of the stories. We may conjecture this point to have been a characteristic one in the old story. As the adventures of the son were added, the father easily fell more and more into the background; the same interest was no longer felt in his fortunes, he became a secondary character, until he finally disappeared altogether in many variants of the tale. In Tobit the development has tended in precisely the opposite direction. The wife reduced to toiling for strangers is also a favourite figure in these stories; only it is the wife of the hero, often represented as reduced to poverty in winning her.

Finally, the spirit of the departed does not always appear in human shape; some of the stories introduce him as a mere ghost. In one of them 'a vast figure' supports the hero, in another a tiny, wrinkled mannikin, in a third a bird, in a fourth a raven, in a fifth a swan, in a sixth a talking wolf. In the Book of Tobit the rescuer appears in human shape; there are traces, however, which might seem to indicate that an animal-form appeared in one of the variations.

A dog follows the youth on his journey to and fro—in a meaningless way, one might almost say. Surely it would be exaggeration at least to call this, as M. Plath does, 'a charming touch of naive miniature-painting.' We should at least expect on the homeward journey, that the dog would go before and make known the travellers' return. It was only in a late redaction that this natural expectation was gratified (so Syr. and Jer.). Now, just as in the account of the maiden's rescue from the evil spirit traces are to be found of an older tradition, it is possible that here also we have a trace of the same sort. The dog which accompanies the hero when he starts may have been in one of the variations of the tale the spirit of the dead man. In another, which has a more historical air, there survives only a feeble recollection of this feature, to which afterwards increased importance came once more to be attached.

If we choose to lay stress on the fact that the demon bears the name of Asmodeus, which comes from the Persian Aēshma daēva, we might find further confirmation of the conjecture just offered when it is reflected that with the Persians a certain power over evil spirits was assigned to the dog. Thus we get four variations in the story of the winning of the maiden, somewhat as follows:—

(*a*) The myth of the fight of a radiant heavenly being with a demon (cp on Persian soil the Sraosha's combat against Aēshma daēva); (*b*) the story of a dog as a faithful protector and travelling-companion (cp the wolf in Simrock); (*c*) the story of the magic remedy against the impure spirit; (*d*) the edifying tale of the pious prayer on the wedding-night. Cp ZOROASTRIANISM, § 22.

We shall therefore have to attribute to the Tobit legend a foreign origin. Nor shall we be going too far if we suppose that abroad numerous variations were already afloat.

20. Foreign origin.

In the story as it spreads by word of mouth, the separate features get displaced; many are forgotten, new things are added. One idea, however, is firmly held: the idea, namely, that to have pity on the unburied dead is a meritorious work; it is sure of its reward; the buried one is grateful. The history of the Book of Tobit shows us how even in remote times the nations learned from each other, and how they worked up the material they had thus acquired, each in its own way. The Jewish nation also, which we are erroneously in the habit of regarding as so exclusive, takes up a foreign legend, goes on repeating it until it has got it into fixed oral form, in order next to pass it on to some story-writer who is able to shape it into an edifying household tale, capable, in subsequent adaptations suited to the requirements of each successive time, of ministering comfort to many succeeding generations.

[1] See *Jüdisch-Babylonische Zaubertexte*, ed. Stübe (Halle, 1895).

The most important modern commentaries are those of Ilgen, *Die Geschichte Toby's nach dreÿ verschiedenen Originalen, dem Griechischen, dem Lateinischen des Hieronymus und einem Syrischen*, etc., 1800; Fritzsche in *KGH*, 1853; Wace in *Speaker's Comm.*, 1888; and Zöckler in *KGH*, 1891. On the Aḥikar story see the literature cited under ACHIACHARUS, especially *The Story of Aḥikar from the Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Greek, and Slavonic Versions*, by F. C. Conybeare, J. Rendel Harris, and Agnes Smith Lewis. Nestle, review of *The Story of Aḥikar*, *Exp.T* 10 [1899] 276 *f.*, and 'Zum Buche Tobit,' *Septuagintastudien*, 2 [1899] 22 *ff.*; J. Rendel Harris, 'The Double Text of Tobit,' *Amer. J. Theol.*, July 1899, pp. 541-554; Moulton, 'The Iranian Background of Tobit,' *Exp.T*, March 1900, pp. 257-260.

21. Literature.

W. E.

TOCHEN (תֹּכֶן; θοκκα [B], -χχαν [A], ενθεκεμ [='ת עין?] and ιεχθεμ, perhaps a doublet, [L]), a village in Judah assigned to SIMEON (§ 10), 1 Ch. 4 32. It corresponds to the Ether of ‖ Josh. 19 7, which is probably a corruption of ATHACH (*q.v.*).

In Josh. (*l.c.*) 𝔊^B inserts θαλχα (var. in cursives θαακ, θααλ)—*i.e.*, Tochen,—before ιεθερ—*i.e.*, Ether. Bennett (*SBOT*, 'Josh.,' Heb.) follows 𝔊^B, but the insertion must be due to a later correction. תכן is perhaps a corruption of עתך. See ATHACH.

TOGARMAH (תֹּגַרְמָה, Gen. 10 3 [P], elsewhere תּוֹגַרְמָה: θοργαμα [BQD^sil EL], θεργαμα [B in Ezek. 38 6; but θαιργαμα in 27 14; Q in Ezek. and A everywhere except 1 Ch. 1 6 θορραμ]; *Thogormah* in Gen., elsewhere *Thogorma*, Pesh. *tūgarmā*).

Togarmah appears in Gen. 10 3 1 Ch. 1 6 as third son of Gomer, son of Japheth; also (as Beth-Togarmah) in Ezek. 27 14 as a people trading with Tyre in horses and mules, and in 38 6 as representing the far north, and forming part, with Gomer, of the army of Gog. Josephus thought of the Phrygians, who were famous for their horses (Hom. *Il.* 3 185); the Armenians, however, in later times claimed Haik the son of Thorgom for their ancestor. The name has been identified by Delitzsch and Halévy independently with Tel-garimmu, a city (mentioned by Sargon and Sennacherib) situated on the border of Tabali (see TUBAL). That *l* (ל) had become *o* in the document from which P drew, surprises Schrader (*KAT*(2) 85), nor can we blame him. The truth probably is that here, as elsewhere in Gen. 10, corruption and reconstruction are jointly the causes of the present form of the Table of Nations. 'Gomer' is one of the current corruptions of 'Jeraḥmeel'; Ashkenaz is a combination of Asshur and Kenaz; Riphath is a corruption of Zarephath (the southern Zarephath), and Togarmah represents either Gomer simply or Beth-gomer (=Beth-jerahmeel). This throws light on Ezek. 27 14 38 6. See *Crit. Bib.*

See Del. *Par.* 246; *Calwer Bib.-Lex.* 906; Hal. *REJ* 13 13; Lag. *Armenische Studien*, § 865. T. K. C.

TOHU (תֹּחוּ), b. Zuph, a name in the genealogy of Samuel (1 S. 1 1, θοκε [B], θοου [A], θωε [L]), corresponding to NAHATH (נַחַת; καιναθ [B], κ.ναθ [A], νααθ [L]; *nāḥāth* [Pesh.]) in 1 Ch. 6 26 [11], and to TOAH (תּוֹחַ; θειε=תיח [B], θοουε [A], νααθ [L]; *tāḥu* [Pesh.]; *Thohu* [Vg.] as in Sam.) in *v.* 34 [19]. The second of these forms (נחת) may have arisen out of תחת by a scribe's error. But this is not certain, for Nahath, in Gen. 36 13, is the son of Re'uel=Jeraḥmeel (Che.). Most (*e.g.*, Klost., Dr., Bu., Ki.) adopt the form Tohu; but, on the assumption that Zuph is really an Ephraimite place-name, some prefer תַּחַן or תַּחַת (cp We. *Prol.*(4) 220; Marq. *Fund.* 12, and see TAHATH, EPHRAIM, § 12).

[The subject, though small, is intricate, and the correct reading of the text can only be decided as a part of a larger inquiry, which includes the question whether Samuel was not really of a Jeraḥmeelite family, belonging perhaps to Benjamite territory in the Negeb. Textual criticism, too, has to be practised comprehensively. Cp RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM.—T. K. C.]

TOI (תֹּעִי, θουου or θοου [B], θαει [AL], 2 S. 8 9 *f.*), or TOU (תֹּעוּ, θωα [Bא], θοου [A], θολα [L]; *Pul, king of the men of Antioch* [Pesh.], 1 Ch. 18 9 *f.*), king of Hamath, who sent his son Joram (or, as Ch., HADORAM) to 'salute' David (*i.e.*, to recognise his suzerainty) and to offer presents of silver, gold, and bronze, after David's victory over Hadad-ezer. If the text is correct, Toi's Hamath cannot be the great Syrian city of Hamath, whose king was too powerful to mind David, and indeed was not one of David's neighbours, but a second Hamath, on the W. of Zobah, which formed a state on the same minute scale as Maacah (=Geshur). So Winckler (*GI* 2 209 *f.*). More probably, however, both here and wherever a Hamath is spoken of as on the border of Israel, חמת (MT Hamath) should be מעכת (Maacath).

It is, to say the least, uncertain which of the two Maacahs is intended here (see MAACAH). The Hadad-ezer defeated by David may have been king of Zarephath (not ZOBAH). In this case 'Maacah' may be another name for the territory of REHOBOTH (*q.v.*), and תעי will perhaps be a corrupt form of תלמי, TALMAI (*q.v.*). Cp, however, Driver and Budde [*SBOT*] on 2 S., *l.c.* T. K. C.

TOKHATH (תָּקְהַת, *ḳrê*), 2 Ch. 34 22; see TIKVATH.

TOLA (תּוֹלָע, θωλα [BADFL]), b. Puah, b. Dodo, an Issacharite, a deliverer of Israel, who dwelt, and finally was buried, at Shamir in 'mount Ephraim' (Judg. 10 1 *f.*); the name also occurs with Puvah, Job (or Jashub), and Shimron as a clan-name of Issachar (Gen. 46 13: θωλαν [L]; Nu. 26 23 1 Ch. 7 1 *f.*: θολαεκ, θολε, θωλαει [B]; cp **Tolaite,** Nu. *l.c.*, θωλα[ε]ι [BAFL]). On these 'minor judges' in general, see JUDGES, § 9; and on the difficulties arising out of (1) the designation 'son of Dodo,' (2) the description of Tola's home as in Mt. Ephraim, and (3) the reading καριε (or καρηε) in eight minuscules which are, with one exception, without the reference to Issachar, see ISSACHAR, §§ 2, 7; lastly, on the coincidence between Tola, 'crimson worm, cochineal,' and Puah (פואה), a plant from which a red dye was obtained, see Moore, *Judges*, 273 (cp NAMES, § 68). All these questions are still open.

The problems may seem small; but they are not insignificant. To understand 'Tola' we must revise our notions respecting Abimelech, Jair, and Jephthah, between whom 'Tola, b. Puah, b. Dodo' is introduced. In reality the three former heroes all belong to the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb, Abimelech to Cusham (see SHECHEM), Jair and Jephthah to 'Ir-gil'ad' or 'Ir-jeraḥme'el.'[1] The personal names too have suffered change; here the alteration was to a great extent caused by the wearing down of the old names in the mouth of the people. 'Abimelech,' which, superficially regarded, appears to mean 'the heaven-god is father,' may be a modification of 'Arāb-Jeraḥmeel'; 'Jair' of 'Jether,' 'Jephthah' of 'Naphtoaḥ.'[2] On the analogy of these and similar restorations, we are methodically bound to read thus in Judg. 10 1, 'Eshtaol, b. Ephrath, b. Dodi, b. Jeraḥmeel, a Zarhite; he dwelt in SHAMIR (*q.v.*) in the highlands of Jeraḥmeel.' The least obvious of these restorations is אשתאול (Eshtaol) for תולע (Tola). The emendation, which is at any rate plausible, is suggested by the combination of Zerah and Shaul in Nu. 26 13 (Gen. 46 10). Eshtaol—*i.e.*, virtually Shaul—is, in fact, a N. Arabian clan-name of the Negeb;[3] indeed, in 1 Ch. 2 53 the Eshtaolites are expressly connected with Kirjath-jearim—*i.e.* (as one can now see), Kirjath-jeraḥmeel. Καριε or καρηε should, according to sound method, represent קרח (Kareah or Korah), and this is probably the expansion of a fragment of Jerahmeel, which came to be adopted as the name of one of the Jeraḥmeelite clans. That Shemer is a N. Arabian clan-name could easily be shown at length, but is plain enough from the combination of names in 2 Ch. 24 26 (2 K. 12 21). That there is a southern Ephraim (=Jeraḥmeel) has been repeatedly maintained by the present writer (cp MICAH, 1). As to the historical kernel of Judg. 10 1 *f.*, it is enough to remark that, though genuine historical evidence is wanting, it is at any rate probable that king Saul was not the first member of the Saul-clan to strike an effective blow for Israel, and that the earliest achievements of this clan were not in Benjamin but in the Negeb.

The same emendation (זרח for יששכר) should possibly be made in Judg. 5 15 (see *Crit. Bib.*). T. K. C.

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[1] 'Kamon' in Judg. 10 5 might come from 'Mahanaim' (cp KAMON), but also from 'Jeraḥmeel' (which is moreover the probable original of 'Mahanaim' and 'Karnaim'). עָרֵי גִלְעָד in 12 7 can hardly in the present state of inquiry be regarded otherwise than as a corruption of עִיר גִלְעָד. There seems to the present writer to be evidence of a southern Gilead (another name for Jerahmeel?).

[2] Or, *vice versa*, Naphtoaḥ (cp Naphtuḥim) is a modification of Jiphtaḥ; cp Nathan and Ethan.

[3] 'Eshtaol' is probably a modification of the clan-name Shaul; the *t* is a transition-consonant—*i.e.*, it facilitates the transition from one articulation to another (cp Kön., *Lehrg.* 2 1, p. 472).

TOLAD (תּוֹלָד), 1 Ch. 4 29; in Josh. 15 30 ELTOLAD.

TOLBANES (τολβανης [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 25 = Ezra 10 24, TELEM.

TOLL (מִדָּה, Ezra 4 20; מִנְדָּה, Ezra 4 13 7 24). See TAXATION, § 7 n.; cp TRADE, § 83 (*f.*) (2).

TOLMAN (τολμαν [A]), 1 Esd. 5 28 RV = Ezra 2 42, TALMON.

TOMBS.[1] As already observed (see DEAD, § 1, col. 1041), the regular practice of the Hebrews was to bury their dead, the instances in which they burned them being exceptional and extraordinary.[2] The explanation is to be sought in the idea that the human soul remained even after death in some kind of connection with the body; in the case of unburied persons, as long as the body found no resting-place, the soul also had none. The spirits of such departed ones wander restlessly about, and even in the world of the dead, in Sheol, must hide themselves in holes and corners (Ezek. 32 23 Is. 14 15, etc.).

1. Religious conceptions.

These views being held, one would expect to find the Hebrews not only attaching great importance to burial but also giving special care to making their tombs as splendid and artistic as possible. It was by similar views, in point of fact, that the Egyptians were led not only to preserve—one might almost say, for ever—the bodies of their dead by embalming them, but also to build magnificent resting-places for them, dwellings resembling those of the living, and furnished with everything in which the soul when in life took most delight. Thus it was in the construction and adornment of its tombs that the art of Egypt found its most welcome tasks and the widest field for its development. With the Israelites, however, the case was quite different. With them, apart from cases where Greek or Roman influences interfered, the places of sepulture were always of the simplest description, without any resort to the arts of the painter or the sculptor. The cause of this is, naturally, to be sought in the first instance in the Hebrews' notorious deficiency in artistic endowment; in none of the fine arts did they ever make any important contribution of their own. Cp COLOURS, § 1. In the present case, however, we ought probably to take account also of the operation of a religious motive which prevented the Israelites, while borrowing from the Phœnicians in other respects, to imitate them in the architectural beauty and monumental grandeur of their tombs. The religion of Yahwè from the outset set itself against every kind of worship of the dead with the utmost emphasis.

However we may explain it, the fact is undeniable that Yahwism had at times to contend with a very strong inclination towards this form of worship. This could not fail to have its influence on the outward form given to places of burial. Everything that was fitted to promote worship of the dead in any form must have been antipathetic to Yahwism. And as the worship of the dead on the one hand led directly to the sumptuous adornment of the places where they lay, so on the other hand beauty and luxury displayed in these could not fail to promote that form of worship.

It was entirely in accordance with the spirit of Yahwism that the graves of the dead—though with all reverent piety towards the dead, and notwithstanding the existence of the view stated above—were kept as plain and simple as possible.

The whole of Palestine is rich in ancient burying-places. It would be natural, therefore, to expect full and accurate information as to the ancient Hebrew practice. This expectation, however, is not fulfilled; those which are known to us are far from having been sufficiently examined with respect to their origin and date, so that we are often unable (for example) to distinguish Christian from Jewish tombs. It lies indeed in the very nature of the case that there should be difficulty in dating these; by reason of their very simplicity they show no very characteristic architectural forms by which their period could be fixed, and inscriptions, too, are almost wholly wanting. It is not possible therefore to describe the sepulchral styles of the various ages in the order of successive periods,—in other words to sketch the development and history of this department of art. We must rest content with describing the ancient sepulchres still extant, classifying them according to the differences they show and deducing from these the characteristic features of this class of structure in the Hebrew domain.

2. Subterranean sepulchres.

The first generalisation which presents itself is that they are all of them rock-tombs, that is to say, hewn out of the living rock. Nowhere do we find any trace of built sepulchres. Of tombs above the level of the ground—mausoleums in which the sarcophagus was placed—no trace has reached us from ancient times nor do we hear of any such, any more than we hear of sarcophagi or coffins. With the Phœnicians, also, tombs above the surface are the exception, not the rule; but they are frequent in Syria in the Hellenistic period (cp, for example, the sepulchral towers of Palmyra). In so far as tombs above the surface occur in Palestine at all, they belong to the Hellenistic period; and even then the characteristic examples of this type of sepulchre are not buildings, but are hewn out of the solid rock. The same holds good of the subterranean tombs. Nor does the OT contain any hint of built sepulchres though this has often been supposed.[1] This is connected with the physical character of the country; the soft limestone of the mountains of Palestine presented many natural caverns which in the early period were used in the first instance as burial-places (see below). In particular, it was easily wrought, so that the excavation of vaults and chambers in it presented no difficulty too great for the technical skill of the Israelites to overcome.

There are indeed in Palestine (as already indicated) some examples of tombs above the surface. The best known are those of the Valley of Kedron; the so-called Tomb of Absalom and the Pyramid of Zacharias. These two, however, show quite clearly in their ornamentation the influence of Greek and late-Egyptian art; moreover, they too have been carved out of the living rock, and their arrangement is so analogous to that of the subterranean tombs as to make it quite clear that it has been copied from these.

A solitary exception would seem to be the so-called monolith of Siloam which, according to the unanimous judgment of archæologists, dates back to the pre-exilic period; but this great rock 'die' of 6.10 metres in length, 5.60 in breadth, and about 4 in height is also cut out of the living rock. It bears evidence of Egyptian influence, but on the other hand there is no trace of the Greek style. Perrot and Chipiez, however (*Hist. of Art in Jud.* 1 275 *ff.*), question for weighty reasons whether this monument really was originally and from the first intended as a tomb; more probably its purpose was formerly quite different (perhaps to serve as site for an altar) and the burial chambers and niches within must have been excavated later.

3. Phœnician models.

The model which served for the Hebrew tomb was unmistakably the Phœnician not the Egyptain type, alike as regards single sepulchres and collective groups. Here also a leading characteristic of Phœnician architecture comes clearly into the foreground (cp PHŒNICIA, § 8): the great part which is assigned to the perpendicular rock-wall. The individual tombs as well as the larger burial places were hewn by preference in steep rock-faces where nature offered these. For this purpose ready use was made of the walls of the caverns which are of such frequent occurrence in Palestine and which already furnish natural sepulchres (see below). Thus for example the hollow under the Ḥaram of Hebron—

[1] [For the various Hebrew and Greek terms, see below, § 9.]

[2] [Recent investigations at Gezer seem to show that cremation was regular among the earliest inhabitants of that district at least. But it is impossible to speak more decidedly until the excavations are completed; see *PEFQ*, 1902, pp. 347 *ff.*]

[1] On Job 3 15, see below, § 9 [5].

which has not as yet been explored with any detail—is a cave sepulchre. The finest example of a system of rock-hewn sepulchres of the type indicated is supplied by Petra, the 'City of Tombs.' There can be seen the most magnificent tombs, series upon series, with sumptuous portals, hewn at almost inaccessible heights in the perpendicular wall. These tombs, it is true, belong all of them to the later period, but thus they bear witness merely to the persistent survival of the practice. If no natural rock wall was available, then such a wall was artificially made by excavating from the surface downwards in a rocky bed a rectangular space with perpendicular walls. A quite characteristic example of this kind of burying-place is to be seen in the so-called 'Sepulchres of the Kings' at Jerusalem (fig. 1), though these also belong to the later period (1st cent. A.D.). Here we find a great enclosure (28 × 25.3 metres) excavated to a depth of 8 metres in the solid rock, and reached from the surface by a wide stair. The portal to the place of graves properly so-called, is on the western wall (see below).

On the other hand, no example has yet been found in Palestine of the shaft-tombs (tombs reached by a narrow perpendicular shaft),[1] so frequently met with in Egypt and so characteristic for this branch of architecture there. Yet it does not follow, of course, that this type of tomb was wholly unknown in Palestine in the olden time.

As regards the form of sepulchre proper in Palestine, the Phœnician type is closely followed. The extant examples fall into four classes: (1) Pigeon-hole tombs, usually called *kōkīm*,[2] rectangular recesses driven into the wall at right angles to the face, and measuring about 5-6 ft. in length by 1½ ft. in breadth and depth. Into these the body was thrust lengthways. (2) Sunken tombs which like

4. Form of tombs.

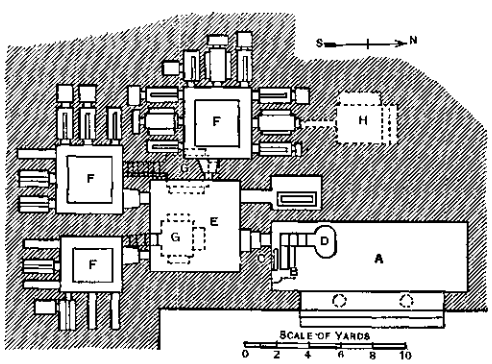


FIG. 1.—Plan of the tombs of the kings.

our modern graves were hewn out on the upper surface of the rock and closed with a flat stone. (3) Shelf tombs, that is to say benches or shelves on which the bodies were laid. These shelves either ran at a height of about 2 ft. round one or more walls of a sepulchral chamber, or else were hewn lengthways as niches in the rock wall (about 1½ ft. square, and of the length required for the body); in the latter case they were as a rule provided with an arch above. (4) Trough tombs, troughs hewn out of the perpendicular rock-wall, 1½ ft. wide and of the length of the body, some 2½ ft. above the level of the floor. These also are invariably arched. They thus represent a combination of the shelf tomb with the sunken tomb: a shelf tomb is hewn into the rock-wall and in this shelf a sunken tomb or mould like a coffin is hollowed out.

The observed departures from these four types are unimportant and in no case alter the fundamental type but relate principally to the measurements. In the *kōkīm* double resting-places are met with, that is to say, *kōkīm* of twice the ordinary width in which two bodies could be laid side by side; down the middle runs a little channel-like hollow about a handbreadth wide separating the two resting-places (see fig. 1); there are instances also of double benches for the reception of two bodies, though these are of rarer occurrence (see fig. 1 H).

In the trough-tomb class an interesting peculiarity is seen in a tomb near Ḥaifa. Here the trough-tombs are not, as is usually the case, like shelf-tombs hewn out lengthways along the wall, but like *kōkīm*, at right angles to its surface. In this case also double tombs occur corresponding to the double *kōkīm* mentioned above; a narrow slit nearly 1 foot wide separates the individual resting-places. Each pair of these is connected breadthways by a semicircular arch.

The tombs just described were not simply hewn out of the rock without further preparation. Even when it was but one grave for a single person that was in question, it was not the practice to excavate in the rock-surface a hollow like the graves we use; by preference a little subterranean chamber was made, and the grave was made in the floor or in the wall as the case might be. At first sight we might feel inclined to connect this general preference for subterranean sepulchral chambers with the original custom of using caves for purposes of burial. There was yet another element, however, which contributed to this result, namely the desire to keep the dead members of a family, or clan, still united even in the grave. In such a sepulchral chamber many graves of all the different kinds could easily be brought together. Subsequent stages were the adding of a second chamber to the first, or several chambers might be connected by passages, or great subterranean constructions made. Thus the places of burial fall into three distinct classes: (1) simple chambers for one body only which is buried in a sunken tomb in the floor. These burial chambers are frequently unclosed. (2) Single chambers with several graves of the different sorts mentioned, particularly *kōkīm* and shelf tombs. (3) Larger complexes embracing several chambers. Examples of all three classes are numerous in Palestine. To the first class, that of single chambers with only one grave, belong

5. Form of sepulchral chambers and groups of chambers.

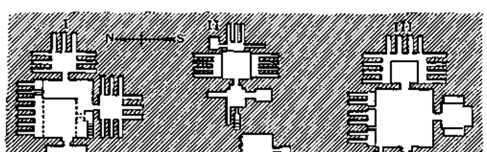


FIG 2.—Plan of the tombs of the judges.

many of the tombs on the southern slope of the Valley of Hinnom. In agreement with the purpose they serve, these chambers are for the most part rather small. Amongst these, on the side of the Hill of Evil Counsel, are also some belonging to the second class: single chambers with several graves. For a fuller account of these see Tobler (*op. cit.*, § 11 below). Very instructive examples of the third class of larger complexes are found in the so-called Sepulchres of the Kings and of the Judges in Jerusalem. Both examples indeed are of late date, but the Hellenistic influence (so far as it

[1] [Two examples of the shaft-type, however, have been found at Tell ej-Judeideh. A cylindrical shaft over 2 metres deep is hollowed in the rock, and at the bottom a small doorway leads to an irregular chamber about 1.80 metres by 1.50 (Bliss and Macalister, *PEF Excavations*, 1898-1900, p. 199 *f.* (1902).]

[[2] With the post-biblical כּוֹכִים (Dalman כּוּכִים), are connected the גוחין and גמחין of Nabatean and Palmyrene inscr. respectively; ultimately the word seems to come from the Ass. *kimaḫḫu*. For a discussion of other Nabatean terms, see De Vogüé, 'Notes d'Épigraphie araméenne,' 1175 *ff.*, *J. As.* (extrait), 1896.]

appears at all) is shown only in the ornamentation, particularly in the portal, not in the arrangement of the complex as a whole. The Sepulchres of the Kings display best the quite regular type. From the porch with a portal in Greek style a quite low narrow passage which was closed by a disk of stone leads into the approximately cubical antechamber which has no graves. Opening out of this on three sides are the three sepulchral chambers proper—also approximately cubical, with shelf and shaft tombs. Each of these chambers has a side-chamber also; of these two (fig. 1 G) are at a lower level and partly go under the principal chamber—plainly on account of the configuration of the site.

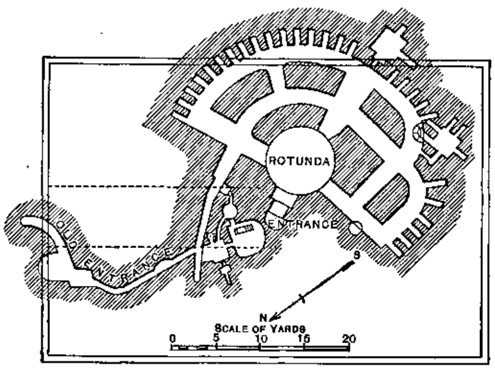


FIG. 3.—Plan of the tombs of the prophets.

This difference of level in the various chambers is the characteristic feature of the sepulchres of the Judges. These (see fig. 2) are on two different levels and, besides, in the upper sepulchral chamber, above the graves on the ground level at a height of about 3 ft. from the surface, there is a second set of chambers and graves.

A complete departure from this regularity is shown in a very interesting way by the so-called Sepulchres of the Prophets on the Mount of Olives, which hitherto are quite unique among the tombs of Palestine. They belong to the ancient—that is to say, at least pre-Grecian—period, and exhibit no trace of Hellenistic influence. Their original feature (see fig. 3) is that instead of various chambers of square or rectangular plan opening into each other, two semicircular passages round a rotunda are hewn out of the rock, and connected with one another and with the rotunda by means of ray-like passages radiating from the rotunda. In the wall of the outermost passage are 27 *kōkīm* arranged in ray-fashion, hewn out of the solid rock. Connected with this passage moreover are two side-chambers, also with *kōkīm*.

The principal difference between single tombs and family sepulchres is to be sought not so much in comparative size (for even the single tomb can have its antechamber, etc., as well as its chamber proper) as rather in the number and description of the separate resting-places.

6. Age of these forms.

So far as we are at present in a position to judge, the single tombs (*i.e.*, tombs with room for one or at most two occupants) have either shelf or trough tombs, and according to the pretty generally accepted opinion of Tobler, Mommert, and others, such tombs are to be regarded as ancient Jewish. On the other hand, according to the same authorities the single burying-place with grave hollowed in the ground is not to be dated earlier than the beginning of the Christian era. No instances are known of sepulchral chambers with only one or two *kōkīm*. This is easily accounted for: the use of this description of tomb, which demanded the smallest amount of space, was only desirable or necessary where the problem was to provide a relatively large number of resting-places within the same sepulchre. In the case of a single tomb even the smallest sepulchral chamber was always able to furnish room for a trough or shelf tomb (or alternatively a sunken tomb). *Kōkīm* are thus peculiar to family sepulchres, which in other respects have the same characteristics as single graves. The sunken tomb is also, in the case of family burying-places for the most part regarded as a sign of a relatively late date. Until, however, all the known tombs shall have been systematically examined, this question ought not to be regarded as definitely settled. So also the other questions as to the age of the shelf-, niche-, and shaft-tomb, and the frequency of their occurrence respectively at the different periods remain open.

Of one form only, namely of the *kōkīm*, can it be definitely affirmed that it was already extensively in use in the older period, as we can also say that the single chambers (mentioned above under § 5 [2]) are shown by the excavations to be, properly speaking, the oldest, and at all times the most usual type of tomb among the Israelites. These *kōkīm* placed at right angles to the wall surface, take up least room and permit the introduction of a large number of bodies into one chamber.

This arrangement appears as that most commonly in use in the Mishna also, where it alone is mentioned and precise regulations are laid down as to its size and the like (*Bābā Bathrā*, 6 8). The sepulchral chamber (מְעָרָה, *mĕʿārāh*, see CAVES) has to be 4 cubits in breadth and 6 in length; the entrance is to be on the short side; the other short side is to have two *kōkīm*, each of the longer sides three, making eight in all. It need not, however, cause any surprise to discover that the sepulchres which have been explored do not accurately answer these prescriptions (the nearest approach to them is found in a tomb at ed-Duweimeh and another on the Hill of Evil Counsel); practical necessities were stronger than prescriptions, and, in particular, the number of resting-places in each tomb greatly varies. In reality no rule is observable, but complete freedom prevails, as in the instances already cited.

That we may safely assume for the older period the employment of large complexes is made evident by the fact that the kings of Judah had two great burial-places of this description. In the first and oldest of these were buried the kings down to Hezekiah's time; Manasseh appears to have prepared a new sepulchre of the Kings (2 K. 4 18). We may safely suppose these tombs to have been of great extent, yet simpler than those of later date, and without much elaboration of ornament.

Not each separate resting-place was closed, but only the entrance to the sepulchral chamber. The sunken tombs on the surface of the ground were doubtless as a rule covered with a flat stone, but the *kōkīm* on the other hand were often left open.

7. Protection of tombs.

At the same time there was no special difficulty in this case also in closing the entrance with a stone, and this may frequently have been done. In the case of bench tombs, however, shutting up was impossible, for there the body, enveloped only in grave-clothes—coffins were not usual—was simply laid upon the shelf. All the more carefully therefore in these circumstances must the sepulchral chambers have been closed and protected against the entrance of wild beasts. The passages to these chambers are therefore for the most part very low and narrow, so that in entering one has to creep rather than walk. Even in the case of great sepulchres with fine large porches, as for example in the Sepulchre of the Kings (see fig. 1), the accesses are of this narrow sort. The external opening in such cases was closed either by a regular stone door turning on hinges, or—the more frequent case—by a round stone disk which could be rolled and placed before the entrance. Such a disk closed for example the entrance to the Sepulchres of the Kings and is still preserved. For this purpose, naturally, large and heavy stones were employed, such as one man alone could hardly move (cp Mt. 27 60: 'he rolled a great stone'). In order to ensure against slipping, another large stone, and doubtless also an underpin was frequently placed against the stone that properly constituted the door (*ZDPV*, 1878, pp. 11 *f.* 14; 1890, p. 177).

Such a method of closing served to guard the tomb against the ravages of wild beasts, but not against human visitants. This last protection, however, was

quite as necessary as the other. For nothing was so much dreaded as the desecration of the tomb by wilful violators—a dread which is easily explained from what has been said above (§ 1). And yet, it was not mere plundering of the graves, which often contained things of more or less value, or yet injury to the bodies or their disturbance (Jer. 8 1 2 K. 23 16) or even the total destruction of the tomb, that was feared. For the Hebrews it was already a great and wicked outrage if a corpse not belonging to it was laid in a grave, the dead body of one who did not belong to the family. Against such desecration at human hands full protection was certainly difficult. In some cases it was possible to hew out the sepulchre at an inaccessible height on the steep rock wall (Is. 22 16). But generally speaking it was found necessary to rely simply on the power of established custom which condemned any such wickedness in the strongest possible way. In another direction protection was sought by means of an inscription invoking the severest curses on any who should disturb the repose of the sleeper or introduce a strange body into the grave.[1]

With the Phœnicians it was a frequent custom to mark the site of a subterranean tomb by the erection of a memorial above ground. Various very interesting Phœnician monuments of the kind are still extant. On the other hand we have none that date from Old Hebrew times, and nowhere in the OT is any such practice indicated. The custom existed indeed of piling a heap of stones over the body in cases where it had been simply covered with earth; the purpose of this, however, was merely to protect from wild beasts (cp 2 S. 18 17). The pillar in the Valley of Kedron which Absalom raised for himself in his lifetime to keep his name in remembrance (2 S. 18 18) was not strictly speaking a monument but rather a pillar (*maṣṣēbāh*) having a religious purpose.[2] The memorial also at the grave of the anonymous prophet spoken of in 2 K. 23 17 may also have the same meaning. That the Hebrews at a later date adopted foreign customs in this respect also is shown by what we read of the magnificent mausoleum of the Maccabees at Modin (1 Macc. 13 27 *ff.*). See MODIN, § 3.

8. Monuments.

Hitherto little account has been taken of the notices of the subject contained in the OT. These also leave us quite in the dark as to the form and description of the sepulchres of the Hebrews.

9. Biblical data.

[The following Hebrew and Greek terms require mention:—

1. *ḳéber*, קֶבֶר, EV 'grave,' the commonest term, Gen. 23 4, etc. (Is. 22 16 with חצב, pre-supposing a rock-hewn sepulchre [cp HANDICRAFTS, § 1]); cp KIBROTH-HATTAAVAH.

2. *ḳebūrah*, קְבֻרָה, EV 'grave,' Gen. 35 20, etc.

3. *gādīš*, גָּדִישׁ, Job 21 32 † (see BDB; σωρός).

4. *nĕṣūrīm* (‖ no. 1 in Is. 65 4) AV 'monuments,' 𝔊 σπήλαιον suggests a burial-cave, but RV 'secret places' is preferable.

5. *ḥŏrābōth*, חֳרָבוֹת, Job 3 15 †, 'desolate' (RV 'waste') 'places.' Che. (*Exp.T*, Apr. 1899) reads קְבָרוֹת, following Hitz., Budde, Duhm, etc., who see an allusion to the treasures in royal sepulchres. The view that the pyramids in particular are referred to, is maintained by Budde and Duhm, but controverted by Che. in *Expositor*, 1897 *b*, 407. Ol. and formerly Che. read ארמנות, 'palaces.' But the reference seems to be to the splendour of the Sepulchre of the Kings (so at least Budde, Che., etc., but not Di. Davidson).

6. τάφος (in Ecclus. 30 18 = גליל, a stone placed over a grave), Mt. 23 29 AV 'tomb' (RV 'sepulchre,' and so EV in *v.* 27), etc.

7. μνῆμα, Mk. 5 5 Lk. 8 27.

8. μνημεῖον, Mt. 23 29 RV (AV 'sepulchre'), 27 52 *f.* (AV 'grave'), *ib.* 60*a* (in 60*b* AV 'sepulchre').

Nos. 6-8 are frequently used by 𝔊 indiscriminately to translate *ḳéber* and *ḳebūrāh*.]

The data supplied establish before aught else the great importance that was attached to having the members of the same family united even after death in a common tomb.

(Cp Gen. 15 15 2 S. 17 23 1 K. 4 31 15 8 24 22 51 2 K. 15 38, and often.) Barzillai desires to die beside the grave of his father and mother (2 S. 19 38 [37]); David in his magnanimity causes the bones of Saul to be buried in the tomb of Saul's father Kish (2 S. 21 14); Nehemiah gives it as his reason for wishing to go to Jerusalem that the fathers are buried there (Neh. 2 5). Jacob and Joseph lay upon their descendants an oath that they will bring their bones to the sepulchre of their fathers, in the cave of Machpelah at Hebron (Gen. 47 29 *f.* 49 29 *ff.* 50 25). Hence P's constantly repeated phrase 'to be gathered to one's fathers' (Gen. 25 8 17 35 29 Nu. 27 13 31 2 Dt. 32 50) with the corresponding expression of Kings ('he slept with his fathers' (1 K. 14 31 15 8 24 22 51 2 K. 15 38, etc.), expressions both in the first instance to be understood literally of their being gathered to the sepulchre of their ancestors.

Not to be buried with one's ancestors is a great hardship, a punishment with which conspicuous offenders are threatened by God; as witness the case of the disobedient prophet (1 K. 13 22), of Ahaz (1 K. 21 24), and others. Poor people, indeed, who had not the means to procure family graves of their own, strangers from a distance—pilgrims, for example—as also criminals, had to be content to find a last resting-place in the common public burial-place (2 K. 23 6 Is. 53 9 Jer. 26 23 Mt. 27 7). In family tombs naturally none but members of the family came to be laid; to bury in it a stranger who had no title to the privilege was equivalent to desecrating it (see above). At the same time, on this point the views of a later age seem to have grown laxer, and instances are not wanting in which a stranger was admitted to the family tomb. But it is always a great sacrifice and a token of special esteem or regard for the deceased or for his people that is implied (Gen. 23 6 1 K. 13 30 *ff.* 2 Ch. 24 16 Mt. 27 60).

These family tombs were made in the oldest times on the family property in the vicinity of the family abode, an arrangement which is easy to understand in view of the fact that community of family life was held to continue after death.

Thus Samuel is buried beside his house in Ramah (1 S. 25 1), Joab in his own house in the wilderness of Judah (1 K. 2 34). The sepulchres of the kings of Judah lay quite close to the palace within the citadel in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple, as we see from Ezekiel's sharp rebuke (cp Ezek. 43 7). From Manasseh onwards, the kings were buried in the 'Garden of Uzza' (see UZZA ii.); the old burying-place was probably full, but of course the new one was made not far from the old. The 'Garden of Uzza' (if Uzza = Azariah) may well have been a garden laid out by that king within the citadel, and thus the allusion may be to a palace built by Manasseh in the garden of Uzza, in or near which he also prepared his burial-place.

It will be readily understood, however, that this very soon became an impossibility in the towns, and that for practical reasons the sepulchres had to be placed outside the walls.

10. Impurity of tombs.

This became the case all the more as with a later age the idea of the impurity of sepulchres came into increasing prominence. The law of P enacts that everyone who has come into contact with a dead body or with a bone of a man, or even with a grave, shall be unclean for a period of seven days (Nu. 19 16). Since, as remarked above (§ 8), the underground tombs of the Israelites were for the most part not marked out by means of monuments above ground, and it was not altogether easy at once to recognise from a safe distance a sepulchre or the entrance to one, the custom arose of white-washing afresh the stone at the door every spring. In this manner a grave was made recognisable from afar and the passer-by could guard himself against defilement (Mt. 23 27).

Descriptions of particular tombs are to be met with in almost all books of travel in Palestine. Of researches of scientific value the most important will be found in the works named below. Titus Tobler, *Golgotha*, 1851, and *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem*, esp. 2 227 *ff.*; Robinson, *BR*; Sepp, *Jerusalem und das heilige Land*,(2) 1873, esp. 2 273 *ff.*; Karl Mommert,

11. Literature.

[1] Cp, for example, the inscription in the Ešmunazar sarcophagus, *l.* 6, and various Nabatæan inscriptions (Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien* [Berlin, 1885], no. 2); or the inscription of Darius Hystaspis. Unfortunately no ancient Hebrew tomb inscriptions have come down to us.

[2] For *maṣṣēbāh* (in Ph. 'gravestone') see col. 2975, and for *ṣiyyūn* (ציון), 2 K. 23 17, etc. (RV 'monument'), col. 2978 (*e*).

Golgotha und das heilige Grab zu Jerusalem (1900); *The Survey of Western Palestine*, 1881 *ff.* Copious material is also supplied by the journals devoted to Palestine exploration: *PEFQSt.* (1873 *ff.*), *ZDPV* (1878 *ff.*), *Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten d. Deutschen Pal.-Vereins* (1895 *ff.*), *Revue biblique trimestrielle* (1882 *ff.*). For description of the more important individual tombs see further Baedeker-Benzinger, *Pal.* (p. cxi.), and for Phœnician and Syrian tombs de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale* (1865), 1 103-110 2 70-97. I. B.

TONGS (1) מֶלְקָחַיִם, *mĕlḳāḥáyim*, Is. 6 6, etc., EV rightly. See COOKING UTENSILS, § 4, and CANDLESTICK, § 2. (2) מַעֲצָד, *ma'ăṣād*, Is. 44 12, AV wrongly. See AXE.

TONGUES, CONFUSION OF. See BABEL, [TOWER OF].

TONGUES, GIFT OF. See SPIRITUAL GIFTS.

TOPARCHY (τοπαρχια [ℵ^{c.a.}V]), 1 Macc. 11 28 AV, RV PROVINCE (*q.v.*).

TOPAZ (פִּטְדָה, τοπαζιον). The precious stone called *piṭdah* occurs in the list of stones on the high priest's breastplate (Ex. 28 17 *ff.* = 39 10 *ff.*); also in the list (derived by an interpolator from that in Exodus) of the gems with which the king of Tyre (צוֹר) or perhaps Miṣṣur (מִצּוֹר; see PARADISE, § 3) is said in a prophetic poem to have been adorned in Eden (Ezek. 28 13). Lastly, a τοπάζιον (EV 'topaz') is represented as one of the foundation-stones of the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev. 21 20).

1. Topaz of Strabo and Rev. 21 20?

Strabo (16 770) describes the topaz as diaphanous and emitting a gold-like light (λίθος . . . διαφανὴς χρυσοειδὲς ἀποστίλβων φέγγος), not easily seen in the daytime for it is outshone (ὑπεραυγεῖται γάρ), and as obtained only in the Ophiodes island off the Troglodytic coast of the Red Sea, about the latitude of Berenice.[1] The monopoly was carefully guarded by the Ptolemies. Pliny (*HN* 37 8, cp 6 34) describes the stone as green, meaning doubtless olive green (e virenti genere), and calls the island Cytis or Topazus. This agrees with the Targum's rendering מרגלא ירקא, 'yellow-green gem,' in Job 28 19, and with the phrase פִּטְדַת כּוּשׁ, '*piṭdāh* of Ethiopia,' in the (traditional) Hebrew text of this passage.

The stone intended by the Greek geographers was almost certainly the transparent variety of olivine now generally known as peridote, which is usually some shade of olive-pistachio or leek-green (on the yellow variety see CHRYSOLITE, TARSHISH [STONE]). The topaz of modern mineralogists (yellow, blue, or colourless) was unknown to the ancients.

This may no doubt be a correct identification of the τοπάζιον of Rev. 21 20. It is much less certain whether

2. Assyrian ḫipindu in OT.

'topaz' (explained as above) is the right rendering of *piṭdāh*. Is the theory more than a superficial conjecture,[2] based on the metathesis of *p* and *t*? Can we give any satisfactory philological account of *piṭdāh*? A Sanskrit etymology (*pita*, yellowish, pale; von Bohlen) is still to be found in some books of reference; but for such a case there is no sure analogy (ברקת is surely not a Sanskr. loan-word; see EMERALD), and no tradition mentions India as the home either of the τοπάζιον or of the *piṭdāh*. Experience leads us to suspect that there may be a transcriptional error, and if so it is reasonable to look to Assyria for a word out of which פטדה may have been corrupted. Using this key we may very plausibly assume that פטדה is an early corruption of חפנד—*i.e.*, *ḫipindu*, or perhaps of **ḫipiṭdu* (whence **ḫipiddu*, *ḫipindu*).

This is the name of a precious stone referred to in the Ass. inscriptions (see Del. and Muss-Arnolt, *s.v.*), and explained there by *aban išâti*—*i.e.*, not literally 'a stone of fire,' but 'a flashing stone' = אֶבֶן אֵשׁ, *'ében 'ēsh*, in Ezek. 28 14 (‖ אֶבֶן יְקָרָה = 'precious stone,' *v.* 13).[1] Not only in Exodus and Ezekiel, but also in Gen. 2 12 (in the penultimate form of the text),[2] in Nu. 11 7, and in Is. 54 12 a thorough textual criticism permits us to restore the word חפנד (Ass. *ḫipindu*). In the first of these passages, the statement, 'there is bdellium and the onyx-stone,' certainly misrepresents the writer's meaning. As the text stood at a comparatively early period it must have referred rather to the *ḫipindu* and the *šōham*.[3] In the second passage, we are bound to hold that the *appearance* (עַיִן) of the manna was likened, not to any resinous substance like BDELLIUM (*q.v.*), but to something which would at once strike the imagination. A precious stone like the *ḫipindu* satisfies this condition,[4] and we may plausibly adopt the view of 𝔊 that crystal is intended; the transparence of rock-crystal (see CRYSTAL) would make it an appropriate comparison. In the third, we can hardly rest satisfied with the purely conjectural rendering 'carbuncles' for אבני אקדח; experience of corruption elsewhere leads one to emend the first of these words into חפנד (*ḫipindu*), disregarding the second as a corruption of a dittographed כדכד (see *v.* 12*a*). Read, therefore, in Is. 54 12, ושעריך לחפנד, 'and thy gates of *ḫipindu*.' It only remains to be added that in Job 28 19, פִּטְדַת־כּוּשׁ also probably presents two corruptions —*i.e.*, not only has פטדת come out of חפנד, but כּוּשׁ is a mutilated and corrupt form of (וְ)חַלְמִישׁ 'and *ḥalmiš* (see TARSHISH, STONE OF), where *ḥalmiš* may perhaps be the white sapphire, a suitable stone to be combined with the *ḫipindu*, which seems to be the rock-crystal (see above). If this correction be accepted, together with the correction of *v.* 18*a* given under TARSHISH [STONE], § 3, it will be plausible to identify the 'Edomite stone' mentioned in *v.* 18*a* with the *ḫipindu*-stone referred to in *v.* 19*a*. It is also at any rate possible that the *ḫipindu*-stone should displace the very questionable 'apes and peacocks' in 1 K. 10 22 (see OPHIR).

RVmg. 'topaz' for *taršîš* in Cant. 5 14 can hardly be justified, except as a warning of the Revisers not to be sure that *taršîš* is rightly rendered 'beryl.' See BERYL, TARSHISH (STONE OF).

T. K. C.

TOPHEL (תֹּפֶל; τοφολ [BAL]), a locality near the wilderness, mentioned with Laban, Hazeroth, and Di-zahab (Dt. 1 1†). See SUPH, WANDERINGS, § 10.

TOPHET, TOPHETH (הַתֹּפֶת), Is. 30 33 Jer. 7 31 etc. The Aramaic connection (see MOLECH, § 3), rejected by Delitzsch (*Isaiah*, ET, 2 40) has been brilliantly defended by Robertson Smith (in *RS*(2) 377 n.). We must not, however, lay too much stress on the supposed description of a Topheth (תפתה becomes in EV 'Topheth') in Is. 30 33, for, as well as its context, it is (not incurably) corrupt; see *Crit. Bib.*, *ad loc.* The ancient etymologies (from תֹּף, 'tympanum' or פתח, 'aperuit') need only bare mention. Cp MOLECH, § 3.

T. K. C.

TORCH (לַפִּיד, *lappīd*; λαμπας), Nah. 2 4[5] Zech. 12 6 Jn. 18 3 (λαμπας). Cp LAMP. The military use of torches was common in ancient warfare; cp Statius, *Theb.* iv. 6.

On פְּלָדוֹת, *pĕlādōth*, Nah. 2 3[4], see IRON, § 2.

TORMAH (תָּרְמָה; for 𝔊 see ARUMAH, and cp Moore, 'Judges,' *SBOT* [Heb.]), mentioned in the story of ABIMELECH (*q.v.*), Judg. 9 31 EVmg. Moore and Budde identify it with ARUMAH (*q.v.*).

Very possibly both ארמה (Arumah) and Tormah (תרמה) are corruptions of ירחמאל. Underlying the present story of Gideon, who was of Ophrah near Shechem (so Moore), there seems to have been an earlier tale with different geography. The districts of Ophrah and Cusham-jerahmeel were among those which the 'children of the East' (or rather [col. 1719, n. 4] the Amalekites) devastated, and which Gideon set free from their

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[1] Cp Diod. Sic. 3 39: λίθος διαφαινόμενος ἐπιτερπής, ὑάλῳ παρεμφερὴς καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἔγχρυσον πρόσοψιν παρεχόμενος—'a stone of a pleasing diaphanous ["glowing," see L. and S.] character, somewhat like glass, and presenting a wonderful golden appearance.'

[2] Precisely such a guess led to the rendering of פַּז by τοπάζιον in 𝔊 Ps. 119 127, unless indeed τοπ. there is a corruption of παζ. But in 𝔊 Cant. 5 11, פַּז is transliterated as φαζ.

[1] See CHERUB, col. 742, n. 2. The same transition from 'burning' to 'flashing' occurs in the use of *ḫamâṭu*, (1) to burn, (2) to flash. Cp *ḫimṭu*, 'bright, shining.' See Del. *Ass. HWB.*

[2] For the most probable original form of the text, see PARADISE, § 5.

[3] Read שם אבן החפנד והשהם. Cp GOLD, § 1; ONYX. 𝔊, it is true, gives ἄνθραξ, perhaps reading אקדח instead of ברלח.

[4] *I.e.*, for כעי הברלח read כעין החפנד.

raids, and Mt. Jeraḥmeel (not Gilboa, see SAUL, § 4) was the place where the hero encamped. Cusham-jeraḥmeel was the city of which Abimelech made himself king, and Jeraḥmeel (or rather, no doubt, some popular shortened form of it) was the name of the place (in the Jeraḥmeelite region) where Abimelech resided when Zebul sent word to him of Gaal's intrigues. Cp SHECHEM.

It is important to notice (1) that P knows of Gideoni as a Benjamite name (Nu. 1 11, etc.), (2) that the list of David's heroes (2 S. 23 27) contains the name of Abiezer the Anathothite, and (3) that an Ophrah is known to have existed in the land of Benjamin; Gideon was, upon this theory, a hero of S. Palestine. Cp MEONENIM, MOREH. T. K. C.

TORTOISE (צָב, *ṣāb;* ο κροκοδειλος ο χερσαιος; *crocodilus*). The Heb. word thus rendered by the AV in Lev. 11 29, has been supposed by some to mean a kind of crocodile (cp 𝔊 Pesh., etc.), whilst, according to the Talmudists, it denoted a 'toad.' Most, however, take the word, like its Ar. equivalent *ḍabb*, to mean some kind of LIZARD (*q.v.*); RV renders GREAT LIZARD.

The tortoise, which AV preferred, belongs to that group of the Reptilia called the Chelonia, which is represented in Palestine by two species of land tortoise, and several aquatic. *Testudo ibera*, the Mauritanian tortoise, is the commonest species; it is widely distributed independent of soil, and is found from Mogador to Persia. In S. Palestine its place is taken by *T. leithii*, which prefers a sandy soil. The terrapins, *Clemmys caspica*, var. *rivulata*, are frequent in the streams and pools of Palestine, and *Emys orbicularis*, a synonym for *E. europæa*, is found in the lakes of Gennesaret and Ḥûleh. The Egyptian soft tortoise, *Trionyx triunguis*=*T. ægyptiacus*, an African species, has been taken in the Liṭānī and the Nahr-el-Kelb. A. E. S.—S. A. C.

TORTURE (ετυμπανισθησαν), Heb. 11 35. See MACCABEES (SECOND), § 8.

TOU (תֹּעוּ), 1 Ch. 18 9 *f.*; in 2 S. 8 9 TOI.

TOW. (1) פִּשְׁתָּה, *pišteh*, Is. 43 17, RV FLAX. (2) נְעֹרֶת, *nĕʿōreth*, Judg. 16 9 Is. 1 31; √נער, 'to shake,' so 'that which is shaken off' from the flax (see BDB).

TOWER. The psalmists compare God to a lofty, impregnable tower or fort; מִשְׂגָּב, *misgāb*, and מְצוּדָה, *mĕṣūdāh*, occur in combination, 18 3 [2], also separately. *Misgāb* conveys the idea of height; *Mĕṣūdāh* that of ambush (David's מְצוּדָה, EV 'hold,' may have suggested the application of the term[1]). But the ordinary word for 'tower' is מִגְדָּל, *migdāl*, an old Canaanitish term, also found as a loan-word in Egyptian[2] (see MIGDOL, and cp NAMES, § 106). Towers were used both for the defence of cities (see FORTRESS, § 5) and for the protection of flocks and vineyards (see CATTLE, § 1, and cp 'tower of the watchmen,'[3] 2 K. 17 9; 'tower of the flock,' Mic. 4 8, cp EDER). These protecting towers were probably adjoined by the rude houses of peasants, and out of these groups of dwellings larger places would arise.

The towers of Babel (Gen. 11 4), Penuel (Judg. 8 9 17), Shechem (Judg. 9 46 *ff.*), and Siloam (Lk. 13 4, πύργος) are especially mentioned; also in AV of 2 K. 5 24, a tower which, from *v.* 8, we might believe to be that of Samaria. But though עֹפֶל, *'ōphel*, will bear the meaning 'tower' in Is. 32 14 (‖ בַּחַן), the primary sense of the word is 'hill' (lit. 'swelling'). Hence RV renders 'hill.' The versions all render as if they read אֹפֶל, *'ōphel* (*e.g.*, Tg. לְאַתַר כְּסֵי, 'to a secret place'; 𝔊 εἰς τὸ σκοτεινόν). Pesh., however, implies אֶל־אֹפֶל הָהָר. Cp OPHEL. We also hear of a 'tower of David' (Cant. 4 4), which may be a slip for 'tower of Solomon' (cp 1 K. 7 2), and, at least in the EV, of the 'tower' of SYENE (*q.v.*), and cp MIGDOL.

A third word for 'tower' is בַּחַן, *báḥan*, Is. 32 14 (RV 'watch-tower'), or בַּחִין (Kr. בַּחוּן), Is. 23 13 (of siege-towers), and a fourth is מָעוֹז, *mā'ōz*, which unites the meanings of 'fortress' and 'refuge' (Ps. 27 1 31 5 [4], etc.); see Del. on Ps. 31 5 [4].

TOWN in EV sometimes corresponds to (1) עִיר, *'īr* (see CITY)—*e.g.*, in 'unwalled town' (Dt. 3 5 RVmg. 'country town'; Esth. 9 19), or 'town [RV city] in the country' 1 S. 27 5 (בְּאַחַת עָרֵי הַשָּׂדֶה); also to four of the terms [(2), (3), (4), (8)] also rendered VILLAGE (*q.v.*).

TOWNCLERK (γραμματευς), Acts 19 35. See EPHESUS, § 2.

TRACHONITIS. The name of the region surrounding and including the 'Trachon,' a remarkable volcanic formation, beginning about 25 m. S. of Damascus, and 40 m. E. of the Sea of Galilee, mentioned in the Bible only once, Lk. 3 1 (τῆς Ἰτουραίας καὶ Τραχωνίτιδος χώρας), as part of the 'tetrarchy' of Philip, one of the sons of Herod the Great (see vol. 2 col. 2033 *f.*, 2041 *f.*). The word itself is a derivative of Τράχων, the name given by the Greeks to the 'rough' and rugged areas, formed by lava deposits, which are characteristic of the region S. and E. of Damascus (see Fischer's Map of this district in *ZDPV* 12 [1889] *H.*, 4). Strabo (xvi. 2 20) speaks of two 'hills' called Τράχωνες beyond Damascus (ὑπέρκεινται δ᾽ αὐτῆς δυὸ λεγόμενοι λόφοι Τράχωνες): the more remote and easternmost of these is the rugged basaltic area, bare and uninhabited, now called *Tulūl eṣ-Ṣafā* ('the hills of stone'), 55 m. SE. of Damascus:[1] the other is the nearer and better known 'Trachonitis' of Philip, corresponding to the modern *Leja* (*i.e.*, *lajā'ah*, refuge, retreat), so called because, from its physical character, it forms a natural fortress or retreat, where bandits could feel themselves secure, or which could be held by a small body of defenders against even a determined invader.[2]

1. Name.

The entire region S. and SE. of Damascus was once actively volcanic, and the SE. corner of the Leja is contiguous to the NW. end of the *Jebel Haurān* range—called also now, from its having been largely colonised by Druses migrating from Lebanon, the *Jebel ed-Drūz*—with its many conical peaks (Ps. 68 16 *f.* [15 *f.*]), the craters of extinct volcanoes; and it is to the streams of basaltic lava, emitted in particular by the *Gharārat el-Ḳibliyeh*, and the neighbouring *Tell Shīḥān* (see view in Merrill, 15), at the NW. end of this range, that the Leja owes its origin. In shape, the Leja resembles roughly a pear; it is about 25 m. long from N. to S. and 19 m. broad from E. to W.; and it embraces an area of some 350 sq. m. It rises to a height of from 20 to 40 ft. above the surrounding plain, so that it looks from a distance like a rocky coast; its surface is rugged, and intersected by innumerable crevices and fissures. 'In its outline or edge the bed is far from being regular, but sends out at a multitude of points, black promontories of rock into the surrounding plain. Through this rugged shore there are a few openings into the interior, but for the most part it is impassable, and roads had to be excavated to the towns situated within it.' The appearance of the Lejā is very strange. 'Its surface is black, and has the appearance of the sea when it is in motion beneath a dark cloudy sky, and when the waves are of good size, but without any white crests of foam. But this sea of lava is motionless, and its great waves are petrified. In the process of cooling the lava cracked, and in some cases the layers of great basalt blocks look as if they had been prepared and placed where they are by artificial means. In other

2. Description.

[1] In 1 Ch. 11 7 12 8 16, we find מְצָד (EV 'hold,' except in 11 7, where AV 'castle,' RV 'stronghold'); the 'city of David' is meant, for which 2 S. 5 7 has מְצוּדָה (EV 'strong hold').

[2] It also exists in Liḥyan (an offshoot of Sabæan), and in MI; but there is no trace of it in Assyrian.

[3] The difficult phrase rendered in EV 'as a besieged city' (Is. 1 8) means rather, as Hitz. and Ges. (*Thes.*) suppose, 'a watch-tower' (מגדל נצרים=עיר נצורה). Nearly so thinks Duhm. But this has no solid basis. Perhaps we shoud read עִיר עֲזוּבָה, 'a forsaken city,' or the like (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* (Addenda).

[1] See Wetzstein, *Hauran*, 6 *ff.*; Porter, *Damascus*,(2) 152 *f.*; Burton and Drake, *Unexplored Syria* (1872), 1 207-250; v. Oppenheim, *Vom Mittelmeer zum Pers. Golf* (1899), 1 229-33 (with photographs).

[2] In 1838, 6000 Druses defended it successfully against Ibrahīm Pasha, who lost 20,000 men in the attempt to force it.

cases, the hillocks have split lengthwise, or sometimes into separate portions; and thus seams have been opened, forming great fissures and chasms which cannot be crossed. Elsewhere again the lava bed has not been broken into such small hillocks, but has more the appearance of what we call a rolling prairie. There are between the hillocks, and also in the rolling parts, many intervals of soil, free from stones, which are of surprising fertility' (Merrill, *E. of Jordan*, 11 *f.*). The soil in these depressions is still cultivated in parts, and affords pasture for flocks: remains of ancient vineyards have also been found in them. At many points (*ibid.* 14) there are copious springs, though not, apparently (Rindfleisch, 15), in the interior. Besides the seams and fissures that have been spoken of, there are also many caves, which have been occupied as dwellings. Bands of robbers lurk in them at the present day (cp how Porter was attacked, *Damascus*,(2) 273 *ff.*). Outlaws from the settled portions of the country flee hither, and are comparatively safe. In the vicinity of Dāmā (the highest point in the Lejā) 'so rough and rugged is the country, so deep the gullies and ravines, and so lofty the overhanging rocks, that the whole is a labyrinth which none but the Arabs can penetrate' (Porter, 283).[1]

It is worthy of note how closely these descriptions agree with Josephus. He says, in connection with the order given by Augustus (see below, § 4) to check the depredations of the Trachonites, how difficult it was to do this:—

'For they possessed neither cities nor fields, but lived together with their cattle in subterranean retreats and caves. They had however, constructed reservoirs for water, and granaries for corn, and being invisible could long resist a foe. The entrances to the caves are narrow even for persons entering one at a time, whilst within they are incredibly large and made spacious. The ground above the dwellings is not high, but as it were a plain. The rocks are everywhere rugged and difficult to find a way among, except when a guide points out the paths; for even these are not straight, but have many windings' (*Ant.* xv. 10 1).

But, though this was the character of the population of the Leja in Josephus' time, before long it changed (see § 5): civilisation entered, and cities were built, the remains of which are in many cases standing to the present day.

3. Cities and civilisation.

Thus on the N., just within the Leja, we have Burāḳ (Porter,(2) 164 *f.*); then (going southwards) on, or a little outside, the E. edge, eṣ-Ṣuwārah (P. 169), el-Ḥazm, and (inside the Leja) Ṣahr (Heber-Percy, 31-39, 43 *f.*: p. 32 'the track to Ṣahr winds amongst the fissures, gaps, holes, and waves of the lava, that now extends in an undulating unbroken sheet for a few yards, and then is cracked and broken up into every conceivable form. Even the semblance of a track soon faded away'), Dēr Nīleh (HP 47), and Shuhbah, between the Leja and J. Ḥaurān (P. 190 *ff.*; HP 59 *ff.*); on the S., Nejrān and Buṣr el-Ḥarīrī (P. 266 *ff.*); on the SW. Ezra' (P. 271; Merrill, 26 *ff.*); on the W., Ḳirāteh, Mujeidel, Ḳhubab (Chabeb), and Kureim (P. 279 *ff.*; M. 24-32); on the NW., Mismīyeh (M. 16-22, with illustration of temple: the ruins, according to Porter, 284, are 3 m. in circuit, and contain many buildings of considerable size and beauty); and in the heart of the Leja, Dāma (or Dāmet el-'Alyā, Wetzst. 25), the largest town in the interior, with about 300 houses, mostly in good preservation (Burckh. 110).[2]

Mismīyeh (the ancient *Phænæ*) is interesting on account of an inscription found there by Burckhardt in 1810 (*Travels in Syria*, 1822, p. 117; also Merrill, p. 20, and Waddington, No. 2524), which demonstrates the identity of the Leja with the Trachon. Julius Saturninus, consular legate of Syria, under Alex. Severus, issues a public notice informing the inhabitants that, there being temporary barracks in the place, they are not liable to have soldiers billeted upon them; and the inscription begins: *Ἰούλιος Σατούρνινος Φαινησίοις μητροκωμίᾳ τοῦ Τράχωνος χαίρειν.* Two other *μητροκωμίαι*, or capital cities, of the Trachon are also known, viz. *βορεχαθ*, now Bureikeh (Wadd. 2396), and Zorava, now Ezra' (Wadd. 2480, cp 2479).

It must not, however, be supposed that such cities are peculiar to the Leja. The entire region, including the slopes of the J. Ḥaurān, and the plains bordering on the Leja, is studded with deserted towns and villages, testifying to a once flourishing and prosperous civilisation. Thus we have Hīt, Hēyāt, Buthēneh, Shuḳa (Shaḳḳā, *Σακκαία*), E. of the Leja; Suleim, Ḳanawāt, Sī' (with an inscription on a statue erected to Herod the Great: Wadd. 2364), 'Atīl, Suwēdā, Ḥebrān, 'Īre, Ḳureiyeh, and Ṣalḥad, with its great castle (see SALCAH), on the W. and SW. slopes of J. Ḥaurān; the important city and fortress of Boṣrā, 20 m. S. of the Leja,[1] described by Porter (173-189, 200 *ff.*, 218-239, 248 *ff.*) and Merrill (32-58); Der'āt (see EDREI) 20 m. SW. of it; as well as many other places (Wetzstein says there are 300 on the E. and S. slopes of J. Ḥaurān alone). The general character of all these deserted places is the same: the Leja supplied the building material; and this determined the style of the architecture. The dwellings are constructed of massive well-hewn blocks of black basaltic lava, with heavy doors moving on pivots, outside staircases, galleries, and roofs, all of the same material (see the descriptions just quoted, and the photographs in Heber-Percy, frontispiece, 41, 46, 61, 65, 69, etc.). Many of these cities are in such a good state of preservation that, as Wetzstein observes (49), it is difficult for the traveller not to believe that they are inhabited, and to expect, as he walks along the streets, to see persons moving about the houses. The architecture of these deserted sites (which include temples, theatres, aqueducts, reservoirs, churches, etc.) is of the Græco-Roman period, and is such as to show that, between the first and the seventh century A.D., they were the home of a thriving and wealthy population.

The Targums of Onḳelos and Jonathan, followed by some moderns (as Porter, Merrill, and Heber-Percy), identify Trachon with the 'region of Argob' (Dt. 3 4 13 *f.* 1 K. 4 13). See, against this view, ARGOB and BASHAN (col. 497), above; also Driver on Dt. 3 4 5, and 'Argob' in Hastings' *DB*.

Trachon, or the Trachonitis,[2] is mentioned frequently by Josephus, chiefly in connection with the predatory practices of its inhabitants.

4. History.

In 25 B.C. one Zenodorus, a bandit-chief, held, on payment of tribute to Cleopatra, the former domain of Lysanias (see col. 2841); and he, to increase his revenues, so encouraged the lawless Trachonites in their raids upon the people of Damascus, that the latter appealed to Varro, the governor of Syria, to lay their case before Augustus. Augustus sent back orders that this 'robbers' nest' (*λῃστήριον*) should be destroyed; and Varro accordingly made an expedition against them. Afterwards, in order more permanently to reduce them to order, Augustus placed the country under the control of Herod the Great, who, with the help of skilful guides, successfully invaded it, and secured, at least for the time, 'peace and quietness for the neighbouring people' (*Ant.* xvi. 10 1 cp 3; more briefly, *BJ* i. 20 4). The Trachonites, however, dissatisfied with being obliged to 'till the ground and live quietly,' and finding also that it rewarded their labours but meagrely, took advantage of Herod's absence in Rome (about 9 B.C.) to revolt, and resumed their raids upon the more fertile territory of their neighbours. Herod's generals inflicted a defeat upon them; but about forty of the robber-chiefs escaped into 'Arabia'

1 The soil of Ḥaurān *outside* the Leja, it should be remarked, is singularly rich and fertile (cp BASHAN, § 2).

2 See further the list of places in Ḥaurān (including the Leja), with explanatory remarks in *ZDPV*, 1889, p. 278 *ff.*

1 Both Eus. (*OS* 268 269 298) and the Talm. (see Schürer,(2) 1 353, (3) 1 426) speak of Trachon as in the neighbourhood of, or bordering on, Boṣrā.

2 Josephus uses both terms.

(*i.e.* Nabatæa, S. of Ḥaurān), whence they raided both Judæa and Coele-Syria. Herod, upon his return to Syria, finding himself unable to reach the robbers themselves, invaded Trachon and slew many of their relations there, in retaliation for which they still more harassed and pillaged his territory (*Ant.* xvi. 9 1). In the end, Herod threw 2000 Idumæans into Trachonitis (*ib.* 2), and placed a Babylonian Jew named Zamaris, a leader of mercenaries, in command of the surrounding districts. Zamaris built fortresses, and a village called Bathyra, and protected the Jews coming up from Babylon to attend the feasts in Jerusalem against the Trachonite robbers. The consequence was that, till the end of Herod's reign, the country around Trachonitis enjoyed tranquillity (*Ant.* xvii. 2 1-2).

Upon Herod's death, his son Philip (4 B.C.-34 A.D.) received, by his father's will, the 'tetrarchy' of Gaulanitis (Jaulān), Batanæa (the 'Bashan' of the OT), *Trachonitis*, and Auranitis ('Ḥaurān'), as well as a part of the former domain of Zenodorus (*Ant.* xvii. 8 1 11 4; cp xviii. 4 6 5 4 *BJ* xi. 6 3). Under Philip's just and gentle rule (*Ant.* xviii. 4 6) the same tranquillity was no doubt maintained; for Strabo, writing about 25 A.D., says (xvi. 2 20) that since the robber bands under Zenodorus had been put down, the country round had, through the good government of the Romans, and as a result of the security afforded by the garrisons stationed in Syria, suffered far less from the raids of the barbarians. After Philip's death (34 A.D.), as he left no sons, his tetrarchy was attached by Tiberius to the province of Syria (*Ant.* xviii. 4 6). In 37 A.D., however, Caligula bestowed it upon Herod Agrippa I. (*Ant.* xviii. 6 10 *end; BJ* ii. 9 6), who held it—as an inscription commemorating his safe return from Rome (41 A.D.), found at el-Mushennef, shows (Wadd. 2211)—as far as the E. slopes of the Jebel ed-Drūz. The rule of Agrippa seems to mark the beginning of a new stage in the civilisation of the entire district: Greek inscriptions now begin to multiply, and we have many records in stone of the building of public edifices. Agrippa I. died (Acts 12 23) in 44 A.D., and, as his son was still a minor, Trachon and the neighbouring parts were administered by a procurator under the governor of Syria. From 53 to 100 the old tetrarchy of Philip formed part of the kingdom of Herod Agrippa II. (Acts 25 13 *ff.*), inscriptions and buildings dating from whose reign are numerous both in the Leja itself and in other parts of Ḥaurān.[1] The most important step in the history of the civilisation of this entire district, however, was taken in 106, when Trajan created it into the new province of 'Arabia,' with Boṣrā as its capital. Trajan's agent in accomplishing this was Cornelius Palma, governor of Syria from 104 to 108, whose work in bringing an aqueduct into Kanata (now Kerak) is commemorated in an inscription found at el-'Afīneh (Wadd. 2296-2297; cp 2301, 2305). It does not fall within the scope of the present article to pursue the history further: it may therefore suffice to remark generally that the direct influence of the Romans began almost immediately to make itself felt: roads and aqueducts were constructed; during the second and third centuries basilicas, temples, theatres, and other buildings rapidly multiplied; inscriptions, sepulchral, dedicatory, architectural, become more abundant; and a new and unique civilisation, externally Roman, but including within it a strange combination of Greek and Semitic elements, is the result (see further details and references in GASm. *HG* 624 *ff.*). A Roman road, it may be added, starting from Damascus, runs through the Leja, passing Mismīyeh in the N., and Bureikeh in the S.; and going on to Boṣrā, Philadelphia (Rabbath Ammon), Moab, etc. (cp Rindfleisch, 24).

5. Literature. Burckhardt, as cited above, 51 *ff.* (Ḥaurān), 110 *ff.* (the Leja); J. G. Wetzstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, 1860 (epoch-making), especially pp. 25 *ff.*; Porter (=P, § 3), *Five Years in Damascus* (2); Merrill (=M, § 3), *E. of Jordan*, and Heber-Percy (=HP, § 3), *A Visit to Bashan and Argob*, 1896, as referred to above; the account of Stübel's 'Reise,' with map, in *ZDPV*, 1889, pp. 225-302 (important)[2]; Rindfleisch, 'Die Landschaft Ḥaurān in römischer Zeit u. in der Gegenwart,' in *ZDPV*, 1898, pp. 1-58 (on the Leja, 5-7 14 *f.* 17 24 45); v. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 1 87 *ff.* (chaps. 3 5 on Ḥaurān generally; chap. 4 on the Druses). The standard authority on the *architecture* of Ḥaurān is de Vogüé's fine work, *Syrie Centrale, Architecture Civile et Religieuse du ie au viie siècle* (1867), containing 150 plates, with explanatory descriptions (though little relating specifically to the Leja); see more briefly GASm. *HG* 629 *ff.*

For inscriptions (from Ḥaurān generally, as well as the Leja) see the works cited under BASHAN, § 5; and add Burton and Drake, *op. cit.* 2 379-388.

S. R. D.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

WITH TRADE ROUTES

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When Israel settled in Palestine they came into touch with lines and movements of commerce which had been extant throughout Western Asia from a remote antiquity. The economic development of the nation

1. Introductory. —apart from their adoption of agriculture—consisted in their gradual engagement in this already ancient, elaborate, and world-wide system. Many of its consequences, as seen in Egypt or Babylonia, repeat themselves in Israel; indeed at some periods they are the only evidence we

[1] For a list of inscriptions naming Herodian kings, see Wadd. 2365 *end.*

[2] See also the map of Ḥaurān and Jebel ed-Drūz, accompanying Schumacher's 'Das südliche Basan' in *ZDPV* 20 (1897) 67-227. In both these maps, however, there is an error in lat. and long.: Damascus is placed correctly; but by a fault in the triangulation the whole of Ḥaurān and surrounding parts are

have of the presence of commerce as a factor in the national life. It is, therefore, necessary to review the rise, progress, and fashions of trade in W. Asia—with its relations to religion—down till the end of the second millennium B.C., or just as Israelite commerce began to develop.

I. TRADE IN WESTERN ASIA

From the most remote epochs there were present throughout W. Asia the conditions not only of local exchange, but also of a wide international commerce, viz.: (*a*) the great differences of soil, fertility, and animal and vegetable products (§§ 3-6); (*b*) the unequal distribution of stones and metals (§ 7); (*c*) the rise, at the two extremes of the region, of empires of vast wealth and culture (§§ 8-11); (*d*) the specialisation of commerce by particular tribes and nations (§§ 12-16); (*e*) the central position of W. Asia between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean—India and Europe (§ 17 *f.*); (*f*) the existence of natural lines of traffic both by land and by sea (§§ 9, 28 *ff.*); (*g*) the development of the means of carriage (§ 19); and (*h*) the rise of common standards of value (§ 20). To our survey of these it is necessary to add some consideration of (*i*) the relation of commerce to religion (§§ 21-24); as well as a sketch of (*k*) those political movements which so powerfully influenced the trade of Syria just before Israel settled in Palestine (§§ 25-27).

2. Conditions of trade.

(*a*) W. Asia is unsurpassed in any quarter of the globe for its extraordinary contrasts of soil and fertility: between the Syrian and the Arabian desert on the one hand, and the river-valleys and deltas of Babylonia and Egypt, with the garden lands of Syria and S. Arabia, on the other; whilst most of the ordinary contrasts—between sea-coast and 'Hinterland,' lowlands and highlands, with very different temperatures and soils, pastoral and arable regions—were also present throughout. All these formed different grades and necessities of human life, between which the currents of commerce were as inevitable as the winds which pass between spheres of differing temperature in the world's atmosphere. The various populations of W. Asia were dependent on each other for some of the barest necessaries of life, as well as for most of its simpler comforts and embellishments, and such dependence was the beginning of trade. At the same time, we must be careful not to exaggerate either the amount of the trade, or its influence on the minds of men at so early a period. Had commerce then been a dominant feature of human life, we should have found more traces of its influence on religion than we shall be able to discover (§ 21).

3. Soil and fertility.

The elements of early commerce between the deserts and the fertile lands are easily determined from the conditions of to-day. There are still nomads who live for months or even years on milk and flesh (Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*), varied by dates from the oases in the centre of Arabia (Doughty, *Ar. Des.*, *passim*). From the earliest times, however, the need of cereal foods must have drawn the Bedouins into commerce with the agricultural populations; and this need would increase with the settlement of nomads from the interior of Arabia on the borders of fertility. From Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt the nomads would seek grain, fruit (*e.g.*, almonds), cloth, oil, and (after its invention) pottery,[1] with (in course of time) weapons.[2] In exchange they would give dates,[1] curdled milk, wool, occasionally cattle, honey, salt, alkali (obtained from the ashes of the Ḳilu and other plants),[2] 'Mecca balsam' (BALSAM), and other medicinal herbs. Commerce between Syria and Egypt included oil, mastic (BALM), wool, etc. (EGYPT, § 8), and (later) Syrian manufactures; whilst traffic between Babylonia and Egypt was frequent even in pre-historic times (*ib.* § 43). Trade in SALT (*q.v.*) was not only local—as from the salt-pans N. of Pelusium, in el-Jōf, and elsewhere, or from the deposits at the S. end of the Dead Sea;—probably also rock-salt was exported to a distance as to-day: *e.g.*, from W. Kaseem in Arabia (Palgrave, *Centr. and E. Arab.* 180 [ed. 1883]).

4. Elements of commerce.

The most isolated of the fertile lands of W. Asia lies on the S. of Arabia under the monsoon rains. Arabia Felix (Ar. 'el-Yemen'—*i.e.*, 'the south') has ever been famous for fertility, and was the seat of the Minæan and Sabæan civilisation (below, § 14). Its chief repute, however, was for frankincense (see FRANKINCENSE, where its late appearance in the OT is noted, and its probably earlier use in Egypt). Erman[3] says this was common under the Old Empire. Sprenger calls the incense-country 'the heart of the commerce of the ancient world' (*Geog. Alt. Arab.* 299). Theodore Bent (*Nineteenth Cent.*, Oct. 1895, pp. 595 *ff.*) describes 'the actual libaniferous country,' Dhofar, as 'perhaps not now much bigger than the Isle of Wight,' and 'probably in ancient days not much more extensive.' It lies on the coast some 800 m. NE. from Aden, about half-way to Muscat. 9000 cwt. of the gum are exported annually to Bombay. Other products are cocoanuts and cocoanut fibre (not yet identified under any ancient Semitic name), myrrh, *ghee*, fruits, and vegetables. Pasturage is rich. Dates and weapons are imported. There is a fine harbour, perhaps Moscha of the *Periplus* (§ 32), and numerous Sabæan remains. Camels are the animals used for carrying purposes; horses are unknown. Cp SEPHAR. On another incense country see § 8.

5. The incense country.

At times primitive commerce in the necessaries of life must have been enhanced by local famines, though in the less settled conditions of early history these would result not so much in increased trade as in migrations of tribes. Such migrations, however, would also stimulate trade by communicating across the region a better knowledge of its remoter parts, as well as familiarity with the various routes thither. We shall see that most of the great trading tribes had been immigrants to the districts which became the centres of their flourishing commerce.

6. Distribution of timber.

The early distribution of woodland in W. Asia is uncertain; but from Syria into Egypt, as well as from the wooded districts of Palestine, not only to the treeless desert borders, but also to Babylonia, there was always some traffic in timber. Cedar was brought from 'the West' to Babylonia in the reigns of Sargon I. and Gudea (4th mill.), and rafts of other woods must have descended the Euphrates and the Tigris.[4] Round the

shifted unduly S. and W., so that Boṣrā is 32° 30′ 5 N., and 36° 26⅝′ E., instead of, as it ought to be, 32° 33½′ N. and 36° 32′ E. (see *MNDPV*, 1899, pp. 17-14). This error has been corrected in Fischer's *Handkarte von Pal.* 1899, and also in the map in the present article (which is based upon the three maps named).

[1] As they do now from Gaza and Damascus.

[2] To the early Egyptians the nomads were the people of the boomerang. But the story of Senuhyt proves that during the Middle Empire the Egyptian weaponsmiths carried their goods on asses among the Asiatic nomads: WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 1, n. 2.

[1] Still imported from Arabian oases to Baghdad, Damascus, and Yemen (Palgrave, *Centr. and East. Arabia* [ed. 1883], 43, 149, 364); also from oases in Turkish Arabia to Bushire. See Consular Report on Trade and Commerce of the Persian Gulf in 1901 by Lt.-Col. Kemball. Forder (*With the Arabs in Tent and Town*, 119 [1902]) describes caravans from Ḥaurān to Kāf taking wheat and barley to be bartered for salt and dates. He reports among the industries of the Jôf saddle-bags, carpets, abbas and other clothing; cp 145: imports—coffee, cooking utensils, clothing from Damascus, etc.

[2] Cp *ZDPV* 20 89 for present export of alkali from steppes S. of Ḥaurān to the soap factories of Nāblus.

[3] *Life in Anc. Eg.* (tr. by Tirard; 1894), p. 507.

[4] *E.g.*, under Ur-ninā of Lagash (BABYLONIA, § 44); cp Radau, *Early Baby. Hist.* [1900], and Howorth, *Eng. Hist.*

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Persian Gulf there is said to be no timber for shipbuilding. For the period between the Old and the Middle Empire in Egypt see Erman, *op. cit.* 452.

(*b*) The distribution of useful stones and metals through W. Asia is now tolerably clear. The marble and alabaster found in early Babylonian deposits came from the Assyrian hills, the diorite from Arabia (BABYLONIA, §§ 18, 21).[1] The basalt of Ḥaurān must always, as to-day, have been used for millstones for all Syria. Egypt was without copper, which it brought from Sinai and the Lebanons (COPPER). Gudea imported copper from Kimaš in N. Arabia (Hommel in Hastings' *BD* 1 225; cp Gen. 10 23, and see *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 221). Cyprus was a later source; on bronze see below, § 17. Iron, copper, and lead were found in the hills W. of Nineveh (see ASSYRIA, § 6), and iron in parts of Syria and Central and S. Arabia (Doughty, *Ar. Des.*). Iron, however, except in Babylonia, does not appear till the close of our period (see IRON). There was a little gold in the desert E. of Egypt and in Nubia (see EGYPT, § 50); but its chief sources were in Arabia, on the E. of Sinai, and on the far S. coast[2] (see GOLD, OPHIR). Silver, which was rare in Egypt till 1600 B.C., came from Asia (EGYPT, § 38). Precious stones (turquoises, etc.) were found in Sinai. Cp STONES. The love of ornament is one of the earliest motives to barter among primitive peoples, and we may assume that traffic in metals and jewels had begun in W. Asia even before the rise of the great civilisations in Egypt and Mesopotamia.

7. Of stones and metals.

(*c*) It is, however, in the growth and organisation of these great civilisations that we must seek for the most powerful of the factors of ancient commerce. Trade always advances by leaps and bounds where two great states face each other (cp the sudden increase between the Hittites and Egypt after their treaty in the reign of Ramses II. [Erman, 537]).

8. The great empires.

By the end of the fifth millennium B.C., both Babylonia and Egypt possessed a developed civilisation, for the growth of which we must assume many centuries if not some millennia (see BABYLONIA, § 46); both had elaborate systems of writing, always a proof of and a help to commerce. That between them there were close communications, is proved by the strong Babylonian elements in pre-historic Egyptian culture (see EGYPT, § 43). The rapid rise of their wealth, doubtless largely due to discoveries of new sources of the precious metals, must have increased trade throughout W. Asia, and complicated it beyond previous conditions. The monument (discovered at Susa by De Morgan) of Maništu-irba, ruler of Kiš (4th mill. B.C.), records his purchase of lands, grain, wool, oil, copper, asses, and slaves, which were paid for in silver; and among the officials mentioned are 'a mariner,' 'scribe,' 'surveyors,' 'miller,' 'jeweller,' and 'merchant' (*Damḳar*).[3] The growth of wealth hastens the demand, not only for articles of luxury, but also for better qualities of food-stuffs. For example, both the Nile and the Euphrates valley produce dates; but if then, as at the present day, the Arabian oases, including Sinai, produced a special quality of dates,[4] these would be imported into Egypt and Babylonia then as now (see above, § 4, third note). The records of the kings of Lagaš (BABYLONIA, § 44) report the building of storehouses beside the temples, and the construction of canals.

With the increase of wealth came the expansion and consolidation of empire. It is not always possible to decide whether objects of foreign origin found in early Egyptian or Babylonian remains were fruits of conquest (spoil or tribute), or of trade, though probably they are mostly due to trade; even where the records boast of tribute this is really the fruit of barter.[1] Even if any of the early expeditions from Egypt and Babylonia were for conquest (which is very doubtful; see note), they found their motives in a previous trade; and they would open up routes and increase commerce. The expeditions of Sargon I. and Gudea to 'the west' for timber, and to Arabia for stone and metal (above § 6 *f.*) were repeated by other monarchs (see BABYLONIA, § 15[2]); and the various conquests of, and immigrations into, Babylonia by fresh tribes must have powerfully developed trade. To the NE. lay Elam, a seat of culture by the fourth millennium B.C., with avenues of traffic into central and eastern Asia; and Elam overran Babylonia. Again, the Canaanite supremacy synchronised with a growth of commerce especially under Ḥammurābi (see BABYLONIA, § 54[3]; though there was an increase of trade preceding this, at Ur, § 50[4]); while the rapid subjection of the Canaanite dynasty to a Kaššite is proof of the luxury consequent on commerce under the former power. From Egypt expeditions were sent in the earliest times to secure the copper and turquoise mines of Sinai—*e.g.*, Dyn. III., Zoser (EGYPT, § 44); Dyn. IV., Snefru(i) (§ 45: about 3000 B.C.; but acc. to Fl. Petrie, 3998-3969 B.C.), and Ḥufu (Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, 1 42); Dyn. VI., Pepy I. 'the founder of Memphis proper' (EGYPT, § 47). There were also early expeditions to Nubia for gold, to the Sudan, the W. oases, and above all down the Red Sea to Punt—either Somali-land, or the coast between Suakim and Massowah).[5] Erman (*op. cit.* 507) mentions the picture of a native of Punt as early as Ḥufu (Dyn. IV.); but the 'earliest recorded expedition to Punt' was under Assa, Dyn. V. (EGYPT, § 48, Fl. Petrie, 100); Pepy I. (Dyn. VI.) sent to the Sudān and farther (EGYPT, § 47); S'anḥ-ka-rē (Dyn. XI.) by Koptos, Ḳoṣēr, and the Red Sea to Punt; and several kings of Dyn. XII., the Amenemha'ts and Usertesens, to Nubia, the Sudān, and Punt. Under this dynasty (2800 Fl. Petrie, 2100 WMM) trade flourished exceedingly. The Hyksos migration and conquest of Egypt must have developed her Asiatic commerce; but this, especially with Syria, reached its height after the conquests of the New Empire. For lists of the many Syrian products introduced, see WMM, *As. u. Eur.* (chaps. I, etc.), and Erman (516 *ff.*), who remarks: 'we almost feel inclined to maintain that really there was scarcely anything

Rev. 17 7. For Gudea's imports see *PSBA* 11, *RP*(2) 2 75 *ff.*, and Rogers' *Hist.* 1 370.

[1] The diorite of Gudea and Ur-bau was brought from Magan on the NE. coast of Arabia (Amiaud, *RP*(2) 2 15 n. takes it to be Sinai); but see note to *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 211 for another source.

[2] Burton, *Land of Midian.* 2 Ch. 3 6, speaks of 'gold of פרוים,' which Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 347) identifies with el-Farwarri mentioned by Hamdāni; cp Sprenger, *Alt. Arab.* 49-63. Gudea brought gold-dust from NW. Arabia and Khākh SE. of Medina (Hommel in Hastings' *BD* 1 225; *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 221).

[3] Howorth, *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 17 11 *ff.*

[4] The fine dates of el-Ḥasa (E. Arabia) are still exported—to Mosul, Bombay and Zanzibar, Palgr. *Cent. and E. Arab.*, ed. 1883, pp. 364, 383.

[1] See the instance given by Erman, 512; and cp Naville, *Deir el Bahari* (Eg. Expl. Fund), Pt. III., 11. Referring to the same expedition to Punt, W. E. Crum (Hastings' *DB* 1 660*b*) says: Queen Ḥa'tšepsut's 'fleet had, like its predecessors from the 6th dynasty onwards, solely a commercial object.' So, too, Budge, *Hist. of Eg.* (1902), 4 11 144 158. Similarly in Babylonia under Gudea, who according to Hommel (Hastings' *DB* 1 225*b*), did not conquer the distant regions, but by treaties secured passage for his caravans with their products.

[2] En-anna-tuma I. of Lagaš imported cedar 'from the mountain'; Radau, 72.

[3] See also L. W. King, *Letters and Inscr. of Ḥammurabi about* B.C., 2200, i., Introd. and Text, iii., Translation; and G. Nagel 'Die Briefe H.'s an Sin-idinnam' in *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 434 *ff.* with notes by F. Delitzsch 483 *ff.*

[4] On the favourable position of Ur for commerce, on the Euphrates, near the W. Rummein (which connected it with Central Arabia), and with a road to Sinai, see Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 1 371 *ff.*

[5] So Naville (*Deir el Bahari*, Pt. III. 11; Eg. Expl. Fund), who says that in any case Punt lay N. of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb: 'not a definite territory,' but a vague geographical definition. Some include under the name both sides of the Red Sea. 'The region which produces frankincense is situated in the projecting parts of Ethopia and lies inland (*i.e.*, from Adulis on the Red Sea) but is washed by the ocean on the other side'; Cosmas, *Christ. Topog.* Bk. II, ET by M'Crindle, 51.

which the Egyptians of this period did not import from Syria.' Syrian slaves were a constant subject of traffic (Erman, 517 *f.*, WMM, *As. u. Eur.*). The New Empire also opened up Nubia, and elaborated the trade with Punt, and that with Cyprus (see EGYPT, §§ 53-61). For the trade of Ramses III. with fleets on the Mediterranean and Red Sea see the Harris Papyrus (end) and the summary in Budge, *Hist. of Eg.* 5 159 *ff.*

9. Security of travel.

From the third millennium there is evidence of a royal service of despatches into Asia (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 1 *f.*); the regulation of imports by the Egyptian government; the making of roads; and the supply of desert routes—*e.g.*, that between Koptos on the Nile and the Red Sea (below, § 29)—with water (by Mentûḥotep, Dyn. XI. [Erman, 506]).[1] It was easy and safe for even individuals to travel to tribes as far as Edom and the 'Arābah: witness the tale of Se-nuhyt, which, whether historical or not (see EGYPT, col. 1237), must have been founded on a knowledge of the actual conditions of travel.[2] In short, by the third millennium travel must have been frequent and tolerably secure (of course with interruptions) from the mouth of the Red Sea and the Sudan to the Euphrates; and the commercial activity and wealth of Babylonia in at least the second half of that millennium, can hardly have failed to create similar conditions for much of the rest of W. Asia. Cp § 26, end.

We must not suppose, however, that all this produced, even for intervals, anything like a parallel to what prevails in modern times, or even to what was achieved under the Roman Empire. The roads of W. Asia were never so secure as under the Pax Romana, nor were they so well laid down. In the period with which we deal there were frequent interregna; the nomads of Arabia often burst the frontiers of civilisation; and even in peaceful times the well-developed habits of traffic cannot have produced such order or sense of safety as we find at the beginning of the Christian era.

10. Trade and political power.

Before we pass from the influence of the great empires on commerce, three other phenomena require to be noticed. One is the effect of the exigencies of commerce in the transfer of political power within the empires from one site to another, and the rapid growth of new capitals. Of this both Egypt and Babylonia furnish instances. The centre of government in Egypt came down the Nile, from positions commanding the highways to the S. and the Red Sea, to Memphis[3] at the neck of the Delta, where great trade-routes converge from all quarters. We find a similar case under the New Empire, when the increase of trade on the Syrian frontier drew, for a time, the centre of the political power from Thebes into the Eastern Delta.[4] On the Euphrates and Tigris the same causes worked in an opposite direction—upstream. The central position of Ur with regard to commerce is well known; how elaborate that commerce was is proved by the titles of the third dynasty of Ur, and the number of contract tablets from their time.[5] The transference of power from the lower Babylonian cities to Babylon itself and the independence of that great centre from about 2400 B.C., was probably assisted by commercial influences, for Babylon proved its fitness as a centre for trade by the extraordinary persistence of its commerce and wealth, in spite of frequent political disasters, for nearly 2000 years (cp Is. 47); and it is possible that some memory of the city's early fame as a gathering place for men of all tongues may lie behind the Hebrew story of the founding of Babel (Gen. 11). One has only to look at the map to see how much more advantageously Babylon lies for the trade through Elam into Persia, than do the cities which preceded her in power. The rise of Assyria was doubtless aided by her command, closer than that of Babylon, over the lines of trade to the W.; the transference of the Assyrian capital from Ašur to Calah and Nineveh was, in fact, one from a less to a more suitable centre for commerce, both with N. and W. These are but instances, which will doubtless be multiplied as our knowledge of ancient history is increased.

11. Mercenaries; royal traders.

Another phenomenon to be noted in the commercial development of the Great Empires—we shall find something analogous in Israel—is the exchange of native militia, proper to agricultural conditions of life, for a mercenary soldiery, which generally followed a great increase in trade. The soldiers of the Middle Empire in Egypt were such a militia; but after the great growth of trade, especially with Asia under the dynasties of the New Empire, the Egyptian armies were mainly composed of mercenaries (Erman, 542). The same thing happened in Egypt under Psameṭik. It happened also in Babylonia under Ašur-bani-pal and Nebuchadrezzar.

Again, it is to be remarked that the initiative of the great commercial expeditions from Babylonia and from Egypt is recorded on the monuments as due not to private enterprise, but to the reigning monarch.[1] This is no pretence of royal arrogance or of the court scribe's flattery. We see the same motive at work in the great explorations and commercial expeditions of the Middle Ages from Spain and Portugal.

12. No trading classes.

(*d*) The earliest societies of men did not contain a special class or profession of traders; farmers and manufacturers exchanged their own goods. In the story of Se-nuhyt the weaponsmith himself carries his goods to the Asiatic nomads. As we shall see (§ 21), trade did not exercise any influence on the formative period of the religions of W. Asia; a proof that it was not then specialised as a separate vocation. There is no mention of trade in the proverbs of Ptaḥ-ḥotep (from the 4th mill.), and when they appeared in Egypt 'sailors, merchants, and interpreters of foreign origin were despised' (EGYPT, § 31); that is to say, the special class was a late and a foreign upstart in that civilisation.

13. Tribal monopolies.

The rise of international commerce, however, and the peculiar character of the deserts which separated the centres of civilisation favoured—in place of the growth of special classes of traders within those centres—the gradual absorption of whole tribes outside them in the business of trade and the carriage of goods. Especially was this the case with certain Arabian nomads, whose familiarity with the desert and possession of the means of crossing it, furnished them with the price (in their trading services) for purchasing the products of civilisation. Thus, in the OT, some of the earliest names for traders are tribal: Ishmaelite (Gen. 37 25 27 *f.* 39 1,—all J), Midianite (the parallel E passages; Gen. 37 28*a* 36), and (later) Canaanite, of which the first two were Arabian and the last the inhabitants of that land which is well described as the 'bridge' between Egypt and Mesopotamia. This evidence is confirmed by the Egyptian records. Part of the contempt of the Egyptians for traders was probably due to the traders being foreigners. The Beni-Hasan paintings represent thirty-seven Asiatics from the desert, traders from near Sinai (see EGYPT, § 50;

[1] Also 'it is probable that Seti I. caused a series of water stations to be established from the Nile to Berenice' (Budge, *HE* 5 10); and Ramses III. built a fortified well between Mt. Casius and Raphia (*ibid.* 159); on Ramses IV. *ibid.* 187.

[2] Under Dyn. xii.; cp 'Travels of an Egyptian' under Dyn. xix., xx. ET in *RP* 2 102 *ff.*

[3] Under Menes, 4500 or 4000 B.C., and his successors: EGYPT, §§ 44, 47; MEMPHIS. See also Fl. Petrie, *HE*, vol. i.

[4] Cp Erman, 516.

[5] Cp for references Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Assyr.* 1 377.

[1] Similarly the letters of Ḥammurabi (above, § 8 n.) show how that king personally superintends the *internal* trade of Babylonia.

WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 36). So, too, Ḥannu the leader of the expedition to Punt under S'anḫ-kā-rē' of the eleventh dynasty (EGYPT, § 48) appears to have a Semitic name (cp, however, Erman, 506). Thus, by the third millennium B.C., the Semites from their central position between the two most ancient civilisations, their command of the lines of communication, and their frequent migrations, had developed those habits of trading which distinguish them to the present day.[1] Among the Semites, again, there were especially four families which concentrated the racial adaptableness and tenacity upon commerce, and, not content with the share in that which their central positions brought to them, devoted themselves to the pursuit and organisation of many lines of traffic, till they developed, in the case of one of them at least, a wider commercial influence than the world ever saw till the most recent epoch. These were the Minæans, the Aramæans, the Phœnicians, and the Nabatæans, of whom the first three had begun to develop their commerce within our period—the Minæans and the Aramæans by land, the Phœnicians by sea.

14. Minæans. It is only upon indirect and somewhat precarious evidence (summarised by Weber, *Arabien vor Islam*, 22 *ff.*)[2] that to the Minæan kingdom a date is assigned so early as the second half of the second millennium B.C. The centre of the Minæan power lay in the S. part of Arabia—not in the incense-bearing regions of Ḳatabān and Ḥaḍramōt (above, § 5), though it commanded these, and by its hold on the central Arabian routes (below, § 31) and its colony in Muṣrān or Muṣri (*i.e.*, Midian) and northwards (MIZRAIM, § 3)[3] possessed the Arabian land traffic, and sent its caravans by Ma'ān and Petra to Gaza. The capital was Karnawu, the Karna of Eratosthenes,[4] in immediate connection with the ports of the S. coast. Thus Minæan trade extended at least from the Indian Ocean to the Levant. But see § 17.

15. Aramæans. After what has been said elsewhere (ARAM, ARAMAIC LANGUAGE; cp PHŒNICIA, § 7) it is only necessary to say that in the second millennium B.C. we find the Aramæans succeeding the Hittites in a country on the upper Euphrates which is the meeting-ground of many trade-routes—from Syria, Asia Minor, Armenia, and Babylonia (below, § 39 *f.*). They gradually extended over N. Syria, a land more suited for trade than for agriculture or industries,[5] and embraced Damascus, the principal Syrian 'harbour,' a depôt of the Arabian Desert (*Hist. Geogr.* 642 *f.*). The earliest notices reveal Aramæans as nomads, perhaps traders, in Mesopotamia; in Syria the small states they founded round cities were such as those founded by other trading peoples. The strongest proof of their commerce is the gradual spread of their dialect till it became the *lingua franca* of W. Asia. In Babylonia it was spoken in daily life from the eleventh to the ninth century (Wi. *Völker Vorderasiens*, 11); by the tenth it had taken the place which Babylonian held in W. Asia in the fifteenth, and was used as far as Egypt as a commercial tongue (WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 234). How long and how far this commercial supremacy of the language lasted is proved by inscriptions in Teima and Nabatæan towns up to 100 A.D. It was the Aramæan trade, from the Tigris to the Levant, which formed the temptation to the Assyrian campaigns in the ninth and following centuries (below, § 52). Cp SYRIA, §§ 16 *ff.*

16. Phœnicians. The commercial influence of the Phœnicians appears to have risen at an earlier period than that of the Aramæans; but how early it is impossible to say. The absence of all reflection of trade not only from the names of their earliest cities—these may have been named before the Phœnician occupation[1]—but also from all except presumably late strata of their religion[2] (see below, § 22), is significant. The coincidence between a great influx of Canaanite population and religion into Babylonia (about 2500 B.C.), and the rise of a 'Canaanite' dynasty there, with a great increase of commerce and wealth, is interesting as indicative of a racial capacity for trade. On the whole, however, we may assign the rise of the commerce of the Phœnicians to a period subsequent to their arrival on the coast between Lebanon and the Levant, somewhere in the third millennium B.C., and therefore subsequent to the appearance of international commerce in W. Asia; and we may trace it to the central position of that coast, to the mines and forests of the neighbourhood, and to the greater facility for traffic by sea than by land, between the various Phœnician settlements. Probably the Phœnicians did not invent ships as the Greeks were led to suppose from their subsequent supremacy in navigation; for the first boats must have been invented by a people with long slow rivers. But the Phœnicians, with their towns near to large forests and disposed within a day's sail of each other on a coast full of obstacles for land traffic, must have been early forced to the improvement of the means of navigation; whilst the harassing land march across the desert to Egypt must have led to a speedy extension of that navigation to the Egyptian delta. So great an adventure, if it did not produce, amply proves the existence of, those qualities of hardihood and enterprise, which were to lift Phœnicia to the command of the world's trade. The less adventurous Egyptians,[3] who had in the earlier periods of their history reached Punt by their own merchants, had left the trade through Nubia to negroes (Erman, 498);[4] and now might be easily tempted to resign a commerce which they disliked (§ 13) to the peaceful invaders of the Delta. The process may have been hastened during the Hyksos supremacy. In any case, from the beginning of the second millennium B.C. the trade of Egypt appears to have been in Phœnician hands. In the fifteenth century, according to the Amarna Letters they had fleets of merchant ships, and a fresco in a Theban tomb depicts them as importers of goods from Asia (Budge, *HE* 4 163)

17. Foreign trade: with India. (*e*) The ancient trade of W. Asia, however, was not confined within that region. W. Asia lies between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean; both of which, the one by its regular winds the other by its islands, offer easy access to sources of wealth beyond them. In the later Phœnician and the Greek epochs of trade both seas were regularly navigated, and the far East united with the far West (§§ 63, 71).

[1] The Syrians depicted on the tomb of Ḥui, about 1400 B.C. (see Budge, *HE* 4 144), are traders. Cp Strabo xvi. 4 23 on the commercial qualities of the Arabs.

[2] None of the S. Arabian, so-called Himyaritic, inscriptions are dated before second century B.C. For a detailed argument against the high antiquity claimed for the Minæan kingdom, see Budge, *HE* 6, Preface, xvi *ff.* His conclusion is that Glaser's Inscr. 1155 belongs to the time of Cambyses and that 'the Minæan kingdom cannot be shown to be older than the sixth century B.C.,' p. xxii.

[3] The strong reasoning of Budge (*HE* 6 xxi *ff.*) against Winckler's frequent identification of the biblical Miẓraim with the Arabian Muṣr is not conclusive against the existence of the latter. For if, as generally admitted, Ghazzat of Glaser's Inscr. 1083 be Gaza, the Minæan caravans from S. Arabia would scarcely pass through Egypt to Gaza, or through Gaza to Egypt (notwithstanding Budge's note on p. xxii). The mention of Gaza, therefore, is, so far, evidence in favour of a N. Arabian Muṣri. Cp also SIMEON, § 6. Even if the Muṣri of the Assyrian and Minæan inscriptions be proved to be Egypt, this only means an extension of the Minæan trade.

[4] Or Karnana: Strabo (xvi. 4 2) who mentions besides the Sabæans at Mariaba, the Kattabanians at Tamna, the Chatramōtitai at Sabata.

[5] M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 155.

[1] Sidon, usually understood as 'Fishertown' (but see PHŒNICIA, § 12); Tyre = rock; Beyrout = springs, etc. Contrast the Philistine Ashkelon and the Canaanite Kiriath-sepher, the former of which certainly, and the latter possibly, has a commercial origin.

[2] The chief Phœnician gods do not differ from those of other Canaanites.

[3] Cp the commercial superiority of Syrians at the present day to Egyptians.

[4] Cp inscription of Pepy of the sixth dynasty.

Whether in the period we are now treating there was already a trade with India is a question to which we can get only probabilities in answer. It was quite possible.

The *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea[1] (1st Christian cent.) lays down the line of a coasting voyage along the S. of Arabia, across the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and so (in the direction opposite to that taken by Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander) to the Indus, and thence down the Malabar coast. It adds (§ 39), however, that a speedier, though more dangerous, voyage may be made by those who set out to sea from Arabia with the Monsoons (μετὰ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν *sc.* ἐτησίων). These winds blow across the Indian Ocean from the SW. from April to October, from the NE. from October to April, and make the voyage possible for vessels even of a primitive type.

By the seventh century B.C., if not long before, there was in India a developed and organised trade; great ships were already built, and long sea-voyages undertaken. From the very earliest times merchants had been held in high repute (Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumskunde*, 2 573 576 579). The island of Sokotra has a Sanscrit name (*ib.* 580). The Babylonian Nimrod epic reflects a journey through Arabia to Sabæa; and Sokotra has been suggested as the island which was its goal (Hommel, Hastings' *DB* 1 216 *a*). On the reliefs of Deir-el-Baḥri, Punt is pictured as a place of barter where several nationalities meet and deal with the Egyptians in different sorts of goods. It is, therefore, more than possible that Indian traders met those of W. Asia at the mouth of the Red Sea and the ports of S. Arabia during our period. Weber indeed (*Arab. vor Islam*, 22; cp 23) calls the Minæans the intermediaries of the Indian as well as of the S. Arabian trade, and dates the origin of this trade before 1300 B.C. (more than a millennium before the later Ptolemies). But see § 14. It is remarkable that no Indian faces or goods are found pictured on the reliefs of Deir-el-Baḥri (Naville, *op. cit.* 12 *ff.* and the corresponding plates), nor have any Indian products been discovered in Egyptian remains. As for Babylonia, the earliest Sumerian deposits (BABYLONIA, § 18) contain both ivory ornaments and bronze. The ivory may have been taken from elephants which were extant on the Euphrates till towards the close of our era.[2] But for the tin, needed to make the bronze, no source is known at that time save India,[3] and some have derived the Phœnician name for the metal from the Sanscrit.[4] This, however, is a precarious ground on which to found a conclusion with regard to so early an epoch; for reasons for the opposite view—that there was no sea-trade between W. Asia and India till the seventh century B.C.—see INDIA and OPHIR, § 2; cp also Sprenger, *Alt. Geog. Arab.*, §§ 51-60, 139. We must not forget the possibility of land-trade between Babylonia and India through Elam and Persia.[5]

18. With Europe.

As for the trade of W. Asia with Europe in this era, that is much less problematical. Cyprus, which lies in sight of the Syrian coast (*HG*, pp. 22 135), was reached by some of the earliest Babylonian monarchs; and in the course of the second millennium B.C. was in frequent communication both with Egypt and with Syria (Budge, *HE* 4 167 *f.*); and Cyprus can hardly ever have been out of touch with the islands to the W. Evidence of an extremely early knowledge of Europe in Egypt is given in WMM, *As. u. Eur.* ch. 28.[6]

1 Περίπλους τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. Anonymous, but attributed to an author named Ἀρριανός. *Geogr. Græci Minores* by C. Müller, ed. Paris, 1882, vol. i. 257 *ff.*, cp p. xcv.

2 Thotmes III. killed elephants on the Euphrates; Naville, *op. cit.* 17; Budge, *HE* 4 40 48.

3 The islands of the Persian Gulf were visited by Babylonians at a very early period; and thence the coasting (?) voyage to India was not difficult.

4 Götz, *Die Verkehrswege im Dienste des Welthandels*, 101 *ff.* This is not certain; cp O. Schrader, *Handelsgeschichte*, etc., 71, quoted by Götz.

5 For imports and exports of W. Asiatic trade with India in Roman times see *Periplus* (of Erythræan Sea), §§ 49, 56.

6 According to the American explorers of Nippur (Peters, *Nippur*, 2 133 *f.*) some evidence of trade with Greece (Eubœa) was found in remains of the fourteenth century B.C.; cp Budge, *HE* 4 168 *ff.* 177.

(*f*) For the natural lines of traffic and trade-routes, see below, Part II. of this article (§§ 28-40).

19. Means of carriage.

(*g*) The various means of carriage in the ancient world having been for the most part dealt with elsewhere, the treatment here may be brief. Porterage, the employment of human beings for the carriage of burdens both for building purposes and for trade (as we find it still in Central Africa), was common in early Egypt according to the monuments. It was not altogether confined to local traffic. Under one of the Amenemha'ts (middle of 28th cent. according to Fl. Petrie; but 2100 according to W. M. Müller) 200 men with only 50 animals were employed for carrying stone through the desert.[1] From the earliest times, however, the ass and the bullock were in common use, and (especially the ass) constituted the principal means of conveyance. The ass was employed for distant desert journeyings; cp the Beni-Ḥasan pictures (under the 12th dyn.). The camel was apparently unbred and unused even to a late date in Egypt, but must have appeared early in Arabia. The horse and the mule came much later; the horse not till the time of the Hyksos and then, for long, only for fighting and hunting; the mule from Pontus not till towards 1000 B.C. (see ASS, CAMEL, HORSE, MULE, CATTLE, § 8; BABYLONIA, § 5; EGYPT, § 9). The carrying power of these animals was increased by the invention of pack-saddles, open litters (already during the 4th dyn.), sleighs or draw-boards, and carts—first with solid, and then with spoked, wheels. A luxurious chariot with horses appears in the Izdubar legend (Tab. 6) about 2000 B.C. Still less, however, than at the present day, were the wheeled vehicles suited for distant carriage, which was mainly performed on the backs of animals (CHARIOT, § 2). There were practically no international roads for carriages till the Persian Empire. Carriage by water arose first in timber rafts or constructions of reed coated with bitumen, on rivers, especially the Euphrates (BABYLON, § 6; early legends). From these developed rowing and sailing boats, with which ventures were made through river-mouths into the sea; and so arose coasting voyages in the Persian Gulf, the Levant, and the Red Sea (SHIP). By the time of Thutmosis I. (about 1560 B.C.) and Queen Ḥa'tšepsut (EGYPT, § 53) the Egyptians had developed elaborate ships with oars, rigging, and sails for the Punt voyages (cp SHIP). The ships of this (18th) dynasty were not mere fighting galleys; they were transports carrying considerable cargoes (Naville, *Temple of Deir el Bahari*, 3, with plates).

20. Barter; value.

(*h*) Early trade consisted of barter, in which various communities or states of culture exchanged the necessaries or embellishments of life.[2] When a superior civilisation met an inferior it paid for solid goods, as at the present day, with gaudy trinkets and ornaments, as for instance the Egyptians in their commerce with the negro and other tribes whom they met in Punt[3] (Naville, *op. cit.*). Gradually, however, there arose common measures of value: *e.g.*, cattle, slaves, or metals, especially the precious metals.[4] As among other early races[5] orna-

1 For porterage in Babylonia, cp a letter of Ḫammurabi, *Beitr. z. Assyriologie*, 4 474.

2 In the East barter has always survived alongside well-developed systems of money and finance. Cp under Cambyses, *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 429, § 9. Palgrave (*Central and E. Arab.* ed. 1883, p. 368) found barter more common 'throughout Arabia . . . among the villagers, and even the poorer townsmen, than purchase.'

3 For an account of curious methods of barter in this region in Greek times, cp Cosmas Indic., *Christ. Topogr.*, Bk. II., ET by M'Crindle, 52.

4 In the 4th mill. silver was used as currency in Babylonia. Cp above, § 8, on Maniš-tu-irba. In the time of Ḫammurabi both barter and money were extant; cp his letters above, § 8, fifth note. For electron in Egypt and silver see EGYPT, § 38, and n. 2, col. 1229.

5 Babelon, *Les Origines de la Monnaie*; W. W. Carlile, *The Evol. of Modern Money*, Pt. II. especially chap. 2.

ments and the material for ornament displaced the useful metals and other commodities as the favourite media of exchange and standards of value. In aid of this, there was not only the common and universal passion for ornament, but also its convenience for hoarding,[1] the family's wealth being most easily 'saved' in the form of its women's ornaments, even after money proper came into existence; and in W. Asia the process would be further hastened by the prevailing custom of purchasing a wife, for an instance of which in Israel, cp Gen. 24, and see below, § 43. These primitive 'moneys,' however, were not always actually given in exchange for goods; but the value of the goods exchanged was reckoned in terms of them. For this usage in the case of copper wire[2] see Erman (494 *ff.*), and later of silver and gold, EGYPT, § 38. Stamped weights of the precious metals were in early use in Babylonia; but money proper appears *in* W. Asia first in the Persian period. For further details see MONEY, and the articles and books quoted there.

21. Trade and religion.

(*i*) The most interesting of all the questions arising in connection with the commerce of W. Asia during this early period is that of its relations to religion. So far as is known to the present writer there exists no adequate treatment of this, nor even a full appreciation of its significance. The hint has already been given (§§ 12, 16) that trade appears to have exercised no influence on the human mind during the formative period of the different religions. In Egypt and Babylonia, or among the Syrian and other Semites, there were gods who reflected or sympathised with every other human activity. The memory of the various peoples went back to divine or semi-divine kings, lawgivers, physicians, teachers, hunters, and fishers (PHŒNICIA, § 12), artisans (cp the Egyptian Ptaḥ and the attribution of the invention of pottery and metal-working to various gods), and musicians. But, except for certain isolated and apparently late instances, to be noted presently (§ 22), there seems to have been no god or hero who was a trader. This cannot have been due to dislike of trading habits, such as prevailed in Egyptian society (§ 13); for the want was not confined to Egypt; nor was it due to any of the moral objections to trade, which are so common in modern times. There is only one explanation: in the formative period of the religions of W. Asia, commerce was not yet specialised as a separate vocation[3] (§ 12). Perhaps the most striking proof of its want of religious influence at an early period is found among the Phœnicians.

22. In Phœnicia, Egypt.

Their most ancient deities were practically identical with those of the general Canaanite stock (Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phön.* 190). When at last the Phœnicians took to the sea they invoked for their new occupation the blessing of their accustomed deities, and principally of the various local forms of 'Aštart. The other divine beings, who appear connected with Phœnician ships, and in later times were credited with the discovery of navigation, the Kabiri, were of secondary rank in the Phœnician pantheon, and had been originally connected with the mining and working of metals (*Ib.* 188, 190; but see PHŒNICIA, § 11, col. 3774, with footnote). The legends which attribute distant travels to the Tyrian Herakles and divers gods are of late origin (Pietsch. 191). The only other possible instance of a trading Canaanite deity is that concealed under the ambiguous name מסכר (PHŒNICIA, § 12, ISSACHAR, §§ 3, 6). Similarly in Egypt the expeditions to Punt under the eighteenth dynasty were commended to the patronage of Amon of Thebes, who gave the conquest and tribute (*i.e.*, as we have seen, § 8 n. 3, the trade) of that distant land to his own people, and was thanked by them for help in the exploration and opening up of roads (Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pt. iii. 14, 19 *ff.*). We may assume that other nations of W. Asia when they took to trade also dedicated it each to their own tribal deity. But once this was done, the reaction upon their conceptions of their deity must have been one of the most considerable forces in the transformation of the primitive religions.

23. Reaction of trade on religion.

The deity, originally local and identified with purely local phenomena (PHŒNICIA, § 11), must, when carried abroad by his people, have expanded in their belief to an identification with the principal cosmic forces, especially those of the sea and the heavens. It may, therefore, be to trade that the religions of W. Asia partly owe the association of their gods with the stars—always the guides of travellers—as well as their identification with the natural forces, or even with the gods, of distant lands.[1] But besides thus enhancing the power of native deities, the foreign trade of their worshippers brought back the cults of other gods. This is very evident in Egypt. A number of instances are given by Erman. Usertesen III. (Dyn. xii.) dedicated a temple on the S. frontier to the Nubian god, and only in the second place to Ḥnum the Egyptian (500); Besa, honoured by the New Empire 'as a protecting genius,' probably owed 'his introduction to Egypt to this (incense) trade' (514); and consequent upon the great increase of Asiatic commerce under the eighteenth and the nineteenth dynasty a number of Syrian divinities were admitted to the Egyptian pantheon (517). Similarly there was an export of the gods of W. Asia to Europe by Cyprus: 'merchants of Citium brought the cult of their goddess with them to Athens' (PHŒNICIA, § 11), and the general influence of Phœnician traders on the religion and mythology of Greece is notorious.

24. Sanctuaries and markets.

Again, gatherings to religious centres, great or small, have always been convenient for trade—as we see even in mediæval and modern times. Stated and famous markets grew about the sanctuaries of W. Asia and festivals became fairs. Where trade, as in N. Syria and Arabia, had to pass through many tribal territories, treaties were necessary and were accompanied by religious rites at border (or other) sanctuaries, at which it would be natural to exchange goods. In our period and that which followed it, Babylon, Carchemish, Bethel, Sinai (perhaps), Mecca, and various Egyptian towns are instances.[2] Exchanges were effected under religious direction; it was the interest of the guardians of the sanctuaries to prescribe forms, and fees to the temple were charged.[3] The supervision by priests of Babylonian commerce is evident from a multitude of contract tablets;[4] and the rise of priestly families and castes to kingly power, both in Babylonia and in Egypt, was made possible by the wealth which accrued to them from their direction of commerce.

Before we proceed to Israelite commerce one other study is necessary.

25. Syria.

We have seen that during the New Empire and especially under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties there was a great increase of trade between Syria and Egypt, in which Syrian products and manufactures played a very important part (above, § 8). We are now to examine the details of this, happening as it did on the eve of Israel's settlement in Palestine. The first evidence

[1] Carlile, *op. cit.*

[2] As in Calabar and other parts of Africa, probably for ornament; Carlile, *op. cit.* 240.

[3] For an illustration of the very opposite take Buddhism, which 'was a merchant religion par excellence; there are few parables or birth-stories in which a Buddhist merchant does not figure'; *JRAS*, 1902, p. 387.

[1] For an identification of Ḥathor with the deity of the *anti* or incense of Punt, see Naville, *op. cit.* 20.

[2] For another, cp ISSACHAR, § 2; Dt. 33 18.

[3] WRS, *Rel. Sem.* 441.

[4] Delitzsch in a note to No. 28 of Nagel's translation of Ḥammurabi's letters to Sin-idinnam (*Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 458 493) illustrates the Babylonian custom of making valuations 'before God'—*i.e.*, in presence of the priests—and compares Ex. 21 6 22 8 [7] *f.*

is found in the records of Thutmosis III. (1503-1449).[1] Coats of mail do not appear in his reign till he takes 200 from the Canaanites at the sack of Megiddo. The Syrian chariots are the finer, and generally Syrian artisans appear more skilful and artistic than those of Egypt. Large numbers of them are transported to Egypt. In the same reign there are records of importations of grain into Egypt; these cannot all have been tribute (above, § 8 n. 3); also of oil, wine, honey, dates, incense, timber for masts and beams, and cattle.

It is in the period after Thutmosis III., however, that we obtain our fullest evidence of the commercial condition of Syria before Israel entered it. The Amarna Letters (1400 onwards) reveal, if by no more than the cuneiform script in which they are written, the already prolonged and close commercial intercourse between Babylonia and Egypt across Syria. Their contents are still more significant.[2] The kings of Babylonia and Egypt propose an exchange of the products of their lands. Gold is sent from Egypt to Babylonia, 'painted wood,' golden and wooden images, and oil. From Babylonia to Egypt come manufactured gold, precious stones, lapis lazuli, enamel, skins, wooden chariots, horses, and slaves. Some of these, of course, pass as presents between the kings; but that they are also articles of commerce is proved by the complaint of one of the Babylonian kings that his merchants (*dam-garu, dam-karu or tamkaru*: cp Del. *Ass. HWB*, Aram. *taggār*, whence Arab. *tâgir, tuggâr*) had been plundered in the territories of the Pharaoh. Letters from Alašia, either Cyprus (Winckler) or the extreme N. of the Syrian coast (Petrie, WMM), tell of the exportation from that country of copper, bronze, ivory, ship-furniture, and horses to Egypt, and the receipt of silver, oil, and oxen. Merchants go from Alašia to Egypt by ship; a writer begs the king of Egypt not to allow them to be injured by his tax-gatherers (no. 29). The king of Alašia complains of the Lukki, a pirate people who disturb the Mediterranean, and invade his land (28). A prince of N. Syria sends slaves and begs for gold (36). The letters from Egyptian tributaries and officials in Palestine, during its invasion by the Ḥatti and Ḥabiri, ask for wheat from Egypt for besieged towns and districts that have not been able to grow their own corn (cp the story of Jacob and Joseph); or report the sending of timber, oil (cp Hos. 12 2 [1]), honey, cattle, and slaves. One letter (122) asks for myrrh as a medicine. Another (124), but obscurely, speaks of purple (?). Abd-ḫiba of Jerusalem complains that he cannot prevent the plundering of the King of Egypt's caravans in Ajalon (180). Horses and asses are supplied to travellers (51), and provisions to the royal caravans (242) and troops (264, 270). One letter reports payment of '300 pieces of silver to the Ḫabiri, besides the 1000 into the hand of the king's officer' (280). We read of no passage of glass either way, though glass had been known in Egypt from 3300 B.C. and was also made in Phœnicia from an early date. It was immediately after the period of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters—*i.e.*, in the fourteenth century B.C.—that Kadašman-Ḫarbe (BABYLONIA, § 57) of Babylon, being shut off from Ḫarran and the upper Euphrates by Assyria, opened a direct route across the desert to Phœnicia (Wi. *Politische Entwickel. Bab. u. Assyr.* 15).

26. Amarna Letters.

Egyptian records confirm the frequent importation of slaves from Syria into Egypt, where the girls were prized in the harems, and, in addition to articles mentioned in the Amarna Letters, indicate that Syrian pottery and metal work were prized; also ointments for embalming, oils, wine, woollen cloths, and embroideries. The characteristics of Syrian clothing as depicted on the monuments were embroidery, tassels, and fringes. There is an extremely interesting account of an expedition sent about 1100 B.C. by Ḥer-ḥeru of dynasty twenty-one to Lebanon for cedar in one of the Golénischeff Papyri (*Recueil de Trav.* 21 74 *ff.*; cp WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 395; Budge, *HE* 6 13 *ff.*).

27. Other Egyptian records.

[1] WMM, *As. u. Eur.* 24; Flinders Petrie, *HE* 2 146 *ff.*

[2] The following facts are taken from the German translation (with transliteration of the original into Roman characters) by Hugo Winckler, *Die Thontafeln von Tell el-Amarna*, Berlin, 1896: for some corrections see Knudtzon in *Beitr. zur Assyriologie*, iv. 2 3.

II. TRADE ROUTES IN W. ASIA

We may now indicate the physical facilities for commerce in W. Asia, and trace the main lines of trade and cross routes by land and sea. On the map the eye at once marks the following natural directions of traffic: two long and navigable rivers, the Nile and the Euphrates; two long narrow seas with more or less harboured coasts, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; whilst from the most westerly point touched by the Euphrates, a fertile and well-populated country, passable on several lines through Syria, stretches to the Nile Delta, with one break of desert about six or seven days' march from Gaza to Pelusium. Inside all these lie the great Arabian deserts, isolating the fertile Arabia Felix from W. Asia; but even across these deserts, lines of oases and valleys, in which, though there is no cultivation, water is procurable, render passage possible by land from the Indian Ocean to the Levant. The many routes created along and across these natural lines we shall take in order as they lie from the south northward, and we shall include the directions of traffic with India.

28. Lines of trade: Egypt.

Egypt's inland trade, and her traffic with Nubia, the Sudān, and farther south, went up the Nile by Yēbu (Elephantine, 'ivory island') and Suênet (Syene, Aṣwān: 'commerce,' Erman, *op. cit.* 498 *f.*), at which exchanges were made with the barbarians. 'It is difficult,' says Erman (479), 'to find a word in the language which means to *travel*; the terms used were *ḫont*=to go up stream, and *ḫod*=to go down stream.' The river flows northwards; but, as if in compensation, the prevailing winds are in the opposite direction. From Memphis by the Fayoum, or from the present Assiout and other Nile-ports, caravans reached the western oases (ὄασις from Eg. *uaḥ*=station).

So far as concerned the trade with Punt, the Nile and the Red Sea, running nearly parallel for some thousands of miles, and at one point only 90 m. apart, wonderfully supplemented each other's defects. As on the Nile, the prevailing winds in the Red Sea are from the north: in the upper half the N. wind seldom flags, and the Gulf of Suez is often stormy. The Egyptians, therefore, divided their route from the Delta to Punt and back again between the river and the sea. Their traffic southward was borne on the Nile[1] as far as Koptos,[2] and then struck E. over the desert about 90 m. to Sauu, at the mouth of the W. Gasûs,[3] a little to the N. both of the later Greek harbour Leukos Limen,[4] and the modern el-Ḳoṣēr (Erman, 586).

29. Nile and Red Sea.

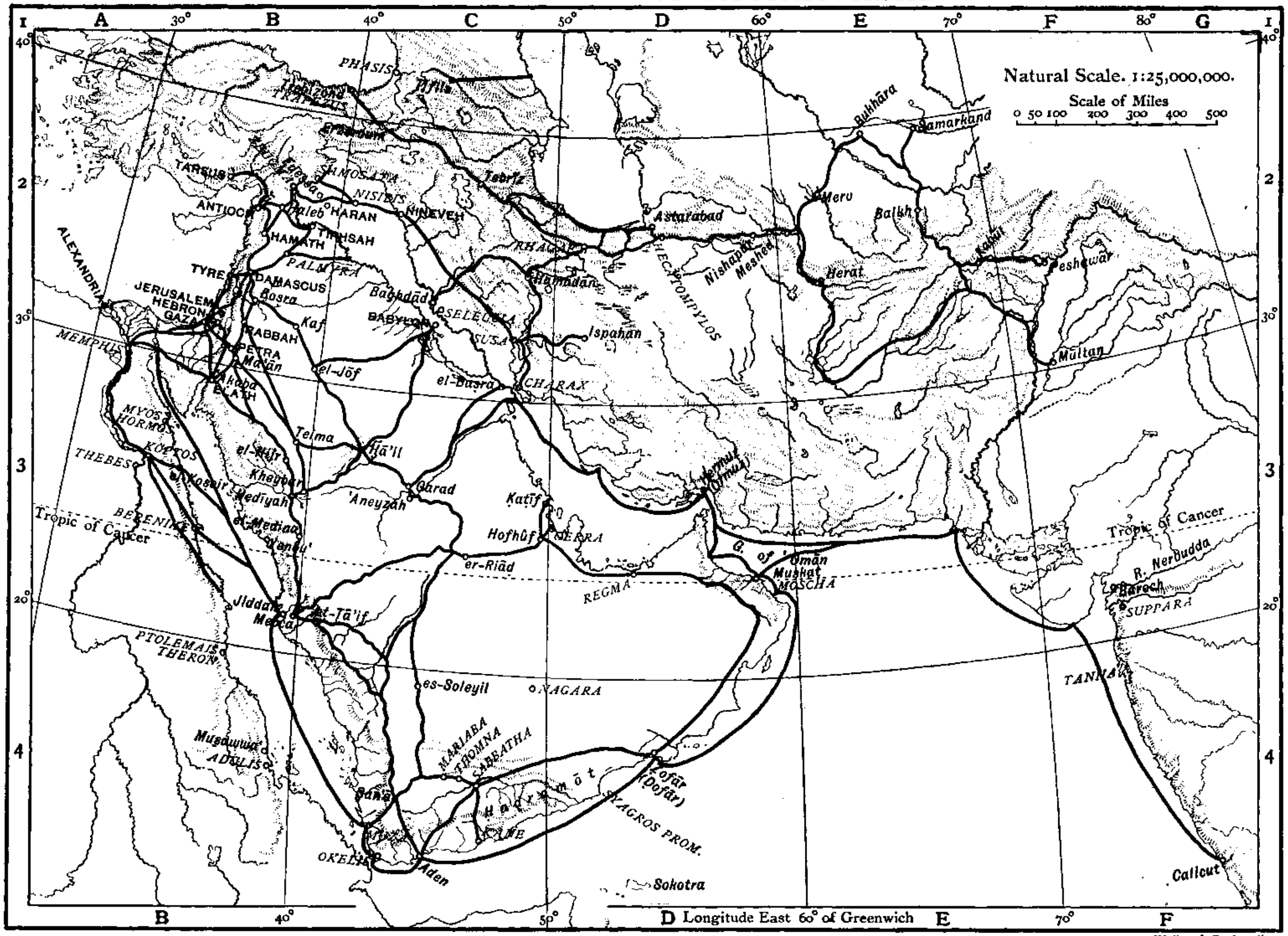
[1] Naville (*op. cit.* 16) points out that the pictures of Ḥa't-šepsut's Punt expedition on Deir-el-Baḥri, which show the Punt goods arriving at Thebes by ship, suggest that there was 'an arm of the Nile in communication with the Red Sea,' at that time; and that the same ships carried cargo all the way. But the picture may only intend the short passage from Koptos to Thebes.

[2] To-day not Ḳafṭ (Koptos) but the neighbouring Ḳeneh is the starting-place for el-Ḳoṣēr.

[3] The way is almost waterless (cp above, § 9), but the present writer knows it for only a day E. from Ḳeneh. This road was supplied with reservoirs by many Pharaohs (above, §§ 9 19 n.). It was much used for trade in the reign of Xerxes (Budge, *HE* 7 75) and in Roman times. It is of interest that in 1801 Major General Baird and his army took 16 days from el-Ḳosēr to Ḳeneh (Anderson, *Journ. of Secr. Exped. to Medit. and Eg.*, London, 1802, p. 357).

[4] Also called Myos Hormos by the *Periplus*, 1, and by Strabo (xvi. 4 24 xvii. 1 45), apparently through confusion with Myos Hormos on the Gulf of Suez. Cp Agatharchides, *De Mari Erythr.* in *Geogr. Gr. Min.* 1 167 *ff.* with Tab. VI. in Atlas.

TRADE-ROUTES OF HITHER ASIA.



Walker & Cockerell sc.

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MAP OF TRADE-ROUTES OF HITHER ASIA

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Other harbours on the S. coast of the Red Sea were Myos Hormos at the mouth of the Gulf of Suez, about 120 m. from the Nile,[1] probably used in the early period for sea traffic, more frequent than the land traffic, with Sinai; the Ptolemaic Berenike due E. from Syene but usually reached by caravan from Koptos—twelve days' journey according to Pliny (*HN*, 6 26); Ptolemais (ἡ τῶν Θηρῶν καλουμένη: *Peripl.* § 3) near the modern Massowah; Adulis[2] (*id.* § 4), etc.; with Muza and Okelis on the Arabian coast just inside the Straits of Bāb-el-Mandeb (*id.* §§ 21 *ff.* 25 *ff.*).

If we reckon by the voyages of Arab dhows,[3] it would take the Egyptian ships about a month to sail from el-Ḳoṣēr to the Straits of Bāb-el-Mandeb. Pliny (*l.c.*) gives thirty days from Berenike to Okelis, but Herodotus (2 11) only forty for the voyage down the whole Red Sea.[4]

30. Indian Ocean.

In the Indian Ocean the routes down the E. coast of Africa and up the Arabian coast were known and mapped in Greek times. For the African coast see the Atlas to *Geogr. Gr. Min.* xii. The Arabian coast route is described in the *Periplus*. From Okelis to Arabia Felix (Aden), to Moscha (Ẓofār) and the Syagros promontory (Rās Fertak) would take at least a month, with probably twenty days more to the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Thus the whole voyage from 'Akabah or Suez to the mouth of the Persian Gulf cannot have occupied less than three months. Thence to the mouth of the Indus and down the Malabar coast the ports and distances are described in the *Periplus*. For the voyage direct from Okelis, 'ad primum emporium Indiæ, Muzirim,'[5] Pliny (*HN* 6 26) gives forty days, and adds that a ship leaving Berenike about the end of July reached Muziris about the middle of October, and leaving again in the end of December or January returned to Egypt within the year. The coasting voyage from Babylonia down the Persian Gulf, and so to the Indus, may be followed in the *Periplus* (§§ 35 *ff.*), or in Arrian's *Hist. Indica* (§§ 20 *ff.*).[6]

31. Arabia.

Coming now to Arabia, we find in the Minæan inscriptions hints, and in the Greek geographers data, of the long trade routes, which traversed the peninsula.

Sprenger (*Alte Geogr. Arab.*, chap. 2) describes nine of these routes, with Ptolemy's map of Arabia; and Wüstenfeld (*Die von Medina auslauf. Hauptstrassen*, and *Die Strasse von Baçra nach Mekka*; Gött. 1862 and 1867 with maps) has laid down the routes in the N. half of Arabia from the data of the Arabian geographers.

The principal roads were those by which frankincense was brought to Syria and Mesopotamia from the Sabæan country.

Pliny (*HN* 12 33 éd. Delph.) gives the distance from Thomna to Gaza as sixty-five daily marches for camels.[7] The route held to Mecca, from remote antiquity a great centre of trade. There it divided. One branch turned NE. through Nejd (a present pilgrim-route) and again divided, one arm E. through el-Ḥasa to the ancient Gerra, or other port on the Bahrein Gulf,[8] the other NE. towards Baṣrah. The main branch from Mecca continued N. to Medīnah (whence a tolerably watered road

[1] At Keneh. For the route, past granite and porphyry quarries with Greek and Roman remains, see Baedeker's *Eg.*(4) 348. Myos Hormos. now Abu Ṣar el-Ḳibli, lay in the lat. of Manfaluṭ, and from there or Assiûṭ was about 150 m. distant.

[2] Or Adulé (near Annesley Bay) the port for Axum, 120 m. distant; in the Gk. period the market for trade with Central Africa, 'much frequented by traders from Alexandria and the Elanitic gulf'—Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Christ. Topogr.* (6th cent.), Bk. II. ET by M'Crindle, 54.

[3] Cp Burton, *Pilgrimage to Al-Med. and Mecca*, chap. 11.

[4] This appears also to have been the datum of Timosthenes, the Ptolemaic admiral, in Pliny, *HN* 6 33 ed. Delph., where for *quatridui* read *quadraginta dierum*.

[5] Muziris, on the Malabar coast, either Calicut, or more probably, Mangalore; see the *Periplus* and Ptolemy. For voyages to different ports in India, cp Sprenger, *Alte. Geog. Arab.* 98 *ff.*

[6] *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. Müller, Paris, 1882, vol. i., 284 *ff.* 332 *ff.* with Tabb. XI. and XIII.-XV.

[7] Palgrave (144) gives his day's march as twelve to fourteen hours, at about 5 m. an hour, 'the ordinary pace of a riding camel.' This seems even for such rather much, and freight camels certainly go more slowly.

[8] Palgrave (369) gives the time for the Persian pilgrims from Abu-Shahr (Bushire) across the gulf and through Nejd to Mecca as two months.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

strikes NE. by 'Aneyza[1] and the Lower Kaseem to Baṣra on the Euphrates) and Ḥijr (Egra),[2] where it divided into one NE. by el-Teimā (Thaima), round the northern Nefūd and along the Wādy Sirḥān to Boṣra for Damascus[3] (or to Tadmor), and another NNW. to Ma'ān, Petra, and Gaza; with a branch doubtless to Elah on the Gulf of 'Aḳabah. A Minæan inscription (Glaser, 1155; Halévy, 535) mentions a caravan route from Ma'ān to Ragmat, probably the OT RAAMAH (*q.v.*), either 'Ρεγμα on the Persian Gulf or the seat of the 'Ραμμανιτοί of Strabo (xvi. 4 24) near Mariaba in Sabæa. From Gerra (Ger'a), on the Persian Gulf, one route swung round by 'Omān to the incense country on the S. coast; another crossed probably by el-Ḥaṣa, Nejd, and Lower Kaseem to Kheybar and Teyma for Syria (or from Kaseem crossed more directly by Ḥā'il and el-Jôf to Ma'ān; Palgrave [p. 2] gives the distance from the Jôf to Ma'ān at 200 m. as the crow flies). Forder (145) gives the present population of the Jôf at 40,000 (!). The town is 2 m. long, ¼ m. wide; three rainfalls annually; water-supply good from deep springs; warm sulphur springs; clothing, cooking-utensils, coffee, etc., by caravan from Mecca, Baghdād, and Damascus. Another route across N. Arabia, probably used by Babylonian expeditions to Muṣri and Sinai, led from the Euphrates to the Jôf and so by Ma'ān to 'Aḳabah; but the longer route given above—Baṣra-'Aneyza-Teyma-'Aḳabah—was easier and less dangerous. On the S., easy routes connected the interior of the Minæan territory with the ports on the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. So much for Arabia.

32. Egypt through Syria.

We have now to trace the routes from Egypt across Syria towards Damascus for the Euphrates. Of these there are in the main four.

1. *E. of Jordan.*—The first, from the E. westward, left the Delta by Suez for Nakhl, on the plateau of Tih, and thence reached Elath at the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah,[4] where it joined the routes S. and E. through Arabia. From 'Akabah it turned up the W. el-Ithm to the E. of Edom (Israel's track) and struck Ma'ān (where it crossed the route Mecca to Petra). From Ma'ān it is ten journeys to Damascus (Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 48); the present Ḥajj route keeps to the E. of Moab, to avoid the deep cañons (for routes through Moab, see MOAB, § 8) to Ḳal'at ez-Zerḳā, on the upper waters of the Zerḳā, the biblical Jabbok. Thence it holds due N. to Rimtheh and el-Muzērib, thence upon the west of the Lejā to Damascus. An older branch struck from the Zerḳā NE. to Boṣra (to which other routes came up from Arabia), Kanatha, and so by the E. of the Leja to Damascus.

2. *Up the 'Arābah.*—The second route, from Elath to Damascus, followed the great trench of the 'Arābah by the foot of Mt. Seir to the Dead Sea, and then up its west coast and the Jordan valley. This has great disadvantages in heat and want of water; but the traffic along it (at least as far as the Dead Sea) was considerable in the early Mohammedan period, and the same stretch of it may have been used by Jewish trade with Elath in the days of the kings.

3. *By Hebron.*—A third line of road from Egypt through Syria—perhaps that called the way of SHUR (*q.v.*, Gen. 16 7)—started from the middle of the Isthmus, struck E. through the desert till it crossed Jebel Maghārah,[5] turned N. round J. Helāl, crossed W. el-'Arīsh (from which onwards there are not a few wells and waterpits), passed el-Birein, Ruḥaibeh, and Khalaṣa to Beersheba and Hebron (PALESTINE, § 20).

4. *By maritime plain.*—The fourth route left the Delta at Pelusium or some station near the present el-Kanṭara on the canal, for Rhinokolura (el-'Arīsh), Raphia, and Gaza—six to seven marches from the Delta.[6] Thence by Ashdod up the Maritime Plain.

[1] So Doughty. For the mercantile qualities of the inhabitants, see Palgrave, 117 (Oneyza; v. Oppenheim [2 54], 'Onēze).

[2] Or Medain Ṣaliḥ.

[3] Palgrave. A description of the route between the Jôf and Boṣra, along the W. Sirhân is given by Forder (*With Arabs in Tent and Town*, chaps. 5-8). It is apparently 5½ days from the Jôf to Ithera; thence four hours to Kāf, thence 6 days to Orman, thence 1 to Boṣra.

[4] Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*; Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*; consult Palmer also for routes from Suez to Sinai.

[5] To the N. of Jebel Yeleg: see Drake Holland's Map, *PEFQ*, 1884, p. 4.

[6] Napoleon, *Guerre d'Orient: Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie*, vol. ii.; Wittmann's *Travels*, 128 *ff.* Archduke Sal-

These four roads from Egypt to Syria were crossed by others from Arabia to the Levant and S. Palestine.

33. Cross-routes: Tih, Negeb. The direction of these, across the desert of Tih and the Negeb, must have varied according to season and rainfall. This desert, so important both in the wanderings and in the trade of Israel, is in the main a high, hard plateau, the Plateau of Tīh, bearing short, irregular ranges of hills, and is mostly barren, but its valleys contain alluvial soil. The rainfall in January and February is considerable, and then there is much grass. Perennial springs are infrequent; but in the longer wādies water can nearly always be had by digging. Horses may be taken everywhere, provided camels accompany them with water-skins for the long intervals between wells (Wilson, *PEFQ*, 1887, pp. 38 *ff.*). The ruins of vineyards and villages, with forts, in the NEGEB (*q.v.*) prove that it was once easy of traverse. The most inaccessible portion is immediately W. of the 'Arabah and S. of the Palestine frontier—some 60 m. N. and S. by 50 E. and W.—steep ridges, the home of the wildest of the Arabs of this region, the 'Azāzimeh. This part throws the roads between Palestine and the Red Sea to the W. and E. of itself. These naturally bend to the best sources of water, of which we may note the following:—'Ain el-Weibeh[1] in the Arabah, about 80 m. from Elath, and 30 from the Dead Sea; 15 m. N., 'Ain Hasb;[2] S. of the 'Azāzimeh country, well-watered wādies round the famous 'Ain Ḳadis (KADESH, 1); but this district is so shut off by Jebel Magrah and other hills that it is not visited by through roads; wells at Hathirah, Bīrein, el-'Aujeh, and elsewhere afford a well-watered line of travel N. and S. on which most of the routes converge; N. of the 'Azāzimeh country, 'Ain el-Mureidhah, W. el-Yemen, and Kurnub. Taking these facts with the evidence of the ancient geographers and of travellers like Robinson, Palmer, Clay Trumbull, Holland, and Wilson, we can determine the following lines of traffic across the desert of Tih and the Negeb.

1. The chief line of traffic is that which from the head of the Gulf of 'Aḳabah strikes NW. over the plateau of Tīh to the conspicuous mountain 'Arāīf en-Nāḳah,[3] and bending N. coincides near Bīrein with the trunk road from the middle of the Isthmus of Suez to Hebron. It leaves the trunk road again near Ruḥaibeh and strikes NW. on Gaza. For camels it is about eight days' journey by this route from 'Aḳabah to Gaza. To the E. of the S. half of it, but coinciding with its N. half, are several pilgrim routes between Sinai and Gaza much used in the Middle Ages;[4] it is ten days from St. Catherine's Convent to Gaza.[5]

2. The route from Ma'ān and Petra to the Negeb descends by Petra and the W. el-Abyaḍ, crosses the 'Arabah NW. to 'Ain el-Weibeh, and thence strikes up through the hills by several branches, the best known being that which leaves the 'Arabah a little to the N. of 'Ain el-Weibeh, passes 'Ain el-Mureidhah and 'Ain el-Khuran to the great mountain barrier, pierced by the Naḳb el-Yemen, Nakb eṣ-Ṣufāh (thought by some to be ZEPHATH or HORMAH, through which Israel attempted Palestine from the S., Nu. 14_{45} 21_3 Dt. 1_{44} Judg. 1_{17}) and Naḳb es-Sufey.[6] Still another pass to the W. of Naḳb el-Yemen is said to carry a road to Gaza. On the high region to the N. of these passes the routes reunite, and, passing a little to the E. of Kurnub[1] and 'Ar'ārah, the road divides into two, one N. of Beersheba to Gaza, the other by Kh. el-Milḥ to Hebron. By this road from Ma'ān to the Negeb pilgrims and supplies from Gaza and Hebron meet the Ḥajj at Ma'ān, and it is probable that from Hebron to 'Ain el-Weibeh and thence down the 'Arabah the same road carried the trade of the kings of Israel to Elath or Ezion-geber.[2]

3. Finally, there was a less important line of traffic from Gaza along the S. frontier of Palestine and round the S. end of the Dead Sea to Kerak.

For the main and cross routes through Palestine

34. Palestine. itself, see PALESTINE, § 20, to which may be added the following:—

1. *From Dead Sea.*—The great 'Arabah road and the salt deposits at the S. end of the Dead Sea were connected with Jerusalem by a route through el-Milḥ and Hebron, by another which left the Dead Sea at Engedi and deployed up the W. Ḥuṣāṣah to Jebel Fureidis (Herodium), or crossed W. Ghuweir and ascending W. Jerfân struck NW. to Jerusalem. The second of these is a very bad road. To-day the salt-carriers, in preference to both, follow the Dead Sea coast to a point N. of Engedi before striking up to Jerusalem.

2. *Across W. range.*—N. of the Dead Sea the routes across the W. range were two: *first*, that mentioned in PALESTINE, § 20, by the Beth-horons, past the great sanctuary and market at Bethel, down to Jericho; 'Ain ed-Dūk on one branch of this route is probably a Philistine station (DAGON, DOCUS) of the days when the Philistines commanded the traffic on this line (it was also used by the Crusaders, who did not hold Gaza, for their traffic with Moab, Edom, and 'Aḳaba; Rey, *Les Colonies Franques dans les XII. et XIII. Siècles:* ch. 9); *second*, the road which, ascending NW. from Jaffa, crosses the watershed at Shechem in the pass between Ebal and Gerizim, and descends the wādies el-Kerād and Fāri'ah to the ford at ed-Dāmieh. That the trading Philistines also used this route is certified by the presence to the E. of Shechem of a Beit Dejan—*i.e.*, Beth-Dagon. So also Vespasian marched (*BJ* iv. 8_1).

Carmel was turned by four routes N. from Sharon.

35. Sharon to Esdraelon. (1) The most westerly follows the coast; it connected the Phœnician settlements S. and N. of Carmel, and in later times Cæsarea with Ptolemais. (2) A road leaves the N. end of Sharon and strikes N. by Ṣubbarīn and E. of Carmel to Tell Keimūn; it is the shortest line from Egypt to the Phœnician cities. (3) Another leaves Sharon at Kh. es-Sumrah, strikes NE. up the W. 'Ārah to 'Ain Ibrahīm and enters Esdraelon at Lejjūn (Megiddo), from which roads branch to Nazareth, Tiberias, and, by Jezreel, to Beth-shan and the Jordan. (4) The fourth leaves Sharon by the W. Abu Nâr, emerges on the plain of Dothan, and enters Esdraelon at Jenīn (En-gannim); for the Jordan valley and the road to Damascus across Ḥaurān it is shorter than the route by Lejjūn (cp Gen. 38_{25}). On these roads and their significance see *HG* 150 *ff.*

The valleys of S. Galilee, disposed E. and W., carried some of the most famous roads of Palestine. These

36. S. Galilee. started from Akko (PTOLEMAIS). (1) One struck SE. by another Beth-Dagon,[3] climbed to Sepphoris, passed near Nazareth, and descended by the W. esh-Sharrār to the Jordan at the Roman bridge, Jisr el-Mujāmi', the main Roman road to the trans-Jordanic provinces. (2) Another crossed by the valley N. of Sepphoris and descended on Tiberias. (3) Another climbed E. probably by W. Wasriyeh, held along the foot of Upper Galilee to Ramah, from which one branch descended to join a

vator, *Die Karawanenstrasse von Äg. nach Syr.* (Prague, 1879; ET, London, 1881).

1 Robinson, *BR* 2 580 *ff.*

2 V. Raumer, *Palästina*, 480 *ff.*; Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*, 207 etc.

3 Another branch strikes from 'Aḳabah up the 'Arabah, ascends the plateau by the W. el-Beyāneh and joins the main road near W. el Ghuḍāghiḍ (Robinson), S. of J. 'Arāīf en-Naḳah.

4 For a list see Robinson, *BR* 1 561 *ff.*

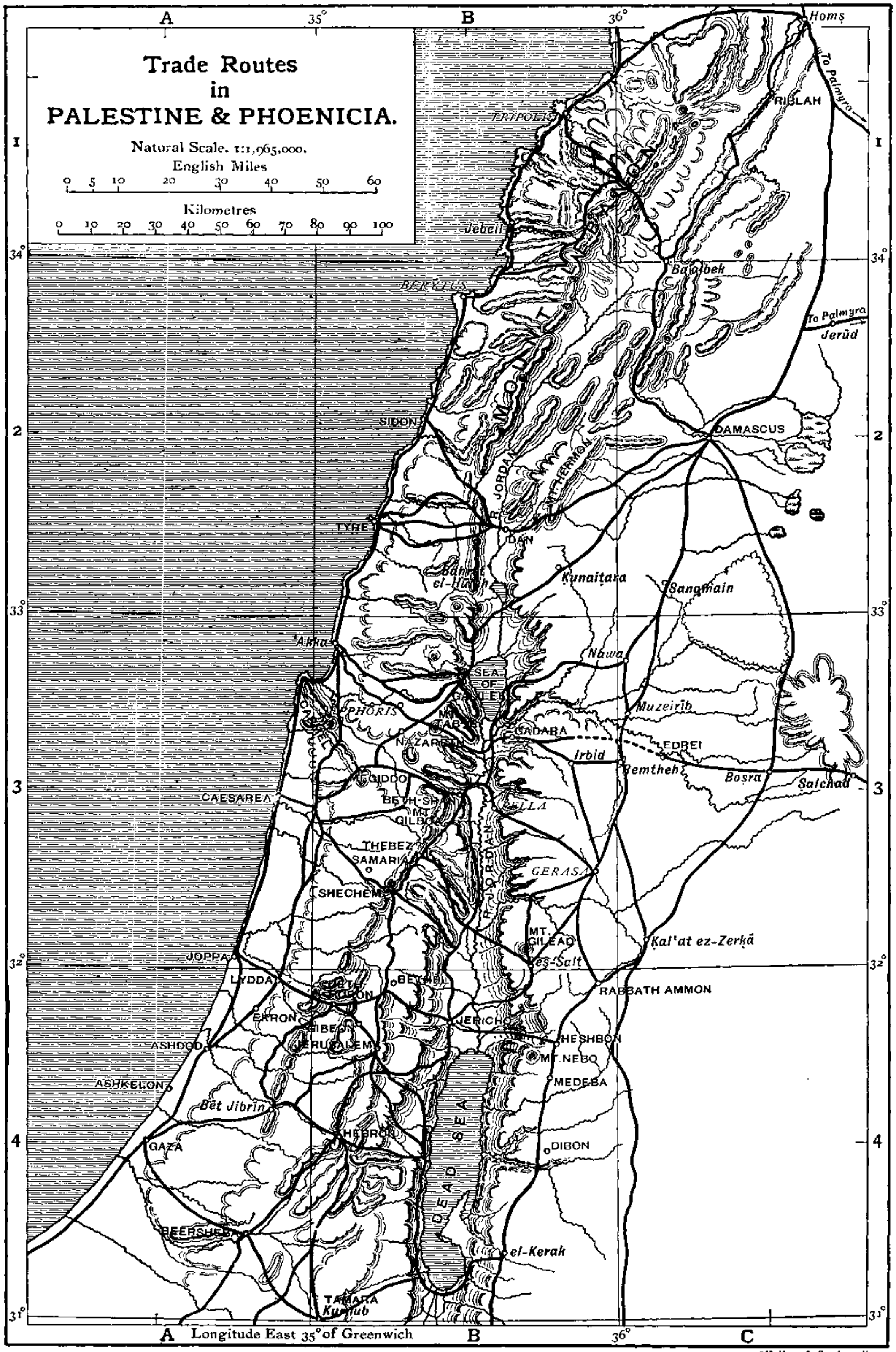
5 Felix Fabri, *Evagatorium*, and other mediæval travellers.

6 Large Map to Clay Trumbull's *Kadesh Barnea.*

1 The biblical Tamar. See § 50.

2 So too, perhaps, ran one of the Roman roads between Hebron and Elath.

3 Dok of the Crusading Chronicles (*e.g.*, *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 1897, ll. 3987, 4071); now Tell Da'ouk or Dauk.



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N. and S. trunk road at Capernaum, whilst a second proceeded by Ṣafed to the present Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob across Jordan. These are probably the roads reflected in the parables of Jesus (*HG* 425 *ff.*). The most northerly is the most natural (or easiest) route for traffic from the sea-coast to Damascus (PTOLEMAIS, § 3).

More difficult roads, however, crossed the highlands behind Phœnicia:—(1) from Tyre, by Burj el-Alawei through the valley near Abrikha (where pavement is still found) down to the N. of Rubb Thelāthīn, across the Ḥāṣbāny to Bāniās; (2) from Tyre, or (3) from Sidon, to the elbow of the Liṭāny and so down to the Ḥāṣbāny bridge and Bāniās. The importance of these roads is testified by the lines of crusading castles upon them.

37. Tyre and Sidon.

On the E. of Jordan (N. of Moab) the cross-routes are best illustrated by the position of the cities of DECAPOLIS (*q.v.*). From the Jordan opposite Scythopolis (Bethshan) start three roads:—(1) one to the S. by Pella (with a variation a little to the N.) and thence SE. over the hills of Gilead (by the lost Dion) to Gerasa and Philadelphia (with branches). (2) A second climbed to Gadara, and thence along the ridge to Abila of the Decapolis, and by Abila to Kanatha or by Edrei to Bosra and Jebel Ḥaurān. (3) A third climbed from the E. coast of the Lake of Galilee by Hippos (Sūsiya opposite Tiberias) and crossed Jaulān and Ḥaurān by Nawa (with variants) to Damascus. To the N. of these ran other two: (4) from the Bridge of the Daughters of Jacob by el-Ḳuneiṭrah, and (5) from Bāniās by Kefr Hawar—both to Damascus.

38. E. of Jordan.

The lines of trade through N. Syria from Damascus and Phœnicia to the Euphrates are determined by the desert, the long parallel lines of hills, and the Orontes valley. The shortest route from Damascus to Mesopotamia is NE. by the Palmyra or TADMOR oasis; but its difficulties, due to the want of water and the wild character of the nomads, diverted the main volume of traffic through the settled country to the E. of Jebel Anṣārīya. Here the road from Damascus struck due N. on the E. of Anti-libanus, by Riblah, Hemessa (Ḥomṣ), Hadrach, to Hamath (Ḥamāt), where it was joined by a road from the Phœnician coast up the Leontes and down the Orontes valleys. From Hamath the routes were two: one NE. to Tiphsah (Thapsacus), 'the ford,' on the Euphrates; the other, and more frequent, N. by Ḥalwan (Ḥaleb, Aleppo) and Arpad (Tell Arfād) to Carchemish (Jerābīs), a great sanctuary and market.[1] From this rafts descended the Euphrates to Babylon, and a road travelled E. by HARAN [*q.v.*] (Ḥarrān), again a famous sanctuary and market, and Nisibis (Naṣībīn) to the Tigris at Nineveh. On Carchemish and Ḥarrān converged routes from Asia Minor and Armenia; upon Nineveh from Armenia by the Upper Tigris and from the Caspian by the Greater Zāb and other valleys. On the Mesopotamian routes with their extensions into Asia Minor, Persia, and farther E., see below §§ 58 (Persian Imperial roads), 63 (Greek), and 69 (Roman). The Euphrates is navigable for 1200 m. from its mouth, and is said to be, as high up as its junction with the Khābūr, 18 ft. deep, a depth that sometimes falls, lower down its course, with the dissipation of its waters, to 12 ft. (Rogers, *Hist. of Bab. and Ass.* 1 271 *ff.*). The Tigris, much more rapid, and of more uncertain volume, is less fitted for navigation; but to-day small steamers proceed as far up as Baghdād, and boats even to Mōṣul (Nineveh).[2] The convenience of Babylonia for trade through Elam with the interior of Asia has already been noticed. For the land routes from India to Babylon, see Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, 2 529; for the ancient sea route, Arrian's Ἰνδική, §§ 20 *ff.* For both under Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, see below, §§ 56, 58, 63, 71.

39. N. Syria.

40. Assyria: Babylonia.

[1] See map to ASSYRIA, between cols. 352 and 353.

[2] From Mōṣul to Baghdād, by raft down the Tigris, takes from five to six days according to the state of the river; from Baghdād to Mōṣul a caravan takes twenty to twenty-two days (*The Pioneer*, May 29, 1902).

III. HISTORY OF TRADE IN ISRAEL

In Part I. (§§ 1-27) we have surveyed the vast and intricate system of commerce which prevailed throughout W. Asia by the close of the second millennium B.C. On their settlement in Palestine, between 1300 and 1150 B.C., Israel came into contact with this system upon two of its most ancient and crowded pathways through Syria: between the Euphrates and the Nile, and between Arabia and the Levant. Before we follow the details of their gradual engagement in this system, we have to examine (1) the traditions which they brought with them, or adopted from the Canaanites, in order to discover what reflection of trade these may contain (§ 42 *f.*). We shall then (§§ 44 *ff.*) treat of the history of Israel's own trade under (2) the Judges (§ 46 *f.*); (3) the early monarchy (Saul to Solomon, §§ 48-51); (4) the divided kingdom till the end of the ninth century (§§ 51-53); (5) the eighth and seventh centuries till the fall of Jerusalem in 586 (§§ 53-57); (6) the exilic and Persian Period till 332 B.C. (§§ 58-62); (7) the Greek Period (§§ 63-67); and (8) the Roman Period till the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus (§§ 68-81).

41. Periods.

It is interesting that the earliest Hebrew traditions of primitive man are—with a few doubtful exceptions—as destitute of references to trade, as we have found those in W. Asia in general to be. According to JE passages in the early chapters of Genesis, the founders of civilisation were hunters, shepherds, tillers of the soil, inventors of weapons and musical instruments, and builders of cities. There is no recognition of a special class of merchants; nor is there any reflection of such in Israel's earliest conceptions of the Deity. This agrees with the results of an examination of other religions (§§ 23-27). Certain of the stories, however, appear to take for granted the existence of commerce among early men. As in early Egypt the weaponsmith himself carried his goods abroad for sale (§ 12), so the Kain of Gen. 4, perhaps the 'forger,' is the founder of the first city—*i.e.*, market or centre of trade (see CAINITES, § 5 *f.*)—and it is possible to trace the mixed story of the Kain of Gen. 4—an agriculturist who became a wanderer—to (among other sources) an attempt to describe the origin of commerce; for, except for commerce, agriculturists do not take to travel (but see CAIN for other explanations). Again, some reflection of Babylon's early position as a world market has already (§ 10) been suggested in the story of the tower of Babel. Whatever significance in this respect we assign to such traditions—the very doubtful exceptions alluded to above—we may see in the fate imputed to Babylon a symptom of that horror of building and of cities which marks the unsophisticated nomad, and is observable among the desert-bred portions of Israel to a comparatively late period (*e.g.* in Amos).

42. Early traditions.

The tales of the fathers of Israel assign to the people an Aramæan origin—that is to say, among a people, and in a land in which trade flourished from an early period (§ 16). No mercantile pursuits are imputed to the patriarchs by the JE passages; but these take for granted the existence in their days of a developed commerce (*e.g.*, Gen. 20 16, '1000 silver pieces'; 24 22, 'shekels' as weights; and the position of the 'cities of the plain' on a well-known knot of traffic at the S. end of the Dead Sea; cp the importance of Zoar as a trading centre in early Mohammedan and crusading times: MOAB, § 9)—an assumption which the data given in Part I. (esp. §§ 2-20) assure us is not anachronistic. A price paid to

43. Patriarchs.

Abraham is estimated in the most primitive forms of currency, cattle and slaves (Gen. 20 14; cp 21 27, perhaps as blackmail). A wife is purchased with precious metals, in the form of ornaments (24); a kid is given as a harlot's wage (38 17); and silver is paid by Jacob's sons for corn in Egypt, and also by the Egyptians till it fails, when the price is paid first in cattle and then in land (47 14 *ff.*). Thus the JE stories of the Patriarchs present us with instances of practically every stage in the primitive evolution of money.

44. Arrival of Israel.

The passage of Israel northwards to Palestine brought them along and across ancient and much-frequented lines of commerce (§§ 31-34), whilst the traditions of their early conquests and settlements in Palestine relate their inheritance of the fruits of the rich Babylonian-Egyptian trade which, as we have seen (§§ 25 27), filled Syria on the eve of their arrival. Cp 'the goodly Babylonish mantle,' '200 shekels of silver,' and 'the gold ingot of 50 shekels' among the spoil of Jericho (Josh. 7 21, JE), and the Dt. tradition that besides the fruits of the long-developed agriculture of Palestine the incoming Israelites inherited 'houses full of all goods' (Dt. 6 10 *f.* Josh. 24 13 Neh. 9 25).

45. Distance from sea.

Yet these accounts abstain from asserting that Israel at the same time entered on the carrying trade of Canaan. Israel was confined to the hills. None of the tribes reached the sea coast except Asher, and the probably sarcastic reference in Deborah's song (Judg. 5 17) to his 'creeks' (AV 'breaches') is borne out by the harbourless character of the coast between Accho (held by the Phœnicians) and Rās en-Nāḳūrah. The fact is that, down almost the entire length of Israel's history, a belt of foreign territory separated the people from the sea: nor did the spectacle of the sea, breaking on what was generally a lee shore, and entirely without natural harbours, excite any temptation to reach it. The first coast town taken by Israel was Joppa, and that not till 144 B.C. In Hebrew literature down to exilic times and even later, the sea is only used (1) for the W. horizon, (2) as a symbol of arrogance against God (Is. 17 12 *ff.* and Pss.), and (3) as a means to attempt escape from him (Am. 9 3; Jonah). The word for harbour in (the late) Ps. 107 30 is a general term for 'refuge': in Hebrew there is no word for 'port,' and the later Jews had to borrow one from the Greeks—*limen* (see *HG* ch. 7). Even if Ps. 107 refers to Israelites, it describes merchants, not sailors. It is remarkable that even to this day Jews, who have risen to eminence in every other department of the life of nations among whom they have settled, have never been known to fame as admirals or ship-captains, and are very seldom found as sailors (so far as the present writer knows, only in the Black Sea).[1]

Inland waters.—As for inland waters: the Dead Sea was not navigated till the time of the Romans; there were only fishing boats on the Lake of Galilee;[2] and on the Jordan only a ferry (2 S. 19 19 [18]) or two [cp FORD]. Boats on the Jordan are not mentioned till the Talmud.

46. Land traffic.

Early Israel was not so wholly shut off from the lines of land traffic which traverse Palestine. The Canaanites continued to hold positions commanding these—like Bethshan,[3] and even others (sometimes in a line) across the Western Range (Gezer, Gibeon, Jerusalem); while the Philistines entered on possession of Gaza and the S. end of the maritime plain. Still the *connubium* which Israel indulged in with Canaanites (Judg. 3 5 *f.* 'substantially J,' Moore) and Philistines (Samson) certainly proves

1 Jos. (*BJ* iii. 9 2) mentions Jewish pirates at Joppa. There was a Jewish naval officer in the U.S. civil war; *Spectator*, Jan. 3, 1903.

2 And in Greek times galleys. Cp the galley on some of the coins of Gadara.

3 The list in Judg. 1 contains a number of towns on the main routes.

commerce. The possession of old Canaanite sanctuaries on the cross-routes would carry with it the superiority of the markets connected with them (§ 24); thus we find Ephraim at Shechem, or the neighbouring Gilgal (Julejil), Benjamin at Bethel, and Judah at Hebron—one of the great markets for the desert. But other tribes gradually settled across the chief lines of through traffic—Issachar, Zebulun, and Dan; and these are the only tribes to whom any portion of OT literature that can be called early, appears to assign any international trade. Issachar, on Esdraelon, is described as the guardian of some great fair (Dt. 33 18 *f.*: ISSACHAR, § 2); and Zebulun farther W. as commanding the coast-trade (Gen. 49 13 Dt. 33 19; ZEBULUN); while some interpret Deborah's reference to Dan of their connection at Laish with Sidon (cp DAN, § 3). However that may be, Dan's position there commanded one great line of traffic N. and S. and another E. and W. Further, it is interesting that some of the battles and expeditions under the Judges were on the line of these and other ancient lines of traffic—Esdraelon, Dan, Jericho (3 12 *ff.*), and the route from Jordan into Arabia, Succoth, Jogbehah, on which it is Ishmaelites with ear-rings of gold (in other words traders) whom Gideon defeats (8; cp *v.* 24). There is, too, a possible mention of pearls (הנמיפות, *v.* 26; cp Moore's note, p. 233), as well as one of purple (?). In 10 12 are mentioned the Maonites, probably the Minæans; even if we should read with 𝔊 Midian, it is traders who are meant. Along with these, the reference to the disturbance of travel in the land in Judg. 5 (*v.* 6 *f.*) must not be overlooked. It is interesting to note the distinction already observed between trading and non-trading communities in the case of Laish (18 7). Laish on a small scale illustrated the military carelessness which rendered (*e.g.*) the great trading dynasties of Babylonia so easy a prey to the nomadic hordes who conquered them.

47. The 'Judges.'

The elements of trade in the period of the Judges must have been simple; still, we are not warranted by the data in minimising them. Salt would come from the Dead Sea, and asphalt; fish from the coast towns. That the useful metals came from the outside is clear both from their absence from Israel's earlier possessions and from the Philistine policy (1 S. 13 19) of banishing from among them the smiths. That is to say, metal-work was not familiar to the Israelites themselves; it was probably pursued, as in so many parts of Syria and Arabia at the present day, by certain nomadic families. A little gold, probably in the shape of small rings and other ornaments, would be bought from the Arabian caravans (Judg. 8 and 10 as above); and silver pieces are mentioned (9 4 16 5 17 2 *ff.* 10). In exchange, the Hebrews could give their surplus wool and oil, figs, raisins, and perhaps wine (Judg. 9 13; cp the early use of the phrase 'every man under his own vine and fig tree': 1 K. 5 5).[1] But the foreign character of the international trade of this period is seen in the use of gentilic names for merchants alluded to above (§ 13) and in the meaning of the earliest Hebrew terms for trader (סחר and רכל = traveller).[2]

48. Early monarchy.

It is usually assumed by modern writers that Solomon was the real father of trade in Israel; yet the conditions, actual symptoms, and consequences of a considerable commerce are present from the very beginning of the monarchy—which by all W. Asian analogies, would itself be sufficient proof of the organisation and rapid increase of Israel's trade. The Philistines not only held the main line of commerce between Egypt and Phœnicia-Babylonia; their encounters with Israel at Michmash and Gilboa (cp Bēt Dejan E. of Shechem, and Dagon near Jericho, § 34) appear to imply a struggle for the

1 Cp Buhl, *Die socialen Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, 12.

2 Note the sanctuary as the treasury, and the hire of mercenaries (Judg. 9 4).

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cross-routes to the E. as well. In connection with Saul's earlier successes over the Philistines on one of these routes, David's praise of him, that 'he brought up adorning of gold on the garments' of the daughters of Israel (2 S. 1 24) is very significant.

In W. Asia the rise of a power like David's always means an intentional increase of commerce, of which a very good illustration is found in Palgrave's description of the policy of Telal ibn-Rasheed of Ḥāyil, who by the security of his dominions and the surrounding desert, by liberal offers to merchants at a distance, and the introduction of good commercial families, created a considerable external trade among his people (*Central and E. Arab.*, 93 112 133 [ed. 1883]). David united, pacified, and partly organised all Israel; finally threw off the Philistine yoke (and perhaps carried his power into Philistia itself); subdued the Canaanites who had hitherto held several of the towns in Hebrew territory; and founded a capital whose population must (as Buhl points out, p. 16) have been dependent on commerce for their livelihood. He stamped shekels used in weighing (2 S. 14 26), which we may take as evidence of other regulations of commerce. The considerable number of foreign names among his servants is partly significant of trade; but if they were all military mercenaries, we have seen (§ 11) that in W. Asia the substitution of such for a native militia (ARMY, § 4)—and this is the first appearance of mercenary troops in Israel (yet cp Judg. 9 4)—was always the consequence of an increase of trade. David subdued Moab, Ammon, and Edom (with command of the SE. trade routes); extended his influence as far N. as Hamath (DAVID, §§ 7-9); and made an alliance with Hiram of Tyre, with whose help he built a royal house of stone and cedar. On these data, some of which are conclusive, we may assume that in David's reign trade in the real sense of the word had already begun to grow in Israel.

49. Foreign trade. It was under Solomon, however, that, as in the building of the temple so in the organisation of a considerable commerce, the full consequences of David's policy were first realised. The mixed and much edited records of the reign of SOLOMON [*q.v.*] have behind all their later additions the facts, not only of an increase of wealth in Israel (1 K. 3 13), which was comparatively enormous, but also of foreign enterprises and of internal provisions for trade which can alone account for such increase. David's alliance and commerce with Hiram of Tyre were continued. Whatever historical value be assigned to the story of the Queen of Sheba's visit to Jerusalem (1 K. 10 1-13), there is at the bottom of it at least the fact of a land trade with the S. of Arabia; whilst the inherent probability of the record of voyages down the Red Sea (on the state of the text of 1 K. 9 28 10 11 see Benzinger) is obvious from Solomon's position between Phœnicia and Arabia and the command which his father's conquest of Edom gave him of the route to Elath. Without Solomon's aid the Phœnicians could not have voyaged from the Gulf of 'Aḳaba to Ophir. That the sailors and ships are described as Phœnician, not Israelite, proves that the story has not been at least wholly idealised by later writers. If Ophir, as is most probable, lay on the S. coast of Arabia (see OPHIR),[1] three months would amply suffice for the voyage there, and the expedition would be back within a year; the datum of the record that a voyage was made only every third year is another symptom of the absence of exaggeration. It is, indeed, a difficulty with many scholars that the small kingdom of Israel had too little to furnish in exchange for the vast and valuable imports described as coming from Ophir; and the reporters are at a loss to name the gifts from Solomon to the Queen of Sheba in return for hers to him (1 K. 10 13). But it must be kept in mind that the king of all Israel could always pay in the assurance of security for the Arabian Phœnician traffic across his dominions, and that when this service, and Israel's surplus corn and oil (1 K. 5 25 [11]: 20,000 kor of wheat and 20,000 bath of oil annually to Hiram) and perhaps wool, failed to meet the value of the timber and other imports from Phœnicia, Solomon paid the balance in land (1 K. 9 11 *ff.*). Buhl (77) thinks it doubtful that the expeditions to Ophir were undertaken for trade. But for what else could they have been undertaken? Early Egyptian and Babylonian expeditions to distant lands had no other aim (§ 8, third note). We have seen that some products of Europe were in Babylonian shops by 1400 B.C.; the Phœnician ships may have carried these or others to Ophir. There were also Syrian dates, and corn, the Syrian woven robes, the Tyrian purple, and Phœnician modifications of Babylonian and Egyptian art, weapons and perhaps silver; whilst we have also seen (§ 20) that the early Egyptians exchanged trinkets (as civilised peoples do to this day among barbarian tribes) for the valuable products which they found in the markets of Punt. Solomon's servants may have done the same with the unsophisticated natives of Ophir; and we have seen that dates and weapons are still imported to the S. coast of Arabia (§ 5). 1 K. 10 28 *f.* records Solomon's trade in horses. The text restored from 𝔊[1] is to be read: 'The export of horses for Solomon was out of Muṣri and Ḳuë: the dealers of the king brought them out of Ḳuë for a price.' Muṣr is the N. Syrian state of that name (MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*); Ḳuë is Cilicia (see CILICIA, § 2). Horses came from N. to S. in W. Asia: probably first from Asia Minor into Syria. The Hebrew text which introduces them to Palestine from Egypt, is impossible: horses were not indigenous in Egypt nor were the pastures there sufficient for breeding and rearing them for export. Yet notice the reference in Dt. 17 16 which implies that some horses came to Israel from Egypt.

50. Duties, etc. 1 K. 10 15 (see Benzinger, for the correct text) states that Solomon derived part of his wealth from tolls levied on the transit trade between Arabia and the Levant.[2] If 1 S. 8 15 *ff.* be, as is probable, of post-Solomonic date, and therefore reflect the evils of a monarchy already experienced, it is notable that nothing is said, among the taxes imposed *on native Israelites*, of one imposed for trade. But this will only mean that, as in early Egypt (§ 11) and partly in Ḥāyil, when Palgrave was there in 1863, the trade of Israel was directly carried on by the king himself through his servants: it was not private enterprise but part of the royal administration (cp 1 K. 10 28 'the dealers of the king'). Further, Solomon is said to have 'built' or fortified cities on trade routes (9 17 *f.*): 'Gezer, Beth-horon the nether, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness, and all *the store-cities* (עָרֵי הַמִּסְכְּנוֹת; cp CITY [*f*], STORE-CITIES) which Solomon had.' TAMAR (*q.v.*) is most probably Tamara to the S. of Judah, on the route to Petra or Elath. Other signs of Solomon's far-spread commercial influence are his alliance with Egypt, which carried with it the possession of Gezer that commands more than one line of traffic (3 1 *ff.* 9 17 *f.*); the description of his dominion as stretching from Tiphsah ('the crossing') on the N. Euphrates, to Gaza (4 24 [5 4]), with dominion over all the kings beyond the river, which can only mean commercial influence; and the datum 'the entering in of Hamath' (8 65)—*i.e.*, the issue from Israel between the Lebanons towards the most important mart in N. Syria. There is no allusion to trade in Solomon's prayer to Yahwè

[1] The most recent proposal for Ophir is the Malay peninsula, where there are ancient and deserted gold mines. See *The Pilot*, Oct. 1902.

[1] After Wi. *AT Unters.* 168 *ff.*; cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*; HORSE, § 1 (5); and, on the other side, CHARIOT, § 4, col. 726 n. 1. [On 1 K. 10 28 *f.* see also *Crit. Bib.*, and cp SOLOMON, § 8].

[2] [Kittel also touches the MT; but, like Benzinger, he may appear to some to be almost too moderate. Cp SOLOMON, § 7, on 'the singular statement' in 1 K. 10 14 *f.*, and *Crit. Bib.* That עֶרֶב should be read instead of עֲרָב is undeniable (Che.).]

(ch. 8); but in the exigencies of foreign trade, and the introduction of guilds or groups of foreign merchantmen we may see the cause of the multiplication of altars to strange gods in Jerusalem, especially Phœnician, Moabite, and Ammonite (2 K. 23 13). With this compare the universal custom illustrated in §§ 21-24. [Cp SOLOMON, §§ 4, 8 *f.*]

In David's and Solomon's time the land trade of N. Syria as far S. as Damascus was already in the hands of the Aramæans (as we have seen, § 15), a people still in their early vigour and therefore unlikely to rest content under the commercial supremacy which, as we saw above (§ 49, on 1 K. 4 24 and 86 5), Solomon had established as far as Hamath and the Euphrates. It was, therefore, from the Aramæans that the first blow came to Solomon's wide empire (11 23); and this happened even before he had passed away. The disruption of the kingdom after his death would cause a further shrinkage of Hebrew trade from its distant extremities, as well as lead to a severe competition between Israel and Judah for the possession of so much of it as crossed Palestine. In this the N. kingdom had all the advantage: in its neighbourhood to Aram and Phœnicia, the possession of Gilead and of all the routes across W. Palestine—even that by Ajalon, Beth-horon, and Bethel, which lay just within its S. frontier. Bethel and Dan, and even Jericho, with entrance to Moab and the SE. routes, were thus in its possession. Against all this Judah, already impoverished by the invasion of Shishak, had almost nothing to offer; and Baasha of Israel sought by the building of Ramah to create a blockade against his southern neighbours (15 16 *f.*). It was Judah's constant effort to push this frontier N. beyond Bethel (see *HG*, ch. 12, 'The History of a Frontier'). During peace with Israel Jehoshaphat attempted to resume Solomon's trade with Ophir; but his ships were wrecked at Ezion-geber (22 41 48). These commercial ambitions had been started by Omri's commercial alliances with Tyre (in connection with which the capital of N. Israel was removed across the watershed to Shomeron, on the W. esh-Sha'ïr, with its issue to the coast [16 24]; the site was purchased by Omri for two talents of silver), and with Damascus (20 34[1]); and but for Jehoshaphat's misfortune the extent of Solomon's trade from the N. Euphrates to the mouth of the Red Sea might have been recovered. In 2 K. 5 17 mules, hitherto described only as used in riding (2 S. 18 9, etc.), are mentioned as beasts of burden. The revolution of Jehu meant the triumph of the Puritan party in Israel, who detested the foreign idolatries which the commercial alliances of Omri's dynasty had introduced; and Israel's trade must have shrunk with Jehu and then collapsed under the weight of the Aramæan invasions, which, with the instincts of that race, followed the great lines of traffic by Dothan (2 K. 6 13), and Aphek in Sharon (1 K. 20 26 30 2 K. 13 17), to Philistia (2 K. 12 17), and even included a siege of Samaria itself (2 K. 6 24 *ff.*).

51. The Aramæans.

Meantime the Assyrians were gradually robbing the Aramæans of the trade through N. Syria. Ramman-(Adad)-nirari III. (see ASSYRIA, § 32) had reached the Mediterranean and besieged Damascus by the end of the ninth century. His successor opened the roads towards the Caspian and Īrān. Nineveh's central position had already made her the political capital (§ 10): by 850 B.C. Syria was, therefore, now in communication with Central Asia, under the shield of one political power—the invariable cause of a great increase of commerce. Tiglath-pileser III. (745 *ff.*) and his successors were to confirm and extend this empire to the Persian Gulf (over Babylonia), to the borders of Egypt and into Arabia, all before the end of the eighth century; and by 670 Esarhaddon had taken Memphis. Thus, for the first time since the fifteenth century, W. Asia lay under one political power, yet the *lingua franca* which prevailed throughout was not that of her conquerors but of the Aramæans (§ 15). For the internal business of Assyria at this time, see Johns, *Ass. Deeds and Documents* (Camb. 1901): a large collection chiefly of seventh century; also *RP* 1 139 *ff.* 7 111 *ff.*

52. Advance of Assyria.

The advance of Assyria in the ninth century enabled N. Israel not only to recover her lost territories from Aram, but also, along with Judah, to revive her trade and carry it, through the long contemporary reigns of Jeroboam II. and Uzziah, to a pitch of wealth and luxury which the Hebrews had not before reached. The economic difference between the time of Elisha (died about 797) and Amos (*fl. cir.* 755) is vast; and the annals of the two kingdoms in the interval enable us to explain it. Amaziah of Judah had once more defeated Edom (2 K. 14 7); and Jeroboam II. restored N. Israel's influence from the entering in of Hamath to the Dead Sea and in Damascus (14 25 28). Uzziah took Gath (2 Ch. 26 6), subdued the Arabians of Gur-Baal and the Meunim (*v.* 7), fortified the roads on the S. frontier of Judah (*v.* 10), and held Elath (2 K. 14 22). The Hebrew prophets from Amos onward bear witness to an extraordinary increase of trade, and to the tempers which grow with it. There is in all of them proof of the widening geographical knowledge and acquaintance with the internal life of other peoples which commerce brings. Amos himself was probably a wool-seller as well as a wool-grower, and, Judæan as he was, learned the state of the N. kingdom by his journeys to its markets, especially Bethel.[1] He condemns its covetousness and zeal for trade, which threatened the new moons and sabbaths instituted among the people when they were almost purely agricultural (8 4 *ff.*). Hosea calls Israel a very 'Canaanite'—*i.e.*, 'trader' (12 7; cp 7 8 8 10); and Isaiah's references show that Judah was not in this respect much behind her sister: Judah is 'filled from the East and strikes hands with the children of strangers' (2 6), 'full of silver and gold, neither is there any end of their treasures; their land also is full of horses neither is there any end of their chariots' (7); 'ships of Tarshish' are mentioned among the triumphs of their civilisation (16); caravans are described (30 6); yet, in conformity with what we have seen in other nations, trade is not noticed among the principal professions of the national life (3 1-3). Besides the texts already quoted (there are others: *e.g.*, Am. 4 4 *f.* Hos. 12 8) indicative of an increase of wealth, there are others which speak of the popular enterprise in building—always a sure proof of commercial prosperity (Am. 3 15 5 11 Hos. 8 14 Is. 2 15 9 10 [9], etc.; cp 2 Ch. 26 9 *f.*). The (foreign?) name *armōn* (PALACE, § 1 [3]), hitherto used of royal castles, is applied to private dwellings (*Bk. of Twelve Prophets*, i. p. 33, n. 3); and the builder's plummet is used as a religious figure (Am. 7 7 *f.*, cp Is. 28 16 30 13). Again, the old agricultural economy is disturbed; farmers give place on their ancestral lands to a new class of rich men, who can only have been created by trade; and the rural districts are partly depopulated (Is. 5 8 *ff.* Mic. 2 1-5 9). The sins of trade: covetousness, false weights, and the oppression of debtors and of the poor, are frequently castigated (Am. 2 6 4 1 8 4 *ff.* Hos. 12 7 Is. 3 5 15 5 23 Mic. 2 and 3). In certain passages, particularly in Amos and Micah, such condemnation of the trading classes is no doubt partly due to the conservative zeal of the desert shepherd and agriculturist, against the growth of a new economy.[2] But in Isaiah this is associated with a real sympathy with

53. Eighth century.

[1] Aram's right to bazaars in Samaria, and Israel's in Damascus. We see from this that a conqueror earned the claim to the active and foremost part in trade between himself and his rival.

[1] See GASm. *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, 1 79.

[2] It is from the shepherd village of Bethlehem that Micah predicts the coming of Israel's saviour (5 1 [2] *ff.*).

the serviceableness of commerce, and appreciation of its bigness and even of its serviceableness to religion: cp Isaiah on Cush (ch. 18), on Egypt (19), and especially on Tyre (23) 'whose merchants are princes, whose traffickers are the honourable of the earth' (*v.* 8), and who, although likened to a harlot in commerce with all the kingdoms of the earth, may yet bring her merchandise and hire as holiness to the God of Israel.

The public works of Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah indicate considerable wealth and activity; but it must have been under Manasseh that Judah first benefited commercially by the great extension of the Assyrian empire (see above, § 52), and the comparative security of trade from the Caspian and Persian Gulf to the Red Sea and Memphis under one power. The Assyrian influence upon the ritual, and probably the literature, of Israel under Manasseh, is significant of close and frequent intercourse with Mesopotamia. Zephaniah describes the Phœnician quarter in Jerusalem, the Fish Gate, and a new or second city (MAKTESH, MISHNEH). Cp the multiplication of gates on the walls (JERUSALEM, §§ 23 *f.*). The most conclusive proof, however, of an increase of trade in Judah during the eighth and the seventh century is found in a comparison of the Book of the Covenant with the Deuteronomic code. The Book of the Covenant makes no provision for trade.[1] Deuteronomy contains a considerable number of regulations. To begin with, there are the regulations necessitated by the main Deuteronomic law, the centralisation of worship at Jerusalem (14 24 *ff.*), which must have meant a great increase of trade in that city at the seasons of the three annual festivals (*v.* 26). Pilgrims from a distance had to turn some of their goods into money before leaving home, and purchase at Jerusalem the materials for sacrifice. Then there are regulations for debt (15 1); interest may be taken from a foreigner but not from a fellow-Israelite (23 20 [19] *f.*). International banking is provided for (15 6 *f.*); and among the divine blessings to be bestowed upon the people in reward for their obedience to the Law is one, that they shall lend to many nations but not borrow—as it is phrased, they shall be 'the head and not the tail' in their trade (28 12 *f.*, cp 43 *f.*). Hebrews are not to become objects of the nation's slave trade (24 7); and the enfranchisement of any that have fallen through debt into slavery is provided for (15 12). Unjust weights and measures are condemned (25 13-16). Hired labourers must not be oppressed (24 14 *ff.*). Most significant of the extreme contrasts between wealth and poverty which the trade of the eighth and seventh centuries has produced are the regulations for the treatment of the poor (15 1-11). The king is not to multiply horses or silver and gold (17 16 *f.*), another echo of the prophetic teaching. Yet indicative as all these laws are (when contrasted with their absence from the Book of the Covenant) of the commercial development of Israel, it is remarkable that no money dues are yet prescribed for the priests (18 1-8) nor are fines permitted in expiation of murder (19 1 *ff.* 21 1-9).

54. Seventh century.

To the pre-exilic period, though written after the fall of Jerusalem, belongs Ezekiel's description of Tyrian commerce (26 *ff.*). It opens (26 2) with an interesting epithet of the Judæan capital as the 'gate of the peoples,' justified by the fact that the pre-exilic Judah lay, as we have seen, across the nearest path of the Phœnician trade with Arabia, over which Manasseh, as the tributary of Assyria, may well have held a supremacy which Josiah, in part at least, continued. According to Ezekiel Phœnician trade extended from Tarshish (27 12) and the coasts of Greece (Elishah, *v.* 7) in the W. to Sheba (*v.* 22) in the E., and from Tubal-Meshech (cp the Moschi and Tibareni of Herod. 3 94) between the Black Sea and the Caspian in the N. to Egypt and Phut (or Punt) in the S.[1] Tarshish sent silver, iron, tin, and lead (12); Greece, coloured stuffs (7); the isles of the Levant, inlaid ivory (6) and ivory and ebony articles (from Rodan = Rhodes, 15). From Ionia and Tubal-Meshech came slaves and copper vessels (13); from Beth-Togarmah, probably Armenia, horses and mules (14). Egypt furnished fine embroidered linen (7). Cypresses and cedar were to hand in the Lebanons (5), and oaks in Bashan (6). The Aramæans, in command of the land trade immediately behind Phœnicia, brought a great variety of goods: carbuncles, purple, embroidery, fine linen, pearls (from the Persian Gulf) and jasper (16: see Toy's note, *SBOT*; cp STONES, § 21)—evidently the wealth of the Babylonian markets—with Helbon wine, white wool and other wares from Damascus (18). From Israel came only natural products: wheat, spicery, wax (MINNITH, PANNAG), honey, oil, and balm (17). Arabia supplied wrought-iron, cassia, and calamus from UZAL (19); saddle cloths from DEDAN (20);[2] lambs, rams, and goats from KEDAR (21); the best spices, precious stones, and gold from Sheba and RAAMAH (22). The trading centres on the N. Euphrates (where it begins to be navigable), HARRAN and EDEN (*qq.v.* round Bīrejik between Edessa and 'Ain-tāb), Assyria itself, and Canneh or CALNO, and CHILMAD in Babylonia, furnished dyed mantles, and stuffs with skeins of wool (? 23 *f.*). The shipbuilders and sailors were native Phœnicians (8 *f.* 11); but Tyre had also a mercenary army (cp §§ 11, 48)—Ethiopians (read כוש for פרס, PARAS), Lybians, and men of Phut (10). It is an imposing catalogue, and worthy of the enthusiasm of the prophet: the fruit of centuries of enterprise and organisation for Assyrian trade; see Johns, *op. cit.*

55. Ezekiel's Tyre, etc.

The destruction which Ezekiel beheld as imminent on Tyre, fell immediately. In 572, after a siege of thirteen years, Nebuchadrezzar took the island city (cp NEBUCHADREZZAR, TYRE). It was the final triumph of a policy sustained through many annual campaigns to the Levant, designed to divert the rich trade with the E. from the Red Sea and the Arabian land-routes to the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates. Proofs of this are found not only in Nebuchadrezzar's own annals, but also in the Greek accounts of great works in Babylonia which are most probably attributed to the son of Nabopolassar. Famous as a soldier, Nebuchadrezzar was still more eminent as a builder and organiser: his peaceful labours bulk in his own records over his military expeditions. He cleared the mouths of the two great streams of Babylonia into the Persian Gulf, and deepened their channels, so that they were still navigable for sea-going vessels in the Greek period. Arrian (*Anab. Alex.* 7 7) reports that the ships of the Gerrhæans (from the Arabian coast of the Gulf) sailed up the Tigris as far as Opis: and Götz (*Verkehrswege*, 151) is justified in assigning the measures which made this possible, as well as the founding of Derodotis, a port at the mouth of the Euphrates, to Nebuchadrezzar. The two great rivers were connected by a system of canals which in Xenophon's time (*Anab.* 2 4) were still navigable by great grain-ships; the largest, the Nahar Malka, is still in use. By campaigns against 'Kedar and the kingdoms of HAZOR [*q.v.*]' (Jer. 49 28), Nebuchadrezzar ensured the security of the desert routes S. of Babylonia; and he himself on one occasion used the short but difficult road from Syria to Babylon by Tadmor. Yet, these Arabian campaigns must have

56. Nebuchadrezzar.

1 In the Book of the Covenant there are laws of deposit (22 7), and of the lending of money (22 25) Fines are paid in shekels.

1 In the close of the seventh and opening of the eight centuries the trade of Egypt, both internal and foreign, was very prosperous, especially under Psameṭik, Necho II., Apries (Hophra), and Amasis II. Coincident with this was the usual increase of mercenaries. Greek commerce, which had founded Milesion about 700 (Hall, *Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, 271) took a firm hold of the Delta. Amasis II., besides encouraging the Greeks, entered into a close alliance with Cyrene. Cp Herodotus, 2 182.

2 Cp saddle-bags exported from el-Jôf to-day; § 4, third note.

had as their end not so much the use of the desert routes (except perhaps to Egypt) as the diversion of the Arabian and eastern traffic up the Gulf to the Euphrates, and so to the Levant, whose coasts were now an integral part of the Babylonian empire. We have seen the Gerrhæan ships far up the Tigris: they brought incense for the temples in Babylon.[1] But sea-trade with India may also have been at this time in full course; it has to be noticed, however, that no SILK (*q.v.*) is mentioned in the commercial lists of the period.[2] From India, then, to Tarshish, and from Egypt to Central Asia (through Persia and the Medes), the trade of the world now centred in Babylon. Hence the vast increase of the city's size and wealth so wonderful to the Greek writers (Herod. 1 178 *ff.*; Diod. Sic. 2 2). The exilic passage Jer. 50 mentions its 'storehouses' (*v.* 26); its 'mingled people' and 'treasures' (37); and Is. 47 15 'those that have trafficked with thee from thy youth.' Throughout these prophecies there is the same imputation of 'wisdom' and 'enchantments' and 'sorceries,' which we find imputed by Israel to other commercial peoples—the 'sons of the East,' the Edomites, and the Philistines. The recent discovery and deciphering of Babylonian documents from the end of the Babylonian period and the beginning of the Persian have revealed an organisation of commerce so thorough that J. Kohler justly declares it to exhibit the greatest similarity to the conditions of modern banking and exchange, and to have been the origin of the commercial system which has descended to modern times through the Greeks and Romans (*Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 430). He has given in the volume just cited a number of interesting instances (in addition to those given in Kohler and Speiser, *Aus dem Babyl. Rechtsleben*, etc., and *Bab. Verträge*). There were banks and banking firms (the most famous of which was the house of Egibi—cp *RP* 11). 'Anweisungen ('assignments,' 'bills of exchange') und Zahlung des Angewiesenen an den Anweisungsempfänger waren das tägliche Brod des Babyl. Verkehrs.' Money was paid into the agencies of a bank, and by its head office or other agencies paid out again to the assignee, exactly as by our system of cheques. Discount was known. Property was pledged. In cases of sale or debt suretyships were accepted (again cp Johns, *op. cit.*). Sales were made on approval. Partnerships were formed between freemen, and between freemen and slaves—*i.e.*, between capital and labour. Money was still reckoned by weight. The depreciation in use of metal-pieces was understood and accounted for (cp Hrozny, 'Zum Geldwesen der Babylonier,' *Beitr. z. Assyr.* 4 546 *ff.*).

57. Jews in Babylonia.

At the heart of this commercial empire the best part of the Jewish people—including its industrial classes ('craftsmen and smiths': 2 K. 24 14)—were established, and probably found a large number of their own race already intimate with, and benefiting by, the trade of the land (see DISPERSION, § 4). They must have taken the advice of Jeremiah to settle into the life of their new surroundings, their comparative independence in which his letter takes for granted (Jer. 29 4 *ff.*).[3] That many of them became engaged in Babylonian commerce needs no argument. After fifty years the great prophet who arose to announce to them their return, not only promised the restoration of their command of the trade from Egypt and Arabia (Is. 45 14, cp *v.* 3), but seems to have found it difficult to tear them from the profitable conditions of Babylonian life (cp his many calls 'to go forth,' and in particular his appeal 55 2: 'Wherefore do ye weigh your money for that which is not bread and your earnings for that which satisfieth not'; cp Buhl, *Soc. Verhältn.* 88, n. 1). Whether few or many returned when Cyrus opened the way (see DISPERSION, § 5), those who remained in Babylon were the prosperous and wealthy (Zech. 6 10 *ff.*). They must have been introduced to the thorough Babylonian methods of doing business, though it is striking that (as we shall see, § 60) the Priestly Code bears no reflection of the Babylonian subjection of commerce in its smallest details to priestly regulations, nor of the temples as registering, banking, and appraising centres (Johns, *op. cit.* 3 254). New horizons, however, appear in Hebrew literature; and the Jews' knowledge of the world was immensely widened (GEOGRAPHY, § 18).

58. Persian empire.

With the rise of the Persian empire all these processes, from Babylon as the centre, were quickened and extended (DISPERSION, § 6). The conquests of Cyrus in Asia, and of Cambyses in Africa, were thoroughly organised by themselves and their successors and chiefly by Darius Hystaspis before 515. The empire was divided into provinces and the policy was to connect these by as speedy means of conveyance as were possible. Some of the ancient lines of traffic were made into solid roads, capable of carrying two- and four-wheeled carriages, and new lines were opened up, especially through Iran to Eastern and Central Asia. The greatest of all the roads for which we have now exact data was that from Susa the capital to Sardis; see the careful survey and argument of Götz (*Die Verkehrswege*, 165-184). He reckons the distance at sixty-five daily stages, which with eight days of rest on the way occupied seventy-three days in all.

The road led NW. from Susa, past the now deserted Nineveh, crossed the N. stretches of the Tigris, and the Euphrates (the latter a little to the N. of the later Samosata) and so through Cilicia by Ancyra to Sardis, whence it was a short journey either to Smyrna or Ephesus.

Another road from Susa led N. by Ecbatana (Hamadān) to Rhagae (close to Ṭeherān) where, in the ninth century after Christ, lay the Levant market for Chinese silk;[1] thence to Hekatonpylos[2] (probably the present Shahrud: Götz) where it divided into one branch by Magaris (Merv) to Marakanda (Samarcand) the capital of Sogdiana, and another to Herat.

A third road from Susa led E. to Persepolis and Aspadana (Ispahan). Susa was, of course, directly connected with Babylon, from which the land road up the Euphrates was freshly laid down and furnished with bridges over the canals.

Greek sources (Xenophon and Herodotus) give us for the first time exact data for this ancient line of traffic between Babylon and the Gulf of Issus (above, § 39 *f.*).

It was 8 days from Babylon to Hīt, thence 20 to the mouth of the Ḥābūr, thence 5 to Tiphsah or Thapsacus (Raḳḳa) where the road crossed to the S. bank of the Euphrates, thence to Balis 3, to Aleppo 3, and to the coast 4, or 43 in all (not 73: Götz, 190) from Babylon to the coast.

From the coast the Phœnicians, according to Marinus of Tyre (Götz, 190), carried their goods to Hierapolis (Bambyke) near the Euphrates, and thence direct to Ecbatana and Hekatonpylos for the Central Asian markets. There was also a road from the Gulf of Issus to Tarsus (12 days); thence through Cilicia to Iconium (see further Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*).

Persian roads were, according to the Greeks, well supplied with stations, furnished with horses and khans for travellers (Herod. 5 52 8 98), and with a government service of swift couriers (*Id.* and Xen. *Cyrop.* 8 18),[3] which is said to have accomplished the distance between Susa and Babylon in a day and a half, and that between Susa and Sardis in 10 (Götz, 198). Cp Esth. 3 13 8 14. Whilst the Persians thus organised and accelerated the land-traffic, they suffered the water-traffic, developed by Nebuchadrezzar (§ 63), to fall into disuse. Nebuchadrezzar's port at the mouth of the Persian gulf decayed, and it is even doubtful whether the *Periplus*

[1] Herod. 1 183 reckons the amount used annually at the chief temple of Babylon at 1000 talents.

[2] The earliest mention of silk appears to be by Aristotle in the beginning of the fourth century.

[3] Cp the present writer's 'Is. 40-46' 57 *ff.*; Nikel, *Die Wiederherstellung des jüdisch. Gemeinwesens nach dem babyl. Exil*, 1900.

[1] Heid, *Gesch. des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1879, i. p. 2: in French (much enlarged), 1885-1886.

[2] Up to Hekatonpylos it was good for carriages, Götz, 186.

[3] Cp ἀγγαρεύειν in NT from ἄγγαρος, Herod. 8 98, a Persian word = courier.

of Skylax (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* 1, ed. Müller) round Arabia to the Red Sea occurred as asserted in the time of Darius (thirty months is the time assigned to it). See Götz, 203 *ff.* Darius attempted, without success, to carry out the plan, which Necho II. is said to have initiated, of connecting the Red Sea with the Nile (Herod. 2 158 4 42).[1] Further, we have under the Persian kings the first appearance in W. Asia of MONEY (*q.v.*) in the true sense (see also WEIGHTS AND MEASURES). The present writer has purchased several darics and also silver coins of Sidon under Artaxerxes Ochus which were found in N. Palestine.

The trade of Syria must have enormously benefited by all this policy of the Persian kings; not only in the security ensured—though this was not perfect (cp the note of Ezra on the journey from Babylonia to Jerusalem: Ezra 8 21 *f.* 31)—but also in the means taken by the satrap of Memphis for furnishing the desert route between Gaza and the Delta with water (Herod. iii. 46). Incorporated in the Persian empire, and still without rivals in the Delta, the Phœnician ports continued to flourish (cp their coinage of Aradus and Sidon under Persia; Head, *Hist. Num.* 666, 671). Damascus and Gaza flourished with them; but Götz (164) is wrong in adding to this list Jerusalem, to which we now turn. The destruction in 586 had reduced Jerusalem and her people to the 'off-scouring and refuse in the midst of the peoples' (Lam. 3 45). Her 'breach was great like the sea' (2 13); the luxury of former days had become starvation (4 7 *ff.*, etc.); the people had to buy even their wood and water (5 6, cp *vv.* 9 13). The Edomites and Arabians recovered the transit trade. The exiles who returned in 537 were a weak and starveling community. The statement that they bought for the temple timber from the Tyrians who brought it to Joppa in return for meat, drink, and oil (Ezra 3 7) belongs to the less authentic portion of the Book of Ezra, and seems a reflection of Solomon's trade. It is difficult to see how the hunger-bitten colony raised wine and oil for export. Haggai and Zechariah tell a different story. There was no hire for man or beast (Zech. 8 10); no thrift (Hag. 1 6); a blight lay upon agriculture (*ib.* 11). The silver and gold were still in the hands of Yahwè (2 8), and other nations had not yet brought their 'desirable things.' Timber for building the temple was hewn by the Jews themselves in the neighbouring hill-country (1 8). What gold and silver arrived in Jerusalem came as contributions from rich exiles in Babylon (Zech. 6 9 *ff.*). Agriculture was only partially resumed; its prosperity was still, after twenty years, a thing of promise (Zech. 3 10). In Malachi there is no reflection of trade. The *connubium* practised with the surrounding heathen and semi-heathen implies, of course, a certain amount of local traffic; and this would gradually increase with the resumption of Jewish life in 'the cities of the Negeb' (Neh. 11). Nehemiah pictures corn, wine, grapes, figs, etc., brought into Jerusalem from the country (13 15 *ff.*), and fish sold by the Tyrians (16); on the Sabbath the gates have to be closed against these traders (20). But there was no through traffic, as in olden times. Indeed, according to Ezra 4 20, one of the objections made by the enemies of the Jews against rebuilding Jerusalem was that it would resume the customs and toll which were formerly imposed by Jewish kings and made them great—a very interesting glimpse into the pre-exilic trade of Judah. The Jews were themselves subject to the general imposts of the Persian kings (Ezra 4 13 20 Neh. 5 4) who, however, in pursuance of their usual policy, exempted from duty the goods required for the temple (Ezra 7 24; see EZRA-NEH., § 5, col. 1480). In spite of their poverty the Jews, with the new horizons which the exile and the increased extent of the trade of their Phœnician neighbours opened to their eyes, indulged vaster hopes than ever of the mastery of the world's trade. Not only would the wealth of Arabia return to them (Is. 60 6 *f.*: Midian, Sheba, Kedar, Nebaioth); the new coasts of the West should send them tribute (8 *f.*); from foreigners and the sons of the Diaspora alike (9-17). It is remarkable that in this passage Jerusalem, the mother of far-scattered and wealthy sons, is represented, not in her inland, secluded position, but as standing on the sea shore, the abundance of the seas and the wealth of the nations drifting to her feet (60 5; cp G. A. Smith, *Bk. of Isaiah, II.*). Contrast the picture given above, § 45. So much had the Persian roads and Phœnician ships achieved in the scattering of trading Jews, and the widening of the mercantile hopes of the people. On Is. 65 11 see FORTUNE.

59. Post-exilic Jerusalem.

At this point we may conveniently take the attitude to trade of the Priestly Narrative and Code. Between these two in this respect there is a distinction. Whilst P's stories of primitive man are as destitute of any reflection of trade as those in JE (§ 42), its narratives of the patriarchs contain more allusions to commerce than JE does. Abraham, bargaining in the usual oriental fashion,[1] buys Machpelah for 400 silver shekels (Gen. 23 15 *f.*); Hebron is thus pictured as it always was—a market and 'harbour' for the nomads to the south. The treaty with Hamor (34 8 *ff.*) covers settlement, *connubium*, and commerce—the last definitely stated (*vv.* 10 21). The distances of the marches in the wilderness are suitably given, not in the daily stages achieved by traders, but in those (4 to 6 or 7 m.) of nomad camps (Nu. 33). The rich offerings for the tabernacle imply a people of far trade as well as one skilled in handiwork (Ex. 25 3-7, etc.; cp the oblations of the princes in Nu. 7). Incense is for the first time mentioned in the Hebrew ritual (Ex. 30 22 *ff.* etc.; cp Jer. 6 20); along with sweet calamus (REED), myrrh, CINNAMON, storax (?), ONYCHA, GALBANUM. On the other hand, the Priestly Law is very meagre in references to trade; puzzlingly so in contrast with Deuteronomy (above, § 54), when we consider the intervening residence in Babylon. The laws against fraud in money matters, loans, and deposits (Lev. 6 1 *ff.*), and false measures and balances (19 35 *ff.*), are similar to the warnings of post-exilic prophecy. There are laws for the selling of land (25 14 *f.* 23 *ff.*), against interest (*v.* 36), and concerning foreign and native slaves (*v.* 39: H; cp Dt. 23 *ff.*). No ransom is allowed for the life of a murderer (Nu. 35 31). On transactions necessitated by the restorations of the Jubilee Year, see Jos. *Ant.* iii. 12 3. But these are almost all that have to do with commerce. Unlike those of Deuteronomy, the blessings and curses pronounced in connection with the Law contain no reference to trade (Lev. 26). The priests value land (etc.) used for sacred purposes (27); but their revenues, unlike those of Babylon and Egypt, appear to include none derived from trade (Nu. 18). The religious feasts (Lev. 25 *ff.*) are purely agricultural; there is no inclusion of the directions for farmers at a distance selling their produce and buying material for sacrifice at the central sanctuary, such as we saw in Deuteronomy (§ 54). On the whole, the comparative silence of the Priestly Code as to trade is to be explained either by the effort of the compilers to hold themselves to the wilderness conditions, or else by the sadly diminished trade of the post-exilic Jews as compared with the commerce which flourished in the deuteronomic period. On the monetary standards of P, see SHEKEL, § 3 *f.*

60. Priestly Code.

The Book of Joel (about 400 B.C.) reflects a purely

[1] On the various canals and attempted canals with this aim, see Budge, *HE* 6 219 *f.* 7 63 *f.*

[1] Forder (*With Arabs in Tent and Town*, 219 *ff.*) illustrates the details of Abraham's purchase. 'In buying land from the Arabs some such terms as the following are used:—"A buys from B land in such a place, also all that can be seen on the land, trees, and stones, also all that shall be found under the ground." This custom makes Abraham's action very understandable.'

agricultural community with no resources when their harvests fail. Their children are the victims of the Phœnician slave-trade to Ionia (3[4]6): they shall have revenge some day in selling Phœnicians to Sheba.

61. Other post-exilic literature.

Instead of commanding the transit trade, Jerusalem is unwillingly overrun with foreigners (3[4]17). Cp Zech. 14 21: 'no more a trafficker in the house of Yahwè.' We have here traces of the feeling against association with foreigners, which the new legalism continued to enforce through subsequent centuries, and which must have seriously hampered any revival of trade in Judah. Compare the account which Palgrave gives of the effect of the Wahābi religious rigour on commerce.

Of course, there were other tempers in post-exilic Judaism, and these appear in the Wisdom literature. With all its reproof of greed of gain (1 19, etc.), the Prologue to Proverbs employs the methods and tempers of commerce to illustrate the ideal of man's search for, and intercourse with, Wisdom (3 14 8 2 *ff.* 18 *ff.*; cp 23 23). Like so much else in the Books of Wisdom, this also reappears in the parables of Jesus (below, § 79). The temptress in Prov. 7 is the wife of a merchantman on a long journey; it is interesting that, at the present day, among the Syrians of Lebanon, such immoralities are almost entirely confined to the wives of men trading abroad. We see in this another cause of the dislike of conservatives in Israel to trade; cp Pr. 27 8: 'as a bird wandering from her nest, so is a man that wandereth from his place.' There is also in the Prologue the strong warning against suretyship (6 1 *ff.*). But its most striking feature is the recognition of the highest divine Wisdom as identical with that which appears in the common ways, bazaars, traffic, and concourse of men.

In Job the references to trade are very few. The land of Uz is on the path of the men of Sheba; they are represented as marauders (1 15). Mention is made of desert-journeys of the caravans of Teyma, and the companies of Sheba (6 18 *f.*); of the Egyptian ships of reed (9 26); of (gold of) Ophir and silver as the reward of righteousness (22 24 28 16; contrast 31 24); of beryl, sapphire, gold, glass, coral, crystal, pearls, and the topaz of Ethiopia (28 16 *ff.*; see STONES, PRECIOUS)—an interesting list of what, at the time the book was written, were regarded as precious metals and stones; and in 28 1 *ff.* there is the vivid picture of mining, and in 21 29 an appeal to the wide experience of travellers. As a whole the book shows a knowledge of the far world and its wonders, only to be derived from the situation of the writer on the line of a widespread commerce.

In Ecclesiastes there is hardly any allusion to trade among all the ambitions and labours of men: but see 2 8: 'I gathered silver and gold and the peculiar property of kings and princes I made for myself.'

Apart from the prologue, the Book of Proverbs probably reflects the life of many centuries in Israel; yet even here the possible references to trade are proportionately few: warnings against suretyship (11 15 17 18 20 16 22 26 27 13), false balances (11 1 16 11, weights and balances are the work of Yahwè, 20 10 23), bad ways of gain (11 18), greed of gain (15 27; it brings bad luck to a house: עֹכֵר בֵּיתוֹ בּוֹצֵעַ בָּצַע; 28 20 22 25), the withholding of corn (from the market?) (11 26), and sluggishness in business (22 13: the reference is to the bazaars); some satire on oriental methods of bargaining (20 14), notes on the helplessness of the debtor (22 7), on wealth from wisdom in trade (24 4), and on the deep contrasts between rich and poor and the woefulness of poverty which appear only in commercial communities (19 4 7 22 7, etc.). 26 10 is an obscure verse on hiring. The picture of the strong woman portrays her searching for wool and flax; she is like 'a merchant ship that bringeth goods from afar'; 'she perceives that her merchandise (סַחְרָהּ) is profitable' and she delivers the linen and the girdles made by her household to the Canaanite—*i.e.*, Phœnician pedlar or trader—a glimpse into the home-industries of Israel (31 13 *f.* 18 24).

By the end of the Persian period (about 340) the trade of the civilised world reached the following limits. In the east the Persian roads were in communication with India, and it is extremely probable that the Chinese silk, 'Seric stuff,' which the Greeks found in 325 in Afghanistan, was already there. The Arabian land routes were still regularly used. CINNAMON came from the east beyond Media, and GALBANUM from Persia (?). In the south the Egyptians, if it is not certain that they had circumnavigated Africa (in Necho's time), were at least in communication with the E. coast of Africa (so much basis must we allow to the story), traded with Nubia, with the W. oases, and Cyrene. Egypt began to send large supplies of corn across the Mediterranean (Diod. Sic. xiv. 79 4). In the N. the Greeks had opened up the Black Sea; in the W. and NW. the Phœnicians had long exploited the mines of eastern Spain and the Rhone region with its communications with N. Gaul and perhaps Britain. They had also penetrated the Atlantic, whilst Carthage had reached Lake Tchad and the Niger. Massilia was a flourishing depôt, soon to send out Pytheas (about 300 B.C.) to the sources of amber round the Baltic (cp AMBER, § 3), and to the N. of Scotland (for the truth of the tale see Götz, 291). How far across this enormous sphere of communication Jews were scattered it is impossible to say—probably everywhere in the Persian empire as traders and settlers, and in Greece, Italy, and Carthage as slaves (cp Joel, as cited in beginning of § 61), some of whom might regain their freedom, and, like their kind, take up some form of industry or commerce. Except in the Semitic names of slaves, and in a tale told by Aristotle, and reported by Claudius of Soli (Jos. *c. Ap.* 1 22; cp *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, ed. Müller, 2 323), Jews do not appear in Greek literature before the very end of the fourth century B.C.

62. Summary: end of Persian epoch.

With the conquests of Alexander the Great a new epoch began in the trade of the world. The land-traffic which the Persians had developed was sustained and their roads extended eastward. There was little change in the lines of traffic; but new cities were founded upon them—*e.g.*, LAODICEA; and both Alexander and the Diadochoi increased the speed of marching (Götz, 191, etc.). The Persian neglect of the rivers (§ 58) was rectified; Alexander cleared the Tigris of its dams and weirs, founded a new port at its mouth, Alexandria, later Charax, and redug the canals. The foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris was a great blow to Babylon, which began to decay. For reasons why the Tigris displaced the Euphrates as a line of route, see Götz, 411 *ff.* On sea the changes were enormous. Hitherto the Phœnicians had encountered powers whose resources were confined to the land, to whom their sea-power was indispensable, and by the growth of whose empires the trade and wealth of Tyre and Sidon only the more increased. But the Greeks were a people who were of equal maritime capacity with themselves, and had long been preparing for the mastery of oriental trade by their occupation of the sea-boards of Asia Minor, and their settlements in the Delta,[1] who had fleets, and knew how to found new harbours and establish colonies. Alexander rivalled his land march to the Indus by the naval expedition which he sent back from there up the Persian Gulf, thereby reopening (if not for the first time founding) direct maritime communication between India and Babylonia (*Geogr. Gr. Min.* ed. Müller, 1).

63. Alexander and successors.

It was, however, his foundation of the Egyptian Alexandria which made the greatest change, and in this Tyre and Sidon found their first successful rival. For with

[1] There were Greek mercenaries, soldiers, and scribes in Egypt under Psametik, and Greek settlements and trade since Amasis.

the exploration of the Red Sea, already intended by Alexander and carried out by Ptolemy II., and the founding of new harbours—at Arsinoe near Suez, Leukos Limen near el-Ḳoṣēr, Berenike, and others (see above, § 29), there was opened a new route (or an old one was re-opened) to S. Arabia and India which must have drawn away some proportion of the land-traffic through Arabia and the sea-traffic up the Persian Gulf, on which Tyre and Sidon depended.[1] The Greeks had now a line of their own from Europe to Hindostān all the way on sea except for the small stretch of land-traffic through what was now a Greek kingdom. Alexandria was its main depôt and exchange; and in proportion as Alexandria flourished Tyre and Sidon grew less. The doom, therefore, which Zech. 9 1 *ff.* saw imminent upon Hamath, Hadrach, Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon was pregnant with more than the merely military overthrow which is all that the writer seems to perceive in it. As the Seleucid power grew, the Phœnician ports and Damascus found themselves threatened by northern in addition to their southern rivals. The growth of ANTIOCH (*q.v.*) has always meant the diminution of Damascus (*HG* 643, 647, and article 'Antioch' by the present writer in Hastings' *DB*); and the new Seleucid ports in N. Syria must have diverted the Euphrates trade from Tyre and Sidon. The usual result of a wealthy commerce appears in the large mercenary armies of the Seleucids (*e.g.*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 10 1, and other passages).

64. Nabatæans. One of the earliest of the Seleucid campaigns was that undertaken in 312 B.C. and repeated later against the NABATÆANS (*q.v.*, cp Schür. *GVI* 1 app.) who had become possessed of the seats of the Edomites, and had already filled Petra with wealth derived from the transit trade. The new Red Sea commerce did not wholly destroy the land-traffic in Arabia; and the Nabatæans—successors both to the Aramæans, whose language (though themselves Arabs) they adopted, and to the Edomites—made themselves masters of all the routes from Teyma and Egra (Medāin Ṣāliḥ) (the S. limit of their inscriptions) to the Persian Gulf, Babylon, Damascus, Gaza, Elath, and Egypt (§§ 29-33). But they had also industries of their own. The first appearance of SE. Palestine in Greek letters is made by the Dead Sea as a source of asphalt; and it is to the Nabatæans that Diodorus Siculus (2 48) ascribes the collection of asphalt and its conveyance to Egypt. The Seleucid campaign of 312 had had for one of its aims the possession of the Dead Sea and its asphalt (Diod. 19 100). The Nabatæans must also have grown dates, and, when they came into possession of Ḥaurān, wheat sufficient for export. These with camels, the Arabian incense, coral and pearls from the Gulf, alkali, medicinal herbs, and what proportion of goods from Africa they were able to draw to Elath, would form their exports to the W. Their port for this was the harbour of Gaza, with perhaps Anthedon—other new rivals to Tyre and Sidon. The Nabatæans were land traders; but three of their inscriptions from the first decade of the Christian era have been found in Puteoli and Rome (*CIS* Pt. II. vol. i., Nos. 157-159).

These then were the new commercial currents within which the Jews lay during the Greek period. The contests of the Diadochoi must at first have ruined trade in Syria. Soon we find Jewish settlers receiving civil rights from the Ptolemies in Alexandria and from the Seleucids in Antioch and other N. Syrian cities. These settlers were probably for the most part merchants. There was constant intercourse between Jerusalem and Egypt and N. Syria—both Greek powers bade for Jewish friendship by granting at various times remission of dues on goods into Jerusalem (*e.g.*, Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 3), or by regulating trade to suit Jewish religious laws (*ibid.* 4). The financial abilities of individual Hebrews found individual opportunity in the farming of the Syrian taxes for the Greek kings and were great enough to form almost legendary stories (*id.* 4 7; cp Schürer, ET, ii. 1 160). Thus the nation grew in affluence (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 10). Ecclesiasticus finds it necessary to make many warnings against fraud in trade (especially 26 20 *ff.*, cp 37 11 and 7 15; 8 13 29 4 *ff.* 14 *ff.* 41 18 42 3). Then came the overthrow of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes (169 B.C.), and the bitter struggles of the Maccabees during which, at first, Jewish trade must have been utterly destroyed. We read of merchants (probably Phœnician) accompanying Syrian troops against Judæa to purchase the captives (*Ant.* xii. 7 3). The friendliness of the Nabatæans to the Jews is noted twice (*ibid.* xii. 8 3 xiii. 1 2). In the campaigns of Judas and Jonathan the regard paid to lines of trade and conspicuous centres upon them is manifest; the wonder is that it has not been noticed. Bacchides fortified Jericho, Bethhoron, Emmaus (xiii. 1 3); then Jonathan garrisoned Michmash (6); the three toparchies which Demetrius the younger presented to the Jews were all necessary to the command of trade; they were accompanied by remission of dues on saltpits, etc.; as soon as Jonathan cleared Judæa of the Syrians he took Ashdod and made treaties with Ashkelon and Gaza (5 5). Then he turned against the Ammonites and the Nabatæans, while Simon fortified a line of places as far as Ashkelon, and broke to the sea at Joppa (5 10). How much this meant for the commercial ambitions of the little Jewish state is seen in the eulogy on Simon, 1 Macc. 14 5: 'With all his glory he took Joppa for a haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea.' At last Judah had a port. Beside it the small river harbour of Jamnia (JABNEEL) was also occupied, and Gezer fortified in connection with both. The increased wealth brought about by these means is seen in the rebuilding of Jerusalem which followed (*Ant.* xiii. 5 10). In 142 B.C. Simon set Judæa free from Seleucid tribute, and commercial documents were dated from that year (6 7). Jewish coinage began. The campaigns of Judas into Gilead had not been so successful in restoring communication between the Jewish settlements there and Judæa—he had to bring the Jews away with him (1 Macc. 5)—whilst between Galilee and Judæa lay Samaria (*Ant.* xiii. 10 2 *ff.*) which John Hyrcanus subdued, and opened the way to the S. desert routes by Hebron through the subjection of the Idumæans (xiii. 9 1). When Simon appealed to the Romans it is significant that he asked for the restoration of 'Joppa, the havens, Gezer, and the springs (? of Jordan)' (*ibid.* 2). During the subsequent years of peace John amassed an immense sum of money (*ibid.* 10 1); in so barren a land as Judah it must have come from trade and dues on trade. Josephus reports as much as 3000 talents in money, deposited in the tombs of David (*BJ* i. 2 5). Tombs were a usual place of deposit. Aristobulus added part of the Ituræan country (*Ant.* xiii. 11 3) with the entrance to the Hamath route (cp *HG* 414, n. 4); but it is in the campaigns of Alexander Jannæus that we see most proof of commercial ambitions. He took Gadara (?), Raphia, Anthedon, Gaza (which was disappointed in help from its Nabatæan ally Aretas; *Ant.* xiii. 13 3), Moab, and Gilead (but had to give them back to the Nabatæans; 14 2), held Samaria (15 4) with its command of routes to the coast, and made a treaty

65. Jewish trade.

66. Maccabees.

[1] For Ptolemy II.'s policy in regard to trade, and the trading expeditions he sent, see the inscription on the 'Stone of Pithom' in Naville, *The Store-city of Pithom, etc.*, also *l.* 12 of the Philæ inscription of the same king (translated by Budge, *HE* 7 209 *ff.*). The trade of Egypt was very prosperous under the Ptolemies, and the consequence is seen in the apparently inexhaustible wealth of that royal house. Their mercenary armies were always easily raised; their expenditure on buildings was enormous. Of late years a considerable number of commercial documents of the Ptolemaic and Early Roman period have been discovered in Egypt. Those given by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pts. i. and ii.; *Fayûm Towns and their Papp.*; etc.) comprise appeals for justice against trade defaulters, bankers' receipts, acknowledgements of loans, declarations of sales, and registrations of contracts, sales, loans, mortgages etc.—for which registration there were special officials in each nome.

with the Nabatæans (15 2). The lines of positions held by Jannæus as laid down by Josephus are very significant; first along the coast from Rhinokolura to Straton's Tower (afterwards Cæsarea) and then through Esdraelon from Mt. Carmel by Tabor and Bethshan to Gadara with a number of cities E. of Jordan (15 4). Both he and his widow aimed at Damascus (16 3). Later, the Nabatæans retaliated by a siege of Jerusalem (xiv. 2 1); Josephus describes them as 'no very warlike people' (*ibid.* 3). All the later Hasmonæan kings[1] had mercenaries in their army—another sure proof of their commerce.

Meantime Jewish settlements abroad increased in all the great towns; but they do not appear to have excited remark from the greatness of their trade. Their business, except in the case of a few prominent individuals, must have been petty and parasitic. The Nabatæans appear better known to the Greeks, whose earliest notices of the Jews are confined to their hatred of men (Posidonius of Apamea, born about 135 B.C., *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, ed. Müller: through Diod. Sic. 34, *fr.* 1; Apollonius Molon a teacher of Cicero, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 111 213; cp Eus. *Præp. Evang.* 9 19). Apollonius also charges them with making no useful invention (quoted by Jos. *c. Ap.* 2 15). With the civil rights granted to them in so many large cities (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 3 2, etc.), however, they must have risen to considerable commercial power, especially in Antioch, Alexandria, and Cyrene (for the last cp Strabo quoted by Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 7 2). The Jews of Asia Minor deposited in Cos 800 talents, about £292,000 (see Reinach's n. 2 on p. 91 of his *Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Rom. relatifs au Judaisme*).

67. Jews and Greeks.

We now pass to the last of our periods—the Roman. The effects of Roman policy on the trade of the world were more revolutionary than those of any of the empires which preceded them, and may be summed up under the following five heads:—

68. Roman period: Rome.

(i.) The centre of trade was shifted from W. Asia to the other end of the Mediterranean and fixed at Rome. This was rendered inevitable: politically by Rome's rank as the capital of the Roman state; commercially by the Phœnician and Greek exploitation during the previous periods of the W. Mediterranean, N. Africa, Spain, and Gaul; geographically by the position of Rome well down the great Italian promontory, which runs so far out upon the Mediterranean, with its attendant isle a day's sail from N. Africa, and its SE. cape a few hours from Greece. Even in Republican times Rome's central character had been assured both by the roads which gathered to her from all parts of the peninsula, and by the sea-traffic which filled her harbour of Ostia or came up the Tiber to herself (even triremes and penteremes reached the city under the Republic, and under Augustus ships of 78 tons; Götz, 319).

(ii.) Above all the nations which preceded them, the Romans excelled in the making of long lines of firm roads—first in Italy, towards Gaul, and Spain, and then, as their empire extended, to the middle of Scotland in the N., and to the farthest borders of Mesopotamia and the Arabian province. By Cæsar's time sixteen paved roads led into Rome—the oldest the Via Appia S. by Capua with branches to PUTEOLI (APPII FORUM, THREE TAVERNS), RHEGIUM (*q.v.*), and Brundisium. From Dyrrhachium (another branch from Apollonia) the great route to the E. made for THESSALONICA with a continuation to Byzantium. For the Roman system of roads through Asia Minor from Byzantium, Ephesus, and Smyrna, see Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. As. Min.* and the summary with map in Miss Skeel's *Travel in First Century after Christ* (Cambr. 1901); also ASIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, EPHESUS, GALATIA, LAODICEA, PHRYGIA, SMYRNA, etc. From Asia Minor to the Persian Gulf the lines were little altered from those of the Greek period (§ 69). The Euphrates was bridged at Samosata, and there was a bridge of boats at Zeugma (Bir) (Tac. *Ann.* 12 12). From the Euphrates as from Byzantium the Pontus was more easily reached. Antioch grew in influence as a knot of trade-routes.[1] The road by Palmyra to the Euphrates was more frequently used. Charax was still the port on the Persian Gulf. The distances were approximately these:—

69. Roman roads.

From Tarsus to Antioch 5 to 7 days; thence to Zeugma 6; thence to Seleucia (Ctesiphon the Parthian capital) 23 or 24; then to Charax 13; Seleucia to Artaxata (for Central Asia) over 32; to Trapezus (Trebizond) over 40; from Antioch by Emesa (Ḥomṣ) to Palmyra 9 days; thence to the Euphrates at Circesium 5 or 6 (to Vologesias, lower down the river, 16, and thence to Charax 29 or 30); Antioch to Damascus 7 to 9; thence to Palmyra 5 or 6; Boṣra to Charax across the desert 5 to 6 weeks; Damascus to Petra 9 days, to Gaza 7 (at least); Petra to Gaza not less than 5; to Elath 3 or 4; and to Leuke Kome 11 or 12. Gaza to Pelusium was 6 or 7 days (Götz 5); Pelusium to Alexandria, 5 or 6 by land, 1 to 2 by sea; Alexandria to 'Babylon' (later Cairo) 4, to Arsinoe (Suez) 6, to Cyrene 20.[2]

In Syria and Palestine the ancient routes were followed with no important variations; and here we must remember that, with the possible exceptions of a few short stretches in the neighbourhood of the Coloniæ and other centres, none of the characteristic Roman roads were laid down till the times of the Antonines, nor, so far as the present writer has been able to examine them, was the structure consistently so perfect as in the Roman roads of Italy and the W. (for these latter, see Götz, 322 *f.*; and Skeel, 45). Along these roads an imperial service of post-horses and carriages was developed by Augustus; later known as the 'cursus publicus,' which civil officials, returning or emigrating veterans, and of the soldiery all who carried special passes, had the right to use. Each of the *mansiones* or chief stations was supplied with an inn,[3] stables, and about forty horses; the intermediate *mutationes* had about twenty (Götz, 336 *ff.*; cp Skeel, 4 *ff.*). The variety, capacity, and speed of wheeled vehicles was greatly increased; and it is to the Romans that we owe the first real development of the carriage of goods on wheels, though pack animals, camels, mules, asses, and even oxen, were still generally used (cp Jos. *Vit.* 24 26). Horses, mules (cp Horace's journey to Brundisium, *Sat.* 1 5), and asses were employed for riding. On the breeding of horses, for different purposes, the Romans bestowed great care. The security of the roads was a constant matter of trouble to the provincial governors. In semi-independent principalities (as we shall see under the Herods, § 75), brigandage was always more rife; but even under purely Roman government it frequently reappeared. Yet, on the whole, the security of land-travel at the beginning of the empire had immensely improved: cp Strabo, vi. 4 2; Pliny, *HN* 27 1, who calls the 'immensa Romanæ pacis majestas,' 'velut alteram lucem . . . rebus humanis.'

(iii.) At sea the greatest change was the reduction of the whole of the Mediterranean under one political power. Then followed its clearance of pirates, first by Pompey and then by Augustus (who also cleared the Red Sea from the same pest). The consequence was an enormous increase of the Mediterranean traffic, which is described by many writers of the period in glowing terms (Juvenal, 14 278 *ff.*, 'the sea as thronged as the land'; Philo, *De Leg.* 21: 'filled with merchantmen'). Perhaps the most significant illustration is found in the contrast between the Hasmonæan princes, who, till after Jannæus, never set foot on shipboard, and the

70. Mediterranean.

[1] Josephus (*BJ* i. 2 5) says that John Hyrcanus was the first to have mercenaries.

[1] Josephus (*BJ* iii. 2 4) reckons it the third city of the Roman empire.

[2] Calculated from the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table; Götz, 424 *ff.* gives slightly different calculations. Titus took only 5 days to march from Pelusium to Gaza; *BJ* iv. 11 5.

[3] For inns, used mostly by poorer travellers, see Jos. *Ant* xvi. 5 1.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

Herods who were constantly passing to and from Italy. See below, § 75. But this applies only to the summer season; ships were laid up (even in the middle of a voyage) from November to March. Philo (*De Leg.* 29) explains the exceptional character of a winter voyage (cp Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 2 1).[1] The size of the ships was considerably, and their speed somewhat, developed. War-vessels and the lighter (mostly private) passenger ships carried many oars; cargo-transports had but a few oars, chiefly to turn the head of the ship in its tacking, and depended on sails. They also carried passengers: Josephus went to Rome in a ship with 600 souls on board (*Vit.* 3); and over 200 were reckoned on Paul's ship (Acts 27 37; see, however, SHIP, § 8). For a further description see Skeel, 81 *ff.*

The three principal ports on the Mediterranean were Rome (with Ostia and Puteoli, the latter the goal of the grain ships from Egypt), Alexandria,[2] and Carthage. Smyrna with the Asia Minor trade, as well as some from Central Asia, came next. Delos was the great centre of the slave trade; Strabo (xiv. 5 2) mentions 10,000 slaves there. Rhodes maintained the flourishing condition ascribed to it by Ezekiel (27 15): it lay on the Alexandria-Byzantium-Black Sea line. THESSALONICA (*q.v.*) had grown since the time of Alexander, and now increased through its connection with Dyrrhachium. Byzantium commanded the Black Sea, though much of the traffic from the E. portion of this went by land across Asia Minor. Corinth and Athens rather fell behind; but Corinth grew again under Trajan. On the Syrian coast Berytus, a colonia of Augustus, grew into prominence (see below, § 75); PTOLEMAIS (*q.v.*) became the chief port for Rome—especially for the soldiery, but also for commerce; and Herod founded Cæsarea (75); Gaza and, to a lesser degree, Anthedon still flourished with the Nabatæan trade from the far E. The importance of Tyre and Sidon was, therefore, relatively (though not absolutely) diminished.

Strabo (iii. 2 5 x. 4 5, etc.), Pliny (*HN* 15 29 19 1, etc.), Acts (20-28), Lucian (*Navig.* 1-6), and others, furnish us with data as to the time occupied by Mediterranean voyages. If we take the sea from W. to E., from Gades to Ostia was 7 days, from Carthage 2 to 3, from Puteoli to Alexandria 9 days, from Athens to Smyrna 2½. These may be taken as express or even 'record' voyages. For cargo boats with favourable winds we may add 25 to 50 p.c. Even when storms did not intervene, it must have taken the grain ships of Alexandria well on to a fortnight to reach Puteoli. From Cyprus to Tyre and Sidon (to judge from the voyages of mediæval galleys) 24 hours would suffice; the Syrian ports were mostly within 12 hours of each other. But the uncertainties were great. Herod sailing from Alexandria to Pamphylia was driven by a storm, with loss of the ship's cargo, to Rhodes, where he built a three-decked ship and sailed to Brundisium for Rome (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 13 3). Lucian, who reached Cyprus from Alexandria in 7 days, took 63 more (having been driven to Sidon) to reach the Piræus (*Navig.* 1-6). For winds on the Mediterranean, see Pliny, *HN* 2 117 *ff.*; Smyth's *Mediter.* 230 *ff.*

71. Trade with India.

(iv.) The trade down the Red Sea and across the Indian Ocean was immensely increased;[3] and indeed it is to this period that we owe the first approximately exact data with regard to it (Strabo, 60 B.C. to about 21 A.D.; Pliny senior, 23-79 A.D., and the anonymous *Periplus* of the Erythræan Sea, 1st cent.; Ptolemy, *fl. circa* 140). But even though the discovery of the 'monsoons' was attributed to Hippalus, of the time of Augustus, we must not suppose that these had not been employed by navigators in earlier periods (above, § 17). The E. coast of Africa was known as far as Madagascar. The way to India was fairly opened up (Horace, *Epp.* i. 1 45 *f.*). Ceylon had been known before the geographer Pomponius Mela (about 150 B.C.), and now, with its markets for the farther E., became quite familiar (Strabo, 2 1, Ptol. 7 3); an embassy came from it to Claudius (Plin. *HN* vi. 24 5). The time required from the Malabar coast to Alexandria was 90 days. The Tiber and the Indus were thus less than 3½ months distant. Pliny (*HN* 12 41) estimates that every year 'India, Seres, peninsulaque,'—*i.e.*, Arabia—withdraw from the Empire 100,000,000 sestertii (about £885,416). When Strabo went up the Nile with Ælius Gallus he learned that 120 ships left Myos Hormos (? Leukos Limen; see § 29, n. 4) for India, as contrasted with 'extremely few under the Ptolemies' (*Geogr.* ii. 5 12). Yet these regular voyages did not destroy the Arabian land-traffic. For reasons for this (*e.g.*, the preference of the age for land-routes and the loss to the value of incense and spices when on the sea), cp Götz, 436 *ff.* We are now able to appreciate the growth, under the Romans, of Alexandria. The bulk of the Indian trade passed through its warehouses, as well as that from inner Africa. Besides its exports of Egyptian grain, paper, linen, and glass to Rome, it sent proportional quantities (except of grain) to Syria, especially to Antioch, and in times of famine supplied Syria with food-stuffs. These were also brought thither from Cyprus.[1]

72. Law, money, language.

(v.) The civilised world found itself for the first time under a common system of law—administered with western consistency; and even a maritime law began to exist. With the law there spread a common coinage. Less extensive was the use of the Latin language. Except in the names of the coins, official designations, and a few other terms, it did not in W. Asia displace Greek; the *Periplus* is written in Greek, the harbours on the Red Sea continue to have Greek names. We shall see a similar state of affairs among the Jews.

73. Summary: Rome.

Thus though the Romans, unlike the Phœnicians, and the Greeks, did not increase the bounds of the known world, for they were not explorers, they reduced it to peace, and by this and their thorough administration of every department of life, enormously increased its commerce and wealth. The life of the world is everywhere found in the most rapid circulation, against the throng and change of which voices from an older day appeal in vain. The mixture of nationalities on all the main lines and centres is bewildering. Wealth and luxury increase by leaps and bounds.

74. Antipater.

The Roman arms came into touch with the Jews on the arrival of Pompey at Damascus 64-63 B.C. Among the first results were several which are properly commercial. The Greek cities E. of Jordan had been founded on the main trade routes with a connection by Scythopolis with the sea. Under Roman protection they were able for the first time to carry out a trade-league, such as was already instanced by Greek cities in Europe. See DECAPOLIS, §§ 1 *f.* Pompey also appears to have been attracted by the trade of the Nabatæans (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 3 3 *f.*), with whom, as we have seen, the western world was already more familiar than it was with the Jews. An expedition to Petra ended in a treaty with the Nabatæans (*ibid.* 5 1). Josephus (*ibid.* 4 1) also notes already the palms and balsam of Jericho. Gabinius rebuilt cities on trade lines which had been destroyed (5 3). The policy of Antipater (cp HEROD, FAMILY OF, § 2)

[1] Cp Jos. *BJ* vii. 1 3 (last clause).

[2] Cp *ibid.* iv. 10 5. See, too, *The Mediterranean* by Admiral Smyth (London, 1854), pp. 274 6.

[3] This was partly due, of course, to the obstructions to trade raised upon the Mesopotamian and Persian Gulf route to India, by the rise of the Parthian empire and its frequent wars with Rome. Had the Seleucids continued to hold all Mesopotamia, the trade down the Red Sea in the Ptolemaic period, and the consequent wealth of the Ptolemies, could not have been so great as it was.

[1] The Crusaders also used Cyprus as a base of supplies; *L'Estoire de la Guerre Sainte*, 2100 *ff.* 2367 *ff.*

included treaties with Nabatæans, Gaza, and Ashkelon (13 *f.* 73), and he supplied the army of Gabinius with corn, weapons, and money (62, cp 51). The wealth not only of the temple, through the contributions from Jews of the Diaspora, but also of Jerusalem and Judæa as a whole, was considerable (71 *f.* with quot. from Strabo). A limited freedom from taxes was granted to the Jews (85 106; cp 1010), and Hyrcanus was allowed the dues on corn (20,675 modii every year) exported through Joppa to Phœnicia (106). The Senate restored to the Jews possessions taken from them by the Phœnicians (106).

75. Herod. Herod's earliest efforts (cp HEROD, FAMILY OF, §§ 3-5) as governor of Galilee were directed towards the dispersion of brigands (92 154) who made the conveyance of even the necessaries of life a difficulty (162). From the first Herod continued, and after each of his reverses he renewed, the policy of his father. When he sought a loan, it was to the Nabatæans that he turned (141; *BJ* i. 141): he sought their friendship; but on the extension of his power E. of Jordan, he and they became bitter rivals (xvi. 92). When Antony had given Cleopatra the revenues of Jericho, Herod farmed them for her (xv. 42). He got the coast-towns from Cæsar, with Gadara, Hippos, and Samaria (all trade centres, 73); and having fortified and embellished Samaria, he created, 25 m. distant from it at Straton's Tower, CÆSAREA (*q.v.*), the one real port between the Delta and Ptolemais (85 96). Thus the line across the Samarian mountains was in his hands; at its farther end lay Phasaelis (and in the next reign Archelais) with palm-groves reaching to Jericho, and easy fords across Jordan, commanded probably by the fortress Alexandrium (Jos. *BJ* i. 65; Strabo, xvi. 241; cp *HG* 352 *ff.*). Further, Herod built ANTIPATRIS (on the line Cæsarea-Jerusalem as well as on the inland route N. and S. over the maritime plain) (xvi. 52), and greatly improved the fertility of the Jordan valley (*ibid.*). The trade of W. Palestine, at least S. of Carmel, thus lay in his hands; at Gadara, and Hippos, and Jericho he intercepted the trade of E. Palestine, but there his hold was precarious and temporary; whilst at Gaza he held the tolls for Arabia *via* Petra, and for Egypt. Herod mightily increased his opportunities, both of wealth[1] and of expense, by his many voyages to the W. (see above, § 70): (*a*) to Rome, *Ant.* xiv. 142 *ff.*, and back to Ptolemais, 151; (*b*) to Italy for his sons, xvi. 12; (*c*) to Ionia to M. Agrippa, 21; (*d*) by Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, Byzantium, to Sinope, to Agrippa, returning through Asia Minor to Ephesus and thence by Samos 'in a few days to Cæsarea,' 22-4; (*e*) to Italy to accuse his sons, and back by 'Eleusa,' off Cilicia, and Zephyrium, 41 *f.*, *BJ* i. 234; (*f*) to Italy (? *Ant.* xvi. 91); (*g*) to Berytus to the trial of his sons and back to Cæsarea (xvi. 112 *ff.*). Herod was able to estimate the resources of his countrymen of the Diaspora, and no doubt to draw upon these in return for services rendered them (*e.g.*, xvi. 53). He also received, among other imperial donations, the revenues of copper mines in Cyprus (45). But, on the whole, as Josephus points out (54), Herod's expenditure constantly exceeded his income. He would send money and provisions for the imperial armies, and provide water (no doubt with the help of the Nabatæans) on the desert marches between Egypt and Palestine (xv. 67), and an auxiliary[2] regiment (*e.g.*, xv. 93). His lavish gifts to foreign cities resemble the donations of an American millionaire (xvi. 53). At home, besides rebuilding the temple in eighteen months (xv. 111), and constructing other public edifices on a western scale (81, etc.), he had to bring corn from Egypt, not only for bread for the cities of Jerusalem, but also for seed for the peasants on the occasion of a famine (92). While, no doubt, his policy increased the trade of his dominions, he must at the same time have hampered trade by his growing exactions. On this Josephus speaks cautiously but emphatically (xvi. 54); cp the complaint of the Jewish embassy to Augustus after the accession of Archelaus (xvii. 112)[1] and the many seditions both in Herod's life-time and later (104 *ff.*).

76. Procurators, later Herods. Commercial events and processes under the Roman procurators, or under the descendants of Herod (see HEROD, FAMILY OF, §§ 6-13), do not call for special mention, beyond these facts. Herod Antipas by his domains in Perea was brought into special relations with the Nabatæans and the Decapolis; and his building of Tiberias must have increased the traffic of Galilee. The policy of Agrippa I. was milder towards the Jews than that of Herod; his revenues were about three-fourths of Herod's (xix. 82). He sailed from Anthedon for Alexandria, and thence to Puteoli (xviii. 63). The completion of the works on the temple created a large number of unemployed for whom work had to be found (xx. 97)—a striking instance of the complications brought into Jewish life by the Hellenic policy of the Herods. Josephus gives an interesting account of the trade, wealth, and finance of the Babylonian Jews (xviii. 9; xx. 23). Queen Helena of Adiabene brought food from Egypt and Cyprus for Judæa during a famine (25). As the troubles with Rome drew to a head (from 60 A.D.), brigandage increased (54 85 93 *ff.*, etc.).

77. Syrian trade. As to the conditions of Syrian trade in the first Christian century, we may say, in general, that it suffered everywhere for periods, and in some of the more desert parts always, from robbers;[2] and that, besides the exactions noted, it was greatly hampered, especially among the Jews of Judæa, by the strictness of the Law, and above all by the provisions relating to the Sabbath and to things clean and unclean (for a list of these see Schürer, *GJV*, ET, ii. 296 *ff.*, 106 *ff.*). The Sabbath prohibitions reflect almost wholly an agricultural people; yet those against writing and carrying and putting a value on anything on the Sabbath (*ibid.* 102) must have made trade on that day impossible except by desperate subterfuges. The laws against unclean things affected trade more deeply; for trade everywhere brought Jews, in any large ways of doing business, into contact with the Greeks and other foreigners. In spite of themselves, however, Hellenism poured into their life through commercial channels. For the very large list of trading terms and names of objects of trade borrowed by the mixed Hebrew of the time from the Greek language, see Schürer, *GJV*, ET, ii. 133 *f.* 36 *ff.* Inns, different names for dealers, foreign provisions and materials for dress, some raw stuffs, and vessels for eating, carrying, etc., are Greek. So with some of the coins; the rest are Roman (PENNY, etc.); but the superscription—for the Greek cities had their own coinage with Cæsar's image—was mostly in Greek. The large number of very small coins in use (*ibid.*) betrays the great poverty of the bulk of the population. Yet, here and there, very rich individuals outside the official classes were found (*e.g.*, *Ant.* xiv. 135).

78. Objects of trade. It is easy to form an idea of the objects of trade. The transit trade from Arabia to the Levant, and from Egypt to N. Syria, avoided Judæa (hence the ambition of the Herods for coast-towns from Gaza northward), but was

[1] Cp the large sums obtained later by the Pseudo-Alexander from Jews in Crete and Melos (*Ant.* 17 12).
[2] Herod's foreign mercenaries are frequently mentioned; *e.g.*, *BJ* i. 183.

[1] He embellished foreign cities at the expense of his own; and 'filled the nation with poverty.'
[2] Under the procuratorship of Cumanus they seized the furniture of 'a servant of Cæsar' on the Beth-horon Road (*BJ* ii. 122; cp 1836).

frequent and heavy across Galilee, especially between Ptolemais and the Greek cities beyond Jordan. Josephus (*Vit.* 26) describes the wife of Ptolemy, the king's procurator, as crossing Esdraelon with '4 mules' lading of garments and other furniture'; a 'weight of silver not small,' and '500 pieces of gold.' Palestine continued to export from the Jordan valley dates and the balsam of Jericho (the passages already cited from Jos. *Ant.*;[1] Diod. Sic. 11 48*a*; 19 98 4; Dioscorides 1 18; Plin. 12 25; Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* 9 6). Whether the flax of Beth-shan, later so famous ('Totius Orbis Descr.' in *Geogr. Gr. Min.*, ed. Müller, 2 513 *ff.*), was already grown there is uncertain. Wheat and oil were also exported to Phœnicia; but, lavish as Josephus describes the fertility and agriculture of Galilee to have been, it was not thence but from Egypt and elsewhere that Judæa brought her food and seed in times of famine. In 66 A.D. John of Gischala had the monopoly of exporting oil from Galilee, by which he made great sums of money (*BJ* ii. 21 2). Josephus mentions artificial snow (*BJ* iii. 10 7). There was also exportation of pickled fish from the Lake of Galilee, as far as Italy (Strabo, xvi. 2 45). Tarichеæ, the chief port on the Lake, means 'pickling-places'; Josephus describes it as full of artizans and of materials for shipbuilding (*BJ* iii. 10 6). The temple of Jerusalem was, even on ordinary days, an immense centre of trade; incense, spices,[2] priests' garments, and the supplies for the daily sacrifices (cp Schür. *Hist.* ii. 1 269 298) alone necessitated enormous markets, largely in the hands of the priesthood (Keim, *Life of Jesus*, ET, 5 117 *f.*). The temple-finances—not only the sacred revenues[3] but also private deposits[4]—were managed by special officials (Schür. *id.* 261). All this business was heightened enormously at the time of the great festivals—when food (largely pickled fish from the Lake of Galilee and the Levant) had to be supplied for the incoming multitudes; and no doubt much private business also was transacted. Among the traders of Jerusalem, Josephus enumerates those in wool, brass, cloth (*BJ* v. 8 1), timber (ii. 19 4), and all kinds of artisans.

In the NT there is a considerable reflection of all this life. The Gospels, relating large catches of fish in the Lake, which must in that climate have been immediately cured, are curiously silent about the conveyance of the fish for this purpose by the Jewish fisherman to the Greek curer.

79. Trade in the Gospels.

But of other business, so thriving in Galilee, they give us many glimpses. One of the disciples keeps toll on the transit-trade at Capernaum (Mt. 9 9). Many of the hearers of Jesus are publicans (PUBLICAN). Zacchæus was probably farmer of the state revenues of the balsam gardens of Jericho. The use of the objects, means, and tempers of trade by Jesus is very instructive (cp above, on Proverbs, § 61). The parables reflect the roads and journeys, mostly of Galilee but also of Judæa: a merchant seeking goodly pearls; a Samaritan traveller, rescuing a Jew fallen among thieves, and paying for him at an inn; the prosperous farmer and his new barns; the woman with her little store of silver; the rich man and his steward; the farming of estates to husbandmen by absentee landlords; and other of the economic relations of the time. In the light of what we have seen in previous periods (§§ 11 48 *f.*), it is interesting that the Parable of the Pounds imputes trade to kings through their servants. From the early Pharaohs to the Herods trade had always been a royal business. And the teaching of Jesus is full

[1] Also *BJ* i. 6 6; cp Hor. *Ep.* ii. 2 184. For the farming of the groves by the Romans, see W. Pressel's *Priscilla an Sabina.*

[2] 'Sweet-smelling spices with which the sea replenished it': *BJ* v. 5 5. There were thirteen kinds.

[3] *BJ* ii. 3 3 vi. 5 2.

[4] Such are mentioned in *BJ* i. 13 9 iv. 5 2, etc. There were also the public treasures (cp § 66) held in the royal palace (*BJ* i. 13 9, iv. 3 4), where also business contracts were deposited (ii. 17 6).

TRADE AND COMMERCE

of appreciation of the bigness of its methods and of the brave tempers required in it (Mt. 13 45 *f.*, Lk. 16 9 *ff.*). He frequently likens to its pursuit the search after the true riches. At the same time his warnings are many against covetousness and the temper of the trading Gentiles. Galilee was a place where a man might gain the whole world and lose his own soul. The temple courts had become a fraudulent market—the house of God a den of thieves.

On the social life of the early Christian societies see COMMUNITY OF GOODS, DEACON, etc. The progress of the new faith was along the lines of trade and in the great trade centres—

80. Acts and Epistles.

LYDDA, JOPPA, CÆSAREA, ANTIOCH, DAMASCUS, the cities of ASIA MINOR, THESSALONICA, CORINTH, ROME. Paul worked at his own trade (Acts 18 3 20 33 *ff.*), and other commercial pursuits are mentioned among the early Christians ('Erastus the treasurer of the city,' Rom. 16 23; 'Alexander the coppersmith,' 2 Tim. 4 14; Zenas 'the lawyer,' Tit. 3 13; 'Simon a tanner,' Acts 9 43; Lydia 'a seller of purple,' 16 14; Aquila and Priscilla, like Paul, tentmakers, 18 3). The Apostolic letters, however, contain, besides the general warnings against covetousness, extremely few references to trade, either for illustration or warning:—Jas. 4 13 *ff.*, 5 1 *ff.* 1 Thess. 2 9 2 Thess. 3 8 (Paul's own example of industry) 1 Thess. 4 11 2 Thess. 3 9 *ff.* (exhortations 'to do your own business and to work with your hands . . . that ye may walk honestly towards them that are without and may have need of nothing') Rom. 13 7 *ff.* (taxes, and debt) 1 Cor. 7 30 ('those that buy as though they possessed not'). The fewness of such references is the more conspicuous when the many passages on the relations of masters and slaves are contrasted with it. The lifting of the burdensome law from the lives of the Jewish converts to the new faith must have given them fresh advantages in trade; cp Peter's vision at Joppa,[1] in which the sheet, let down from heaven, full of things clean and unclean, has been compared to the sails of the merchant ships in the roads visible from the Joppa house-tops (see *HG* 141 *f.*), 'What God hath cleansed call not thou common' (Acts 10 9 *ff.*). We may take for granted that the rise of Christianity had far-reaching economic effects—*e.g.*, upon the fortunes of certain trades (cp the outcry of the Ephesus silversmiths, Acts 19 24 *ff.*), and still more deeply—as in parts of India to-day where a rise in wages has been known to follow the adoption of the new faith—upon the wage-earning slaves and freedmen.

In the Book of Revelation the peculiar traders of LAODICEA (*q.v.*) are referred to. On the mark, the name of the beast, which gave license to buy and sell (13 17), see the commentaries.

81. Book of Revelation.

In the picture of Rome, Babylon the Great, as in the prophet's account of her namesake of old, her vast trade is included: Rev. 18 3, 'the merchants of the earth waxed rich by the power of her luxury'; *v.* 11, 'the merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their cargo.' Then follows a list of her imports. Compared with those assigned to Tyre and Babylon by the prophets, there is nothing new except SILK (*q.v.*); but note the emphasis in *v.* 13 on 'bodies and souls of men.' Rome's fall means the destruction of commerce and industry (18 15-23). With this acknowledgement of Rome as the centre of the world's trade, we may finish our survey of the Roman period. In the prophecy of her fall there may be traced a just sense of the precariousness of her commercial, apart from her political, position. Less than a couple of centuries saw the gradual disappearance of her trade to other positions naturally more fitted to attract it.

[1] For a description of Joppa, see Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 3.

IV. TERMINOLOGY IN OT

An account of the terminology of trade among the Israelites will complete our survey, by giving a number of names both of agents and processes not touched on in the preceding history. The appended list is as nearly as possible exhaustive so far as the OT is concerned. It ought to be noted that a great many of the terms and phrases given are used only metaphorically; yet, in the case of nearly all of these, the metaphorical (generally a religious) use implies a previous direct employment in common life. The list presents many points of historical interest of which the following may be summarised by way of preface to it.

82. Terminology of trade in OT.

i. The OT terms are all Semitic. Down to the Greek period there are in fact no others—none of Egyptian and none of Persian or Indian origin. This is the more striking in that so many of the names of articles and objects which trade introduced into the Hebrew vocabulary are Egyptian or Persian—plants, raw materials, garments, etc.; and that from their Persian masters Israel also adopted a number of political terms. That none of the agents or processes of trade even in the Babylonian and Persian periods are of non-Semitic origin is clear proof that till the advent of the Greeks the trade of W. Asia remained in Semitic hands (witness the dislike of the Egyptians to trade, § 12) and that all the foreign commerce of Israel was achieved through Semitic tribes or nations who spoke a Semitic tongue; further evidence that the non-Semitic PHILISTINES (*q.v.*, § 5 *f.*), with whom the early Hebrews did so much trade, had adopted 'the lip of Canaan.' As soon as the Greeks come to Syria we perceive a change: the purely Semitic words for trade and trader are displaced in MH by Greek terms; and there is a great influx of Greek names for specialised forms of trading, and for the articles and objects of trade (see above, § 77; also HELLENISM, § 5).

ii. The OT terms all belong to the common Semitic stock and are native to Hebrew except in the case of a small number borrowed from the Assyrian probably through the Aramæan (*e.g.*, מִדָּה, זְבַן), and these are chiefly in P and the post-exilic writings. Of course, some others may be of Phœnician or Aramæan origin; but this it is impossible to prove.

iii. There is clear evidence in the OT terminology of a gradual growth and organisation of commerce in Israel. For (*a*) the number of terms, and the frequency of the instances of each increases from Dt. onwards and rapidly in P and Ezra-Neh. (*b*) Especially are there more words for 'property,' 'wealth,' 'substance,' or at least these occur more frequently; (*c*) terms of general significance (עבר, פקד, and the like) have specially commercial meanings attached to them in the later writings; (*d*) the shades of meaning increase in the case of some words, or the various processes (cp 'valuation' and the like) are carefully differentiated; (*e*) the mention of deposits of money becomes more frequent; (*f*) old processes of a primitive type are displaced by more formal and by written deeds; cp the sale of land in Ruth 4 with that in Jer. 32; (*g*) and yet in spite of all this, Hebrew trade remains somewhat simple; there is, *e.g.*, no mention in the OT of a trading company.

The Hebrew names for trade, traders, and merchants, and for the various processes and conceptions included under trade are as follows:—

83. Detailed vocabulary.

(*a*) *National names specialised to mean traders.*[1]

1. *kĕna'ăni*, כְּנַעֲנִי 'Canaanite' or 'Phœnician,' means 'trader' in Job 40 30 [41 6], Prov. 31 24 (but 𝔊 Φοινίκων, Χαναναίοις). There is a plural form with suff. כִּנְעָנֶיהָ in Is. 23 8; and in Zech. 11 7, 11 כן עניי is, after 𝔊, to be read כנעניי with the same sense. In Hos. 12 8 North Israel is described as a כנען (𝔊 Χαναάν); in Zeph. 1 11 כָּל־עַם כְּנַעַן is probably used of the mercantile portion of Jerusalem generally (𝔊 πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Χαναάν); in Ezek. 16 29 (𝔊 om.) and 17 4 (𝔊BQ Χαναάν, 𝔊A Χαλδαίων) Chaldea is called a 'land of כְּנַעַן'—*i.e.*, 'trade.' (Cp CANAAN, § 2, col. 639 [and on the text-critical questions arising out of the passages referred to, cp *Crit. Bib.*].)

2. *mĕdānim*, מְדָנִים for *midyānim*, מִדְיָנִים, Midianites, Gen. 37 28 36, and

3. *yišmĕ'ēlim*, יִשְׁמְעֵאלִים, 'Ishmaelites' (Gen. 37 25 39 1), may also (as we can see from a careful observation of these passages) have been used in the sense of traders. On the other hand there is no provable connection (tempting as it might be to suppose one) between עָרַב in its sense 'to do trade' (see below) and עֲרָב 'Arabians.'

(*b*) *Names for Traders and Trade in General.*—For these the Hebrews used four terms, the radical meaning of all of which was the same: viz., 'to go about':—סחר, רכל, תור and שׁוּר. Of these the first three when applied to trading are practically synonymous.

1. *s-ḥ-r*, סחר (cp Assyr. *saḫâru* 'to turn round'; Syr. 'to go about as a beggar': in MH 'to go about as a pedlar'), in the OT used exclusively (with metaphorical applications) of travelling, making circuits or tours, for trade: Gk. ἐμπορεύεσθαι by which 𝔊 renders it.[1] Gen. 42 34 (JE) of the right to trade in Egypt granted by Joseph to his brethren, Gen. 34 10, 21 (P?): סְחָרוּהָ 'traverse, or trade in, it'—*i.e.*, the land. Jer. 14 18: metaphorical of prophet and priest, 'trafficking' (𝔊 ἐπορεύθησαν). The pt. *sōḥēr* (סֹחֵר) is one of the usual terms for 'merchant,' 𝔊 ἔμπορος. Gen. 37 28 (JE) 'men, Midianites, *merchants*.' 1 K. 10 28 (‖ 2 Ch. 1 16) סֹחֲרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ: either the Israelite agents through whom Solomon did trade with the N. Syrian Muṣri and Ḳuë, or (more probably) horse-dealers of those lands who traded with his agents; cp Is. 47 15 סֹחֲרַיִךְ not 'thy native merchants' but 'those (foreigners) who trade with thee,' Babylon (cp 𝔊). Ez. 27 36: 'the merchants among the peoples'; 38 13: 'the merchants of Tarshish'; 2 Ch. 9 14: 'the chapmen and merchants.' Other phrases:—Ez. 27 21: 'the merchants of thy hand'; Gen. 23 16 (P): 'money current with the merchants' (כֶּסֶף עֹבֵר לַסֹּחֵר); cp KESITAH; Prov. 31 14: אֳנִיּוֹת סוֹחֵר (*sic*) 'a merchant-ship'; Is. 23 2: 'the merchants (𝔊 μεταβόλοι) of Sidon that pass over the sea.' The fem. pt. *sōḥĕreth* (סֹחֶרֶת) is used of cities, etc.—Tarshish, Aram, Damascus—trading with Tyre; Ez. 27 12 16 18. Derivatives:—(*a*) סַחַר: Is. 23 3 18; 45 14 RV 'mart' and 'merchandise,' but (cp the parallel אֶתְנַן in 23 18) more probably 'profit,' cp Prov. 3 14, 31 18.[2] For *misḥar* (מִסְחַר in constr.), 1 K. 10 15, taken by the lexicons as a separate word, Klost. reads מִסְחַר. (*b*) *sĕḥōrāh* (סְחֹרָה), 'trade,' is used collectively of 'traders': Ez. 27 15.

2. *rākal*, רכל (cp רגל 'to march' or 'go about': Aram. רוֹכְלָא, Syr. *rakkālā*, 'travelling merchant,' 'pedlar') is also used in the OT of trade exclusively. The pt. *rōkēl* is synonymous with *sōḥēr*, but, except in 1 K. 10 15, is found only in later writers:[3] Ez. 17 4: 'a city of merchants' (עִיר רֹכְלִים)—*i.e.*, Babylon; 27 13 15 17 22-24 (of various nations trading with Tyre); Cant. 3 6, 'powder of the merchant'; Neh. 3 31 *f.*: 'the house of the Nethinim and of the merchants': this was opposite the Gate Ham-Miphḳadh (see JERUSALEM, § 24 [10]). The fem. pt. *rōkéleth* is used in Ezek. 27 20 (of Dedan) 23 (collectively of five peoples: omit רֹכְלֵי שְׁבָא). Although the root רכל (like רגל) was used as in רָכִיל = slander (cp MH רְכִילוּת) in a bad sense, there is no reason for supposing that any derogatory meaning was intended by its employment for trading. Deriv.:—(*a*) *rĕkullāh*, 'trade': Ez. 26 12, 28 5 16 18. (*b*) *markōleth* 'market': Ez. 27 24 (but see Cornill).

3. *tūr*, תּוּר (Assyr. *târu* 'to turn' *refl.*; Ar. *tāra*, 'to go about') is used in the OT in Kal of exploring a land, Nu. 13 2 etc.; in Hiph. of exploring or spying, Judg. 1 23 (J). Cp SPIES. The pt. ḳal in the phrase אַנְשֵׁי הַתָּרִים is used of traders parallel with רֹכְלִים, 1 K. 10 15, and with סֹחֲרִים, 2 Ch. 9 14.

4. שׁוּר, Targ. 'to run' (Ass. *šâru*, 'to go about'; Ar. *sāra*, 'to go about' esp. in trading caravans). Is. 57 9: 'thou didst travel with ointment' (but see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT*, note to Is. 57 9, where existence of the verb שׁוּר is denied); Ez. 27 25: 'ships of

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1 These have been alluded to already, § 13.

1 [On 1 K. 10 28, cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*; also throughout cp *Crit. Bib.*]

2 Similarly in modern E. Syriac *bâzâr* means both 'trade' and 'profits'; Maclean, *Dict. of Vernac. Syr.* [1901].

3 [On the difficult phrase in 1 K. 10 15 cp SOLOMON, § 10, SPICE MERCHANTS; on Neh. 3 31 *f.*, MERCHANT, 2, and *Amer. Journ. of Theol.*, July 1901 ('Nethinim' = 'Ethanites,' and rōkĕlīm = Jeraḥme'elim); see also *Crit. Bib.*]

Tarshish were שָׁרוֹתַיִךְ,' RV 'thy caravans,' but Cornill reads שֵׁרְתוּךְ, 'served thee.'

With these we may take the following terms signifying way or going as applied to trade or business.

(1) *dérek*, דֶּרֶךְ. Is. 58 13, עָשָׂה ד׳=to do business;

(2) *hălīkāh*, הֲלִיכָה, 'caravan' (but perhaps metaph.: lit. 'going'; also procession): of Sheba, Job 6 19; cp Bibl. Aram. הֲלָךְ, 'way-money,' toll, Ezra 4 13, etc.

(3) *'ōrĕḥah*, אֹרְחָה, 'caravan' always of merchants, Gen. 37 25, or of mercantile tribes; Is. 21 13: Dedan; Job 6 18 *f.*: Tema. *'Ōrēăḥ*, אֹרֵחַ, the pt. is used of travellers in general: Jer. 9 1 [2] מְלוֹן אֹרְחִים (but Giesebrecht after 𝕲 אַחֲרוֹן [cp also *Crit. Bib.*]), a 'caravanserai.' אֲרֻחָה=provision for journey: נסע and מסע refer to the journeys of nomads' camps (cp TENT, § 2); he who prepares the camping ground, the quarter-master, שַׂר מְנוּחָה, Jer. 51 59. [But see SERAIAH, 4.]

(*c*) *Merchants' Quarters.*—Travelling merchants took up their quarters in special parts of the towns to which they took their goods.

ḥūṣōth, חֻצוֹת, 'streets' or 'bazaars,' were what Ben-hadad's father was allowed by treaty to build in Samaria, and Ahab in Damascus (1 K. 20 34), probably for their merchants; cp the 'bakers' street' in Jerusalem, Jer. 37 21. The MAKTESH (*q.v.*, cp also JERUSALEM, col. 2424) appears to have beeen a quarter of the city where the כנענים or 'merchants' (?) resided (Zeph. 1 11). For 'the house of the merchants' see above, under רֹכְלִים; for the fish-, sheep-, and horse-gates see JERUSALEM, § 24, coll. 2424 *ff.* For market see מַרְכֹּלֶת above (*b* 2 [*b*]); for caravanserai, מְלוֹן אֹרְחִים, see *b* (3).

(*d*) *Trading Companies.*—There is no mention of these in the OT; but we can hardly doubt that they existed.

(1) *ḥéber*, חֶבֶר, 'a company of priests for robbery,' Hos. 6 9; 'a house held by a number of people,' Pr. 21 9 25 24 (but Gk. and Toy read רחב). (2) *ḥabbār*, חַבָּר, 'a guild' or 'society' of fishermen, Job 40 30 [41 6], (cp Phœn. חבר and Assyr. *ebru*, 'a comrade').[1] (3) *mišpāḥāh*, מִשְׁפָּחָה, lit. 'family,' or 'clan'; but 'a guild' of scribes, 1 Ch. 2 55; 'of linen workers,' 4 21.

(*e*) *Various Processes included under Trade.*

1. Barter and exchange. (1) נָתַן בְּ, 'to give one thing for another,' Joel 4 [3] 3 (בְּ before the object taken in exchange; cp Lam. 1 11), Ezek. 27 13 (בְּ before the object given in exchange), 16 (בְּ before both objects), 14 (without בְּ; both objects in the acc.); cp Dt. 14 25, 'to give for money': בַּכֶּסֶף; Ps. 15 5, 'for interest': בְּנֶשֶׁךְ. (2) The antithesis of נָתַן is לָקַח; and so in Neh. 10 32, מַקָּחוֹת (Ba. מַקּ״), lit. 'things to be taken,' are 'wares for sale'; cp Talmud מַקָּח or מִקַּח, buying' or 'article bought.'

(3) מוּר, 'to exchange', does not appear in the OT in the sense of barter (Lev. 27 10 33, the substitution of one beast for another; Ezek. 48 14, of one piece of land for another); yet the fact that the Syr. *mūr* means 'to import victuals' proves that at one time among the Aramæans it was used in the sense 'to barter.' Deriv. תְּמוּרָה, 'exchange,' Ru. 4 7, Job 28 17; 'the thing exchanged,' Lev. 27 10 33 (P); 'gain' or 'profit' as a result of trade, Job 20 18; also 'compensation,' 15 31.

(4) Nor does חלף, 'to exchange,' appear in the OT for barter; yet חֵלֶף is used twice: Nu. 18 21 31 (P) in the sense of 'returns,' 'rewards *for*' service rendered; and Hoffmann (*Phöniz. Inschriften*, 20) gives חלפת as = equivalent (in exchange); (Bloch, *Phön. Gloss.*) 'payment,' לשלם ח׳, 'to reward.' (5) עָרַב, usually 'to pledge' (see below, 3 [6]), is used in Ezek. 27 9 27 as='to exchange.' In other Sem. languages it is to 'furnish security,' or 'to pledge.' The original meaning seems to be to mix or 'mingle,' as in NT, Aram., Syr., and Heb. Hithpael; yet this may be a secondary meaning, through 'having intercourse with. Deriv. מַעֲרָב, sg. and pl. 'wares.' (6) It is possible that the difficult עִזָּבוֹן (see below, 7 [8]) in Ezek. 27 means 'exchange.'

2. Bargain, contract, etc. (1) The very wide use of *bĕrīth*, בְּרִית, to express a 'covenant' between men (see COVENANT), and its application in Job 40 28 [41 4] to an engagement between master and servant, are evidence of the probability of its employment for business contracts;[2] (2) *ḥāzūth*, חָזוּת, is used in Is. 28 18 as a synonym for בְּרִית; cp חזית in Levy, *NHWB*. (3) *tĕšūmeth yād*, תְּשׂוּמֶת יָד, Lev. 5 21 [6 2] (P), lit. 'something

[1] In MH the root is used apparently only of societies for religion or learning. See further HANDICRAFTS, col. 1955.

[2] Yet in MH it seems to be used only in a theological sense.

TRADE AND COMMERCE

placed in the hand' or 'trust' of another, is translated by EV 'bargain': 𝕲 κοινωνία.[1] (4) *dābhār*, דָּבָר, 'affair,' in Ruth 4 7 in sense of transaction; לְקַיֵּם כָּל־דָּבָר, 'to confirm any transaction.' (5) This confirmation, in cases in which the object bought and sold could not be handed over, appears to have been symbolised by the seller drawing off his shoe or sandal, שָׁלַף נַעַל, Ruth 4 7 *f.*; cp Dt. 25 9 *ff.*; where it symbolises the giving up of one's right; WRS *Kin.* 269. Cp RUTH, SHOE; also, for a similar action among the Arabs, Burton, *Land of Midian*, 2 197; and Goldziher, *Abhand. z. Arab. Philol.* 1 47 (quoted by Buhl, *Die social. Verhältnisse der Israeliten*, 94, n. 2). The antithesis 'to take possession' was symbolised by 'throwing one's shoe over' the object, Pss. 60 10 [8] 108 10 [9]. (6) *tĕ'ūdāh*, תְּעוּדָה, 'attestation,' Ruth 4 7. (7) In Jer. 32 9 *ff.* we find another mode of conveyance (which probably displaced the primitive one just noticed). A deed of sale (סֵפֶר הַמִּקְנָה) was signed by the buyer כּוֹתֵב בַּסֵּפֶר, and witnesses were called who also signed. The deed was in two copies, one sealed (הֶחָתוּם), and one open (הַגָּלוּי), and placed in an earthen vessel; cp Johns, *op. cit.* 34. 'The terms and conditions of the sale' (?)=הַמִּצְוָה וְהַחֻקִּים. (8) 'They strike hands,' Is. 2 6, יַשְׂפִּיקוּ; espec. if with Hi. and Du. we read בידי for בילדי. But see Che. *SBOT* 'Isaiah,' and Ges.-Buhl, *Lex.*(12) *s.v.* שׂפק.

3. Buying and selling. The commonest words are *ḳānāh*. קנה, and *mākar*, מכר, Is. 24 2; כַּקּוֹנֶה כַּמּוֹכֵר, 'like buyer like seller'; Ezek. 7 12, cp Zech. 11 5. (1) *ḳānāh*, lit. 'to make, or obtain,' is applied to purchasing either with בַּכֶּסֶף, Am. 8 6 Is. 43 24, or alone, Gen. 39 1, 𝕲 ἐκτήσατο (JE); 2 S. 12 3 Jer. 13 1 19 1 32 7 *ff.* 15 43 Gen. 49 30 50 13 (both P). Also in a more general sense of purchasing a Hebrew slave through his falling into one's debt; Ex. 21 2 (JE). Also metaphorically; Ex. 15 16 Is. 11 11, etc.; *ḳōneh*, 'the buyer,' Is. 24 2 Ezek. 7 12, is used also as owner, Is. 1 3. Bib. Aram. קְנָא, 'to buy,' Ezra 7 17. Deriv.:—(*a*) *miḳneh*, but only in sense of 'property,' cattle (Ex. 10 26, etc.) or land (Gen. 49 32, κτῆσις); cp CATTLE, § 8 end. (*b*) *miḳnah*, besides meaning 'possession' is used for 'sale'; סֵפֶר הַמּ״ =deed of sale, Jer. 32 11 *ff.*; or object sold מִקְנַת כֶּסֶף, 'a purchased slave,' Gen. 17 12 *f.* 23 (ἀργυρώνητος), Ex. 12 44; or 'purchase-price,' Lev. 25 16 (ἔγκτησις) (all P); also כֶּסֶף מִקְנָתוֹ, Lev. 25 51, 'the money for which he was bought' (ἀργύριον τῆς πράσεως αὐτοῦ). (*c*) *ḳinyān*, 'property' in widest sense; קִנְיַן כַּסְפּוֹ, 'the produce of his money' (ἔγκτητος ἀργυρίου), Lev. 22 11 (P_h).

(2) *mākar*, 'to sell,' with בְּ *pretii*: of selling persons; Gen. 31 15 (JE), 𝕲 πέπρακεν; of selling a bride; so also the Aram. *mĕkar*, or men and women as slaves, Gen. 37 27 *f.* (𝕲 ἀποδίδωμι), and Ex. 21 7 (JE), Ps. 105 17 Ezra 7 4; cattle, Ex. 21 37 [22 1] (JE), Lev. 27 27 (𝕲 πραθήσεται, P); land, Lev. 25 23 34 (etc., P); birthright, Gen. 25 31 (JE); land, Ezek. 7 12 *f.*, or any property, Lev. 25 25 27, or any wares, Neh. 13 16. So generally, *mōkēr*, 'seller,' Is. 24 2. The same general sense attaches to מכר in Phœn., MH and Assyr.; in the latter *damgaru* or *tamkaru*, Syr. *taggārā*,[2] = 'merchant,' Del. *Ass. HWB*, 222. Derivv.:—(*a*) *méker*, 'price' or 'value,' Nu. 20 19 (JE); cp Pr. 31 10; also 'wares' or 'things for sale,' Neh. 13 16. (*b*) *mimkār*, 'act of sale'; Lev. 25 27, 𝕲 πρᾶσις, 29 50, etc.; 33 (בַּיִת מ״='house that was sold'), or 'thing sold,' 25 25 Ezek. 7 13; or 'wares for sale'= מֶכֶר, Neh. 13 20. (3) *kārāh*, כרה, 'to buy,' Dt. 2 6, μέτρῳ λήμψεσθε, Hos. 3 2 Job 6 27, 'to make merchandise of a friend' or 'haggle,' 40 30 [41 6] with עַל. Acc. to Talm. *R. haSh.*, *kīrah* was used on the coast, Levy, *NHWB* 2 323; Ar. *karā*= to hire, *kirā*, 'wage.' (4) *mĕḥīr*, מְחִיר, 'price' or 'payment, 2 S. 24 24 1 K. 10 28, בִּמְחִיר; 1 K. 21 2, כֶּסֶף מְחִיר; cp Pr. 17 16 27 26; also 'wage,' Dt. 23 19 [18] Mi. 3 11; cp the phrase לֹא רִבִּיתָ בִּמְחִירֵיהֶם, 'thou hast not gone high with their price,' Ps. 44 13; Pr. 22 16 appears to have a different sense. Assyr. *maḫīru*, cp Del. *Prol.* 93, *Ass. HWB* 400, 404, from *maḫâru*, 'to be opposite'—*i.e.*, mutual. כֶּסֶף alone means price, Gen. 31 15, 'the money paid for us.' (5) *māhar*, 'to buy a wife,' 𝕲 φερνιεῖ; Ex. 22 15 [16]. Deriv. *mōhar*, 'price of a wife,' Aram. *mōhărā*, Syr. *mahrā*, Ar. *mahr* (MARRIAGE, § 1). (6) *šābar*, שָׁבַר, 'to buy corn'; Gen. 41 57 42 5 47 14, 𝕲 ἀγοράζειν, 42 2, 𝕲 πρίασθε; 'to buy victuals,' with *'ōkel* (אֹכֶל), Gen. 42 7 10, etc., Dt. 2 6. Hi. 'to sell corn,' 𝕲 ἐπώλει, Gen. 42 6 (𝕲 ἐμπολᾶν ἐμπορεύεσθαι) Am. 8 5 *f.*; with אֹכֶל, Dt. 2 28, 𝕲 ἀποδώσῃ. (7) *pādāh*, פדה, 'to buy free' or 'ransom,' 𝕲 λυτρόω, Ex. 34 20 (JE); 13 13 (P); Dt. 7 8, etc., Ar. *fadā*, Assyr. *padû*, 'to buy free.' Eth. to 'pay.' Derivatives *pidyōm*, *-n*, *pĕdūyīm*, 'ransom money.' (8) *gā'al*, גָּאַל, 'to redeem.' Barth, *Etym. St.* 18, gives Ar. *ju'ālat*, 'price.' Derivative *gĕ'ūlāh*, usually

[1] שׁוּם in MH is 'to appraise,' 'value.'

[2] [So Jensen, *ZA* 6 349; for another view of the derivation of the Syriac see Nöld. in Fraenkel's *Aram. Fremdw.* 181 *f.*]

'redemption,' but also, Lev. 25 51, 'the sum paid.' 𝔊 τὰ λύτρα. (9) *kōpher*, כֹּפֶר, 'quit-money,' 𝔊 λύτρον. (10) Bibl. Aram. *zeban*, זְבַן, 'to buy,' is used metaphorically, Dan. 2 8; found also in MH, Targums Nab., Palm., and Syr. Supposed to be from Assyr. *zibānītu*, 'balance' (see Ges.-Bu.). Ar. *ṯaman*, 'price' 'value' (Spiro, *Ar. Eng. Vocab.*).

4. Hiring, lending, pledging.

(1) *sākar*, שָׂכַר, 'to hire,' with בְּ *pretii* (μισθοῦσθαι), mercenary troops, Judg. 9 4 2 S. 10 6 1 Ch. 19 6 *f.* 2 Ch. 25 6; a priest, Judg. 18 4; a workman, Is. 46 6 2 Ch. 24 12; a husband, Gen. 30 16; cp Pr. 26 10 [Heb.]. Ar. *šakara* = 'to thank.' Derivatives:—(*a*) *śeker*, 'wage,' Pr. 11 18. עֹשֵׂי שֶׂכֶר, 'makers of wages,' Is. 19 10. (*b*) *śākār*, the commoner word for 'wage,' 𝔊 μισθός. Gen. 30 28 32 *f.* 31 8, etc. (JE); Ezek. 29 18 (metaph.); 'hire,' for an article, Ex. 22 14 [15] (JE); for man and beast, Zech. 8 10. (*c*) *śākīr*, 'let on hire'; cattle, Ex. 22 14 [15]; persons, Ex. 12 45 Lev. 22 10 25 50 (all P), Dt. 15 18 24 14 Mal. 3 5 Job 14 6, etc.; mercenaries, Jer. 46 21. Note that the hirer asks the servant what his wage will be, Gen. 29 15 30 28; yet the master changes the wages, 31 7 41. The wages are here in kind. (*d*) *maśkōreth*, 'wage,' Gen. 29 15 31 7 41 (JE), 𝔊 μισθός; Ruth 2 12 (metaph.); cp Ass. *iškar*, Johns, *op. cit.* 360. Other words for wage are *pō'al*, פֹּעַל, *pĕ'ullah*, פְּעֻלָּה.

(2) *lāwāh*, לוה, 'to borrow,' δανίζειν הִלְוָה, 'to lend,' Dt. 28 12 Is. 24 2; כַּמַּלְוֶה כַּלֹּוֶה, Pr. 22 7, etc., Ex. 22 24 [25] (JE [ἐκδανίζειν]), Ps. 37 21 112 5 (κιχρᾶν) Neh. 5 4. In MH לוה = 'lend'; Ar. *lawā*, 'to delay payment of debt.' (3) *nāšāh*, נשה, and נשא, 1 S. 22 2 Is. 24 2, etc., 'to lend,' Is. 24 2 Jer. 15 10 Dt. 24 11 Neh. 5 7 10 (with כֶּסֶף), 11 (with other goods). The *pt. Ḳal* = 'creditor,' Ex. 22 24 [25] (JE with bad signification). 𝔊 ὁ δανειστής (in Ex. κατεπείγων). Ar. *nasa'a*. The use of the Aram., Syr., and Ar. cognates and the Heb. use of Ḳal (once Lam. 3 17), Niph., and Hiph. in the meaning 'to forget,' proves the origin to lie in delaying payment. Yet Ass. *ittiši* = 'to take,' Johns 36 10 *ff.* Derivatives:—(*a*) *nĕšī*, 'debt,' 2 K. 4 7, τοὺς τόκους σου. (*b*) *maššā*, 'usury,' acc. after נשא, Neh. 5 7; cp 10; 'debt' or 'exaction of debt.' (4) שׁאל, 'to borrow.' (5) נָתַן בְּנֶשֶׁךְ, Ezek. 18 17, etc., 'to lend on interest.' (6) לָקַח תַּרְבִּית, parallel phrase, Ezek. 18 8, etc. On borrowing and lending, see LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16. (7) עבט, (8) חבל, Ass. *ḥabulu* = 'interest,' (9) ערב, 'to pledge.' See PLEDGE. (10) תָּקַע, Niph., is to 'pledge oneself as security for another by striking hands,' Job 17 3.

5. Debt.

(1) *ḥōb*, חוֹב, 'debt,' Ezek. 18 7 (Co. שׁוּב), Syr. *ḥaubĕthā*, Ar. *ḥāba*, 'to be in debt'; cp Pi. 'to make guilty,' Dan. 1 10. (2) מַשָּׁא, Neh. 10 32 [31]; (3) מַשָּׁאָה, Dt. 24 10 Pr. 22 26; (4) מַשֶּׁה, Dt. 15 2, 'debt'; בַּעַל מ״, 'creditor.'

6. Payment, reckoning, etc.

(1) *šāḳal*, שָׁקַל, lit. 'to weigh,' Ezra 8 25 *f.* 29, so 'to pay' with כֶּסֶף, Ex. 22 16 [17] (JE); Gen. 23 16 (P), 2 S. 18 12 Is. 55 2 Jer. 32 9; with כִּכַּר־כֶּסֶף, 1 K. 20 39; or with שָׂכָר, Zech. 11 12. שׁקל is used with עַל יְדֵי ,לְ ,עַל כַּפֵּי (of persons), and עַל (of treasuries, Esth. 4 7). Phœn. שקל, 'a weight,' Aram. תקל, Ass. *šaḳālu*, 'to weigh,'—the last also 'to pay.' See MONEY, SHEKEL, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. (2) *nāśā'*, נָשָׂא, is used poetically of weighing, Job 6 2. (3) *neḥšab* (חשב in Niph.), of 'the reckoning' of money, 2 K. 22 7. (4) *mānāh*, מָנָה, 'to count' is used of money, 2 K. 12 11. Deriv. MANEH (*q.v.*). (5) The root *kāsas* (*kas*) כסס, 'to count' (Ex. 12 4) is used commercially in the deriv. *miksāh*, 'sum' or 'value,' Lev. 27 23. Del. (*Ass. HWB*, 407) gives *miksu* as 'toll' or 'duty.' Heb. *mékes* is used only of tribute to Yahwè, Nu. 31 28 37 41.[1] (6) *sāphar*, ספר, may have been used of the counting of money; cp Is. 33 18. (7) *šillēm*, שִׁלֵּם, lit. 'fulfil,' is used of 'repayment' of debt, 2 K. 4 7; Ass. *salamu* = 'to pay.' (8) On *késeph*, כֶּסֶף, see MONEY, SILVER. It is used in the sense of 'price,' כֶּסֶף הַשָּׂדֶה, Gen. 23 13 (P); cp above under מִקְנָה. (9) *ḳĕśīṭāh*, קְשִׂיטָה, see KESITAH. (10) *kikkār*, כִּכָּר, see TALENT. (11) *'ăgōrāh* (אֲגוֹרָה), in constr. before כֶּסֶף, 1 S. 2 36, is usually taken after 𝔊 (ὀβολοῦ ἀργυρίου) and Tg. as 'a small coin'; but Syr. *aggīrtā*, 'payment' and Ar. *'aggar*, 'to let' or 'to hire,' *'ugra*, 'wages.' (12) *'ethnan*, אֶתְנַן, usually of a 'harlot's' wage, but applied in Is. 23 18 to the profits of Tyre's trade; perhaps metaphorical, but the original general meaning of the word makes it possible that the commercial application of it was direct. In Ezek. 16 41 the tribute which Israel pays to foreign idols or nations (?). For other terms see above, under *Buying and Selling*, 3.

7. Profit, gain, etc.

(1) *hō'īl* (Hiph. of יעל), 'to profit,' in a general sense, Job 21 15 35 3; except (perhaps) in Is. 47 12 it is not used of commercial profit. (2) יתר, 'to be over.' Derivv.:—(all late words), (*a*) *yithrōn*, Eccles. 1 3, etc., 'profit,' in general, MH *yuthran*; (*b*) *yōthēr*, 'profit,' Eccles. 6 8 11; (*c*) *mōthār*, 'profit,' Pr. 14 23 of labour, 21 5. (3) עָשַׁר, 'to be rich.' Deriv. עָשָׂה עֹשֶׁר, 'to make riches,' Jer. 17 11.[1] (4) *hōn*, הוֹן, 'riches,' 'goods,' Ezek. 27 12 18 33 and Pr. (5) *ḥáyil*, חַיִל, 'substance' or 'wealth,' עשה ח׳, Dt. 8 17 *f.* Ezek. 28 4. (6) *nĕkāsīm*, נְכָסִים, 'wealth' of various sorts, Josh. 22 8 (D), 2 Ch. 1 11 *f.* See CATTLE, § 8, end. (7) *rākaš*, רָכַשׁ, 'to gather,' and *rĕkūš*, 'substance' or 'goods,' in general; Gen. 12 5, 𝔊 τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐκτήσαντο, and frequently elsewhere in P, also in Ezra and Ch. Of the royal property, 1 Ch. 27 31 28 1 2 Ch. 31 3 35 7. (8) *'izzābōn*, עִזָּבוֹן, in Ezek. 27 12 14 etc. means 'wares,' but in *v.* 27 it is parallel to *hōn*. Hoffm. *Phön. Inschr.* 15 gives the original meaning as 'produce' or 'results of trade,' from עזב = עצב. The Assyr. *ezēbu* is 'to leave over,' *uzub(b)u*, 'a payment.' See also above, under סַחַר ,מִקְנֶה ,קִנְיָן ,מְחִיר ,תְּמוּרָה ,אֶתְנָן. (9) *bāṣa'*, בצע, lit. 'to break off,' 'take unjustly,' Pr. 1 19 15 27 Ezek. 22 12 27, Pi. 'to finish' a work, Is. 10 12, etc. Deriv. *béṣa'*, generally of 'violent' or 'unjust gain,' Judg. 5 19, taken in war, 1 S. 8 3 (𝔊 τῆς συντελείας, EV 'lucre'), Ezek. 22 27 (RV 'dishonest gain'), Pr. 15 27, cp Is. 57 17 Ezek. 22 13. But 'profit' in general, Gen. 37 26 (JE), 𝔊 χρήσιμον. Cp above, § 61. (10) *'ōšeḳ*, עֹשֶׁק, 'unjust gain,' Eccles. 7 7.

8. Value, valuation, etc.

(*a*) Prepositions.—(1) בְּ *pretii*, in the giving of one thing 'for' another. (2) כְּפִי ,לְפִי ,עַל־פִּי, 'according to the number' or 'the rate of.' (3) עֵקֶב, 'for' a reward, Is. 5 23; cp עֵקֶב, Pss. 40 16 70 4. Phön. עקב, 'profit,' 'reward.' (4) בַּעֲבוּר, Am. 2 6.

(*b*) Verbs, nouns, adjectives.—(1) *'ārak*, עָרַךְ, 'to compare,' also 'to equal in value'; Job 28 17 19. Hi. 'to tax,' 2 K. 23 35, 'to value' (𝔊 ἐτιμογράφησαν), Lev. 27 8 12 14, 𝔊 τιμήσεται. Deriv.:—*'érek*, 'valuation,' for purposes of royal taxation, 2 K. 23 35 (𝔊 συντίμησις), or for priestly sacrifices and fines, Lev. 5 15 18 25 [6 6] 27 2 *ff.* 12 16 *f.* Nu. 18 16 (𝔊 τιμή, συντίμησις, etc.); 'the sum at which a thing is valued,' Lev. 27 13 18 23 27 (𝔊 τιμή, συντίμησις); this is also rendered by כֶּסֶף עֶרְךְּ, *vv.* 15 19, and by מִכְסַת עֶרְךְּ, *v.* 23. Note that the valuation was made at the sanctuary; cp above, § 24 n. (2) *sillah*, סלה (only in Pu'al), 'to weigh,' rightly rendered 'to value,' by EV Job 28 16 19. (3) *gādal*, גָּדַל, constr. with בְּעֵינֵי, 'to be worthy in mine eyes' (EV 'much set by'), 1 S. 26 24 parallel to יקר in *v.* 21 (𝔊 ἐμεγαλύνθη); *giddēl* was probably used of 'setting a high value on' anything, cp Job 7 17. (4) *yāḳar*, יָקַר, 'to be valuable' or 'dear,' 1 S. 26 21 (𝔊 ἔντιμος); also 'to be valued at. Derivv.:—*yĕḳar*, 'price,' Zech. 11 13, הַיְקָר אֲשֶׁר יָקַרְתִּי מֵעֲלֵיהֶם, *yāḳār*, 'valuable,' 'dear,' and *yakkīr*. (5) *rāḥōḳ*, רָחוֹק, 'far,' is used metaphorically in Pr. 31 10 of value; EV 'far above rubies.' (6) *maḥmād*, מַחְמָד, anything 'desirable'; pl. applied to 'costly things,' Hos. 9 6, silver, Is. 64 10 [11] Joel 4 [3] 5 2 Ch. 36 19 Lam. 1 10—all of the costly vessels and treasures of the temple. (7) אֶבֶן חֵן, 'costly stone,' Pr. 17 8. (8) חֵפֶץ, in pl. 'costly things' Pr. 3 15 8 11; אַבְנֵי ח״, 'precious stones,' Is. 54 12. (9) מִגְדָּנוֹת, 'costly things,' Gen. 24 53 (JE), but 𝔊 δῶρα, Ezra 1 6 (𝔊 ξενίοις) 2 Ch. 21 3 (𝔊 ὅπλα) 32 23 (𝔊 δόματα). See also above, under מְחִיר.

(*f*) *Customs, dues, toll, etc.*

(1) In Gen. 43 11 (JE), Israel commands his sons, going to buy corn in Egypt, 'to take a *minḥah*, מִנְחָה, or 'present' to the governor of the land; elsewhere *minḥāh* is applied to sacrificial 'offering' and political 'tribute'; see SACRIFICE, § 30. (2) *middāh*, מִדָּה, Heb. of 'tribute' or 'tax' to the king, Neh. 5 4; Bibl. Aram. מִדָּה or מִנְדָּה, Ezra 4 13 20 7 24, 'dues' or 'customs,' cp 6 8. This term is said to be borrowed from Assyr. *mandattu*, 'tribute,' from *nadan*, 'to give' (Del. *Ass. HWB*, 451), but cp *nadītu*, 'deposit,' 'treasure.' (3) *bĕlō*, בְּלוֹ, Bibl. Aram. Ezra 4 13 20 7 24, 'customs' or 'dues.' Assyr. *biltu*, 'tax.' (4) *hălāk*, הֲלָךְ, Bibl. Aram. Ezra, *id.* 'way-money,' 'toll.' See further, TAXATION, § 7 *n.*

(*g*) *Deposit, banking, hoarding, etc.* See DEPOSIT, etc.

(1) לִשְׁמֹר . . נתן, 'to give to keep' money, tools, garments, or any beast, Ex. 22 6-12 [7-13], (E). (2) *pāḳad*, פָּקַד, 'to store' or 'deposit,' 2 K. 5 24 of money, etc. Hi. 'to lay up' a roll or baggage, 'to commit' people to any one, 'to muster.' Ho. 'to be deposited' of money or other property, Lev. 5 23 [6 4], (P). Deriv. *piḳḳādōn*, 'store' of corn, Gen. 41 36, (JE), 'deposit' of money or other property, Lev. 5 21 23 [6 2 4], (P);

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[1] [In Aram. *maksā*, 'tribute,' *mākēsā*, 'tax-collector.']

[1] עשה is also used with חיל and זהב וכסף, Ezek. 28 4.

𝔊 παραθήκη. (3) תְּשׂוּמֶת, Lev. 5 21 [6 2], is 'trust' or 'deposit' parallel to פִּקָּדוֹן; see above *e* 2 (3). (4) In the east the hoarding of money is common and in Heb. this is *maṭmōn*, lit. 'place where one hides' or 'hoards,' Jer. 41 8, pits for 'storing' corn, oil, honey (cp Ar. *ghabāghib*); Gen. 43 23 (JE), 'money' (𝔊 θησαυρούς), cp Pr. 2 4 Job 3 21. מַטְמוֹן is one old derivation of MAMMON (*q.v.* § 4 3), recently favoured by Deissmann. Banking is not mentioned in OT, where one individual lends money to another. But we saw that in the Roman period the temple contained, besides the sacred revenues, sums deposited by private individuals (§ 78); cp the gate HAMMIPHKAD, close to Temple. See also Johns, *op. cit.* 3 254.

(*h*) *Various other terms.*

(1) *'ābad*, עָבַד, 'to work' (used frequently (*a*) of cultivation, (*b*) of serving as slave, (*c*) of working by means of another; עָבַד בְּ, Lev. 25 39, (P), Jer. 22 13, etc.) is not applied in the OT to commercial business, nor is the deriv. *'ăbōdāh* (all other kinds of work). Bibl. Aram. *'ăbīdā* is 'work,' Ezra 4 24, etc.; and state 'business,' Dan. 2 49 3 12.

(2) *mal'ākāh*, מְלָאכָה, 'work' or 'business' (lit. 'mission'), Gen. 39 11 Ex. 20 9 *f.* (JE) cstr. with עָשָׂה, cp Neh. 2 16; of handiwork, Jer. 18 3 2 K. 12 12 [11]; of the superintendents of royal treasures, Esth. 3 9 9 3; also of worked articles, Lev. 13 48; מְ׳ עוֹר, 'leather-work,' in Ex. 22 7 10 [8 11], 'goods,' 'possessions.'

84. Literature. Besides the works cited in the course of the article, the student may consult on (*a*) the trade of the Jews, Herzfeld, *Handelsgesch. der Juden* (not seen); the brief summaries in Benzinger and Nowack's manuals of Hebrew Archæology; Bennett, art. 'Trade' in Hastings' *DB*; several works given under DISPERSION. (*b*) for the Persian and Greek periods, Rennell's *Illustrat. of Hist. of Exped. of Cyrus*, etc. (1816); Sayce's *Herodotus*. (*c*) for the Roman period, Bergier, *Hist. des Grands Chemins de l'Emp. Romain* (1728); Mommsen's *History and Prov. of the Roman Empire*; Mahaffy, *Gk. World under Roman Sway*; Hausrath, *NT Zeitgesch.*; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*. Consult also Tozer, *Hist. of Ancient Geog.* See W. W. Hunter, *Hist. of British India*, vol. i.

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TRADITION (παράδοσις), Mt. 15 2 etc. See SCRIBES, § 6.

TRAGACANTH (נְכֹאת) Gen. 37 25 RVmg. See STORAX.

TRANCE (1) Nu. 24 4 AV, and (2) Acts 10 10 (ἔκστασις); see PROPHECY, § 19 *b*.

TRANSFIGURATION. See SIMON PETER, § 8.

TRANSLATION (μετάθεσις), Heb. 11 5 [same word, but not used of change of *place*, in 7 12 12 27, also in 2 Macc. 11 24 †]. See ENOCH, § 1.

TRANSLATIONS OF SCRIPTURE. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

TREASURE CITIES (עָרֵי מִסְכְּנוֹת), Ex. 1 11 AV, RV STORE CITIES (*q.v.*) [*f.*]); cp CITY.

TREASURER. The word renders:

1. A denom. verb of *ōṣār*, אוֹצָר, 'treasure,' in Neh. 13 13. See TREASURE-HOUSE, 1.

2. *sōkēn*, סֹכֵן, Is. 22 15; see SHEBNA.

3. *gizbār*, גִּזְבָּר, Ezra 1 8 (γασβαρηνου [B], γαρβ. [A], γανζαβραιου [L]), and in plur. Bibl. Aram. *ib.* 7 21 (γάζαι). The word is of Persian origin (*ganjabara*), and if a current restoration of a passage in an Egyptian-Aramaic papyrus be adopted, the first part of the word גנז[1] had already become Aramaised by at least the fourth century B.C. (*CIS* 2, no. 149 A, *l.* 3). According to Meyer (*Entst.* 23), Ges.-Buhl (*Lex.*(13)), and others, the word is identical with:—

4. The plur. *gĕdābĕrayyā*, גְּדָבְרַיָּא, Dan. 3 2 *f.* (𝔊? but γαζαρηνους, Symm. in Syr. Hex.). So also Bludau (*Alex. Uebersetz. Dan.* 98) who, moreover, takes the presupposed original גזבריא to be a gloss to דתבריא (cp COUNSELLOR, 2). An alternative view, that of Graetz, which is favoured by Bevan (*Comm.* 79), treats the word as purely a scribe's error for הדבריא (cp COUNSELLOR, 3), chiefly on the ground that the word recurs in the similar but much smaller lists of officials in Dan. 3 27 6 8. It is more plausible, perhaps, to suggest, with S. A. Cook, that הדבריא (the true meaning of which is quite obscure) is a corruption of the perfectly intelligible דתבריא. [See also *Crit. Bib.*]

5. οἰκονόμος, Rom. 16 23 RV, AV CHAMBERLAIN (*q.v.*).

TREASURE HOUSE, TREASURY, occur as the rendering of several Hebrew and Greek terms.

[1] Cp TREASURY, (3).

(1) אוֹצָר, *ōṣār* (√ 'to heap up'), 1 K. 7 51, etc., and בֵּית אוֹצָר *bēth 'ōṣār*, Neh. 10 39 [38] Dan. 1 2, with which

(2) בֵּית נְכֹתֹה, *bēth nᵉkōthōh* (2 K. 20 13 = Is. 39 2) is clearly a synonym (EV, by guess, 'the house of his precious things'; οἶκος τοῦ νεχωθα [in 2 K. τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ν. L, in Is. -τα ℵ*]). *Nĕkōth* is possibly an Assyrian loan-word; *bīt nakamti* = treasure-house, Del. *Prol.* 141; *ZDMG* 40 731; cp Haupt, *ZA* 2 266, who plausibly reads בֵּית נְכֻתָיו = *bit nakavâti* (for *nakamâti*, plur.). Very possibly too the same word should be read in Nah. 2 9 [10] (*i.e.*, נְכֹתֶיהָ for תְּכוּנָה, EV 'store').

(3) גַּנְזַךְ, *ganzak* (1 Ch. 28 11†; ζακχω [BA a?, see Sw.], ἀποθηκῶν [L]), like the NH גנזכה, perhaps Pers. origin with the addition of O. Pers. *ak* (Lag. *Ges. Abh.* 27). The simpler form occurs in Ezra 6 1 גִּנְזַיָּא, *ginzayyā*, EV 'treasures,' or in combination with בית in Ezra 5 17 7 20, EV 'treasure house' (𝔊BA γάζα; 𝔊L in 5 17 7 29 γαζοφυλάκιον; but it is used alone in the last-mentioned sense in Esth. 3 9 4 7[1] (γαζοφυλάκιον, γάλα [BNAL]), a usage which is paralleled by Gk. θησαυρός (treasure, store-house, casket, etc.).

(4) κορβανᾶς, Mt. 27 6 (cp Jos. *BJ*, ii. 9 4); see CORBAN.

(5) γαζοφυλάκιον, 1 Macc. 3 28 14 49 2 Macc. 3 6 *ff.* 4 42 5 18 Mk. 12 41 43 Lk. 21 1 Jn. 8 20; see TEMPLE, § 36 (*a*).

TREE OF KNOWLEDGE (עֵץ הַדַּעַת), Gen. 2 9, and **TREE OF LIFE** (עֵץ הַחַיִּים), Gen. 2 9; see PARADISE, § 11. **TREES, SACRED.** See NATURE-WORSHIP, § 2 *f.*

TRENCH 1. חֵיל, *ḥēl*, 2 S. 20 15, RV 'rampart.' See FORTRESS, § 5.

2. מַעְגָּל, *ma'gāl*, 1 S. 26 5 7; and 3. מַעְגָּלָה, *ma'gālāh*, 1 S. 17 20. See CAMP, § 1.

4. גֵּבִים, *gēbīm*, 2 K. 3 16 RV, AV 'ditches.' See CONDUITS, § 1 (3, 5).

5. תְּעָלָה, *tᵉ'ālāh*, 1 K. 18 32 *ff.*, 2 K. 18 17 20 20 Is. 7 3 36 2 Ezek. 31 4 Job 38 25. See CONDUITS, § 2.

6. יעזק, Is. 5 2, 'made a trench' RV, AV 'fenced.' See VINEYARD.

7. χάραξ, Lk. 19 43, RV 'bank,' RVmg. 'palisade.' Cp SIEGE, § 2.

TRESPASS-OFFERING (אָשָׁם), Lev. 5 6. See SACRIFICE, § 27 *f.*

TRESSES (רְהָטִים), Cant. 7 5 [6], RV. See GALLERY, (2).

TRIAL, TRYING. See TEMPTATION. The words are:

1. מַסָּה, *massāh*, Job 9 23. Cp MASSAH.

2. בֹּחַן, *bōḥan*, Ezek. 21 13; see BDB; but also Toy (*ad loc.*), who follows RV 'for there is a trial,' and refers to Jer. 20 12 Ps. 66 10 139 23 Is. 29 16; add Ps. 17 3, בחנת, ἐδοκίμασας.

3. צרף, ἐπύρωσας, Ps. 17 3.

4 and 5. δοκιμή 2 Cor. 8 2, RV 'proof [of affliction],' and δοκίμιον, 1 Pet. 1 7 Jas. 1 3 (AV here 'trying,' RV in both passages 'proof'); cp Ps. 17 3, ἐδοκίμασας (בחן). But is δοκίμιον really a substantive? In the Greek Egyptian papyri δοκίμιος is an adj. = 'genuine.' Deissmann (*Neue Bibelstudien*, 88) proposes to adopt this sense here—'that which is genuine in your faith'; cp 2 Cor. 8 8, τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον.

6 and 7. πεῖρα, Heb. 11 36, and πειρασμός, 1 Pet. 4 12 (cp 1 6 *f.*).

On 'trial' in the sense of a legal process (a sense not found in EV) see LAW, § 10, GOVERNMENT, § 16 etc. For the 'trial' of Jesus see, further, PROCURATOR, ROMAN EMPIRE, § 5, SYNEDRIUM, § 3 *ff.*

TRIANGLE (שָׁלִישׁ), 1 S. 18 6, RVmg. See MUSIC, § 3 (4).

TRIBES

TRIBES OF ISRAEL

Words (§ 1).
Clans (§ 2).
Tribes (§ 3).
Number and origin (§§ 4-8).
Lists: order (§ 9 *f.*).
Current theories (§§ 11-13).
Criticism (§ 14).
Conclusion (§ 15).

1. Words. The well-established Hebrew words for 'tribe' are *šēbeṭ*, שֵׁבֶט, and *maṭṭeh*, מַטֶּה (see ROD, STAFF), to which φυλή corresponds in 𝔊 and in the NT.

[1] Apparently also in Ezek. 27 24, see CHEST (2).

Maṭṭeh is characteristically post-exilic; on the possibility of exceptions in 1 K. 7 14 Mic. 6 9 see Giesebrecht, *ZATW* 1 239 *ff.*[1] *Šēbeṭ* occurs throughout the OT, from JE to Ch.; but its use in post-exilic writings may be archaic. *Šēbeṭ* also appears to bear the sense of 'clan' (a tribal division) in Nu. 4 18 Judg. 20 12 1 S. 9 21; in all these passages, however, the text may be questioned.[2] A third word, according to some, is *mišpāḥāh*, מִשְׁפָּחָה = δῆμος, συγγένεια (for probable etym. see Ges.(13)); see Josh. 7 17 Judg. 13 2 17 7 18 11. But here again critical scepticism is legitimate.[3] *Bēth āb*, בֵּית אָב = οἶκος πατριᾶς ('fathers' house'), and *éleph*, אֶלֶף = χιλιάς ('thousand'?) may also perhaps be added. For the one see Nu. 7 2 (cp 1 4), Josh. 22 14; for the other, Nu. 1 16 10 4 (cp 7 2) 35 Josh. 22 21 30 (cp *Ps.*(2) on Ps. 68 18). *Mišpāḥāh*, *bēth āb*, and *éleph*, however, are properly terms for subdivisions of the tribes. Using them for 'tribe' would seem to be in a certain qualified sense a relic of the old nomadic times before the groups of clans could become consolidated into the later tribes. *Mišpāḥāh* and *bēth āb* might apparently be used synonymously (see Ex. 6 14 Nu. 3 24); more properly, however, the משפחה (the Gk. φράτρα or φρατρία, or, to use the word somewhat vaguely, 'clan'; EV 'family') was made up of *beth ābōth* 'fathers' houses' (so EV) or 'families.' *Éleph* (EV generally 'thousand'; Nu. 1 16 RVmg. 'families') is perhaps = *mišpāḥāh*; cp Judg. 6 15, 'my thousand (אַלְפִּי, EV 'my family'; Moore, 'my sept') is the poorest in Manasseh,' meaning the clan of the Abiezrites; also 1 S. 10 19, 'by your tribes and by your thousands,' but *v.* 21, 'the tribe of Benjamin by its clans' (למשפחתיו). According to the prevalent view, the assumption is that the normal number of the אֶלֶף is 1000; nevertheless Buhl (Ges.(13)) is probably right in supposing that the true meaning of the root of *éleph* is 'to bind together' (cp Ass. *ulāpu*, 'band'). Naturally the members of the אלף or 'union' (?) fought together under a שַׂר or 'captain' (1 S. 17 18 18 13 2 S. 18 1, which passage, to be sure, presupposes the meaning 'thousand' for אֶלֶף). Lastly, many scholars would add חַי, 'kinsfolk' (=Ar. *ḥayyun*, 'a group of families united by vital ties' in 1 S. 18 18, if not also in Gen. 3 20 (see ADAM AND EVE, § 3), and 1 S. 25 6 (so H. P. Smith). It is remarkable that this view should have become an unquestioned tradition among critics,[4] for it seems to imply a confidence in the received text which, in the present state of textual inquiry, must be called excessive.

2. Clans. Before we consider the question of the 'twelve tribes' we must endeavour to do justice to the arrangement by clans, which represents the form of social system natural to Semitic nomads. The 'tribe' was no doubt composed of 'clans,' but there was a stage of development in which there were 'clans,' but not in the fuller sense of the word 'tribes.' What, then, was a 'clan' (משפחה)? It was an association of 'brothers' (Gen. 24 27 29 15 1 S. 20 29)—*i.e.*, of kinsmen, or more strictly of kinsmen on the father's side. This appears from Judg. 9 1, where Abimelech speaks to 'the whole clan' of the family of his mother, from which his own clan was distinct.[5] That the kinship was largely based on what seems (but wrongly seems) to Westerns fiction, and not on literal descent from the same father, need only be remarked in passing. The 'clan' might form the whole (or nearly the whole) body of citizens. Hence place-names and clan-names are often identical; hence, too, such a phrase became possible in an early legend as 'Ophrah of the Abiezrites' (Judg. 6 24).[6] Of course, however, it was also possible that more than one clan might dwell in the same city, as in the case of the Shechem of Gideon's son Abimelech. The special characteristics of clansmen are summed up in the often misunderstood phrase גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, which is really a technical term, and not to be rendered literally.[1] When in 2 K. 15 20, Menahem, king of Israel, is said to have exacted the money for the tribute of all who were גִּבּוֹרֵי חַיִל, the persons who are meant are not merely mighty warriors, nor merely 'mighty men of wealth' (EV), but those who were at once holders of property and subject to the obligation of military service. For in Israel, as elsewhere, those who did not belong to the propertied class were excluded from the ranks of the warriors (cp ARMY, § 4 *f.*). It is equally true that the propertied class, which formed the *mišpāḥāh* or clan, and consequently also the *šēbeṭ* or 'tribe,' alone had political rights. Represented by their heads—the so-called זְקֵנִים 'ancients,' חֹרִים 'freemen' or 'nobles,' and שָׂרִים 'princes'[2]—they must, in the pre-regal period, have monopolised the supreme power, both in peace and in war. Under kingly government, however, the political authority of the collections of territorial 'clans,' denominated 'tribes,' naturally faded away more and more. Nothing is said about 'tribes' in 2 Kings, and none of the statistical passages in Ezra and Neh., with two exceptions, mention a tribal connection. The exceptions are Neh. 11 3-24 and 11 25-36, both certainly late passages, though with an artificial antique tinge. It should, however, be added that the lists in the Books of Ch. and Ezra-Neh. produce the impression, that when these books were compiled the tie of the clan had by no means disappeared. This is surely natural, for this tie had the sanction, not merely of antiquity, but of religion. Two proofs of this are preserved, viz. (1) the notice of the yearly sacrifice of David's *mišpāḥāh* (1 S. 20 6 29), and (2) the direction in the law of the Passover in J (Ex. 12 21; see Baentsch, *ad loc.*) that the paschal lamb was to be provided by each *mišpāḥāh* (קחו צאן למשפחתיכם), which contrasts with the legal direction given in a secondary stratum of P (Ex. 12 3) that every 'father's house' (בית אב) should provide a lamb for itself.

3. Tribes. The designation 'tribe' belongs specifically to the Israelites, and means, in its fullest sense, an association of clans and families, living near together, and conscious of a closer mutual affinity than that which united them to 'Israel' as a whole. If we are not misled through relying too implicitly on the traditional text, we nowhere find the term שבטים, 'tribes,' applied to any of the peoples with which Israel was most closely connected.

The Edomites ('sons of Esau') are said in Gen. 36 15-19 40-43 (cp the *'allūphīm* of the Horites in *vv.* 29 *f.*) to have had אלופים (*'allūphīm*), a term which presupposes the existence of אלפים (*'ălāphīm*)—*i.e.*, following Buhl, 'unions.' Evidently, in some sense of the word, 'tribes' are meant. The Ishmaelites, too, are said in Gen. 25 16 to be divided into אֻמּוֹת—*i.e.*, 'populations'; and in Nu. 25 15 Ṣūr (צור) is said to have been 'head of a people (אֻמּוֹת; read אֻמָּה?), of a father's house in Midian.'[3] Strangely enough, in Is. 19 13 we hear of persons who are called 'the cornerstone' of Egypt's 'tribes.' Duhm wilfully makes these 'tribes' into 'nomes'; not less wilfully his predecessors explain 'castes' (Herod. 2 164). Now, however (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), it is almost beyond the possibility of question that the Miṣrites of N. Arabia are referred to, so that here, at least, in a late literary production we have the word *šēbeṭ* applied to a neighbouring non-Israelite people. But, as a rule, it is only Israel that has *šĕbāṭīm.*.

Though both *šēbeṭ* and *maṭṭeh* might conceivably have been used by early writers in speaking of the primitive stage of Israel's social development, the probability is that both terms arose after the Israelites had begun to acquire territory by conquest. We may

1 On Driver's view see below, § 3.

2 In Nu. MT has אֶת־שֵׁבֶט מִשְׁפְּחֹת, and in 1 S. מִשְׁפְּחוֹת שִׁבְטֵי. Probably, however, both שֵׁבֶט and שִׁבְטֵי come from משפחת, which seems to have been dittographed. In Judg. שבטי should probably be שֵׁבֶט (see Moore, *ad loc.*).

3 In Josh. מש׳ should obviously be שבט (see *v.* 16); after יהודה read למשפחתיו (𝔊 κατὰ δήμους). So Steuernagel (alt.). It is a mere slip of the scribe. In Judg., however, there is deep-seated corruption (see *Crit. Bib.*).

4 It is or has been held by Ewald, Böttcher, Thenius, Wellh., Robertson Smith, Driver, Kittel, Löhr, Budde, Siegfr.-Stade, and BDB. משפחת אבי is commonly omitted as a (correct) gloss. See, however, a different explanation in *Crit. Bib.*

5 In Judg. 9 3 18, however, there are indications of another view of kinship. For here 'brother' = son of the same mother. Cp KINSHIP, § 6.

6 From Judg. 6 24, compared with 8 2, we gather that Gideon's clan could muster 300 able fighting men.

1 See E. Meyer, *GA* 1 449; *Entst.* 152 *f.* (cp 109 *f.*).

2 On Judg. 8 14, where the שָׂרִים are apparently distinguished from the זְקֵנִים, see Moore's commentary.

3 Stade, however, would read אֲלָפִים for אַלּוּפִים, which is probably right. Similarly in Ex. 15 15 אַלְפֵי may be read for אלופי.

therefore concede to Driver[1] that though *maṭṭeh* may be in OT usage only post-exilic, it was scarcely invented by P, and that, like *šēbeṭ*, when used in a metaphorical sense, it is at any rate suggestive of high antiquity. 'Archaic,' however, which is Driver's word, seems to claim too much.[2] At the time that we here suppose the metaphorical use of *šēbeṭ* (and of *maṭṭeh*?) to have arisen the creative tendency of language was still strong. As to the precise date when the usage was initiated, who can venture to dogmatise? We can only say that it must have been a fairly ancient, though not archaic period. When the Blessing of Jacob was written in its original form, the usage must have been already in existence, not because Gen. 49 16 speaks of Dan as 'judging his people, like any of the tribes of Israel' (for the text of *v.* 16*b* is questionable),[3] but because the contents of the series of blessings require this view. The union of clans must, at this time, have been closer than in the nomadic age, owing to the pressure of new conditions arising out of changed circumstances. And even though it cannot be historical that the first king was chosen by lot (1 S. 10 20 *f.*)—first Benjamin being selected from the other 'tribes,' then Saul's 'clan' and then Saul himself—we can believe that there was in that hero's time not only a 'clan' of Matri, but also at least the beginnings of a 'tribe' of Benjamin (cp SAUL, § 1 *g*).

It is probable that the tribal association was strengthened by the sanctions of religion. The names of some at least of the Israelitish tribes can be more or less plausibly explained as borrowed divine names[4] (see ASHER, DAN, GAD, MANASSEH, REUBEN), and though it would be natural that some specially famous sanctuary should draw pilgrims not only from the tribe on whose territory it stood, but also from other tribes, yet we may presume that every tribe had some sanctuary of its own in which, besides Yahwè, some tribal god or divine hero was implored to give his blessing to the tribe.[5]

If we ask how many 'tribes of Israel' historically existed together, the answer must be that, apart from a

4. Number and origin.

hieratic and literary convention which only in quite a late period can be shown to have become a popular belief, the number must, from the nature of the case, have been variable. A clan may (1), through the adhesion of other clans and through favouring fortune, become so large as to be called a 'tribe,' or (2), through acquisition of fresh territory may be inevitably impelled to bifurcation; again, a tribe may (3), through persistent ill-fortune, sink so low that its constituent clans, or those of them which survive, may seek protection in a fresh tribal attachment. In a word, there is no sharp division between clans and tribes.[6] An example of the first of these cases may be found in the growth of the tribe of Judah (see CALEB, § 2 *f.*; JUDAH, § 5); of the second, as some think, in the division of Joseph into Ephraim and Manasseh; of the third, in the attachment of Simeonite clans to the tribe of Judah (see SIMEON). The gradual disappearance of Reuben and the destruction of a tribe or clan called DINAH (*q.v.*, but cp § 12, below), and of Simeon and Levi, regarded as territorial tribes, should also be mentioned here, though with regard to Levi it has to be once more pointed out that the city of ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*) in the Negeb, with which in the

[1] *JPhil.* 11 214 (in the course of an answer to Giesebrecht, *ZATW* 1 242).

[2] B. Luther's phrase (*ZATW* 21 14), 'dass der Begriff kein hohes Alter hat,' may be accepted in so far as it rejects the idea that the term *šēbeṭ*, 'tribe,' is archaic.'

[3] See *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*

[4] K. Kohler (*Der Segen Jacob's*, 1867) presses the theory that a tribal name may indicate the god anciently worshipped by the tribe to an impossible extent.

[5] Dt. 33 19 is often supposed to refer to a mountain-sanctuary, common to the tribes of Zebulun and Issachar. Mt. Tabor has been thought of. See, however, *Crit. Bib.*

[6] Cp Grüneisen, *Ahnencultus* (1900), p. 242.

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earlier form of the tradition Moses is most probably connected (see MOSES, § 4), appears to be referred to, in the appendix to the Book of Judges, as the headquarters of the Levites.[1]

The convention referred to, however, definitely represents the tribes of Israel as twelve in number. There

5. Number twelve.

is a similar convention with regard to the clans or tribes whose origin was traced to Nahor (Gen. 22 20-24), to Ishmael (Gen. 17 20 25 13-16), and to Esau (Gen. 36 15-19 40-43) respectively.[2] Its artificiality is obvious. Never can the 'twelve tribes' of Israel have been all in existence together. When, *e.g.*, Benjamin came into prominence as an independent tribe, Simeon and Levi presumably had long suffered the fate poetically prognosticated in Gen. 49 7. What, then, was the origin of the numeration? More than probably it had a mythological character. Diodorus Siculus (2 30), in his account of the Babylonian astronomy, after speaking of the thirty-six star-gods, tells us that the κύριοι of the gods are twelve in number, to each of whom are allotted a month and one of the signs of the zodiac. In mythological style the twelve months and the twelve signs of the zodiac could be called 'sons of the moon.' It is probable that, either directly or indirectly (through some other people), a faint echo of this had reached the primitive Israelites. The most plausible view is that the priests at the chief sanctuaries of the people, from whom Israel derived a pale reflection of a mythology, knew of a myth of the moon-god who had twelve sons (the months, or the signs of the zodiac);[3] and it is further probable that they connected the ancestor of their race with the moon-god, and the constituent tribes of their people with the moon-god's sons. To what people Israel was indebted for its semi-mythic tales, is matter for investigation.

Elsewhere, however (see PARADISE, SODOM), we have seen that other semi-mythic stories of the Israelites were most probably borrowed from the N. Arabian people of Jerahmeel, and it is reasonable to suppose that the semi-mythic figure of Jacob (יעקב), the ancestor of the Israelites, is a reflection of the mythic ancestor of the Jerahmeelites, who was presumably called Jarḥam (from ירח, 'moon,' perhaps with the Arabic mimation). Cp col. 2363, n. 2. Jacob's wife Rebekah (רבקה, 'Ribhkah') may also owe her name to popular corruption of 'Jarḥam,' just as Isaac's wife Rachel owes hers to popular distortion of 'Jeraḥme'el.' See REBEKAH, § 2.[4]

Gunkel, with his wonted penetration, remarks, 'There must be a line leading from the twelve Babylonian zodiac-gods to the twelve tribes of Israel; but of what nature and how long the line is, cannot at present be said' (*Gen.*(2), 293). It is much to see a problem, even if its solution be hidden. But the evidence already adduced makes it difficult to doubt that the earliest conveyors of Babylonian myths to the Israelites were the N. Arabian Jerahmeelites.

Another view has been put forward by B. Luther,[5] and though this scholar does not deny that the number

6. Solomon's twelve departments.

of the months may lie at the root of the numeration of the tribes, his theory may perhaps be welcome to those who would sooner admit the post-Solomonic origin of the 'twelve tribes' than grant the possibility of mythological influences on biblical representations. It is well-known that, according to the received text of 1 K. 4 7 *ff.*, Solomon divided the land of Israel into

[1] No harder section than Judg. 17 *f.* can be found among the early narratives. Methodical correction is the only remedy for the otherwise insuperable difficulties of the text. Cp MICAH, 2, and *Crit. Bib.* Grüneisen's view (*op. cit.*, 241) that ממשפחת יהודה (EV, 'of the family of Judah') describes the Levite as one who sojourned for his livelihood in the tribe of Judah, is certainly wrong. Budde, at any rate, gives effect to a right impression when he substitutes as the original text ממשפחת משה 'of the clan of Moses.' For the Levites who dwelt at Zarephath were the clan of Moses. See MOSES, § 17.

[2] Cp Ewald, *Hist.* 1 369, GENEALOGIES, § 5, n. 2.

[3] For Winckler's form of the lunar theory, see his *Geschichte Israels*, 2 57. The credit of originality as well as learning is due to him.

[4] That ירחם is a shorter form of ירחמאל is indisputable. See JEROHAM.

[5] *ZATW*, 21 34 [1901].

twelve departments, each of which had to supply provision to the king and his house for a month in the year. Now B. Luther is of opinion that the Solomonic division of the land into departments was at least a principal cause of the later theory of twelve tribes. Solomon, it is held, found a division into tribal provinces (not as yet twelve) already in existence, and adopted it so far as it was geographically suitable for his purposes. It was natural that a later generation should follow the precedent set by this king, and reckon twelve tribal provinces. The reason why Solomon fixed upon the number twelve was its supposed sacred character. (Cp NUMBER, § 7, and note that in the Amarna letters [81, 8] we find the expression, not to be taken literally, 'twelve of my men').

This view derives its plausibility from the mention of the months—'each man had to provide victuals for a month in the year' (1 K. 47). But is this notice critically acceptable?

Kittel indeed says that the providing spoken of (cp 4 22-28 [5 2-8]) is equivalent to the collection of taxes.[1] But this is by no means natural. 'To provide victuals for the court month by month' is not the same as 'to enable Solomon to do whatsoever his soul desired.' Stade accordingly[2] criticises the whole statement in 1 K. 47. He thinks that there were not twelve but thirteen 'prefects' (נִצָּבִים), and that the reference to Solomon's magnificent scale of living is due to the editor who inserted the old list of prefects in the main body of chaps. 3-11, and whose object was to enhance the glory of the king. This object he effected, but in doing so he correspondingly diminished the importance of the prefects, who became commissariat officers. It is now possible, however, to go beyond this, and to say that, text-critically, the statement in 1 K. 47*b* may be regarded as absolutely wrong,[3] and that the whole of it has most probably arisen (thanks to an ingenious editor) out of a gloss on the incorrect word ישראל (Israel). The region over which the נצבים presided was, not the land of Israel, but the land of Jerahmeel or Ishmael, *i.e.*, the Negeb (see SOLOMON, § 6).

The number of the prefects may coincide with the number conventionally given to the tribes, but either the coincidence is accidental (twelve, as we have seen, was a sacred number), or the number of the prefects was suggested by that of the tribes, not *vice versa*.

We must, therefore, still hold that the traditional number of the tribes is due to a hieratic theory respecting the ancestor of the Israelites and his sons.

7. Another early theory.

To this it may perhaps be objected that, as statistics show, Israel is 'the older and the original designation of the tribes united by Moses,'[4] and that the OT prose-writers of all ages use 'Israel' and, less frequently, the phrase 'b'nē Israel,' as the name of the people. If this may be taken to imply that Israel, not Jacob, was originally regarded as the name of the ancestor of the Israelites, must we not question the originality of the representation of the tribes as descended from sons of Jacob? This criticism may plausibly be supported by the remark that 'Jacob' as a designation of the whole people is nowhere found in prose-writings, and that the phrase 'b'ne Ja'akob' occurs only twice in prose literature, viz. —in 1 K. 1831 and 2 K. 1734, both which passages are to be assigned to redactors. The right answer perhaps is, not that 'Israel' was preferred to 'Jacob,' as the higher or religious name, but that according to the original view 'Israel' and 'Judah' were both sons of Jacob[5]—*i.e.*, of Jarḥam or Jeraḥmeel. For the earliest accounts of the historical relation between Israel and Judah exclude the idea that Judah was even theoretically regarded as a part of Israel; 'Israel and Judah,' as B. Luther remarks, 'are opposed as two equal powers.' If this relation were to be expressed in genealogical style, it would, in accordance with analogy, be stated that 'Israel' and 'Judah' were brothers, and precisely such a genealogical description Luther finds unmistakably implied in the fierce words of the 'man (*i.e.*, men; איש collective) of Israel' to the 'man (men) of Judah' in 2 S. 1943 [44]. 'I have ten parts in the king, and moreover I am the firstborn (בכור, as 𝔊) rather than thou.'[1] It was not till long after the breaking up of Solomon's kingdom that Judah became a 'son,' *i.e.*, a dependent, of Israel. The genealogy which represents Judah as a son of Jacob can, it would seem, have arisen only at a time when Judah, not less than any one of the 'ten tribes,' owned the supremacy of the central Israelite power, and, one must of course add, when the identification of Jacob and Israel had been effected by those who recast and refashioned the old tradition. Luther, therefore, holds (p. 33) that 'the genealogy of J, if not his own work, can at any rate not be much older than the time of Ahab, when Judah became the vassal of Israel.'

To accept this, however, as the approximate date of the representation of the tribes as twelve sons of Jacob, simply because in the forms in which it has reached us Judah always appears, is somewhat hasty. It is possible that there were reckonings, now lost, of the twelve sons of Israel in which Judah was not included. As a matter of fact the number of the tribes whose origin is accounted for genealogically by JE is not twelve, but thirteen, so that if we take away 'Judah,' the number left will be twelve. The reckoning which underlies JE is as follows,—

(*a*) The Leah-tribes (Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah)	4
(*b*) The Bilhah-tribes (Dan, Naphtali)	2
(*c*) The Zilpah-tribes (Gad, Asher)	2
(*d*) The Leah-tribes (Issachar, Zebulun)	2
(*e*) The Rachel-tribes (Manasseh, Ephraim)	2
(*f*) A Rachel-tribe (Benjamin)	1
	13

It is true, there is evident trace (in J) of an earlier arrangement, which included Dinah and excluded Benjamin. This, however, does not affect our present argument, which is that if we are counting tribes, we cannot speak of Joseph, but only of Manasseh and Ephraim. That there ever existed a tribe which included the later (?) Ephraim and Manasseh, and passed under the name of Joseph, cannot be shown with any certainty; we cannot appeal to Nu. 1311 because the text there is evidently in disorder (see JOSEPH [TRIBE], § 1, n. 1). Winckler's conclusion may here be mentioned without of course committing him to more than he has said. 'That Joseph is not a tribal name, but a genealogical form [creation] is proved by the circumstance that his domain [Shechem] is in possession of the tribe of Ephraim, who therefore has to be Joseph's son' (*GI*, 268). Mr. Hogg, on the other hand, thinks that not improbably 'Joseph and Ephraim are simply two names, older and younger, tribal and geographical, for the same thing' (JOSEPH, § 2).

We may here refer to the possibility of other reckonings of the tribes—ten, eleven, and thirteen. (*a*) Ten sons of Israel may perhaps be referred to in 2 S. 1943 (see above).

8. Other reckonings.

(*b*) Eleven sons seem to be implied by 1 K. 1131 *f.*,[2] where Ahijah the Shilonite bids Jeroboam take only ten of the rent pieces of his garment, symbolising ten tribes, because one tribe was to be left for Rehoboam. Kittel indeed alters 'ten' into 'eleven' (cp *v.* 30), whilst 𝔊 as arbitrarily reads 'two tribes' for 'one tribe' in *v.* 32.

[1] *Kőnige* (*HK*), 32; cp *Gesch.* 2 161 (*Hist.* 2 186).

[2] *GVI*, 1 305. Ewald and E. Meyer also adopt the number thirteen. Cp, however, Benzinger and Kittel *ad loc.*

[3] The section 5 2-8 [EV 4 22-28] also calls for the application of a keener textual criticism. See SOLOMON, § 6, n. 1, and *Crit. Bib.*

[4] Staerk, *Studien zur Religions- und Sprachgeschichte des AT*, 270.

[5] B. Luther, *op. cit.* 32, of course without any reference to Jerahmeel.

[1] Budde, however (*Sam. KHC*, 295), thinks it safer to explain thus; 'the North is conscious of its unity, and therefore feels itself not a row of brothers but one brother, under the name Israel, as opposed to Judah.' On the reading בכור see Driver, *TBS*, *ad loc.*

[2] On the geography of the statement in its original form, see SHILOH, 2. It may be added that in Dt. 336-25 the number of the tribes is left doubtful. *V.* 13 opens with the words, 'And of Joseph he said;' this implies that there are eleven tribes. But *v.* 17*b* introduces a reference to Ephraim and Manasseh.

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Since, however, we must take some liberty with the text, is it not least hazardous to read 'eleven' for 'twelve' in *v.* 30, and to suppose either that, as in Dt. 33, Simeon is omitted, as having early disappeared, or that Levi is omitted as not being a territorial tribe?[1] (*c*) The adoption of Ephraim and Manasseh by Israel (Gen. 48 13 *ff.*, E) makes the number of Jacob's sons thirteen (see above). Similarly the sons of Joktan (Gen. 10 26-29) and Keturah[2] (Gen. 25 1-4) appear to be reckoned as thirteen. T. K. C.

[As to the different biblical arrangements of the tribes, it is strange but true that there are more than twenty. In the following section, these twenty are tabulated, and a brief indication will be given of the relative influence of the different principles that govern them. The earlier and more interesting extra-biblical lists are included in the examination. For a fuller treatment see G. B. Gray, 'The Lists of the Twelve Tribes,' *Exp.*, March 1902, pp. 225-240. It will, it is hoped, become abundantly clear that in spite of the great variety of arrangement there is always some controlling principle.]

The twelve tribes, or 'sons' of Jacob, are mentioned by name together some twenty-five times in OT and NT; and except in Nu. 2 7 10 14-29 the arrangement of the names is always different. In all there are upwards of twenty different arrangements. Early extra-biblical literature, such as the Book of Jubilees and the writings of Philo, repeat some of the biblical arrangements, but also contain fresh variations.

9. Lists: geographical orders.

In Charles's *Book of Jubilees* (1902), pp. 170 *ff.*, the text of the dates given for the birth of the several children is discussed. In the present text of Jubilees, the birth of Dan is placed in an earlier year than the birth of Judah; but this must be due to textual corruption, for it is out of accord not only with the order in which the tribes are mentioned, but also with the express statement of 21 17 *f.* There are several similar errors in the text of Jubilees and later works dependent on it.

In a few cases where the tribes are mentioned in connection with the conquest or distribution of the country, geographical considerations have overridden all others; and in two other instances (Jos. 13 15 *f.*, 1 Ch. 4-6) these considerations constitute the main principle of arrangement. These lists are not included in the following table and may be briefly discussed at once. The most perfect geographical arrangement is found in Jos. 21 4-7 (cp 1 Ch. 6 54 *ff.*): here the tribes are mentioned in four groups, the southern first, then the midland, then the northern and then the eastern. In Nu. 34 18 *ff.* Judg. 1 and Jos. *Ant.* v. 1 22 only the western tribes are included; the order of mention is from S. to N., but in Judg. and Jos. Dan is mentioned last, either in consequence of its subsequent position in the extreme N., or as being descended from a handmaid. In Jos. 13 15 *f.* the eastern tribes Reuben and Gad are treated apart (13), but in the discussion of the western tribes (15 *f.*) a strict geographical order is not followed; considerations of the importance of the tribes appear to have modified the tendency of the arranger to follow a S. to N. order. In 1 Ch. 4-8 the southern tribes Judah and Simeon come first, then the three eastern tribes and the rest in an order governed by no obvious principle. The one common feature of these arrangements is the marked tendency to survey the tribes from S. to N.; of the contrary tendency there is nowhere the slightest trace.

The main considerations that have governed the order of the remaining and far more numerous lists of the tribes are obviously the traditional order of births and the several 'mothers' or 'wives' of Jacob from whom the tribes traced their descent. On this account these lists are here tabulated by means of symbols that will show at a glance the extent to which these principles have exerted their influence; so far it will speak for itself. It will only remain to consider how far and with what results the two principles conflict with one another and what other influences over the arrangements can be detected.

10. Other orders.

The two wives of Jacob, Leah and Rachel, are indicated by L and R respectively; Leah's handmaid, Zilpah, by l, Rachel's handmaid, Bilhah, by r. The order of birth from the same mother is indicated by index figures, and the grandsons of Rachel by Joseph, who also fall to be considered, by an additional index letter, thus:—

L^1 = Reuben.	R^1 = Joseph.
L^{1a} = Henoch (eldest son of Reuben.	R^{1a} = Manasseh.
	R^{1b} = Ephraim.
L^2 = Simeon.	R^2 = Benjamin.
L^3 = Levi.	r^1 = Dan.
L^4 = Judah.	r^2 = Naphtali.
L^5 = Issachar.	l^1 = Gad.
L^6 = Zebulun.	l^2 = Asher.

The sources whence the lists are derived are indicated to the right hand, the references are given at the foot of the list.

1.	$L^{1234}\ r^{12}\ l^{12}\ L^{56}\ R^{12}$	JE.
2.	$L^{123465}\ r^{1}\ l^{12}\ r^{2}\ R^{12}$	Early Poem.
3.	$L^{143}\ R^{21ba}\ L^{65}\ l^{1}\ r^{12}\ l^{1}$	Early Poem.
4.	$L^{123456}\ R^{12}\ r^{12}\ l^{12}$	P.
5.	$L^{123456}\ R^{2}\ r^{12}\ l^{12}$	P.
6.	$L^{123456}\ l^{12}\ R^{12}\ r^{12}$	P.
7.	$L^{12456}\ R^{1ba2}\ r^{1}\ l^{21}\ r^{2}$	P.
8.	$L^{1245}\ R^{1b2}\ L^{6}\ R^{1a}\ r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}\ l^{1}$	P.
9.	$L^{12}\ l^{1}\ L^{456}\ R^{1ba2}\ r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}$	P.
10.	$L^{12}\ l^{1}\ L^{456}\ R^{1ab2}\ r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}$	P.
11.	$L^{123456}\ r^{1}\ R^{12}\ r^{2}\ l^{12}$	Ch.
12.	$L^{123456}\ r^{2}\ R^{1ba2}\ r^{1}$	Ch.
13.	$L^{41}\ l^{12}\ r^{2}\ R^{1a}\ L^{2356}\ R^{12}$	Rev.
14.	$L^{12456}\ R^{1ba2}\ l^{1}\ r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}$	𝔊.
15.	$L^{123456}\ r^{12}\ l^{12}\ R^{12}$	Jubilees.
16.	$L^{123456}\ r^{1}\ l^{12}\ r^{2}\ R^{2}$	Philo.
17.	$L^{2345}\ R^{12}\ \vert\ L^{1}\ l^{12}\ L^{6}\ r^{12}$	D.
18.	$r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}\ R^{1ab}\ L^{14}\ \vert\ R^{2}\ L^{256}\ l^{1}$	Ezek.
19.	$L^{456}\ \vert\ L^{13}\ l^{1}\ \vert\ R^{1ba2}\ \vert\ r^{1}\ l^{2}\ r^{2}$	P.
20.	$L^{4}\ r^{2}\ l^{1}\ \vert\ L^{3}\ r^{1}\ L^{2}\ \vert\ L^{156}\ \vert\ L^{2}\ R^{2}\ L^{1a}$	Jubilees.

1. Gen. 29 31 *f.*-30 24 35 16 *ff.*; Jubilees 28 11-24 32 33.
2. Gen. 49.
3. Dt. 33.
4. Gen. 35 23-26; Jos. *Ant.* ii. 7 4; Jubilees 28 22.
5. Ex. 1 1-5.
6. Gen. 46 9 *ff.*; Jubilees 44 13 *ff.*; cp Nu. 26 𝔊.
7. Nu. 1 5-15.
8. Nu. 13 4-15.
9. Nu. 1 20-43.
10. Nu. 26.
11. 1 Ch. 2 1 *ff.*
12. 1 Ch. 27 16 *ff.*
13. Rev. 7 5 *ff.*
14. Nu. 1 20-43 𝔊.
15. Jubilees 34 20; *Test. xii. Patr.*
16. Philo, *Dreams*, 2 5; *Alleg.* 1 26.
17. Dt. 27 12-14.
18. Ezek. 48 1-7 23-29.
19. Nu. 2 7 10 14-29.
20. Jubilees 8 5 *ff.*

The last four lists (17-20) are somewhat different in character from the first sixteen; for in them the tribes are distributed for various purposes into two or more groups, which are marked above by the perpendicular line.

The two principles that have obviously influenced the various arrangements conflict with one another; for the sons of the handmaids, in virtue of seniority, come between the first four and the last two of Leah's children. Since the simple order of birth is never adopted except in the story of the births, the tendency to group the tribes according to their respective mothers was clearly stronger than the tendency to group according to age.

Further, the least departure from the order of birth, required in order to maintain the maternal groups intact, would be to place the children of the handmaids immediately after Leah's six children. This, however (except in the later lists—NT, Philo, Jubilees), is a comparatively infrequent arrangement; far more frequently the children of the full wife Rachel, though younger, precede the children of the handmaids. An obvious cross principle is adopted but once (no. 6; see also Nu. 26 𝔊).

The tendency to keep the children of the two full wives in two distinct groups is far stronger than that to keep the children of the two handmaids distinct; indeed, a tendency to keep the children of the two handmaids in two distinct groups can hardly be said to exist. The handmaid tribes are to be regarded as constituting a single class in which considerable freedom of arrangement prevailed.

It will only be possible to refer briefly to some of the

[1] Cp GENEALOGIES, § 5 (on the reason for the enumeration of the priestly tribe of Levi).
[2] The 'sons of Dedan' in *v.* 3 are interpolated.

chief apparent or real violations of the principles just indicated.

In some lists Judah, though the fourth son of Leah, stands first (13, 19, 20; cp Nu. 34 19 Josh. 21 4 and other geographical lists). The reason, it can scarcely be questioned, is the pre-eminence of the tribe.

In the camp order (19), Judah is given the superior eastern position; otherwise, the four groups are constituted and arranged in such an order as to do *least* violence to the principle that sons of the same mother should be kept together and in the order of their birth. Since Levi is necessarily omitted from the scheme, Leah's sons fail to make two complete groups of three, the second group is completed by Gad, the eldest son of Leah's handmaid. Lists 9, 10 seem to be so far influenced by this list that Gad follows Simeon. On the other hand, the separation of Dan from the other handmaid tribes in 11 and 12 is not easy of explanation.

In lists 2 and 3 Zebulun, exceptionally, precedes Issachar. As both these lists occur in poems of earlier origin than JE, it is possible that the arrangement represents an earlier theory of the relative ages of the two tribes, according to which all the sons of Leah were older than any of the sons of other mothers, Zebulun was older than Issachar, and the relative ages of the handmaid tribes were not the same as in the later scheme.

Benjamin precedes Joseph (R^{21}) in only one (no. 3) of the twenty lists; in another (no. 8) it stands between Ephraim and Manasseh (R^{1b21a}). Both these arrangements are extremely anomalous, and each occurs in a list that contains other anomalies. In the case of no. 8 the anomalies are almost certainly due to an accidental transposition in the text. If in Nu. 13 *vv.* 11 *f.* be placed before *vv.* 8 *f.*, *three* anomalies are at once removed and an entirely normal list restored (L^{12456} R^{1ab2} r^1 l^2 r^2 l^1). In Dt. 33, unless the text has suffered very serious dislocation, the order was originally altogether anomalous.

In no. 13 also, a simple transposition, by which *vv.* 5*c* 6 should be made to follow *v.* 8 in Rev. 7, would restore a far more normal list (L^{412356} R^{12} l^{12} r^2 R^{1a}) where R^{1a} (Manasseh) is an intentional or accidental substitute for Dan (r^2).

In 17 and 18, and to a much slighter extent in 20, the tendency to maintain the traditional groups still exerts itself, but is checked by other considerations. The second group in 17 consists of the tribes whose duty it was to curse; the tribes selected for this purpose are, not unnaturally, the less eminent handmaid tribes and the youngest son of Leah; why Leah's eldest son completes the group is not clear, unless the curse pronounced on him in Gen. 49 has influenced the selection. In Ezek. a similar slightness of regard for the handmaid tribes has given them positions most remote from the holy district.

G. B. G.

11. Current theories: Wellhausen.

The problems which have just been stated and illustrated, differ in their degree of importance, and the most interesting of them advance but slowly towards a satisfactory solution. More particularly, opinions are divided relative to the inner meaning of the first list of the tribes (that of JE), and of the traditions which are connected with it. Ewald long ago expressed the conviction[1] that, rightly understood, such a list must convey important information relative to the 'pre-Egyptian period of Israel's history,' and we may, at any rate, agree with him that, even allowing for the extreme uncertainty of tradition with regard to details, and for the probability of the intermixture of elements derived from the circumstances of later ages, something of value may be obtainable by the historical critic from the genealogical narrative of JE. Wellhausen and Stade deserve special gratitude for the acuteness with which they have studied both this and the other traditional narratives relative to the origin of the tribes. According to Wellhausen,[2] with whom Guthe (*GVI*, 1899, p. 41) and probably Bennett (Hastings' *DB*, *s.v.* 'Tribes') and Paton (*Syria and Palestine*, 1902, pp. 124, 138, etc.) agree, the original Israelitish tribes were seven in number, six of which belong to the group represented by Jacob's wife Leah, and one to that represented by his other wife Rachel. It was the latter tribe—viz., Joseph, which (according to these critics) alone sojourned in Egypt (cp EXODUS, § 2). The combination of the Leah and the Rachel tribes was probably effected by Moses, who came from the Sinaitic peninsula to conduct the Hebrews thither from Goshen. The sons of the concubines (Bilhah and Zilpah)—viz., Dan, Naphtali, Gad, and Asher—are not in the same full sense sons of Jacob or Israel; these tribes were

[1] *GVI*(3) 1 519 *ff.* (*Hist.* 1 362 *ff.*).
[2] *IJG*(1), 11-13, 18; *Prol.*(4), 322-329.

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probably of very mixed origin, and joined the b'ne Israel later. On what principle the Bilhah and Zilpah groups were arranged, is not clear. Guthe thinks that these two couples of tribes had come into specially close relations with Joseph and with either Reuben or Issachar and Zebulun respectively, and that this was expressed genealogically by the statement that their mothers were the handmaids, in the one case of Rachel, in the other of Leah. For the further movements of the tribes, according to Guthe, see ISRAEL, § 7.

12. Stade.

Stade[1] is of opinion that the legend of Jacob and Joseph in its present form presupposes the division of the kingdoms. Leah, the legitimate but slighted wife, represents the kingdom of Judah, Rachel that of Israel. The assignment of a tribe to Leah or to Rachel depends on the question whether the tribe came earlier or later into the country W. of the Jordan.[2] The details of the legend cannot, for the most part, be interpreted historically. Bilhah was probably connected with Rachel for geographical reasons; but not so Zilpah with Leah. Why the insignificant Reuben is made the firstborn, is obscure. 'If the precedence given to Reuben reflects actions of this tribe, these actions must go back to the most remote antiquity.' Why, too, are Issachar and Zebulun grouped with Judah, and Gad with Asher? Here again, political circumstances may be reflected. It is only Joseph and Benjamin whose position is quite clear; they reached distinction only at a late period. Benjamin branched off from Joseph (cp 2 S. 19 21, 'I [Shimei] have come the first of all the house of Joseph') before Joseph split into Ephraim and Manasseh. Dinah is merely a genealogical creation. She represents an Israelitish minority in the population of the Canaanite city of Shechem in the pre-regal period (cp DINAH, § 1). The story of Dinah (Gen. 34) and that of Tamar (Gen. 38) are the oldest parts of the tribal legend, and indicate on what lines the occupation of Palestine really proceeded. In the formation of the tribes, not only the vicinity of Israelite clans, but the intermixture of non-Israelitish elements were important factors. As we find them in the historical period, they arose on this side of the Jordan. On the question of the sojourn in Egypt, Stade is in agreement with Wellhausen.

13. Steuernagel.

A new impulse has been given to these inquiries by Steuernagel, who has made a very thorough and critical study of the legends of the immigration of the tribes of Israel into Canaan.[3] According to him, it is the Rachel-tribes which have the first right to be called sons of Jacob. They arose through the fusion of the 'genuine Israelitish' tribe Jacob, and the Aramaic tribe Rachel. The Jacob-tribe thus lost its independent existence, and by degrees the tribal name Jacob gave way to the new name Joseph. The name Jacob itself, however, did not disappear. The facts of the origin of the Joseph-tribe led to the traditional statement that Joseph was the son of Jacob and Rachel. Steuernagel, however, also seeks to throw light on the early history of the Jacob-tribe, which was led out of Egypt by Moses, and dwelt in the eastern steppe-country to the S. of Canaan, by Sinai, where the tribe allied itself to the Horite clan Bilhan (= Bilhah), but, together with other tribes, was driven further by the Edomites, who had formed a

[1] *GVI* 1(2) 145 *f.*; 'Lea und Rahel,' *ZATW* 1 112-116; 'Wo enstanden die genealogischen Sagen über den Ursprung der Hebräer'? *ZATW* 1 347-350; 'Entstehung des Volkes Israel,' *Akad. Reden*, 97-121.

[2] *ZATW* 1 113. In *GVI* 1 147, however, Stade cautions us against looking to the genealogical legend for any disclosures as to the course of events in the immigration into Canaan. For a criticism of Stade's view on the combination of two systems, one representing them as wives of Jacob, and the other as sons, see Steuernagel, *Die Einwand.* 9 *f.*; Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, 499 *f.*

[3] *Die Einwanderung der Israelitischen Stämme in Kanaan* (1901). For criticisms of this able work see Gunkel, *Gen.*(2), 285; J. C. Matthes, 'Israels nederzetting in Kanaan,' *Th.T* 36 517 *ff.* [1902].

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kingdom to the N. or the Sinaitic peninsula (Gen. 36 31); this the legend describes as Jacob's flight from Esau. From Mesopotamia, where the fusion with 'Rachel' took place, the mixed tribe now called 'Joseph' was pushed by Aramæan tribes (under Assyrian pressure) southward. On the N. border of Gilead the Aramæans made a temporary halt, while the Jacob-Rachel tribe occupied N. Gilead. Not improbably, the boundary between them was fixed by a compact near the Yarmuk. 'If this be correct, it will follow, not only that the migration of Jacob should receive a place in general history, but also that it is to be assigned to the fourteenth century' (p. 60). The story in Gen. 32 21*b*-32 tells of the duel between Jacob and the god of the conquered N. Gileadites. 'Israel' means 'El (= Yahwè) fights,'[1] *i.e.*, for Jacob; it became a war-cry and, later on, the name of the people. The sequel is related, according to Steuernagel, in two forms—in the Jacob-story and in the Book of Joshua. Attacks of the Bedouin tribes (probably) forced the Jacob-Rachel tribe to cross the Jordan, to the S. of the point where the Yarmuk enters it. The tribe goes to Shechem, where it acquires land by payment (a reminiscence of ancient payment of tribute to the Shechemites). The narrative in Gen. 35 belongs to a later time when, as a consequence of the extension of the Rachel-tribe to the S., the Benjamin tribe made itself independent. The Jacob-Rachel tribe now disappears; in future the two tribes, Joseph and Benjamin, appear in its place. In the legendary style, this is expressed by saying that soon after the arrival at Bethel, and the founding of a sanctuary there, Benjamin was born, and Rachel died. As to the Leah-Zilpah tribes, Steuernagel's view is that they reached Canaan before the Jacob-Rachel tribe, and came into connection with that tribe in Canaan, on which account legend represented Leah as the wife who was foisted upon Jacob.

All these theories are ably defended. The least satisfactory is the third, precisely because it is the most elaborate, and aims at the fullest historical results. Almost everything in the patriarchal narratives turns out to be a typical or anticipative history of the settlement of the tribes in Canaan. Unfortunately Steuernagel, under the presence of theory, has here and there to alter the traditional statements. The tradition states that Jacob married Leah and Rachel at the same time, and afterwards Bilhah and Zilpah, and that the place was in Mesopotamia. This critic, however, alters the order of the marriages and the places, and represents that the Bilhah tribe joined Jacob in the S. of Canaan, and the Rachel tribe in Mesopotamia; Leah and Zilpah however only joined after the immigration.[2] This is one great drawback. Another is that Steuernagel treats his traditional material very undiscriminatingly, the connections between the legends being made as much use of as the legends themselves. For instance, the order of the events related in Jacob's progress through Canaan surely does not rest on early tradition; there is no real traditional authority for placing the foundation of Bethel before the death of Rachel at Ephrath. Nor does Steuernagel allow for the probability that the historical circumstances of the regal period have found a reflection in the patriarchal legend, and throughout he shows a confidence in the vitality of the earliest tradition which is not justified by the experience of historical critics elsewhere.

14. Criticism of theories.

But even Wellhausen's and Stade's theories cannot either of them be accepted without important modifications, and it remains for future investigators to use the works of the three eminent critics mentioned rather as mines of suggestions than as records of results. Two things seem to be required in order that we may take a genuine step forward. (1) We must criticise the Hebrew text more keenly and with more adequate methods, and (2) we must look out for further help from archæological research. Many perhaps will shake their heads at the first of these requirements. But without a more thorough investigation of the text we shall not be in a position to use archæological discoveries aright when we get them. Steuernagel for instance refers (113 *f.*; cp ASHER, § 1) to W. Max Müller's statement (*As. u. Eur.* 236 *ff.*) that in the inscriptions of Seti I. and Rameses II. a land of Aseru or As(s)aru is often mentioned as occupying W. Galilee. It is true, he declines to lay any great stress upon this, though, if the land of Aseru were named after the tribe of Asher, it would fit in with his view, independently obtained, that the Jacob-Rachel tribe was forced by the Aramæan migration into N. Gilead in the fourteenth century B.C. Others, however, are less cautious. Paton (*Syria and Pal.* 126) tells us that 'in an inscription of Sety we meet for the first time 'A-sa-ru (Asher), a Canaanite or Amorite tribe that subsequently was adopted into the Hebrew confederacy, and was classified as a son of Jacob by his concubine Zilpah.' Hommel too (*AHT* 228, 237) thinks that the Egyptian notices can be utilised for the history of the tribe of Asher. All this is precarious until the Hebrew texts have been more thoroughly explored. It must be admitted, indeed, that Hommel (as well as the present writer) has made a beginning in examining those OT passages which may have a bearing on the origin of the tribe of Asher; but here as elsewhere nothing short of a complete survey of the biblical texts (such as is begun in portions of the present work and will be continued and completed in *Critica Biblica*) will enable us to give a fairly satisfactory solution even of this comparatively small problem.

Very much more importance is attached by Steuernagel to the references to people called the Ḥabiri in the Tell el-Amarna letters (cp ASHER, 1, § 1; HEBER; HEBREW LANGUAGE, § 1; ISRAEL, § 3). These Ḥabiri are identified by Steuernagel with the Israelites, or at least with the Leah-tribe. This too fits in with his chronological theory; he infers from it that the Negeb was occupied by the Leah-tribe about 1400 B.C., and that the extension of this tribe over the central highlands of Ephraim took place towards 1385. Now in itself this dating of the conquest of central Canaan is plausible enough; it approximates to that given more vaguely by Winckler in 1895[1] (*GI* 1 14). It must, however, be stated that there is so much uncertainty about the names in the early Hebrew traditions, and such tricks are constantly played us by the ancient narrators who use the same name in different senses that for the present all such theories can only be put forward with great reserve.

It may be stated in conclusion that this is the reason why we have made no use in this article of the references to Israelitish tribes in the song of Deborah. Negatively, previous critics have done much for the text of this song—*i.e.*, they have pointed out many corruptions as probable. But very little of a satisfactory character has been done for the correction of the text; the old methods have once more proved their inadequacy. Here as elsewhere a fresh start in criticism must be made by the application of a broader text-critical method.

15. Conclusion.

We are also precluded from taking up any position

[1] Another explanation of 'Israel' is offered elsewhere (p. 62). But both 'El fights' and 'man of Rachel' must be incorrect. אל in names of the type ישראל does not mean 'God,' and no sound analogy can be offered for such a tribal name as איש רחל, out of which Steuernagel (as an alternative theory) doubtfully brings ישראל.

[2] On Steuernagel's view (p. 47) of the traditional representation of the Leah-Zilpah tribes, see ZILPAH, col. 5418, n. 2.

[1] For Winckler's latest statement of his view on the Ḥabiri see *AOF*(3) 90-94. Budde (*The Religion of Israel to the Exile* [1899], 6) may produce an impression that Winckler identifies the Ḥabiri with the Israelites. This, however, of course is not the case. Winckler expressly guards himself against being supposed to mean that the Ḥabiri are to be limited to 'Israelitish' tribes or clans.

as to the question, what traces (apart from any in the Jacob legend) the narrative books contain of changes in the dwelling-places of the migrating Israelitish tribes. A number of such traces are pointed out by Steuernagel. Asher, for instance, according to this critic (p. 30), may once have dwelt on what was afterwards the border-region of Ephraim and Benjamin. Issachar and Zebulun (p. 12), dwelt anciently in the central highland country (Mt. Ephraim). Dinah, Simeon, and Levi (p. 14 *f.*) were once settled near Shechem in Mt. Ephraim. (Steuernagel might plausibly have referred, in proof of Simeon's having belonged to N. Israel, to 2 Ch. 15 9; see, however, *Crit. Bib.* on Is. 9 7-10 4). Reuben (p. 15) once had his home NE. of Judah, in what was afterwards Benjamite territory. All these problems, however, assume a fresh aspect as the result of a continuous text-critical investigation of the Hebrew texts. To enter, at this point, on a piecemeal examination of selected passages would require too great an extension of this article, and the conclusions would not have the best chance of making a due impression on the reader.

The special articles in this work on the tribes, on the tribal 'mothers,' and on Jacob, should be consulted. The conclusions, sometimes tentative, may not always be in harmony, but in the present unsettled condition of the subject this could not be otherwise. The present writer is responsible for the view that the first war of Israel was for the possession of the Negeb, and that much in the OT which has been supposed to refer to districts of Canaan proper really refers to the 'Holy Land of the Israelites'—the Negeb, or N. Arabian border land. For a full critical monograph on the tribes of Israel see 'Die Israelitischen Stämme,' by B. Luther, *ZATW* 21 1-76 [1901]; cp also Bennett's article 'Tribe,' in Hastings' *DB* vol. iv.

T. K. C., §§ 1-8 11-15; G. B. G., § 9 *f.*

TRIBUNAL (κριτηριον: 1 Cor. 6 2 4 RVmg.; same word also in Jas. 2 6, EV 'judgment seat,' and in Ex. 21 6, Judg. 5 10 [not 𝔊A], Sus. 49 [Theod., not 𝔊87]; in 1 K. 7 7 for מִשְׁפָּט, *mišpāṭ* and in Dan. 7 10 26 for דִּין, *din*, ἡ κρίσις 𝔊87 in *v.* 26). Cp GOVERNMENT, § 15, LAW AND JUSTICE, § 8 *ff.*

TRIBUNES, MILITARY (χιλιαρχοι), Rev. 19 18, RVmg. See ARMY ('chiliarch'), § 10.

TRIBUTE. See TAXATION, and cp SOLOMON, § 6.

TRIPOLIS (τριπολις [VA]). It was at the haven at Tripolis (τοῦ κατὰ Τρίπολιν λιμένος) that Demetrius I., son of Seleucus, mustered the 'mighty host' and 'fleet' of which we read in 2 Macc. 14 1 *ff.* Cp MACCABEES, § 5. As its name indicates (see PHŒNICIA, § 21, col. 3759), Tripolis was divided into three quarters (separated by walls); it had been founded (not earlier probably than 700 B.C.) by Aradians, Tyrians, and Zidonians, and in Persian times Zidon, Tyre, and Aradus held a federal council in it. From 197 B.C. onwards it belonged to the Seleucidæ; but towards the end of that period it fell under usurpers or 'tyrants,' and was plagued by robber tribes from whom it was delivered by Pompey in 64 (see PHŒNICIA, § 22, col. 3763-4).

The modern Tripoli or Ṭarābulus, on the river Ḳadisha or Abu 'Ali, is situated in a fertile maritime plain covered with orchards and dominated by a castle overhanging a gorge of the river, some parts of which are, perhaps, the work of the crusaders. The port (el Mīnā) is about 2 m. distant, on a small peninsula (see PHŒNICIA, map).

TRIUMPH. Twice the Roman 'triumph' is referred to figuratively, and if the general meaning in one passage (Col. 2 15) is plain, in the other (2 Cor. 2 14) it is by no means plain. God, we are told in Col. *l.c.*, 'triumphed over' the angels opposed to Christ in the henceforth annulled bond of ordinances which had been directly hostile to men, and so had justified those angels (who had in fact promulgated those ordinances?) in their opposition. The words are—*ἀπεκδυσάμενος τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐδειγμάτισεν ἐν παρρησίᾳ, θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ*, which the RV renders, 'having put off from himself the principalities and the powers, he made a show of them openly, triumphing over them in it.' In 2 Cor. *l.c.*, however, the rendering is disputed. The words are—*τῷ δὲ Θεῷ χάρις τῷ πάντοτε θριαμβεύοντι ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τὴν ὀσμὴν τῆς γνώσεως αὐτοῦ φανεροῦντι δι' ἡμῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ*, which the RV renders, 'but thanks be unto God, which always leadeth us in triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest through us the savour of his knowledge in every place,' whilst the AV gives to *θριαμβεύοντι* the sense 'causeth (us) to triumph,' in spite of the fact that the causative sense does not appear elsewhere. But, unless we desert the paths of natural exegesis, how *can* God be said to lead Paul and his companions in triumph? Does not *δι' ἡμῶν* in the following clause prove that Paul himself is supposed to be a member of the triumphal procession? Another point has to be mentioned. J. C. M. Laurent has pointed out that *vv.* 12 *f.* do not help our comprehension of the context; according to him, they are a marginal note (by Paul himself) on the statement in 1 16. 'The subject of *ἀγνοοῦμεν* (*v.* 11) and the nominative of *ἡμᾶς* (*v.* 14) are the same man, the apostle. The verb *θριαμβεύοντι* is excellently accounted for by the *αὐτοῦ* which precedes in *v.* 11.' It is over Satan that Paul 'triumphs.' The reference to a 'sweet odour' which follows harmonises with the figure of the 'triumph.' For during a triumph, sweet spices were burnt; as Plutarch (*Æmil.*) says, the streets were *θυμιαμάτων πλήρεις*. Paul's preaching of God, or of Christ, is as penetrating, as all-pervading, as the smell of incense. It was a brave sight—that of a Roman triumph—and worthy to be chosen by such an enthusiast for Christ and his victory as Paul. 'Rome was *en fête*, the streets gay with garlands, the temples open.' The procession, it is true, presented reminders that the Christian principle was not yet supreme. The best part was the end, when 'on reaching the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, the general placed the laurel branch (in later times a palm branch) on the lap of the image of the god, and thus offered the thank-offerings' (see *EB*, art. 'Triumph').

TROAS (τρωας, Ti. WH, Acts 16 8 11 20 5 2 Cor. 2 12 *f.* 2 Tim. 4 13).

1. Name. The full name of the town was Alexandria Troas (Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Τρῳάς, Strabo, 581; Ptol. v. 2 4; Liv. 35 42. The order ἡ Τρῳὰς Ἀλεξάνδρεια is found in Polyb. 5 111). One or other part of the full form was very commonly used to designate the place (Alexandreia in Strabo, 599 *et pass.*; cp Polyb. 5 78. Troas alone in NT, and Pliny, *HN*, 5 33, *ipsaque Troas*).[1] Troas is simply an adjective, which distinguishes the 'Trojan Alexandria' from the many other towns called after the great conqueror. Apparently the simple ἡ Τρῳάς is not used by Greek writers before the NT period, as leading to ambiguity. For ἡ Τρῳάς is the correct Greek equivalent for 'the Troad'—*i.e.*, the region between Mt. Ida and the Hellespont, which was the centre of the Trojan power in Homeric tradition. The 'Troad' (as the word is adopted in English) was spoken of by the Greeks as ἡ Τρῳάς from the time at least of Herodotus (5 122). In 2 Cor. 2 12 εἰς τὴν Τρῳάδα might therefore, so far as form goes, mean 'to the Troad'; but of course the word Alexandria must be supplied to limit the phrase to the city in question—unless we are prepared here to insist that Paul really meant the Troad and did not confine his visit to the Troad Alexandria.

2. History. Alexandria Troas (mod. *Eski-Stambūl*) was an important town and harbour on the coast of Æolis (Mysia) or NW. Asia Minor, opposite the SE. extremity of the island of Tenedos; it was half-way between Sigeium and Cape Lectum (which cape was rounded by the ship in passing from Troas to Assos, Acts 20 13). Alexandria was built by Antigonus, who gathered to it the population of the neighbouring small townships—Scepsis, Cebren, Neandreia, Larisa, Kolonai, Hamaxitos, and Chrysa (Strabo, 604; cp 593 597). The town was first named Antigonia Troas, after its founder; but subsequently Lysimachus changed this to Alexandria Troas (Strabo, 593; Pliny, *HN* 5 33, 'Troas, Antigonia dicta, nunc Alexandria, colonia Romana'). The importance of the city is seen

1 Many varieties are found—ἡ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλις in Polyb. 21 10 *f.* In an inscription at Delphi (Ditten. *Syll.*(2), 268 = Michel, *Recueil*, 655) we have Τρὼς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξανδρείας followed almost immediately by Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἐκ τᾶς Τρῳάδος. In Strabo, 134, we find Ἀλεξάνδρεια τῆς Τρῳάδος, just as in Paus. x. 12 4 we have Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Τρῳάδι.

from the fact that, in the negotiations of Antiochus the Great with the Romans before the battle of Magnesia, the Syrian king offered to surrender 'the territories of Lampsacus and Smyrna as well as Alexandria Troas, which were the original cause of the war' (Polyb. 21 13); its extensive ruins, which for long have served as a quarry, bear testimony to its importance and prosperity. After the defeat of Antiochus the Great, Troas fell into the hands of the Romans and experienced many benefits from them. It was one of the few Roman colonies in Asia Minor (Strabo, 593; cp Plin. *HN*, *l.c.*). It dated from the time of Augustus; hence the coins bear the Latin inscription COL. TROAD.; COL. ALEX. TRO.; or COL. AUG. TRO., from which we may infer the name 'Colonia Alexandria Augusta Troas.'[1] Julius Cæsar was credited with a design of removing the capital of the Roman world to this place (Suet. *Jul.* 79), and perhaps Horace (*Od.* iii. 3 57) hints at the same design on the part of Augustus (cp also what is said of Constantine before he fixed upon the site of Constantinople, Zosim. 2 30; Zonar. 13 3). Augustus, Hadrian, and Herodes Atticus contributed to the beautification of the city. Herodes Atticus built the aqueduct of which remains can still be seen, and the baths were also probably his gift (see on the baths Koldewey, in *Athen. Mitth.* 9 36 *f.*).

Through Troas in Roman times ran the coast road which encircled the peninsula, and thus there was direct and easy communication with the interior by way of Adramyttium. From ADRAMYTTIUM (*q.v.*) a road ran NE. to Cyzicus on the Propontis, and thence towards the Bithynian frontier; a road also ran southwards to Pergamos. The former of these roads may well have been in the main that followed by Paul when he found it impossible to penetrate into Bithynia (Acts 16 7 *f.*); but the scantiness of the record here reduces us to conjectures which gain but little strength from the later traditions (see Ramsay, *Church*(5), 488, *Expos.*, Oct. 1888, p. 264; April 1894, p. 295). Similarly, when Paul was obliged to retire from Ephesus (Acts 20 1) to Troas (2 Cor. 2 12), he may have gone either by sea, or by the coast road which led through Adramyttium (more probably the coast road, if the circumstances of the departure from Ephesus are taken into account). The importance of Troas in the itineraries of the time in this region is shown by the references in 2 Cor. 2 12 and Acts 20 5—ships passing in either direction were certain to put in at Troas.

3. NT references.

In order to clear up all ambiguity, perhaps reference should here be made to a neighbouring town which also bore the name of Troy, *Novum Ilium*, which is quite distinct from Alexandria Troas. Novum Ilium (Grk. Ilion) claimed to occupy the veritable site of Homer's Troy, and all antiquity allowed this claim (cp Herod. 7 43; Strabo, 594; Diod. 18 4; Xen. *Hell.* i. 1 4) until it was disputed by Demetrius of Scepsis followed by Strabo; the discoveries of Schliemann have settled the question in the affirmative. In Alexander's time the site was a mere fortified post only occasionally occupied; but he designed the restoration of the town—a restoration finally effected by Lysimachus. Having been destroyed by Fimbria in 85 B.C., the town was once more restored by Sulla (Appian, *Mithr.* 53) as a favoured city exempt from tribute (Pliny, *HN* 5 33, cp Tac. *Ann.* 12 58, 'ut Ilienses omni publico munere solverentur,' in 53 A.D.). This generosity on the part of the Romans was due to their fond belief that the city was the original birthplace of their race; intrinsically the town was of no importance at all (cp Tac. *Ann.* 4 55) and in this respect was a great contrast to Alexandria Troas. W. J. W.

TROGYLLIUM (τρωγγλλιον, Acts 20 15 [TR], where, for παρεβαλομεν εις σαμον, τη δε εχομενη ηλθομεν εις μιλητον [WH], the TR has παρεβαλομεν εις σαμον και μειναντες εν τρωγυλλιω τη εχομενη κ. τ. λ. [For τρωγυλλιω there is the variant τρωγυλιω, which is apparently to be preferred: see WH 2 *App.* 98 n.]), Acts 20 15 AV, RVmg. (see end).

[1] In the time of Caracalla the coins bear the additional epithets 'Aurelia Antoniniana.' See Head, *Hist. Numm.* 470.

The island of Samos is separated from the mainland by a channel now called the Little Boghaz,[1] formed by the overlapping of its eastern promontory Poseidium (Cape *Colonna*) with the western spur of Mt. Mycale which was called Trogylium[2] (now Cape *Santa Maria*). The channel is about one mile wide (Strabo, 636, *ἐπίκειται δὲ τῇ Σαμίᾳ* [*sc.* Μυκάλη τὸ ὄρος] *καὶ ποιεῖ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπέκεινα τῆς* Τρωγιλίου *καλουμένης ἄκρας ὅσον ἑπταστάδιον πορθμόν*). Strabo (*l.c.*) also explains that Trogylium is a spur (*ἄκρα πρόπους*), of Mt. Mycale and that facing it there was an island of the same name. Pliny (*HN* 5 37) names three 'insulæ Trogiliæ,' viz., Psilon, Argennon, and Sandalion. The anchorage of Trogylium must have been well-known to sailors, for Strabo uses it as a point from which to measure the distance of cape Sunium in Attica (1600 stades to the W., *ibid.*; the two points lie practically on the same parallel of latitude). According to the maps, there is an anchorage a little to the east of the point, called St. Paul's Port (see Adm. Charts, 1530 and 1555).

Paul sailed through this channel on his way to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary tour. After leaving the latitude of Chios the ship ran straight across to the eastern point of Samos (*παρεβάλομεν* in *v.* 15 need not imply stoppage at or off the harbour of Samos which lies 4 or 5 m. distant to the west of Trogylium: cp Thuc. 8 32). The night was spent in the anchorage of Trogylium, and Miletus was entered in the morning (see MILETUS). It is certain that there must have intervened a night between Chios and Miletus, and this can have been spent only at Samos or at Trogylium. The omission of the reference to Trogylium by the great MSS may be due to the idea that *παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον* implied a stoppage during the hours of darkness at that port; this idea may have been strengthened by the existence of the variant *ἑσπέρᾳ* for *ἑτέρᾳ* in *v.* 15, for by implying that the passage to, or arrival at, Samos was postponed to a somewhat late hour, it made the further progress that same night to Trogylium impossible. The western text undoubtedly here preserves a true reading, and the reference to Trogylium should be retained (omitted, except in margin, by RV: 'touched at Samos; and [RVmg. many ancient authorities insert, "having tarried at Trogyllium"] the day after we came to Miletus.' See MILETUS, § 2. W. J. W.

TROOP. The words so rendered are:

1. גַּד, *gad*, Gen. 30 11 Is. 65 11; see FORTUNE, GAD, § 1.
2. גְּדוּד, *gĕdūd*, 2 K. 6 23, etc., 'band' (𝔊BA *μονόζωνοι*, 𝔊L *πειραταί*). See ARMY, § 3.
3. אֲגֻדָּה, *'ăguddāh*, 2 S. 2 25, RV 'band'. See above.
4. חַיָּה, *ḥayyāh*, 2 S. 23 11 Ps. 68 11 [10]. See BDB.
5. אֹרַח, *'ōraḥ*, Job 6 19, RV CARAVAN (*q.v.*). See also TRADE, § 83 [*b β*] col. 5195.
6. רֶכֶב, *rékeb*, Is. 21 7 RV. Cp CHARIOT, § 1.

TROPHIMUS (τροφιμος [Ti. WH]), an Ephesian disciple and companion of Paul, seems to have been with him in Greece during his third missionary journey, and along with Tychicus preceded the apostle to Troas, where he was joined by Paul and his party on their way to Syria. Trophimus was, apparently, a Gentile, and a mistaken impression that he had been introduced into the temple proper by Paul led to the uproar which resulted in Paul's being taken into custody and ultimately transferred to Cæsarea and Rome (Acts 20 4 21 29). The allusion to Trophimus in 2 Tim. 4 20 ('Trophimus I left at Miletus sick') is one of several which have made it necessary to postulate certain journeys of Paul of which the NT contains no direct record, if the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles is to be maintained.

[1] The Great Boghaz is on the W. of Samos, separating that island from Icaria, and varies from 3 to 8 m. in width; this is the passage generally used by modern vessels of any size.

[2] Trogyllion is the form used by Ptol. 5 2; Strabo calls it ἡ Τρωγίλιος ἄκρα; Plin. *HN* 5 30 calls it Trogilia. Cp Steph. Byz *s.v.* Τρώγιλος. Trogylia in the Latin Western text.

The name of Trophimus closes the lists of 'the seventy' by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus, which state that he suffered martyrdom at Rome along with the apostle.

TRUMPET. 1. קֶרֶן, *ḳéren*, CΑΛΠΙΓΞ, Lev. 23 24, etc. See HORN, MUSIC, § 5 *a*.

2. שׁוֹפָר, *šōphār* (*i.e.*, 'ram's horn'; Ar. *sawāfir*, cp Egypt. *thupar*, Ass. *šapparu*, 'wild goat' and deriv. of *yōbēl*, below), Judg. 7 16, etc., *κερατίνη* (*τοῦ σαλπίζειν*, 7 20). See MUSIC, § 5 *a*.

3. חֲצֹצְרָה ,חֲצֹצֵר, *ḥăṣōṣēr*, *ḥaṣōṣerāh*, *σάλπιγξ*, 1 Ch. 15 24 2 Ch. 5 12 7 6 13 14 29 28†. See MUSIC, § 5 *b*.

4. יֹבֵל, *yōbēl*—*i.e.*, 'ram's horn,' so Ex. 19 13, RVmg., *σάλπιγξ*. See MUSIC, § 5 *a* and cp JUBILEE.

5. In Ezek. 7 14 MT has תָּקְעוּ בַתָּקוֹעַ, rendered in EV 'they have blown the trumpet' (𝔊 *σαλπίσατε* [*ἐν*] *σάλπιγγι*); תקוע, *tāḳōă'*, however, occurs nowhere else in the sense of trumpet. Cornill, therefore, followed by Toy, proposes to read תקעו תקוע, 'blaset nur.' See MUSIC, 5 *b*, end.

6. תְּרוּעָה, *terū'āh*, Nu. 29 1, etc., see TRUMPET-BLOWING.

TRUMPET-BLOWING, DAY OF (יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, EV 'day of blowing of [AV insert 'the'] trumpets'; ΗΜΕΡΑ CΗΜΑCΙΑC; *dies clangoris et tubarum*: Nu. 29 1), or, MEMORIAL OF (זִכְרוֹן ת׳; ΜΝΗΜΟCΥΝΟΝ CΑΛΠΙΓΓΩΝ; *memoriale clangentibus tubis*: Lev. 23 24). According to Lev. 23 24 P Nu. 29 1 P_2, the first day of the seventh month was to be 'a day of solemn rest' on which 'no servile work' was to be done, a holy convocation, a day, or memorial, of *terū'āh*. See further JUBILEE, § 1, NEW MOON, NEW YEAR, YEAR § 8 (near end), and, on the shape of the ritual trumpets, MUSIC, § 5 (cp fig. 10).

The word *terū'āh* is used sometimes in the sense of joyful shouting (Job 8 21 Ecclus. 39 15 [Heb.] 1 S. 4 5 Ezra 3 11 13 Nu. 23 21), sometimes in that of the battle-shout or alarm of war (Am. 1 14 Jer. 4 19 49 2 Josh. 6 5 20). Nu. 31 6 speaks in this connection of 'the trumpets for the alarm' (חצצרות התרועה). That *terū'āh* in the passages cited means 'trumpet-blowing' (cp Nu. 10 10 Ps. 27 6 89 16 [15]) follows from the law which enjoined that trumpets were to be blown at each new moon.

TRUTH. The Heb. אֱמֶת, *'ĕmeth* (√אמן, 'to be firm'), requires to be rendered differently according to the context; the EV, sometimes so needlessly addicted to a variety of rendering, is here as needlessly consistent in its adherence to the rendering 'truth.' As a general rule, 'faithfulness,' 'trustworthiness,' 'permanence' 'sureness,' 'sincerity,' are at least as likely to be the right rendering of *'ĕmeth* as 'truth'; indeed, where *'ĕmeth* is spoken of as a divine attribute, we may constantly substitute 'faithfulness' for the 'truth' of EV. In the NT a different group of renderings is called for. The NT was not written, nor were the discourses on which, ultimately, portions of it are based,[1] spoken in biblical Hebrew; it is a Greek book, though with more or less Semitic colouring. Besides this, the religion which its writers support was a struggling religion; its writers are conscious of antagonism to other forms of religion which has a direct bearing on the sense or senses in which they use the word *ἀλήθεια*. A complete examination of passages containing the word 'truth' in the EV is impossible.

1. Heb. and Gk. terms.

A few may, however, be referred to, and alternative, even if inadequate, renderings may usefully be suggested.

Gen. 32 10, 'I am too small for all the lovingkindnesses and for all the faithfulness' etc.; Ex. 18 21, 'trustworthy men'; Dt. 32 4, 'a God of faithfulness' (so RV); 1 K. 2 4 2 K. 20 3, 'walk in sincerity'; 2 K. 20 19, 'peace and permanence'; Ps. 25 5, 'Direct me with thy faithfulness' [personified]; Ps. 31 5, 'faithful God'; Ps. 51 6, 'Thou desirest sincerity'; Ps. 85 10, 'Lovingkindness and faithfulness are met together' (similarly always, for 'mercy and truth'); Ps. 119 142, 'Thy law is sureness (itself)'; Is. 42 3, 'he shall declare the law faithfully'; Jer. 5 3, 'Are not thine eyes upon sincerity?'

Both in OT and in NT the duty of truth-speaking is urged; and the Psalter shows how deeply the teaching of the prophets had penetrated Jewish minds. This is one of the points in which Judaism and Zoroastrianism manifest their inward affinity. The substitution of 'faithfulness' for 'truth' in no degree obscures this; and of course there are passages enough in which 'truth' is the only possible rendering of *'ĕmeth* (*e.g.* Ps. 15 2 Prov. 8 7 12 17 19 23 23 Dan. 8 12). In Dan. 8 12 the 'truth' spoken of is apparently the religion of Yahwè. No complete parallel to this occurs in the NT, because 'the truth of the gospel' (Gal. 2 5 14) is not bound up with an elaborate cultus, but is simply life in Christ. Certainly this life is impossible without an act of obedience to the divine will. There is a lawgiver who bids us repent and believe, in order that we may have life in Christ. Consequently we have the singular phrases, 'those who disobey the truth' (*τοῖς . . . ἀπειθοῦσι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ*, Rom. 2 8) and 'those who do not obey the gospel' (*τοῖς μὴ ὑπακούουσι τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ*, 2 Thess. 1 8).

The difficulty in grasping the sense to be assigned to *ἀλήθεια* is greatest in the Johannine gospel and epistles.

2. ἀλήθεια in Jn.

This and the connected forms occur not less than eighty times in this literature. The writer's individuality is very manifest in this; he is almost like a Zoroastrian in his intense love of truth and hatred of falsehood. 'The father of the liar is the devil in whom there is no truth' he says (Jn. 8 44).[1] And in the address of a letter to friends he thinks it worth while to say 'whom I love truthfully' (*ἐν ἀληθείᾳ*, 2 Jn. 1). This hatred of shams suggests the peculiar form of his theology or Christology. Christ is *ἡ ἀλήθεια* (Jn. 14 6); he is full of *ἀλήθεια* (Jn. 1 14). How shall we render *ἀλήθεια*? As Jn. 14 6 shows, it is one aspect of *ζωή*, 'life,' and as its combination with *ὁδός*, 'way,' in that passage and with *χάρις*, 'liberality,' in Jn. 1 14 shows, it is something which God in and through Christ generously communicates to man. It is therefore not a bundle of intellectual truths; it is a share of the divine nature; it is real as opposed to seeming existence. *ἀλήθεια* then is strictly 'reality,' and 'full of grace and truth' means 'full of self-communicating divine life'; or, in plainer English, 'full of a gift of real life.'[2] Certainly this can be given only to those who have some inward affinity to it, to those at least who are hungry for 'the bread of life' (Jn. 6 35). Such persons are 'of the truth,' *ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας* (Jn. 18 37; cp *ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ* 8 47); it is their destiny to become free; the 'truth,' manifested in the Son, can make them free, make them 'sons of God' (Jn. 8 32 36 1 12, cp Rom. 8 21). The work of Jesus is to 'bear witness of the truth' (Jn. 18 37); and when he 'goes away to the Father' he will ask the Father to send a never-failing representative of himself, 'the spirit of truth' *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας* (Jn. 14 17). This 'spirit' also bears witness, because the spirit is *ἡ ἀλήθεια* (truth itself), 1 Jn. 5 6. Still the fact remains that it is 'he that has the Son' that 'has life' (1 Jn. 5 12), and the Son (*i.e.*, the Christ), even when he has 'gone away,' 'comes' to the disciples, indeed to each individual disciple (Jn. 14 18 21). The spirit of *ἀλήθεια*, therefore, by abiding in the disciples, enables them to 'behold' him (*θεωρεῖτε*, Jn. 14 19) in a degree in which this would otherwise be impossible. And through this supreme vision, they will make ever fresh progress in 'life' and in 'reality' (Jn. 14 19).

To return to this *ἀλήθεια* or 'reality.' It has primarily to do with moral life; it is not an idea to be thought, but a deed to be done (Jn. 6 29, *τὸ ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ*, 'the work which God wills'; Jn. 3 21 1 Jn. 1 6 *ποιεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν*). Its opposite, when so regarded, is 'to practise ill,' or 'to walk in darkness,' for the writer has almost a Zoroastrian's love of the symbol of Light (see LIGHT). But 'reality' extends from the moral to the intellectual sphere. There is but one

[1] Cp Dalman's remark, *Die Worte Jesu*, 15 (foot), 16 (top).

[1] Lachmann's conjecture (*Test. Gr.* 2, Præf. p. vii) *ὃς ἂν λαλῇ τὸ ψεῦδος* should probably be accepted; 'Whoever speaks a lie speaks of that which is his own, for his father also is a liar.' The verse now becomes intelligible. It belongs probably to the editor, who rightly explains *vv.* 41, 44 (cp *v.* 55).

[2] The *καί* in *χάρ. καὶ ἀληθ.* is the *καί explicativum*. So, in Jn. 4 24, *ἐν πνεύματι καὶ ἀληθείᾳ* means 'in the spirit, with reality.'

'Light' (Jn. 1_4), and in bearing witness of this 'Light' the 'spirit of reality' is insensibly led on to the disclosure of great intellectual truths. 'He shall teach you all things' (Jn. 14_{26}), 'shall guide you in the whole truth' (Jn. 16_{13}), the truth of the primeval Reason (λόγος), and also the truth of things that are to come (Jn. 1_1 *ff.* 16_{13})—in accordance with the longing of the primitive age for an apocalypse of the winding-up of the world. There is one other writing in which ἀλήθεια, real as opposed to merely speculative truth, is specially prominent—the Epistle to the Ephesians. Certainly ἀλήθεια is still somewhat restricted in its application. The full scope of 'real truth' is so wide that it needed another name—σοφία, 'wisdom,' or γνῶσις, 'knowledge.' The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, said the wise man of old; this fear of the Lord to the Christian teacher is ἀλήθεια. To it δικαιοσύνη, 'righteousness,' and ὁσιότης, 'piety,' are ascribed (Eph. 4_{24}); and the fruit of righteousness is 'in righteousness and reality' (Eph. 5_9). 'The word of real truth' (τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας) is the 'Gospel of your salvation' (Eph. 1_{13}; cp 2 Tim. 2_{15}). Hence disciples are 'taught in Christ, even as real truth is in Jesus' (Eph. 4_{21}). Naturally, truth-speaking is one of the chief duties of such disciples (Eph. 4_{25}), but only as one expression of that 'truth' or 'reality' which is the first part of their 'panoply' (Eph. 6_{14}). In Eph. 4_{15} ἀληθεύειν ἐν ἀγάπῃ (RV 'speaking truth [mg. dealing truly] in love') means more than 'speaking truth charitably'; it is both speaking and practising that real truth which Christ embodied.

3. ἀληθής, ἀληθινός in Jn. etc.

The use of the adjectives (ἀληθής, ἀληθινός) should also be studied. Both are specially frequent in the Johannine Gospel and Epistles. Note especially Jn. 6_{55}, 'my flesh is a true meat' ἀληθής ἐστι βρῶσις—*i.e.*, 'a food which really, permanently nourishes'; Jn. 1_9 'the very light' ('very' as in the Nicene Creed, 'very God' = θεὸς ἀληθινός), 'the true light' τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν; Jn. 15_1 'the vine rightly so-called,' ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή; Jn. 17_3 'the only, veritable God,' τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεόν. Trench[1] compares Plato, *Tim.* 25*a*, πέλαγος ὄντως ἀληθινὸς πόντος, 'an ocean worthy of the name.' But Hebrew has similar phrases, אֱלֹהֵי אֱמֶת, *ĕlōhē 'ĕmeth*, 'a real God' (2 Ch. 15_3); לֶחֶם אֱמֶת, *léḥem 'ĕmeth*, 'true, unfeigned hospitality,' חֶסֶד שֶׁל אֱמֶת, *ḥésed šel 'ĕmeth*, 'true, unfeigned charity' (quoted in Jastrow, *Dict.* 79). ἀληθινός is also frequent in Revelation, but, except in 3_7, always with the meaning 'trustworthy.'

The use of ἀληθινός (EV 'true') in Jn. 1_9 4_{23} 15, etc. Heb. 8_2 (cp 𝔊 Jer. 2_{21} ἀληθινήν = זֶרַע אֱמֶת) is very characteristic of the writers' belief in heavenly patterns of earthly things. Wycliffe has the fine phrases 'a verey light,' 'a verrei vyne,' 'the verrei tabernacle'; but in Jn. 4_{23} 'trewe worshippers.'

On the Johannine use of ἀλήθεια (reality) see H. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* 2 378; Wendt (*Die Lehre Jesu*, 2 200 *ff.*) gives the term perhaps too prominently an ethical sense ('righteous'). Further, on the presuppositions of the Johannine term, see Holtzmann, *op. cit.* 2 374 *f.* T. K. C.

TRYPHENA, or rather, as in RV **Tryphæna** (τρυφαινα), and **Tryphosa** (τρυφωσα), 'who labour in the Lord,' are saluted in Rom. 16_{12}. They appear to have been deaconesses, and not improbably were sisters.

The name Tryphosa is met with in Carian inscriptions (cp *CIG* 2 2819 2839), and among the monuments of the imperial household in the first century; Tryphæna appears in the apocryphal *Acts of Paul and Thecla* as the wife of Polemo king of Cilicia. Gutschmidt has shown that there really was a queen of that name, of Mauretanian origin; she was repudiated by her husband Polemo II. of Cilicia about 40 A.D. She afterwards lived under the emperor Claudius in Roman territory at Antioch in Pisidia (see Lipsius, *Apokr. Ap.-Gesch.* 3 464-5).

1 *New Test. Synonyms*, 31.

TRYPHON[1] (τρυφων [ANV]; cp τρυφων, Waddington, no. 2711 and perhaps טרפון the name of a Rabbi upon a Hb. inscr. quoted by Euting, *SBAW* 16th July, 1885, no. 47), of Apamea, formerly an adherent of Alexander Balas, took advantage of the disaffection prevailing among the troops of DEMETRIUS II. to obtain the person of ANTIOCHUS (*q.v.* 4), the young son of Balas, whom he used as a puppet to gratify his personal ambitions. Supported by the soldiers of Demetrius, Tryphon was enabled to defeat his rival and win over Antioch (1 Macc. 11_{39} *ff.*). The allegiance of Jonathan and the Maccabæan party was gained (*vv.* 57 *ff.*), and his position became gradually stronger. At last he was able to throw over Antiochus; but fearing lest the power of the Maccabees might be inimical to his interests, he found it necessary to march against Jonathan. They met at Bethshan, and, by a stratagem, Jonathan was captured. Taking his prisoner with him Tryphon proceeded to Jerusalem, but was intercepted at Adida by Simon, Jonathan's brother. Tryphon pretended that the detention was due to the non-payment of revenues, and thus obtained a ransom for his prisoner, whom, however, he failed to hand over; and, at last, irritated by two futile attempts to reach Jerusalem, slew Jonathan at Bascama (143 B.C.; 13_{1-23}); see JONATHAN. Tryphon's next step was to seize the throne,[2] a proceeding which resulted in Simon and Demetrius II. forming an alliance against their common enemy (13_{31} *ff.*). When Demetrius was a prisoner in Persia his younger brother (Antiochus Sidetes) continued the struggle, and Tryphon was forced to flee to Dora, and thence by successive stages to Ptolemais, Orthosia, and finally to Apamea, where after a brief reign of three years he perished (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 7_2). See SELEUCIDÆ, § 14.

TUBAL (תֻּבַל, תּוּבַל; θοβελ, once [A Ezek. 39_1] θοβερ; once [Ezek. 27_{13}] η συμπασα [B], τα σ[υμ]παντα [A; see also Q[mg.] Ezek. 32_{26} 38_2]; *Thubal*) and MESHECH (מֶשֶׁךְ; Sam. מושך, מושיך; μοσοχ [in Ezek. 27_{13}, τα παρατεινοντα]; *Mosoch*). We shall first of all collect the exegetical data presented in MT, and state the current theory based upon these data; we shall then endeavour to put the question in a new critical light. As the text stands, Tubal and

1. Tubal = Tibareni?

Meshech are always mentioned together except in Is. 66_{19} (but see 𝔊), where Tubal and Javan are mentioned together as distant nations, and in Ps. 120_5, where, strangely enough, 'Meshech' (𝔊 ἐμακρύνθη) is ∥ to 'Kedar,' the second in order of the sons of Ishmael, and in 1 Ch. 1_{17} (om. 𝔊[B]) where Meshech is introduced as last in order of the sons of Shem. In Ezek. 27_{13} Tubal and Meshech appear as supplying Tyre with slaves and vessels of brass. In 32_{26} they are among the nations which have gone down to Shĕōl—*i.e.*, have suffered some great reverse. In 38_2 *f.* (μεσοχ [BQ], μοσοκ [A *v.* 3]) 39_1 (μεσοχ [B]) they are mentioned as under the rule of Gog. Since Bochart they have been usually identified with the Moschi (μόσχοι) and Tibareni (τιβαρηνοί) who are named together by Herodotus (3 94 7 7). In the Ass. inscriptions (see Schrader, *KAT*[(2)] 82 *ff.*, *KGF* 155 *ff.*; Del., *Par.* 250 *ff.*; Winckler, *GBA* 172) their territory is extended farther S. than in Herodotus, the *Tabali* up to Cilicia, and the *Muški* NE. of the Tabali. According to Gelzer and Schrader, a part of the Tabali, together with the Muški, had been driven N. by the Gimirrai (the Κιμμέριοι; see GOMER) to the seats where they were in the time of Herodotus. Ašur-bani-pal's inscriptions report that the tribute of Tabal consisted entirely of 'great horses.' Cp HORSE, § 3 (Tabal was close to Cilicia).

1 This name (which means *débauché*) was given to Diodotus, for that was his real name, after his victory over Demetrius II.

2 Whether he really slew the young king at this juncture (so 1 Macc. 13_{31}) is uncertain; see *Camb. Bible, ad loc.*

It so happens, however, that all the passages in which Tubal and Meshech are mentioned are among those which labour under a strong suspicion of having been manipulated by editors, who approached the already corrupt texts with most inaccurate preconceived opinions.

2. A N. Arabian Tubal?

In the true text of Is. 66 19 the nations referred to are probably those which bordered on S. Palestine, viz., Ashḥur (Geshur), Zarephath, Jeraḥmeel, Cusham, Tubal, Jaman; the names are used conventionally, and drawn from earlier sources. 'Cusham' corresponds with the μοσοχ of 𝔊, and means the N. Arabian Cush (see CUSH, 2). 'Tubal,' as 'Tubal-kain' (where -kain [see TUBAL-CAIN] is equivalent to 'Kenites') the name of a son of Lamech (=Jeraḥmeel), suggests, is a N. Arabian ethnic; we meet with it in 1 K. 16 31 under the disguise of אתבעל (see PROPHET, § 7, col. 3862, n. 1), and in Is. 7 6 under that of TABEAL [*q.v.*], and there is an echo of it in the name of the patriarch Bethuel, in the place-name Bethul (Josh. 19 4), also in Tob (land of), and in the personal names TEBALIAH, TOBIEL, TOBIJAH.

Ps. 120 5 has been very much misunderstood; but none of the critical commentators affects to suppose that the explanation which he gives is quite satisfactory. The reference to N. Arabian oppression in the Psalms is so pervasive (see PSALMS, §§ 28 *ff.*) that we cannot hesitate to read, 'Woe is me that I sojourn in Cusham' (for parallels see SHECHEM). On 1 Ch. 1 17 see below. In Ezek. 27 13 the right reading is approximately 'Jaman (or Jamin = Jeraḥmeel), Tubal, and Cusham.' Their merchandise is, besides 'vessels of brass (or, bronze),' not 'human persons,' but ivory (read שֶׁנְהַבִּים, cp 1 K. 10 22). In Ezek. 32 26 'Tubal' and 'Cusham' (so read) are beyond doubt N. Arabian peoples; 'Asshur' and 'Elam,' or rather Ashḥur and Jeraḥmeel, precede, 'Edom' and 'the Zidonians,' or rather 'Edom' and 'the Miṣrites' follow. In 38 2 39 1 Gog is the representative of the collective N. Arabian power—the 'Zephonite' of Joel 2 20; 'Tubal' and 'Cusham' are again required.

We have reserved for the end the Chronicler's representation of Meshech as a son of Shem in 1 Ch. 1 17 (μοσοχ). In Gen. 10 23 MT gives MASH (*q.v.*). Critics (*e.g.*, Kittel, Benzinger) agree in rejecting the Chronicler's reading. In truth 'Meshech' *is* wrong, but not more wrong than 'Mesheh' in *v.* 5. The right reading in both passages is 'Cusham.' The same names occur in Gen. 10 from which the Chronicler borrows more than once. The significance attached by critics to the Table of Nations is out of all proportion to its real worth. See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

TUBAL-CAIN (תּוּבַל קַיִן; θοβελ [AEL]; *Tubal-cain*), one of the sons of Lamech (Gen. 4 22)†. See CAINITES, § 10, where the view is taken that Tubal-cain is a humanised god (cp Gunkel, *Gen.* 48, 'vielleicht verklungene Götter'?), and the text is emended in accordance with Kautzsch and others, omitting לטשׁ (*lōṭēš* = a hammerer??) and inserting אֲבִי, 'father of.' The theory of a N. Arabian Tubal (see TUBAL, § 2), however, compels us to recommend another view in preference. Tubal-cain = Tubal of Ḳain—*i.e.*, the Kenite Tubal—is the eponym of a N. Arabian people of mercantile habits, who brought 'ivory and vessels of brass' to the market of the great Miṣrite capital (cp Jer. 15 12, as explained under ZAPHON). That the home of Tubal *is* in N. Arabia, we cannot pause here to show (see TUBAL, § 2); but the result seems unassailable. The mysterious word לטשׁ (MT *lōṭēš*) can now be explained. Like קין, it is a collective term for a N. Arabian people—viz., the LETUSHIM, mentioned in Gen. 25 3 among the sons of Dedan, between the Asshurim (= Ashḥur or Geshur) and the Leummim, or rather the Jeraḥme'elim. The name of the third son of Lamech (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel), therefore, is possibly Tubal of Kain and Leṭesh (to distinguish him from any other Tubal). The alternative is, not any of the renderings mentioned by Dillmann and Delitzsch, but a still more searching criticism (see *Crit. Bib.*).

𝔊 has καὶ ἦν instead of Καιν; originally perhaps it had all three words. καὶ ἦν would make up for the loss of אֲבִי, which analogy requires us to supply. Cp Budde, *Urgesch.* 139 *f.*

T. K. C.

TUBIENI (ΤΟΥΒΙΑΝΟΥϹ [V]), 2 Macc. 12 17, RVmg 'men of TOB' (*q.v.*).

TUMOURS (עפלים), 1 S. 5 6 9 12 6 4 *f.* 11 17 RV, AV EMERODS (*q.v.*).

TUNIC occurs only in Dan. 3 21 for the Aram. פטשׁ (see BREECHES, 2), and in Jn. 19 23 RVmg for χιτών, (EV 'coat'); but 'tunic' admirably suits the Heb. *kuttōneth*, כֻּתֹּנֶת, from which, indeed, the Lat. *tunica* has possibly arisen by metathesis through the medium of the Greek χιτών (cp PHŒNICIA, § 7).

1. Ordinary tunic.

The Hebrew *kuttōneth* (of uncertain derivation; but cp probably Ass. *kitinnê*, linen, cloth; see Zehnpfund, *Beitr. z. Ass.* 1 532), commonly rendered 'coat,' was a short, sleeveless garment worn next the body and held together by a girdle of linen, leather, etc. (GIRDLE, 2). As a garment for females it was doubtless longer, and appears to have answered to the *śimlah* worn by men (in Cant. 5 3 it is put off at night-time); see MANTLE. The *kuttōneth* has evidently been derived in the first instance from the GIRDLE (1), and in Gen. 3 21 is a simple covering made of skins. In later times it was made of wool or flax, but would naturally vary in fineness according to the wearer's taste and means. Besides being a priestly garment (see below, § 2), the *kuttōneth* is worn also by men of distinction as an official 'robe' (Is. 22 21 EV). A distinctive garment of this nature is implied in Joseph's *kĕthōneth passīm*, כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים (Gen. 37 3 23 32), which, as we learn from a gloss in 2 S. 13 18, was worn also by the maiden daughters of a king. It appears to have been a long garment with sleeves (cp RVmg. Gen. *l.c.*),—thus resembling the Ionian χιτών—and was perhaps of Canaanite origin.[1] It is difficult to determine from the monuments whether an inner garment or tunic was worn as well as the outer robe or mantle. On the whole, everything points to a very general simplicity in matters of dress. See further MANTLE, § 1.

Other varieties of the tunic were adopted by the Jews in the Roman period (DRESS, § 4 end), among them the *ḥālūḳ* (חָלוּק), an under-robe reaching to the heels. It was commonly made of wool; but linen and even papyrus was used.

The Greek χιτών[2] (in NT 'coat,' Mt. 10 10 Acts 9 39 etc.; 'garments,' Jude 23), like *kuttōneth*, is applied to an under-garment and thus distinguished itself from ἱμάτιον, the richer outer garment (see MANTLE). This forms the point of the Logion in Mt. 5 40; it is otherwise in Lk. 6 29, where the transposition (χιτ. 'coat' following ἱματ. 'cloke') indicates the order in which the garments would be torn off. In its appearance the χιτών was sometimes a short woollen shirt without sleeves (Dorian), and sometimes a long linen tunic reaching to the feet (Ionian); see *Dict. Class. Ant.*, *s.v.* 'Tunica'.

2. Priestly tunic.

The *kuttōneth* was worn by all priests (Ex. 29 8 40 14 Lev. 8 13 10 5).[3] It was made of fine linen and is described by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 2) as a fine linen vestment διπλῆς σινδόνος βυσσίνης called χεθομένη, from χέθον 'linen.' It

[1] Sleeves appear to be referred to also in Is. 52 10 Ezek. 4 7. Joseph's 'coat of many colours' ('pieces' mg.) is highly improbable and must be given up, although with regret. פס seems to mean (as in Aram.), palm (of hand) or sole (of foot); so 𝔊 (in Sam.) χιτὼν καρπωτός [BA, Aq.], χ. ἀστραγαλωτός [L], χ. χειριδωτός [Sym.]. See also Nestle, *ZNTW* 1902, p. 169, who suggests the meaning 'seamless coat,' and points to the parallel with Jn. 19 23.

[2] In 𝔊 it regularly renders כֻּתֹּנֶת, but also בֶּגֶד (thrice), and (once each) מַד (see DRESS), and מעיל (MANTLE, § 2 [6]).

[3] Plur. of all the priestly garments, Ezra 2 69 Neh. 7 70 72 EV 'garments'; cp χιτῶνες Mk. 14 63 EV 'clothes.'

reached down to the feet (ποδήρης) and fitted close to the body, and had sleeves which were tied fast to the arms. The garment was girt to the breast by a girdle (cp GIRDLE, 5), and had a narrow aperture about the neck. Josephus adds, moreover, that it was called μασσαβάνης (var. *massabazan*, etc.). The high priest's *kuttōneth*[1] was, according to Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 7 4), the same as that of the rest of the priests; but the name given to it in Ex. 28 4, *kĕthōneth tašbēṣ* (כתנת תשבץ, 'broidered coat,' RV 'coat of chequer work'), shows that some particular kind of tunic is meant.

Unfortunately the exact signification of תשבץ is uncertain. It is to be connected doubtless with the משבצות of Ex. 27 11 etc. on the one hand, and probably with the *massabazan* (=משבץ) of Josephus (*l.c.*), on the other. The root-meaning of שבץ is supposed to convey the idea of intertwining (cp Dr. on 2 S. 1 9), in which case the משבצות would be some kind of filigree-work for jewels (see OUCHES, and cp EMBROIDERY, § 3), whilst the priestly garment might well represent some woven garment, not necessarily seamless,[2] but ornamented and adorned with various patterns. The Targ. on Ex. 28 4 renders כתונא מרמצא—that is, perhaps, a garment woven into patterns, but this is not certain. In Assyrian *ramāṣu* seems to mean 'set with jewels' (see Del. *HWB* 624 *b*). 𝔊BAL read χιτ. κοσυμβωτόν,[3] which suggests a tasseled or fringed garment. Cp FRINGES.

I. A.—S. A. C.

TURBAN. Instead of restricting ourselves to the voluminous cloth-wrapper with which the word turban is associated, it will be convenient under this heading to deal generally with head-coverings of all kinds.

1. Varieties.

A head-covering is not an indispensable protection, like the GIRDLE (*q.v.*) for instance. It does not appear to have been worn in Europe in the earliest times, and the monuments of Egypt and Babylonia clearly prove that even in those countries, too, it was not in habitual use. Not unfrequently, a narrow fillet encircles the head and binds the hair close. This custom is widespread among both sexes, and is frequently met with in Assyria and adjacent countries. Shishak's Hebrew prisoner at Karnak is thus depicted. Naturally this fillet varied in material and ornamentation, and a good example of the elaborate nature of an Assyrian fillet is seen in Perrot-Chipiez (*Art in Chald.*, etc., 1 105); cp CROWN, DIADEM. Some covering like the modern *keffīyeh* must, however, have been in use among the Hebrews. The *keffīyeh* is a square or oblong piece of wool or silk, folded triangularly and tied by a cord, *'agāl*, which protects not only the head, but also the neck, cheeks, and throat. Coverings more or less approximating to this are seen in monuments from Assyria (*op. cit.* 2 129, fig. 62; cp WMM *As. u. Eur.* 139), and were worn in Palestine (*As. u. Eur.* 294 *f.*). The turban proper was perhaps a later introduction among the Hebrews, although a certain variety of it seems to have been worn at an early time by the nomad inhabitants of the Sinaitic peninsula (*As. u. Eur.* 138 *f.*).

A specifically feminine attire, confined (it would seem) to Palestine, is the long garment worn by the women of Lachish. It covers the head, with the exception of the face, and descends over the back to the feet, thus bearing a general resemblance to the classical *flammeum*.

A covering of the nature of the turban is no doubt implied in the post-exilic term *ṣānīph*, צָנִיף (√to wind in a coil, cp Is. 22 18), which was worn by the noble of both sexes (Job 29 14 'diadem,' RV^mg. 'turban,' Is. 3 23 'hoods,' RV 'turbans,' cp Is. 62 3 'diadem,' and Ecclus. 47 6 *c* of David [διάδημα]), and even by priests (Zech. 3 5 κίδαρις

2. Hebrew terms.

[1] For the 'tunics' (כתנות) mentioned between the 'breeches' and 'robe' in Ecclus. 45 8 *c*, the sing. should doubtless be read with 𝔊BNA ποδήρης.

[2] The *mĕ'īl*, we know, was seamless; cp MANTLE, § 2 [7]. The meaning of בִּגְדֵי הַשְּׂרָד (Ex. 31 10, etc.), too, is obscure; cp col. 1137, n. 1, and see Baentsch, *ad loc.*

[3] Cp κοσυμβοι [AFL; -ωτοι, B] for the verb שבצת Ex. 28 39 (treated as a plu. constr.), and for the שביסים of Is. 3 18 (see CAUL, and NECKLACE, 2 n.).

'mitre,' RV^mg. 'turban,' 'diadem').[1] A similar allusion is found in Ezek. 16 10 (וָאֶחְבָּשֵׁךְ בַּשֵּׁשׁ, RV^mg. 'I bound thee with *a tire of* fine linen,' cp Orelli, Co., etc.).[2] The *ḥăbālīm* (חֲבָלִים, σχοινία, EV 'ropes') of 1 K. 20 31 sometimes taken to represent a primitive substitute for a fillet for the hair (so Nowack, *HA* 1 125, Benzinger, *HA* 104), may be taken otherwise to express the submissiveness of the men referred to. Ahab might drag them away as captives, and they would not resist.[3] This agrees with the mention of sackcloth girt around their loins, as a sign of humiliation. Of the particular form of the *'ăphēr*, אֲפֵר, of 1 K. 20 38 41 † RV ('headband') we are ignorant; the context, however, shows that the wearer could cover his face with it, in which case it may have resembled the *keffīyeh* (cp Ass. *aparu*, *apru*, covering, head-gear).[4]

A head-dress of some elaborate nature and of Babylonian origin is alluded to in Ezek. 23 15 סְרוּחֵי טְבוּלִים בְּרָאשֵׁיהֶם (EV 'exceeding in dyed attire' RV^mg. 'dyed turbans'). According to Delitzsch (Baer, *Ezek.* p. xii.), *ṭĕbūlīm* = Ass. *ṭublu*, 'turban,' but the word does not seem to be substantiated.[5] Another head-dress more ornate than the ordinary turban is the *pĕ'ēr* (פְּאֵר), which may have tapered to a point. It is worn by people of distinction, male (Ezek. 24 17 23, EV 'tire') and female (Is. 3 20 AV 'bonnet,' RV 'head-tire'), by priests (Ex. 39 28 Ezek. 44 18, AV 'bonnet,' RV 'tire'), and by the bridegroom (Is. 61 3 10), see CHAPLET.

It is not unlikely that we may find in the *pĕ'ēr* the well-known conical head-gear worn by warriors, kings and gods of Assyria, Babylonia, and of the Hittites?[6] At all events it is exceedingly probable that this particular covering is the kind alluded to in the *karbĕlā*, כַּרְבְּלָא, of Dan. 3 21 (AV 'hat'[7] mg. 'turban,' RV 'mantle') which, from its shape, signifies in later Jewish-Aramaic and Syriac 'cock's comb.' The Gr. Ven. correctly renders by κυρβασία, which is actually likened to a cock's comb in Arist. *Av.* 487. The RV rendering 'mantle' relies too much upon the doubtful מְכֻרְבָּל of 1 Ch. 15 27.[8] In the same passage (Dan. 3 21) 'turban'

[1] With *ṣānīph*, cp the high priest's *miṣnépheth* (MITRE, § 1 [2]), and cp col. 3157, nn. 2 and 3. In Job 29 14 (above) the *ṣānīph and mĕ'īl* are emblems of justice, and possibly typify the high priest.

[2] For this use of חבשׁ cp Ex. 29 9 Lev. 8 13, and perhaps Ass. *ḥibšu*, head-band (*Beitr. z. Ass.* 1 499 525 *f.*).

[3] Cp the representations on the Assyrian and Egyptian monuments where captives are dragged away by ropes round their necks.

[4] See Barth, *Etymolog. Stud.* 19. The Ass. parallel (Del. *Prol.* 54) greatly increases the probability that אפר, in spite of the ease of corruption in more than one way, is the correct reading. The vocalisation, however, is uncertain. The Ass. root *aparu*, 'to cover, clothe,' permits us to assume that the garment was a mantle which could be drawn over the head (see further, note on פְּאֵר, below). Targ. J. מעפרא 'cloak' (cp Syr. ܡܥܦܪܐ) may come from a different root (ܥܦܪ = غفر, or perhaps ܨܦܪ = צפר in MH to plait, weave = ضفر?).

[5] 'Turban' is traced back to Ar., Pers., and Hind. *dulband*; it is the same word as 'tulip,' Ital. *tulipano* (prop. a turban-like flower). With this cp the similes used by Josephus in his description of the high priest's mitre (col. 3156, § 2). If *ṭublu* can be proved (it is not cited by Del. *HWB*, or Muss-Arnolt), the resemblance between the two becomes significant.

[6] [It is difficult not to conjecture that פאר is really the Ass. *apru*, which (cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 105, n. 2) is a synonym of *agū* the royal cap (not crown). See Creation-Epic 7 11, 'Let him make the *aprāti*, or royal caps, to shine.' This view makes it still easier to accept the theory that אפר in 1 K. 20 38 41 is the Ass. word referred to. For אפר will then no longer be isolated. —T.K.C.] See Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc. 1 106; *Art in Jud.* 2 27 145, etc., and for the view that *agū* is a crown or tiara, Hommel, *Südarab. Altert.* 37 (Munich, 1899).

[7] From this rendering Fox deduced the well-known Quaker doctrine prohibiting the removal of the hat even in the presence of royalty (Bevan, *Dan.* 84).

[8] A head-covering of this kind may have developed into the Roman *pileus* which, it has been suggested, was first introduced through the medium of Carthage (O. Schrader, *Realency. d. Indogerm. Altert.* 455).

occurs in the RV^mg. for פַּטִּישׁ (AV 'hosen,' RV 'tunic'). This rendering, implying an identification with πέτασος, 'broad-brimmed hat,' is extremely improbable; see BREECHES, 2.[1]

For the sake of completeness it may be useful to note (*a*) the primitive straw hat worn by Sinaitic Bedouins (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 295), (*b*) the characteristic Hittite head-gear, curiously resembling, in its outline, the modern silk hat. Without the brim the Hittite hat resembles the elaborate crown of Marduk-idin-aḫi (see Perrot-Chipiez, *Art in Chald.*, etc., 2 fig. 43), a variety, which, surmounted by a knob, recurs in several forms in representations of Assyrian monarchs (see *op. cit.* 1 fig. 22). Finally (*c*) reference may be made to the use of feathers in head coverings. The Ethiopians of Tirhakah, as represented upon slabs in the British Museum, wear a feather in front, which is held in position with a ribbon or band, and Ašur-bani-pal's Arabians are adorned with a peculiar feathered crown which recurs in one shape or another, not only in S. Arabia (Hommel, *Südarab. Altert. d. Wiener Hofmuseums*, 32 *ff.*; Munich, 1899), but also in Ararat (Brit. Mus.), and Lycia, and other regions of Western Asia Minor (W. M. Müller, *As. u. Eur.* 364 *f.*).

See CAP, CHAPLET, CROWN, DIADEM, HELMET, and, for the priestly head-dresses, MITRE. I. A.—S. A. C.

TURPENTINE TREE (τερεμινθος [B]), Ecclus. 24 16 AV, RV TEREBINTH (*q.v.*).

TURRETS (תַּלְפִּיּוֹת), Cant. 4 4 RV^mg., EV ARMOURY (*q.v.*).

TURTLE (תּוֹר) Cant. 2 12), **TURTLE DOVE.** See DOVE.

TUTOR (επιτροποс), Gal. 4 2, RV 'guardian'; in Mt. 20 8 Lk. 8 3 † EV 'steward.' See STEWARD.

TYCHICUS (τυχικοс [Ti. WH]), one of the companions of Paul, was 'of Asia' (Acts 20 4) and seems to have joined the apostle at some point on his 'third' missionary journey, preceded him from Greece to Troas, and accompanied him thence, it would appear, to Jerusalem (Acts 20 5). He is mentioned in Eph. 6 21 and Col. 4 7 as the 'beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord' who was the bearer of the epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians to their respective destinations. 2 Tim. 4 12 represents him as having been sent by the apostle from Rome to Ephesus, and in Tit. 3 12 the apostle proposes to send either Tychicus or Artemas to Titus in Crete.

In the lists of the 'seventy' in Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus he is twice enumerated—once as bishop of Colophonia and once as bishop of Chalcedon. In the work of the Pseudo-Epiphanius on the twelve apostles he is represented as a disciple and attendant of the apostle Andrew, by whom he is appointed bishop of Chalcedon.

TYRANNUS, THE SCHOOL OF, the place where Paul, after his separation with his disciples from the synagogue at Ephesus, reasoned daily (Acts 19 9: καθ' ἡμέραν διαλεγόμενος ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου [Ti. WH]). There is nothing to indicate who this Tyrannus was—whether himself a rhetorician or philosopher, or merely the hirer of the premises. D, Syr., p. marg. (see ACTS, § 17) has the reading T. τινός, ἀπὸ ὥρας πέμπτης ἕως δεκάτης. Cp EPHESUS, § 4.

TYRE (צֹר, צוֹר, τυροс, Ass. *Ṣurru*, Egypt. *Dara* [*As. u. Eur.* 185]), the most famous of Phœnician cities.

1. Two Tyres; references. For its history, see PHŒNICIA; cp NEBUCHADREZZAR. Though never in the possession of the Israelites, Tyre is mentioned in the delimitation of the territory of Asher, in Josh. 19 29, as the 'fenced city of Tyre' (עַר־עִיר מִבְצַר־צֹר), or perhaps rather (following 𝔊^B, ἕως πηγῆς, עַר־עַיִן) '[the fountain of] the fortress of Tyre,' the landmark referred to being the fountain, not the city,[2] and also in the geographical sketch of the operations of Joab at the census, 2 S. 24 7 (𝔊^BA μαχαρ, 𝔊 βοσόρραν Τύρου), where, however, the mention of Tyre as on the mainland must be due either to a late hand or to corruption of the text.[1] From the present text of the OT it would appear that Tyre and Israel had close relations in the time of Solomon (1 K. 5 7 9; but see SOLOMON); it is also mentioned in the times of Zerubbabel and Nehemiah (Ezra 3 7 [𝔊^B σωρεων = men of Tyre] Neh. 13 16 [𝔊^BNA om.]). A prophecy on Tyre finds a place in the Book of Isaiah (Is. 23); and another in that of Amos (Am. 1 9 *f.*); and three times in our Psalter glances are taken at Tyre (Ps. 45 12 [13] 83 7 [8] 87 4). Unfortunately in all these prophetic and poetic passages—not excepting Is. 23—and also in Joel 3 [4] 4 Zech. 9 2 *f.*, the reading 'Tyre' is open to doubt (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*, SIDON, § 3). Where Tyre is certainly referred to (*i.e.*, in Josh., and Ezra-Neh., and in Ezek. 26-28, as redacted by the editor?), it is the island-city that is meant. So also in 2 Macc. 4 18 *ff.* Mk. 3 8 Mt. 11 21 *f.* (Lk. 10 13 *f.*) Mk. 7 24 (Mt. 15 21) 31 Acts 12 20, passages of great interest, but not to be dealt with in a geographical article.[2] Palætyrus had an ancient name of its own, which Prašek has detected in the name Ušu; possibly the Israelites may have known it as Ḥōs or Ḥōsah (see HOSAH). This city appears to have been ruined by the cruel Ašur-bani-pal; all the buildings that remained were demolished by Alexander, when about to construct the mole by which he was enabled to reach the island city. T. K. C.

2. Later notices and present state. The modern Tyre (*Ṣūr*) lies at the NW. end of the former island, which is now, owing to the widening of Alexander's mole by deposits of sand, connected with the mainland by a tongue of land ¼ m. broad. The greatest length of the ancient island, from N. to S., is about ⅝ m., and its area about 142 acres—a small surface for so important a town. The researches of Renan seem to have completely refuted the once popular idea that a great part of the original island has disappeared by natural convulsions, though he believes that the remains of a line of submerged wall at the S. end indicate that about 15 acres more were once reclaimed from the sea and have been again lost. Confined to this narrow site—on which, moreover, place was found for the great temple of Melḳarth with its courts, and for all the necessities of a vast trade, for docks and warehouses, and for the great purple factories (see PURPLE) which in the Roman time were the chief source of wealth and made the town an unpleasant place of residence (Strabo, 16 2 23; Pliny, 5 76)—Tyre was very closely built; Strabo tells us that the many-storied houses were loftier than those of Rome. In the Roman period the population overflowed its bounds and occupied a strip of the opposite mainland, including the ancient Palætyrus. Pliny gives to the whole city, continental and insular, a compass of 19 R. m.; but this account must be received with caution. In Strabo's time the island was still the city, and Palætyrus on the mainland was 30 stadia off, whilst modern research indicates an extensive line of suburbs rather than one mainland city that can be definitely identified with Palætyrus. The topography of Tyre is still obscure owing to the paucity of Phœnician remains. The present harbour is certainly the Sidonian port,

[1] τίαρα, *tiara* (Theod., 𝔊 Vg.) and the corresponding readings of Pesh. and Ar. seem to refer properly to כרבלא and not to פטיש; see S. A. Cook, *Journ. Phil.* 26 310 *ff.* (1899), followed by Marti, *KHC*, *Daniel*, 23 (1901).

[2] It is very possible, however, that the description in *vv.* 25-30 is based upon a list of places in the Negeb (cp SHIHOR-LIBNATH), and that מבצר־צר is a corruption of מְצוּר (cp following note).

[1] It is probable (see TAHTIM-HODSHI) that the present narrative in 2 S. 24 is an expansion of an earlier narrative, which represented the census of David as limited to the fighting men of Miṣṣur and Jeraḥmeel, regions which David had recently brought under his sway (2 S. 8 2, and cp MOAB, § 14). מבצר־צר is a corruption of מְצוּר—*i.e.*, probably, the capital of Miṣṣur (cp MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*).

[2] On 2 Macc., *l.c.*, see HERCULES, JASON, 2, and on the connection of Jesus with the 'borders of Tyre,' see Keim, *Gesch. Jesu von Nazara*, 2 534 *ff.*

though it is not so large as it once was; the other ancient harbour (the Egyptian port) has disappeared, and is supposed by Renan to have lain on the other side of the island, and to be now absorbed in the isthmus. The most important ruins are those of the cathedral, with its magnificent monolith columns of rose-coloured granite, now prostrate.

The water supply of ancient Tyre came from the powerful springs of Rās el-'Ain on the mainland (perhaps the 'fountain' of Josh. 19 29—see § 1), one hour S. of the city, where there are still remarkable reservoirs, in connection with which curious survivals of Adonis worship have been observed by Volney and other travellers. Tyre was still an important city and almost impregnable fortress under the Arab empire. From 1124 to 1291 it was a stronghold of the crusaders, and Saladin himself besieged it in vain. After the fall of Acre the Christians deserted the place, which was then destroyed by the Moslems. The present town has arisen since the Metāwila occupied the district in 1766.

See Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönicier*, 61-72 (1889); F. Jeremias, *Tyrus bis zur Zeit Nebukadnesars* (1891); Prašek, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des Alterthums*, 2 21-39 (1898); Winckler, 'Assyrien u. Tyrus seit Tiglath-pileser III.' *AOF* 265 *ff.* T. K. C., § 1; W.R.S., § 2.

TYRE, LADDER OF (κλιμακος τυρου, 1 Macc. 11 59); see LADDER OF TYRE.

U

UCAL (אֻכָל), Prov. 30 1. See ITHIEL AND UCAL.

UEL (אוּאֵל, § 39) one of the b'ne BANI (*q.v.*); Ezra 10 34 (ουηλ [BabA], θυ. [B*vid.א], ιωηλ [L]). In 1 Esd. 9 34 the name appears as JUEL (ιουνα [BA], ιουηλ [L]), cp ουηλ [B], ιουηλ [A], ιωηλ [L] in *v.* 35.

UKNAZ (וּקְנַז), 1 Ch. 4 15, AVmg., AV 'even Kenaz,' RV 'and KENAZ' (*q.v.*). 𝕲 does not represent ו.

ULAI (אוּלַי; in Dan. 8 2 𝕲 [87] αιλαμ; Syr. of 𝕲 ουλαμ, Theod. [BAQΓ] του ουβαλ; in *v.* 16 𝕲 ουλαι, but with ωλαι superscr. 87 *a*; Theod. as in *v.* 2), mentioned in Dan. 8 2 as a river near 'Shushan the palace (?),' in Elam; cp *v.* 16 'between [the banks of?] Ulai.' Presumably the (nâr) U-la-a of the Assyrian inscriptions, described as 'a river whose banks are good' (for a battle-field). The word for 'river' in Dan. 8 2 (אובל,[1] *ūbāl*), which in *vv.* 2 16 Theod. (BAQΓ) gives instead of 'Ulai,' occurs nowhere else, and is commonly viewed as a parallel form to יובל, *yūbal* (see Kö., *Lehrgeb.* 2 88 460), Jer. 17 8 (EV 'river'; 𝕲 ἰκμάς 'moisture'), though 𝕲 gives the Aramaic sense of 'gate' (πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ Αἰλαμ). So in Dan. 8 3 Theod. [BAQΓ] has ουβαλ where 𝕲87 has πύλης. In Judith 1 6 the Syriac has 'Ulai,' where the Greek has 'HYDASPES' (*q.v.*); can 'Hydaspes' be an error for 'Choaspes'? At any rate, Herodotus (1 188; 5 49 52), followed by Strabo (15 728), places Susa on the Choaspes; but Pliny (6 135) makes the Eulæus the river which flows by that capital. According to Nöldeke, though it is possible that Susa in the days of its glory may have stretched from the Eulæus to the Choaspes (if we assume these rivers to be different), it is more probable that the two names represent the same river. Frd. Delitzsch, however, infers confidently from the cuneiform evidence that the Eulæus is not the Choaspes (the Ass. Uknû = mod. Kercha), but the Kārun, which is the Pasitigris (*i.e.*, Lesser Tigris), up which sailed Nearchus and the Macedonian fleet to join Alexander. In all this, however, the uncertainty of the original text of Daniel and of Judith must be remembered. [On the reading 'Ulai,' see SHUSHAN, and cp *Crit. Bib.* The question of an underlying text in which the geography was different must here be reserved.]

Cp Nöldeke, 'Ulai,' *Bib. Lex.* 5 576 *f.*; Del. *Paradies*, 177 193 *ff.*, 329; Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, 423 *ff.*

ULAM (אוּלָם; ουλαμ [BAL]). 1. A Machirite name; 1 Ch. 7 16 17 (ηλαμ [L]). Ulam's brother is called Rekem. Both names mean the same thing—viz., Jeraḥmeel. Cp REKEM, and for 'Ulam' cp Elam = Jeraḥmeel in Ezra 2 7 31, and probably Is. 21 2 Jer. 49 34 *ff.*

2. Ancestor (in a genealogy of Benjamin [*q.v.*, § 9 ii. β]) of the B'ne Ulam [*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel] who were distinguished for their archery; 1 Ch. 8 39 *f.* (αιλαμ, αιλειμ [B]). See *JQR* 11 110 112 *f.*, §§ 9 and 12, and for Jeraḥmeelite archers, Jer. 49 35, 'Behold, I will break the bow of Elam [Jeraḥmeel], the chief [source] of their strength.'[1] T. K. C.

[1] According to Jensen however אובל is a loan-word from Ass. *ubbal* 'carries down'; cp the phrase in the Ass. inscriptions, 'which (*i.e.*, the Ulai) carries down [*ubbalu*] its full waters to the sea,' Ges. *Lex.*(18), *s.v.*

ULLA (עֻלָּא; cp Palm. עלא [fem.] and Sin. עלי; ωλα [BA]), an Asherite whose sons are named in 1 Ch. 7 39. Possibly therefore he is to be identified with one or other of the preceding Asherites—*e.g.*, Shual (שועל), *v.* 36, or ARA (ארא), *v.* 38. 𝕲L, however, omits the names of Ulla and Ara, and makes Hanniel and Rizia sons of ITHRAN. See ASHER, § 4, ii. and note.

UMMAH (עֻמָּה), one of a group of place-names in Josh. 19 29 (end), 30, which, since they produce great stylistic awkwardness, may have been introduced from Judg. 1 31 (Steuernagel). It is usual to emend עמה (MT Ummah) into עכו (MT in Judg. *l.c.* 'Acco'). See PTOLEMAIS. Geographically this can be made plausible (see Moore, *Judg.* 51); but whether it can be said to be favoured by a study of the variations of the MSS of 𝕲, is at any rate doubtful.

There is a strong probability that parts of the geographical survey in Josh. have been based upon earlier texts which referred to the Negeb, where accordingly we may have to suppose that the clans or tribes of Israel originally dwelt. Also that עמה, עמק[2] (Pesh.), עכו (MT in Judg.), and αρχωβ, ακκω, ακκωρ, and ακκωβ, all ultimately come from ירחמאל (Jeraḥmeel). Notice that the valley of Achor (עכור) in Josh. 7 24-26 is near 'Jericho'—*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeel (Kadesh?; see JERICHO, § 4). How the final editor of Josh. 19 24-31 read the name given in MT as Ummah, may be left uncertain. The passage has but a doubtful geographical value.

As to the Versions, Pesh. and 2 Heb. MSS (de Rossi) read עמק. Of the Gk. MSS, B has αρχωβ (*i.e.*, αχωρ, modified by ροωβ?). A group of MSS which as a rule agree with B (16 52 53 57 77 85 131 144 236 237) read ακκω; another group (44 74 76 84 134) ακκωρ, and the related MSS 54 75 ακ[κ]ωβ; A and V (Holmes and Parsons, III XI) and related cursives with L, Compl., Ald. and Syro-hex., in which the names are generally corrected after the Hebrew, αμμα. See conspectus in Hollenberg (*ZATW*, 1 100 *f.*). T. K. C.

UMPIRE (מוֹכִיחַ), Job 9 33 EVmg., EV DAYSMAN. See MEDIATOR.

UNCLEAN. See CLEAN AND UNCLEAN.

UNCTION (χρισμα), 1 Jn. 2 20; RV ANOINTING.

UNICORN (רְאֵם,[3] also רֵים [Job 39 9 *f.*], רְאֵים [Ps. 92 11], cp plur. רֵמִים [Ps. 22 21]; μονοκερως;[4]

[1] Originally Jer. 46-51 appears to have referred to the peoples on the S. and SE. of Palestine. Owing partly to confusions of geographical names, the original prophecies have been filled up and expanded so as to appear to have a wider scope. This is a highly probable, though a new, result. See PROPHET, § 45.

[2] Cp Jer. 21 13 47 5 where העמק and עמקם both probably come from ירחמאל (see *Crit. Bib.*).

[3] The Nab. pr. n. רימן (*CIS*, 2 316) may possibly be connected with רְאֵם.

[4] With regard to the rendering of 𝕲, it should be noticed that a belief in the existence of a one-horned animal goes back to Aristotle (*Part. An.* 3 63), who mentions as such the oryx, and the Indian ass. Later accounts such as that of Ælian (*Nat. An.* 16 20) are largely influenced by the accounts of the rhinoceros; cp Houghton in *Ann. and Mag. of Nat. Hist.*, Nov. 1862, and art. 'Unicorn' in *Ency. Brit.*(9)

Rhinoceros unicornis), a much-debated and somewhat unhappy rendering of the AV,[1] occurs some nine times in the OT, where it regularly gives place in RV to WILD-OX (mg. OX-ANTELOPE, cp Nu. 23 22 etc.). It appears as a wild untamable animal, the most unlikely of all to submit to the plough (Job 39 9-12), of great strength (Ps. 22 21, parallel to *aryēh* אריה 'lion'), and agility (*ib.* 29 6, parallel to *'ēgel*, עגל 'calf'), whose horns were lofty and a symbol of power and might (Nu. 23 22 [2] 24 8 Dt. 33 17 cp Ps. 92 11 [on which see Che., *Ps.*⁽²⁾]). From Is. 34 7 (οἱ ἁδροὶ AVmg. 'Rhinoceros') it was apparently used also in sacrifices. The Heb. *re'ēm* is the same as the Ass. *rīmu*,[3] which is a strong-horned, fierce-looking wild bull depicted with shoulders fully-arched, images of which were often placed at the entrances of Assyrian palaces.[4] Among the Assyrians it was often employed in metaphors of strength, and at times occurs in parallelism with *pīru*, elephant. Hence it is not improbable that the animal referred to is the Aurochs, the *Urus* of Julius Cæsar (*BG* 6 28), who mentions it as existing in the forests of Central Europe, and the *Bos primigenius* of naturalists. Its teeth were found by Tristram in Lebanon, in the valley of the Nahr-el-Kalb, which is just in the neighbourhood where Tiglath-pileser I. (1120-1100 B.C.) claimed to have killed the *rīmu*. The Aurochs was of great size and, to judge by records, of great ferocity; it was hunted and killed by prehistoric man, as skulls which are occasionally found pierced with flint instruments testify. It probably lingered in remote parts of Europe till the middle ages, and it is believed to have been the ancestor of the domesticated breeds of cattle. Probably its least altered descendants are the wild herds of certain English parks such as Chillingham, though these have certainly fallen off in size, in which they compare unfavourably with fossil remains of the *B. primigenius*.[5] See Fr. Del. *Heb. Lang.* 6 *ff.*; Schr. *KAT*, 256; Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 227.

A similar animal is the 'wild cow' or wadiha which, according to Doughty (*Ar. Des.* 1 328), may probably be the רְאֵם. Though of no great size it has dangerous horns measuring sometimes 23 inches (cp illustration *op. cit.* 327), with which when maddened with wounds it will inflict fatal injuries. The animal goes in herds of three to five, and only the keenest hunter can hope to catch one.

The literary history of the unicorn in classical and mediæval ages has been treated by C. Cohn, *Gesch. d. Einhorns* (Berlin, 1896-7).

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

UNKNOWN GOD, ALTAR TO THE (αγνωστω θεω [Ti. WH]; AV, RVmg. 'to *the* Unknown God' RV 'to an Unknown God' Acts 17 23). It is of little moment which rendering we adopt; difference in interpretation cannot be based upon a distinction between definite and indefinite article here, but must be derived from ἀγνώστῳ alone. The word is translated 'unknown,' or 'unknowable.' Whichever be accepted we must be careful to exclude all non-Athenian connotation. To suppose an allusion to the God of the Jews is clearly impossible, in spite of the fact that the epithet 'wholly hidden' (πάγκρυφος) was applied to Yahwè by gentile writers (Just. Mart. *Ad Gr.* 38; *Apol.* 2 10; Phil. *Leg.* 44). On the other hand, it is equally unjustifiable to read into the inscription the signs of 'a want of something deeper and truer.' Both notions would be anachronisms. Although we have no example of an inscription in the precise terms quoted in Paul's speech, there is no difficulty in illustrating and verifying the passage. Pausanias (i. 1 4), on his way from Phalērum to Athens, remarks the altars of 'gods called unknown, and of heroes' (βωμοὶ δὲ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων καὶ ἡρώων). It would be most natural to take this to mean several altars, each with the inscription in the singular; but it is difficult to do this in the face of what Pausanias says at Olympia, 'beside it is an altar of Unknown Gods' (πρὸς αὐτῷ δ' ἐστὶν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός, v. 14 8). Philostratus in his life of Apollonius (6 3) writes, 'it is more prudent to speak well of all the gods, and especially at Athens, where are found also altars of unknown deities' (σωφρονέστερον τὸ περὶ πάντων θεῶν εὖ λέγειν καὶ ταῦτα Ἀθήνησιν, οὗ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἵδρυνται); where again it is impossible to say whether the altars bore the words Ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς or Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. The significance of such altars is clear from Diog. Laert. 1 110. Epimenides in his purification of Athens is said to have turned out some black and white sheep on the Areopagus, directing attendants to follow and watch them, and on the spot where the animals lay down altars were built τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ. This expression cannot be translated, 'the appropriate local deities' (Grote), indicating that in each instance the divinity was a recognised and familiar one: this is clear from the words which immediately follow (ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κατὰ τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους). The people on this and possibly on subsequent occasions knew not what divinity had been offended and required propitiation. In Rome in precisely the same way it often taxed the inventive powers of the College of Pontifices to say what god had sent prodigies. Sometimes they named him from the manifestation itself—*e.g.*, Aius Locutius, the Voice which forewarned the city of the approaching Gauls; sometimes, being in doubt, they used the formula 'sive dei sive deæ' (Aul. Gell. 2 38). It is on this principle that we find a woman imprecating curses on her rival and praying to the deities of the hot spring, 'uti vos aquæ ferventes, sive vos Nimfas (Nymphas) sive alio quo nomine vultis appellari, uti vos eam interimatis' (*Ins. Urb. Rom.* 141). In a well known passage of Horace we have 'Matutine Pater, seu Iane libentius audis' (*Sat.* ii. 6 20). In the passage quoted from Diog. it is possible, however, that by ἀνωνύμους we should understand the altars to have been altogether without inscription. If so, we see that our examples fall into three classes, according to the degree of doubt in the worshipper's mind. The altar may be left without inscription; whether it is god or goddess that claims it cannot be guessed. Or again, it is inscribed 'to the unknown god,' in the singular or plural. In the third case the deity is known, but the votary is ignorant of the proper mode of address.

We may mention, but only to dismiss it, the theory that in the case of Athens these altars dated from a time when writing was unknown and were subsequently inscribed when men no longer knew to what god they had been raised. We must reject also Jerome's statement (*ad Tit.* 1 12) that the inscription ran 'to the gods of Asia and Europe, to unknown and strange gods'; the whole point of the reference in the speech lies in its being an exact quotation. Jerome may indeed have seen such an inscription as he mentions; but it was certainly not that alluded to in Acts.

[1] In Dt. 33 17 the *horns* of the unicorn are spoken of, and to evade the difficulty AV has to render the sing. רְאֵם by the plural.

[2] By תּוֹעֲפוֹת רְאֵם, Nu. *l.c.*, RV 'strength of the wild-ox,' we should rather understand the reference to be to the animal's horns (so RVmg.). תועפות, lit. 'eminences,' from יפע=יעף, cp Ar. *yafa'*, a hill, and *yafa'a*, to ascend. [For a conjecture, see *Crit. Bib.*]

[3] According to its ideogram, a 'mountain-ox,' cp Del., *Entst. Schrift*, 56.

[4] The old conventional representation of the unicorn is ingeniously explained by Haupt ('Psalms' *SBOT*, ET, 173). On the reliefs from the N. palace of Assur-bani-pal we see the king grasping a lion by the ear and piercing his body with a spear. Another represents an arrow fixed in the lion's forehead. The existence of the unicorn seems to be derived from Persian sculptures at Persepolis and Susa, and these in turn were undoubtedly influenced by Assyro-Babylonian sculptures. The conception of the horn, according to Haupt, has accordingly arisen from the imagination of the Persian artist who combined the arrow and ear!

[5] In Arabic the cognate *ri'm* is applied to the *Antelope Leucoryx*, a meek and graceful animal, an inhabitant of the deserts of Arabia and NE. Africa—the very opposite of the Ass. and Heb. רְאֵם. When the older wild bull became extinct, the oryx from its size and general aspect was the natural legatee of its name (cp Che. on Is. 34 7). Cp the similar variation in the meanings of כְּפִר and חֲבַצֶּלֶת in Heb. and the cognate languages.

If we take the far less probable rendering 'to the unknowable god,' we must understand the words to refer to the mysteriousness of God. We may then compare the inscription on the figure of the Egyptian Isis—'I am, and was, and shall be; no man hath lifted my veil' (Plut. *De Is. et Os.*). Still better is the inscription on an altar of Mithra found at Ostia—'signum indeprehensibilis Dei.' (For analogies, see Frazer, *Paus.* 2 33.) W. J. W.

UNLEAVENED BREAD (מַצָּה), Gen. 19 3, etc. See BREAD, § 1, LEAVEN, § 2, and PASSOVER, § 1 *f.* 15.

UNNI (עֻנִּי; perhaps shortened from עֲנָיָה [=either the probable gentilic 'Anānī (so Che.; cp *Crit. Bib.* on 1 Ch. 3 24 15 18), or 'Yahwè answers,' § 52]).

1. A Levitical door-keeper, a musician (1 Ch. 15 18; ελιωηλ [B], ιωηλ [א], ανι [A], ανανιας [L]; *v.* 20: ωνει [Bא], ανανι [A], ανανιας [L]). Cp Ki. 'Chron.' *SBOT*, *ad loc.*

2. RV **Unno**, a Levite, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 12 9 Kt. ענו; om. Bא*A, ιαναι [א^{ca.mg.}] [L]). In L ιαναι is a doublet of ἀνεκρούοντο =עֹנִים. Omitting 'And Bakbukiah' (as a gloss from Neh. 11 17), render, 'And their brethren took up the strain (ranged) over against them.' So Guthe (*SBOT* [Heb.], *ad loc.*); cp Be.-Rys. *ad loc.*[1]

UPHAZ (אוּפָז) in the phrases 'gold from Uphaz' and 'gold of Uphaz' (זָהָב מֵאוּפָז, *zāhāb mē'ūphāz*, Jer. 10 9, כֶּתֶם אוּפָז, *kĕthem 'ūphāz*, Dan. 10 5) is an imaginary place-name. Both passages are corrupt, the former most probably, the latter certainly. Later scribes, who knew the rare phrase זָהָב מוּפָז, *zāhāb mūphāz* (1 K. 10 18; see GOLD, § 1 [*f.*] and n.), imagined this to mean 'gold from Uphaz' (ז׳ מֵאוּפָז, *z. mē'ūphāz*), and read this or (in Dan. 10 5) a phrase like this, in the indistinctly written text which they were copying.

(*a*) The MT of Jer. 10 9 is not well supported. Vg. has *aurum de Ophaz*, but 𝔊 χρυσίον μωφαζ [BAQ], χ. μωφας [א]—*i.e.*, זהב מופז: while Tg., Pesh., Syr.-Hex. (mg.), and Theod. presuppose מֵאוֹפִיר. Giesebr. (but not Co.) reasonably adopts this; cp בזק for ברק Ezek. 1 14. (*b*) The phrase in Dan. 10 5 is rendered ἐν χρυσίῳ ωφαζ by Theod. [BAQ]; 𝔊^{87}, however, instead of rendering it, translates what is really a corrupt form of two dittographed words from the line above, except that it appends to this פז, *i.e.*, it gives ἐνδεδυμένος βύσσινα καὶ τὴν ὀσφὺν περιεζωσμένος βυσσίνῳ καὶ ἐκ μέσου αὐτοῦ φως (where φως is simply a Græcised פז; cp φαζ Cant. 5 11). 𝔊's Hebrew MS must therefore have had, not כתם אופז, but בדים ומתניו פז. The second word was indistinctly written, and was read by him ומתוכו. But we must not suppose that MT is really more correct. 'Girded with gold of Uphaz' (or, as 𝔊's text ran, 'with refined gold') is not a natural expression. We should almost if not quite certainly correct בכתם אופז into בְּרִקְמַת פָּז, 'with embroidery of gold.' A magnificently embroidered girdle is what we expect to hear of; the correction is easy, self-evident. Probably מופז is an earlier reading than אופז; מתניו פז would resemble מת מופז. It is also of course more plausible; the context does not suggest the mention of a locality. It is worth noting that J. D. Michaelis explained זהב מופז as זהב מאופז; also that in Cant. 5 11 𝔊 read כתם ופז; Theod. כתם אופז (Lag.). Cp GOLD. T. K. C.

UR OF THE CHALDEES, lit. Ur Kasdim (אוּר כַּשְׂדִּים; [Η] χωρα[2] [ΤΩΝ] χαλδαιων [BאADEL]; cp Acts 7 4, ἐκ γῆς χαλδαίων; Syr. *'ur dᵉkaldayyā*; *Ur Chaldæorum*, but in Neh. (*de*) *igne Chaldæorum*, alluding to the Rabbinic explanation of 'Ur' as=fire, with which a singular Aggadic legend is connected; see *Jewish Encyclopædia*, I 91, and cp Koran, Sur. 21), Gen. 11 28 31 15 7. The place whence Abram set out on the journey to Canaan, also mentioned in Neh. 9 7†. That Ur is the

1. Prevalent theory.

old Babylonian city of Uru (mod. *Mukayyar*, on the right bank of the Euphrates, about 40 m. SE. from Warka and about 135 m. SE. from Babylon) is altogether more likely than Rawlinson's identification with Erech (אֶרֶךְ), the mod. *Warka*,[1] and is generally accepted; even Dillmann in 1892 (*Gen.*[(6)], 214), after holding out long against the view, substantially adopted it. The chief opponent of the theory at present is Kittel (*Hist.* 1 181 *ff.*; and earlier, *Theol. Stud. aus Württ.* 7 215 *ff.*). The fact that there is no other known Ur in the territory of the Kasdim than the Babylonian Ur is a great difficulty in the way of rejecting the identification, especially since language and literature point so decisively to close relationship between Hebrews and Babylonians. If it is difficult to reconcile with other statements of J or of P—who mentions Ur Kasdim (Gen. 11 31)—that only points more strongly to the strength of the tradition in favour of the Babylonian Ur. But in fact the difficulties are not so formidable as Kittel thinks, [and the comparative antiquity of the tradition is shown by Judith 5 6 Jubilees 11 Acts 7 4. Cp Francis Brown, *JBL*, Dec. 1887, pp. 46 *ff.*; Del. *Par.* 226 *f.*; Budde, *Urgeschichte*, 433 *f.*; Schrader, *HWB*[(2)], 1729 *f.*; and see references in Dillmann's note on Gen. 11 28].

2. Greatness of the S. Bab. city Uru.

The greatness of the city of Uru in politics, religion, and commerce is well brought out by Hommel, *GBA* 212-218 325-329 (cp his *Die semit. Völker u. Sprachen*, 204-211); see also BABYLONIA, § 48. Rogers (*HBA* 2 371 *f.*) thus describes its situation.

'The river Euphrates flowed just past its gates, affording easy transportation for stone and wood from its upper waters, to which the Lebanon, rich in cedars, and the Amanus were readily accessible. The Wady Rummein came close to the city and linked it with central and southern Arabia, and along that road came gold and precious stones, and gums and perfumes to be converted into incense for temple-worship. Another road went across the very desert itself, and, provided with wells of water, conducted trade to southern Syria, the peninsula of Sinai, and across into Africa. This was the shortest road to Africa, and commerce between Ur and Egypt passed over its more difficult but much shorter route than the one by way of Haran and Palestine. Nearly opposite the city the Shatt-el-Hai emptied into the Euphrates, and so afforded a passage for boats into the Tigris, thus opening to the commerce of Ur the vast country tributary to that river. Here, then, were roads and rivers leading to the N., E., and W., but there was also a great outlet to the southward. The Euphrates made access to the Persian Gulf easy. No city lay S. of Ur on that river except Eridu, and Eridu was no competitor in the world of commerce, for it was devoted only to temples and to gods—a city given up to religion.'

The local god of Uru was Nannaru or Sin, the moon-god; cp Eupolemus (Eus. *Præp. Ev.* 9 17), according to whom the Babylonian city Καμαρίνη (Moon-city) was called by some πόλις Οὐρίη.

These details are doubly interesting if Abraham was a historical personage, or even if the tribe which regarded him as its ancestor once lived a pastoral life in the neighbourhood of Uru (cp Tomkins, *Life of Abraham*[(1)], 7 *ff.*). Certainly it is still the average opinion of scholars that the Ur-kasdim, with which P at any rate, if not also JE, closely connects Abraham, is this S. Babylonian city. Why '-kasdim' was added, is not indeed plain; for no other Ur is mentioned in the OT. That, however, is a mere trifle. The considerations which induce Kittel[2] to reject the prevalent theory are as follows:—

3. Kittel's opposition.

(1) The genealogy given by P in Gen. 11 10 *ff.* assumes that the Semites of Arpachšad's time migrated gradually from N. Armenia to Mesopotamia. They then moved on to Ḥarran. (2) In harmony with the above fact P states (Gen. 8 4) that the ark 'rested on the mountains

[1] The following word אחיהם, if not a corruption for אחריהם 'after them,' may have been introduced to give a meaning to ב׳ and the already corrupt ענו. אחיהם לנגדם, as Be.-Rys. point out, is unnecessary here; cp *v.* 24.

[2] [Probably 𝔊 read ארץ for אור, rather χωρα is a transliteration of אור confused (?) with עיר.]

[1] [This view was adopted by Loftus, *Chaldea and Susiana*, 126 (1857). The Syrian Christians, however, maintain Edessa to be the Ur-casdim of the patriarch.]

[2] The English translation of the *History* (1 181, n. 4) gives an important modification of view as regards 'Armenian Chaldæans'; Kittel now withdraws one of his original arguments.

of Ararat,' which must be on the N. or NW. of Assyria. Here is the starting-point of the subsequent history. Can we imagine him suddenly transporting the Semites to the mouth of the Euphrates, and making this their starting-point, simply to bring them back to the place where they once stood with Serug?

(3) We also meet with 'Ur-kasdim' in the J_2 stratum (11 28 15 7). Now J does not state where the ark grounded. Budde therefore conjectures that J must have meant a mountain in the S. of the land of the Two Rivers, corresponding to Mt. Niṣir in the Babylonian story. From this point Noah's descendants will have pressed on to Ur, in S. Babylonia. Terah and Abraham are then supposed to have migrated to Ḥarran. This conjecture is not a very solid one; but in any case 'what a marvellous zigzag we must ascribe to J_2, if we make him take the Semites from the mountain in the S. on which they landed, to Mesopotamia in the N. (Peleg, Serug), thence to Ur-Mugheir, and thence to Haran!'

4. And Gunkel's.

Gunkel, too (*Gen.* 145 [1901]), does not accept the favourite identification.[1] 'The Kasdim,' he says, 'are not the Chaldæans of the "land of the sea" [S. Babylonia], but the people of the same name reckoned in 22 22 among the Nahorids; cp also Job 1 17 2 K. 24 2 and see Winckler *AOF*(2), 2 250-252. From the description in Gen. 11 31 we can only infer that the way from Ur-kasdim to Canaan passed by Ḥarrān. Against this location of Ur-kasdim it may be objected that we know both Uru and Ḥarranu to have been famous seats of moon-worship, so that these two places appear to have an inner connection. But this coincidence may be accidental. At any rate the statement that Abraham came from Ur-kasdim will be a very primitive tradition—a variant to the other statement that he came from Ḥarrān. In P both traditions are united in such a way that two journeys are distinguished, the first from Ur-kasdim to Ḥarrān, the second from Ḥarrān to Canaan.'

5. New solution of problem.

The riddle, as usually stated, admits of no satisfactory solution, for the simple reason that the texts of the narratives in Genesis, after having been partly corrupted in transcription, were re-edited by men who had different geographical presuppositions from those of the original writers. It is becoming more and more probable that the original scene of the primary Hebrew legends was in the Negeb. From 'Adam' to Joseph this can be traced, sometimes with virtual certainty, sometimes with considerable probability. The geographical changes introduced were owing partly (as we have seen) to corruption, and partly to the perplexing similarity of the names in different parts of the ancient East (cp Schr. *KGF* 29 247). There was a Ḥarrān in the N.; there was also in all probability a Ḥarrān in the S. (referred to, *e.g.*, in the phrase, 'Sanballat the Ḥarānite,' החרני, Neh. 2 10, see SANBALLAT). There was an Aram in the N.; there was also an Aram in the S. The later scribes unfortunately forgot all about the southern Ḥarrān and Aram, though they were conscientious enough to leave abundant half-concealed evidence of their existence. Transcriptional errors too were easy.

כשר and קרש, קרש and כוש were very easily confounded, and beside כוש there was a form כּוּשָׁם, which was liable to be miswritten קרשם and even דמשק (see PROPHET, col. 3861, n. 2). It would not be right at the opening of a large field of inquiry to assume that such confusions in any particular case were more than probable. But we are *not* at the opening of an inquiry. Sufficient evidence has been produced by the present writer to justify him in the assertion that there is a strong probability in favour of any correction which brings any particular legend referred to away from the N. into the S. (*i.e.*, into the Negeb). In a continuous survey of the sagas or legends of Genesis it would be possible to make this clear to virtual demonstration. All that can be done here is to point out that, given the presuppositions obtained by the study of other passages, we have a right to make the following emendations which affect the question of 'Ur-kasdim.'

1. Arpachšad (אַרְפַּכְשַׁד) } come from עֲרַב כּוּשׁ, 'Arab-cush(im)
2. Ur-kasdim (אור כַּשְׂדִּים) } —*i.e.*, 'Cushite Arabia.'
3. Chesed (כֶּשֶׂד) comes from כּוּשׁ—*i.e.*, 'Cush' in N. Arabia (see CUSH, 2).
4. Damméseḳ (דַּמֶּשֶׂק) sometimes comes from כּוּשָׁם 'Cusham.
5. Kĕna'an (כְּנַעַן) sometimes comes from קְנַז 'Kenaz.'

In spite of the attempts of Gunkel and Winckler[1] to justify the traditional reading, it remains for us no mere struggling hypothesis but a fact that the 'Kasdim' of Job 1 17 2 K. 24 2, are the N. Arabian Cushites (see JOB, BOOK OF, § 14; OBADIAH (Book), col. 3460, n. 1). We are now bound to go farther, and to assert that according to the original tradition Abraham (the Jeraḥmeelite patriarch) first dwelt in 'Arab-cush, and thence went to Ḥarrān in the land of Kenaz. It will be remembered that Caleb was known as a Kenizzite, and as the hero of Hebron, which name appears to have supplanted the original name REHOBOTH (*q.v.*). Abram or Abraham too migrated to Hebron, or rather Rehoboth—the well-known Rehoboth in the Negeb; he retained however a 'son of Cusham,' 'a Cushamite,' whom he had brought from 'Arab-cush (Gen. 15 2; see *Crit. Bib.*). In the same chapter which states this circumstance we read (*v.* 7) a solemn assurance of Yahwè that he had brought Abraham from 'Arab-cush to possess the land of Kenaz. It is difficult to believe that the original writers (or schools of writers) whom we symbolise as J and E were unaware of this. On Neh. 9 7 we must content ourselves with referring to *Crit. Bib.* It is enough to have stated distinctly here the original tradition.

F. B. § 1; T. K. C. §§ 2-5.

UR (אוּר), one of David's 'thirty' (1 Ch. 11 35†; ϲθυρ [B], ϲουρ [א], ωρ [A], ουρ [L]). One would have expected Uri (אוּרִי); but see ELIPHELET, 2.

URBANE, or rather, as in RV, **Urbanus** (ΟΥΡΒΑΝΟϹ [Ti. WH]), is saluted as 'our fellow-worker in Christ' in Rom. 16 9. The name is a Latin one. When, or in what capacity, Urbanus helped the apostle in his missionary labours is not known.

Urbanus figures as bishop of Macedonia in the list of 'the seventy' compiled by Pseudo-Dorotheus. The ὑπόμνημα of Peter and Paul as given by the Pseudo-Symeon Metaphrastes represents him as consecrated bishop of Tarsus by Peter.

URI (אוּרִי, perhaps a clan-name, shortened and corrupted from Jeraḥme'eli [so Che.], but see NAMES, § 52, and cp URIAH).

1. b. Ḥur—from 'Ashḥur'? [Che.]—the father of BEZALEEL (Ex. 31 2 35 30 2 Ch. 1 5: ουρ[ε]ιου [B, and A in 2 Ch.], ουρ[ε]ι AFL]; 1 Ch. 2 20: ουρ[ε]ι [BAL]).

2. Father of GEBER [*q.v.*, no. 2] (1 K. 4 19: αδαι [𝔊BA], αδδαι [L]). Cp SOLOMON, § 6, third note.

3. A post-exilic door-keeper temp. Ezra; Ezra 10 24 (ωδουθ [Bא], ωδουε [A], ουριας [L]) = 1 Ch. 9 17 (AHIMAN; אֲחִימָן; αιμαμ [B], -ν [AL]); probably corrupt [Che.]) = 1 Esd. 9 25† (ουριας [L]; om. EV with BA, unless the name is buried in αυης of τολβαυης = תלם + αυης or in βακχουρος of *v.* 24).

URIAH, and in Mt. 1 6 AV, **Urias** (אוּרִיָּה, but no. 3 אוּרִיָּהוּ; ΟΥΡ[Ε]ΙΑϹ [BאAL]).

The name might mean 'Yahwè is a fire,' § 35; cp ARIEL, 1. It is strange, however, that a Yahwistic name should be borne by a Hittite. The difficulty disappears if we accept Jastrow's theory (*JBL* 13 101 *ff.*; see NAMES, § 109, n. 3) that the element יה is often only an emphatic afformative. It is equally non-existent on the theory that this element has generally arisen out of י, the common termination of gentilics. אוריה, like אוריאל, URIEL, אוּרִי, URI, is in fact most probably a corruption either of יְרַחְמְאֵלִי, Jeraḥmeeli, or of עֲרָבִי, 'Arābī. Cp also Uru in the Phœnician Urumilki (*KAT*(2), 185). The amount of evidence for such corruptions is too great to be disregarded.

1. A 'Hittite,' one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 39 [ουρει L], 1 Ch. 11 41 [ουρει Bא]), who took part in the war against the Ammonites under Joab, and was got rid of by David in a most cowardly way to cover over his adultery with BATHSHEBA (*q.v.*), Uriah's wife (2 S. 11 12 9 *ff.* 1 K. 15 5).[2]

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[1] In *Gen.*(2) 139 [1902], however, Gunkel falls back on the average opinion of scholars. After stating the view mentioned in the opening sentence of the quotation, he continues, 'against the latter location of Ur-kasdim it may, with justice (*mit gutem Grund*), be objected, etc.'

[1] See *AOF*, 2 250-252.

[2] The qualification in *v.* 5 (end) is wanting in 𝔊B, and is no doubt a gloss. The redactor himself elsewhere gives David an absolute eulogy (11 34 38). So Benz., Kittel.

Our view of the notices of Uriah in 2 S. 11 *f.*, however, needs revision in the light of the facts; (1) that the list of David's heroes, which includes 'Uriah the Hittite,' makes no allusion to the reported treachery of David; (2) that the story of this treachery has undoubtedly been manipulated (see BATHSHEBA, JEDIDIAH, SOLOMON, § 2), out of a regard for edification; and (3) that, חתי being most probably a mutilated form of רחֹבתי, 'Rehobothite,' and 'Rabbah of the b'ne Ammon' being not less probably a corruption of 'Rehoboth of the b'ne Jerahmeel' (cp REHOBOTH), it is not conceivable that 'Jerahmeel the Rehobothite' (misread in the traditional text, 'Uriah the Hittite') should have fought in the ranks of the Israelites on the occasion referred to. Obviously Uriah's true designation had been forgotten when the story of the siege received its present expanded form. To this we must add that stories similar to that of the baleful letter to Joab are familiar to students of primitive folklore.[1] Even apart from this, it is plausible to hold, on grounds of literary criticism, that 2 S. 11 1 was originally followed by 12 26 (S. A. Cook, *AJSL* 16 156 [April 1900]; so, independently, Winckler). Cp, however, Budde in *KHC*, 'Sam.' 250.

It is not difficult to see how Uriah may have come into the story of Bathsheba. BATHSHEBA (*q.v.*) was apparently a 'Jerahmeelite' by origin. ירחמאל, when broken up by the carelessness of scribes, furnishes material for the two words אליעם (Eliam) and אוריה (Uriah). Errors like this often have strange results in the production of legends.

2. A priest, temp. Ahaz, who acted as a witness for Isaiah (Is. 8 2). He is presumably the Uriah (AV URIJAH) who built an altar for Ahaz after a Damascene pattern, 2 K. 16 10 *f.*

3. b. Shemaiah of Kirjath-jearim, slain at the command of Jehoiakim for prophesying against Jerusalem (Jer. 26 20 AV **Urijah**).

4. Father of MEREMOTH (1), a priest temp. Nehemiah, Ezra 8 33 (*αρειου* [L]), 1 Esd. 8 62 (IRI, RV **Urias**; *ουρ[ε]ια* [B], *ουρι* [A], *ουριου* [L]), cp Neh. 3 4 21 (AV **Urijah**, *σουρια* [א]), possibly the Uriah present at the reading of the law under Ezra (Neh. 8 4 AV **Urijah**; *ουρεια* [Bא^c.a.A] = 1 Esd. 9 43 EV URIAS).

T. K. C.

URIEL (*Vriel*), 'the angel that was sent' to Ezra, according to 4 Esd. 4 1 36 (?) 5 20 10 28.

In 4 36 he is called an archangel, but RV prefers the reading JEREMIEL (*q.v.*), a name which occurs nowhere else in this literature, but is most probably, like 'Jeremiah,' one of the many distorted forms of 'Jerahmeel'[2] (cp 𝔊^BA, Jer. 36 26). Possibly 'Jeremiel' (ירמאל) is a variant to 'Raphael' (רפאל); Raphael, according to Enoch 20 2, is the 'angel of the spirits of men.' Uriel, under the corrupt form 'Adoil,' occurs in Tg. Jon., and in the Slavonic Enoch 25 2, not, however, as an angel. This passage presupposes the explanation 'flame of God,' which is hardly the original meaning. The Jerahmeelite connection of some of the chief angelic names in -el is noteworthy. See MICHAEL, and, in illustration, note the facts which point to Jerahmeelite influence, both healthful and the reverse, on the religion of Israel (MOSES, § 14, PROPHET, § 6 *f.*). T. K. C.

URIEL (אוּרִיאֵל; ΟΥΡΙΗΛ). A plausible explanation of the name is 'flame of God,' § 35, or, 'God is a light,' cp נורבל, Nūrbel, a Palmyrene name, de Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* 124; Baeth. *Beitr.* 86. But (1) the analogy (contested, no doubt) of many similar names, (2) the occurrence of the regularly formed ethnic Uri, and (3) the connections of the bearers of the name, may be held to favour an explanation similar to that given above of URIAH—*i.e.*, it is a Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian name [Che.].

1. The father of Michaiah, the mother of Abijah, king of Judah (2 Ch. 13 2). (For *ουριηλ ἀπὸ γαβαων* 𝔊^L has *αβεσσαλωμ*.) But see MAACAH, 3.

2. Chief of the Kohathites, mentioned at the bringing up of the ark to Jerusalem under David (1 Ch. 15 5 11: *αριηλ* [B]).

3. A name in the Kohathite genealogy of ELKANAH (*q.v.*) (1 Ch. 6 24 [9]: *οριηλ* [B]).

4 and 5. Perhaps a collateral form of ARIEL, 1 (=ARELI) and ARIEL, 2.

URIJAH (אוּרִיָּהוּ), Jer. 26 20 AV, RV URIAH (3).

URIM AND THUMMIM (הָאוּרִים וְהַתֻּמִּים[3] 𝔊 ΔΗΛΩϹΙϹ, or ΔΗΛΟΙ, ΚΑΙ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ [1 S. 14 41 ΟϹΙΟΤΗϹ]; Aq. Sym. Theod. ΦΩΤΙϹΜΟΙ [Sym. 1 S. 28 6 ΔΗΛΟΙ, Dt. 33 8 ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗϹ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΔΑΧΗ, cp Jerome] and ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΕϹ, ΤΕΛΕΙΩϹΕΙϹ, ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙ; Vg. *doctrina* and *veritas* or *perfectio*), the apparatus of the priestly oracle (Dt. 33 8 cp 10; Nu. 27 21 Ezra 2 63 [𝔊^BA ΤΟΙϹ ΦΩΤΙΖΟΥϹΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙϹ ΤΕΛΕΙΟΙϹ, 𝔊^L . . . ΤΕΛΕΙΩϹΕϹΙΝ] = Neh. 7 65 [𝔊^BאA ΦΩΤΙϹΩΝ, 𝔊^L ΤΟΙϹ ΦΩΤΙϹΜΟΙϹ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΙϹ ΤΕΛΕΙΩϹΕϹΙΝ]). The only passage which throws any light upon the nature and use of the Urim and Thummim is 1 S. 14 41 *f.*

Emending after 𝔊, we read: 'And Saul said, "O Yahwè, God of Israel, why dost thou not answer thy servant to-day? If this fault be in me or in Jonathan my son, give Urim, and if it be in thy people Israel, give Thummim." Thereupon Saul and Jonathan were taken and the people went free. Then Saul said "Cast between me and Jonathan my son; he whom Yahwè takes shall die" . . . So they cast between him and Jonathan his son, and Jonathan was taken.'

It is evident from *v.* 41 that the question, which in both cases is put as a simple alternative (cp 39), was decided by casting lots; and from *v.* 40 that Urim and Thummim were the names respectively of two objects with which the cast was made.

Comparing 1 S. 14 41 *f.* with 36 𝔊 (cp 3 18 𝔊) we see that the casting of lots with the Urim and Thummim was part of the method of divination by the ephod; in other places where the ephod is employed (23 6 9 30 7) the procedure is so exactly the same as in 1 S. 14 36 *ff.* that there is hardly room for doubt that in these cases also the decision was by the same sacred lots (see EPHOD); and in many others, though neither the ephod nor the Urim and Thummim is named, the same inference may confidently be drawn (see 1 S. 10 20 *ff.* 2 S. 2 1 5 19 *ff.* Josh. 7 16 *ff.* Judg. 20 27 *f.*).[1] In the article EPHOD (§ 4) it has been surmised that the Urim and Thummim were kept in the ephod, and with certain manipulations *secundum artem* drawn or thrown from it. Moslem writers describe a similar mode of divination among the Arabs before Islam. Two arrow-shafts (without heads or feathers), on one of which was written 'Command,' on the other 'Prohibition,' or words of similar purport, were placed in a receptacle, and according as one or the other of them was drawn out it was known whether the proposed enterprise was in accordance with the will of the god and destined to succeed, or not (cp Prov. 16 33 Acts 1 26). At Mecca, it is said, these lots were in the keeping of the guardians of the Holy House, one of whom drew an arrow when a man wished to decide whether to go on a journey, to marry, etc. Sometimes three arrows were used, one of which was blank; if this was drawn the god refused a response (cp 1 S. 14 37 28 6). Other objects, such as white pebbles, similarly marked, were also used; and the interrogatory could be framed in other and more complex ways.[2] That the divination by Urim and Thummim was of this kind is the opinion of J. D. Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, 1, § 52—three pebbles), Ewald (*Alt.* 390 *ff.*), and many others. The form of the Urim and Thummim is unknown; that they were little images (De Castro, Spencer, Gesen., and others) is a conjecture which rests solely upon an erroneous identification with the teraphim. If it were safe to draw an inference from the size and shape of the receptacle provided for them in P's description of the high priest's vestments, we should imagine them as small flat objects, perhaps tablets of wood or bone; but it may be doubtful whether P, who, strangely enough, gives no directions for the making of the Urim and Thummim, had any definite notion what they were.

In P the Urim and Thummim are in the keeping of the high priest (Ex. 28 30 Lev. 8 8 Nu. 27 21); they are preserved in a square pouch which is worn upon his breast, the חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט, *ḥōšen mišpāṭ* (EV 'breastplate of

[1] Mücke (*Vom Euphrat nach Tiber*, p. 75, n. 1) refers to the stories of Bellerophon, Pausanias, and Otto von Wittelsbach.

[2] Similarly Gunkel, in Kau. *Apokr.* 357.

[3] Urim alone, Nu. 27 21 1 S. 28 6; Thummim and Urim, Dt. 33 8. On the derivation and meaning see below.

[1] It is, of course, not imagined that in all cases in which lots are used the Urim and Thummim are meant.

[2] See Ibn Hisham, 197 *ff.*; Lane, *Arab.-Engl. Lex.* col. 1247; cp Tac. *Germ.* 10, and in general Van Dale, *De divinationibus idolatricis in VT memoratis*, chap. 4; We. *Heid.*(1) 126 *f.* (2) 133 *f.* An example of belomancy in the OT, Ezek. 21 21 [26]; see Jerome *ad loc.*, and cp DIVINATION, § 2 (ii.).

judgment'; rather 'of [divine] decision, oracle';[1] see BREASTPLATE). This pouch was permanently attached by chains and cords through rings at its corners to the ephod; the association of the Urim and Thummim with the ephod which we found in the historical books is thus preserved in P (EPHOD, § 3). Whether this form of consulting Yahwè was actually practised in the post-exilic period is doubtful. There is no mention of it in the historical books after the time of David and Solomon (1 K. 2 26 read 'the *ephod*'); but Hos. 3 4 shows that in the prophet's day the ephod-oracle was one of the things which the popular religion could not be thought of as existing without. In Neh. 7 65 (Ezra 2 63 1 Esd. 5 40), however, an important question affecting the rights of certain priestly families is reserved for decision 'when a Urim and Thummim priest shall arise,' proving that this mode of divination was then disused—the art seemingly lost. A reference like Ecclus. 33 3 [*δικαίων* (B), *δήλων* (A); cp 45 10 *δήλοις ἀληθείας*, where, moreover, *λογίῳ κρίσεως* also corresponds to חשן משפט] does not prove that it was practised in the writer's day. Josephus says that the breastplate had ceased to light up (*λάμπειν*, his understanding of the Urim) two hundred years before his time (*Ant.* iii. 8 9 [§ 218]); while according to the Mishna (*Sōṭāh* 9 12)[2] the Urim and Thummim ceased with the death of the pre-exilic prophets; but this is apparently only an inference from Ezra 2 63.

The names Urim and Thummim as vocalised in MT mean 'Lights' and 'Perfection.' This pronunciation is, however, unknown to the translators of 𝔊, who read the former 'Ōrīm, and derived it from הוֹרָה, 'to give decision, tōrāh' (cp Dt. 33 8 10)—an interpretation to which Sym. adheres (*διδαχή*). Modern scholars have not succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of the words. If Urim and Thummim were the names respectively of two lots which were of opposite presage, it is natural to infer that the names had a corresponding significance; and this presumption is still stronger if, as seems not unlikely, the words were actually written upon the objects used for casting or drawing the lot. If, then, תמים is derived, as there is no need to question, from the root תמם 'be without fault,' its opposite might well be a derivative of ארר 'curse,'[3] the one signifying that a proposed action was satisfactory to God, the other that it provoked his wrath. This contrast would be still more natural if we might suppose that the Urim and Thummim were originally employed in a kind of ordeal such as is described in 1 S. 14 36 *ff.*, where the real question was one of guilt or innocence; and it is perhaps not without significance that Saul asks that if the fault be in himself or in Jonathan the lot Urim may come out. If this view is sound, the words should probably be pronounced 'ōrīm and tāmīm. But all such conjectures are subject to the greatest reserve.

Literature.—For the older literature see J. G. Carpzov, *Apparatus historico-criticus antiquitatum*, 1748, p. 75 *f.*; for the history of opinion esp. Kautzsch in *PRE*(2), *s.v.* 16 226-233. The most important of the earlier monographs are Joh. Buxtorf, 'Historia Urim et Thummim,' in his *Exercitationes*, 267 *ff.*, reprinted in Ugolini *Thes.* 12 375 *ff.*; and Spencer, 'De Urim et Thummim,' in *De leg. rit.*, lib. 3 diss. 7 (and in Ugolini, 12 453 *ff.*); see also Braun, *De vestitu sacerdotum*, p. 593 *ff.* See also the literature under EPHOD; [also Haupt, 'Bab. elements in the Levit. Ritual,' *JBL* 19 58 *f.* 72 *f.* (1900); W. Muss-Arnolt, 'The Urim and Thummim,' reprinted from *AJSL*, July 1900]; T. C. Foote, *JBL* 21 27 *ff.* (1902). G. F. M.

USURY. See LAW AND JUSTICE, § 16; PLEDGE; TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 83 (*e*) 4 (2).

1. The commonest word is נֶשֶׁךְ, *nešek*, √נשך, lit. 'something bitten off': *τόκος*, *usura* (Ex. 22 25 Lev. 25 36 *f.* Dt. 23 19 *f.* Ps. 15 5 Prov. 28 8 Ezek. 18 8 13 17 22 12).

2. The verb נָשָׁא, *nāšā*, *ἀπαιτεῖν*, *ὀφείλειν* (Neh. 5 7 (Kt.) Is. 24 2), gives the substantive מַשָּׁא, *maššā*, *ἀπαίτησις* (Neh. 5 7 10).

3. The verb נָשָׁה, *nāšah*, *ἀπαιτεῖν* (Kr.) (Neh. 5 7, *ὠφελεῖν*, Jer. 15 10, etc), gives נֹשֶׁה, *nōšēh*, *κατεπείγων*, Ex. 22 25, AV 'usurer,' RV 'creditor,' and נְשִׁי, *nešī* (Kr.), 2 K. 4 7, EV 'debt' (𝔊BA *ἀποτίσεις τοὺς τόκους σου*, 𝔊L *ἀπότισον τὸ δάνειον*).

4. *τόκος* in Mt. 25 27 Lk. 19 23, RV 'interest.'

UTA (ΟΥΤΑ [BA]), a post-exilic family of Nethinim (1 Esd. 5 30), unmentioned in || Ezra (2 45), or Nehemiah (7 48).

UTHAI (עוּתַי[1]; ΟΥΘΙ [BAL]).

1. 1 Ch. 9 4 (*γωθ*[*ε*]*ι* [BA]) = Neh. 11 4, ATHAIAH.

2. One of the b'ne BIGVAI (*q.v.*); Ezra 8 14 (*ουθαι* [A], *ωθαι* [L]) = 1 Esd. 8 40†, **Uthi** (*ουτου* [B], *ωθαι* [L]), son of Istalcurus, on which see ZABUD, 2.

UZ (עוּץ; with art. הָעוּץ, Jer. 25 20†; on origin of name, see GEOGRAPHY, § 20, and note suggestion below that 'Uz' may be due to an early transcriber's error). According to the traditional view, the name is connected both with a region to the N. and with a region to the S. of Palestine. The facts of MT are as follows: (1) Eldest son of Aram, Gen. 10 23 (*ως*, AEL), cp 1 Ch. 1 17 (*ως*, A [17-23, om. B], *ουζ*, L), where Uz, Hul, etc., are among the sons of Shem, but 𝔊A agrees with MT of Gen. 10 23 (so Cappellus, Houb., Ki.). (2) Eldest son of Nahor, Abraham's brother, Gen. 22 21 (*ωξ* [A], *ωζ* [L]). (3) Grandson of Seir the Horite, Gen. 36 28 (*ως* [ADL], *ους* [E]), 1 Ch. 1 42 (*ως* [BA], *ους* [L]). (4) A land between מצרים (Egypt? Muṣri in N. Arabia?) and Philistia, Jer. 25 20 (not in 𝔊). (5) An Edomite land, Lam. 4 21 (not in 𝔊).[2] (6) A land of uncertain situation, where Job dwelt, Job 1 1 (*ἐν χώρᾳ τῇ Αὐσ*[*ε*]*ίτιδι*; and in 𝔊's addition to 42 17). See, further, GEOGRAPHY, § 20.

Let us consider these data in the following order:—(4), (5), (3), (6), (1), (2). Not much need be said on (4). The clause relative to Uz (?) is omitted by Graf, Cornill, Giesebrecht, and Duhm as a gloss. It seems more probable, however, that העוץ is a corruption of הארץ, which a thoughtless scribe wrote instead of פלשתים, which follows in the list of peoples. As to (5), it is plain from metrical considerations that עוץ is superfluous; most probably it is a corruption of a dittographed ארץ (𝔊, *ἐπὶ γῆς*); the first ארץ seems to have come from מצור (see LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF, § 8; MIZRAIM). As to (3), for 'Dishon' 𝔊 appears to have read 'Rishon,' which suggests Aššūrān[3] as the original. Now the first-mentioned son of Dishan (a mere double of Dishon) is Ḥemdan—*i.e.*, probably Jeraḥmeel. The corresponding place in the list of Dishon's children ought to be occupied by some not less important ethnic. Ozem (אצם), 1 Ch. 2 25, appears therefore to be excluded. Miṣṣur is what we expect, and if עוץ is a name of purely literary origin, and has come by an early transcriber's error from מצר,[4] our expectation is justified.

We now come to (6), and ask, Where was the land of Uz, where Job dwelt? The data appear at first sight to be conflicting. Job was one of the בני קדם. It seems therefore as if he ought to be placed in the E. or NE. of Palestine, and this can be supported by the mention of the Kasdim in Job 1 17, and possibly by the ethnics 'Shuhite' (?) in 2 11, and 'Buzite' in 32 2, also by the references to Uz in (1) and (2), according to the ordinary view. No stress, however, can be laid on the tradition connecting Job with the district of Ḥaurān called the Nuḳrā (see Wetzstein's valuable excursus in Del. *Hiob*(2), 551-604), since it can only be traced back to the fourth century A.D. On the other hand, the names Eliphaz, BILDAD (*q.v.*), and ZOPHAR (*q.v.*), and the ethnic 'Temanite' in 2 11, suggest placing the home of Job in a region S. of Palestine, and 'Kasdim' in 1 17 should probably rather be 'Kušim' (Cushites of N. Arabia), while the representation of Job and his friends as cultivators of 'wisdom' indicates that this was really the view of the writers of our present Book of Job (cp JOB, BOOK OF, §§ 4, 9). This latter view is also confirmed by the apocryphal appendix to Job in 𝔊 (see GEOGRAPHY, § 20), and, according to the present writer's theory, by the phrase *benē ḳedem* in Job 1 3, which is a corruption of *benē reḳem*—*i.e.*, sons of Jeraḥmeel (see

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[1] The meaning of the word חֹשֶׁן is not known; something like 'receptacle' best suits the context.

[2] See also the Talmud, *Sōṭāh* 48 *b*, *Jōmā* 21 *b* (Urim and Thummim lacking in second temple), and Maimonides, *Kělē ha-miḳdāsh*, 10, § 10.

[3] That ארים is perhaps to be connected with ארר was suggested by Wellhausen, *Prol.*(2) 419 n.

[1] For עותיה cp de Vogüé, *J. As.* 1897, 10 202 (no. 355).

[2] Unless *γῆς* represent not only ארץ but also a transliteration of עוץ. See next paragraph.

[3] So ראש in Ezek. 38 2 probably comes from אשור, 'Asshur' (the southern Asshur). See ROSH.

[4] In Lam. 4 21 ארץ seems to have come from צר—*i.e.*, מצר; see above, on (5).

Rekem). As to (1) and (2), we have seen elsewhere (see, *e.g.*, Mizraim) that Gen. 10 has been largely recast, so that 'Aram' originally meant the N. Arabian tribes known collectively as 'Jerahmeel,' and it is possible that the names 'Nahor' and 'Haran' were originally attached to the Negeb.

To sum up. The two sets of data do not really conflict, if Aram and Nahor are primarily names of clans and districts in the Negeb, and not where later writers placed them in the NE. of Palestine. This is not a mere struggling hypothesis, but accords with a large series of parallel phenomena. If, however, we hesitate to admit this view (which implies that 'Aram' comes from 'Jerahmeel'), we may still find a plausible reconciliation of the data (see Job, Book of, § 4). At any rate, a new critical treatment of the name may not be altogether unwelcome. Theories that are simple frequently prove to be erroneous. Cp Budde, *Hiob*, 'Vorwort,' pp. ix-xi. T. K. C.

UZAI (אוּזַי, ευει [BN], ευζαι [A], ουζ. [L]), father of Palal (Neh. 3 25).

UZAL (אוּזָל; Sam. איזל; αιζηλ), son of Joktan, Gen. 10 27 (om. E), 1 Ch. 1 21 (om. B, αιζην [A], ουζαλ [L]), and, by a necessary correction, Ezek. 27 19, where ironwork (*i.e.*, sword-blades?), cassia, and calamus (spice) appear among the articles of trade from Uzal. The name is obscure. Ar. tradition makes *Azāl* the ancient name of the capital of Yemen, later known as *Ṣan'ā* (see Di. *ad loc.* and reff.). The connection of the two names is disputed by Glaser (*Skizze*, 2 277 310 427 434), who prefers to seek for Uzal near Medina.[1]

On the text of the whole verse see Cornill (*Ez.*, *ad loc.*). מֵאוּזָל for מְאוּזָּל is supported by some MSS, 𝔊, Pesh., and nearly all moderns. AV renders 'going to and fro'; RV strangely relegates the above reading ('from Uzal') to the margin, and translates 'yarn,' based apparently on a passive formation of אזל=Aram. עזל, 'to spin.' This weakening of ע to א does occur in Heb., but not often enough to warrant such a rendering (cp W. Wright, *Comp. Gr. Sem.* 48 247). [See also *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10 27 Ezek. 27 19.] F. B.

UZZA, THE GARDEN OF (גַּן עֻזָּא, . . . κηπος οζα [BAL]; Pesh. *g'nth gzza*; *hortus Aza*), the spot where Manasseh and Amon, and according to 𝔊^B (see below) Jehoiakim were buried (2 K. 21 18 26). The most important passage is 2 K. 21 18, because the Chronicler, too, refers to the spot where Manasseh was buried; he makes no such statement in the case of Amon. Manasseh was buried 'in the garden of his house, in the garden of Uzza' (2 K. 21 18): the ‖ passage, 2 Ch. 33 20, simply says, 'in his own house,' or (𝔊) 'in the garden of his house.' Most scholars suppose that near Manasseh's palace was a plantation named after Uzza (Uzziah?) where Manasseh had made a family grave, but this is not quite satisfactory.

In 2 K. 21 18 בגן is written twice over in parallel phrases. Omit the second בגן, and read בְּגַן בֵּית צוּר, 'in the plantation of the mausoleum' (lit. 'rock-house'—*i.e.*, grave in the rock, cp Is. 14 18 22 16*b*). עז in the Psalter is repeatedly miswritten for צר. Note also that in 2 Ch. 36 8 𝔊^B has . . . καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ἰωακειμ . . . καὶ ἐτάφη ἐν γανοζαὴ (γανοζαν [A], Γαν Οζα [L]) μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ. T. K. C.

UZZAH (οζα [BAL]). 1. (עֻזָּה, 2 S. 6 6-8, § 51; αζζα[ν] [A]) or **UZZA** (עֻזָּא, 2 S. 6 3 [αζα, A] 1 Ch. 13 7 9-11), one of the sons of Abinadab who took part in the bringing up of the ark from Kirjath-jearim under David (see Ark, § 5; Kirjath-jearim). He and his brother (אַחְיוֹ; cp Ahio) were driving the cart upon which the ark was placed, when, upon reaching a certain threshing-floor (see Nachon), the oxen 'stumbled' (see below), whereupon Uzzah put forth his hand to steady the ark (emend 2 S. 6 7 after 1 Ch. 13 10 with We., Dr., Bu., and others). For this 'God smote him,' and the place received the name Perez-uzzah (*q.v.*). The Chronicler, however, accounts differently for the calamity; 'none ought to bear the ark of God but the Levites' (1 Ch. 15 2; cp *v.* 12 *f.* and col. 3463, n. 1). The narrative can hardly be understood by itself; it must be taken in connection with 2 S. 5 17-25. It would

[1] Ašur-bani-pal speaks of a city called Azalla, in the far-off land of Mas (see Mesha i.); see Del. *Par.* 243, 298 *f.*

appear (see Rehoboth, Zarephath) that, according to the story which underlies this passage and 2 S. 21 15-22 and 23 8 *ff.*, David and his *gibbōrīm* won a great victory over the Zarephathites and the Rehobothites, and by textual corruption Zarephath-'azzah (the name in the original text) became Perez-uzzah, and so an imaginary person was produced, called Uzzah. The corrupt word Perez naturally suggested a divine judgment (cp Ex. 19 22 Ps. 60 3 [1]). The story is recognised as historical by Wade (*Old Test. Hist.* 248), but it is perhaps wiser to regard it as artificial. See Perez.

'Stumbled' is evidently the sense required in 2 S. 6 6, though AV gives 'shook' (RV 'stumbled'; with margins). שָׁמְטוּ, however, is not the right word; perhaps it is the residuum of הִתְמַטְמְטוּ, 'wavered violently.' For other views see Dr. and Bu. (*KHC*).

2. AV Uzza (עֻזָּה), a Merarite (1 Ch. 6 29 [14]: αζα [A], οζια [L]). Cp Genealogies i., § 7 (ii. *d*). T. K. C.

UZZEN-SHEERAH, UZZEN-SHERAH. See Sherah.

UZZI (עֻזִּי, a perfectly regular abbreviated form of עֻזִּיָּהוּ [for Cheyne's view see Uzziah], cp Palm. עזי; οζ[ε]ι [BAL] generally).

1. b. Bukki, in the genealogical list connecting Eleazar and Zadok (1 Ch. 6 5 [5 31], cp *v.* 51 [36], οζιηλ [L]). This list is given also in Ezra 7 2 *ff.* (σαουια [B], οζιυι [A], οζιου [L]), but with the omission of all names between Meraioth and Azariah (the father of Amariah). In 1 Esd. 8 2 the name appears as Savias (om. B, σαουια [A], οζιου [L]); for Ozias (AV Ezias) here represents Azariah (οζ[ε]ιου [B], εζιου [A], ζαραιου [L]), and 𝔊^B by further omitting Uzzi and his son Zerahiah makes Azariah the son of Bukki—a proceeding which is based on a confusion between עזריהו and עזי. Jos. (*Ant.* viii. 1 3) replaces Uzzi and Zerahiah by ιω[α]θαμος. See Genealogies i., § 7 [iv.].

2. b. Tola, a chief of Issachar (§ 7, end), 1 Ch. 7 2 *f.* (ζειρρει [B *v.* 3]).

3. b. Bela b. Benjamin (§ 9, ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 7 7; cp Uzza (1 Ch. 8 7).

4. b. Michri of Benjamin (§ 9, iii.), 1 Ch. 9 8 (οζιου [L]).

5. b. Bani, an overseer, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11 22, om. ℵ^{c.a}).

6. A chief of a father's house of Jedaiah (Neh. 12 19 42 om. Bℵ*A in both places, οζει [L], οζι [ℵ^{c.a} mg.]). S. A. C.

UZZIA (עֻזִּיָּא; οζ[ε]ια[ς] [BℵAL]), the Ashterathite (very possibly Og's city of Ashtaroth [Dt. 1 4 etc.] was really Zarephath, a city on the N. Arabian border probably conquered by David, see Zarephath; but for the received view see Ashtaroth), one of David's heroes (David, § 11 *a*, i.); 1 Ch. 11 44.† T. K. C.

UZZIAH (עֻזִּיָּה[וּ] in 2 K. 15 32 34 Is. 1 1,[1] etc., 2 Ch. 26 1 *ff.* 27 2; see also 5, below], either an expansion of the clan-name Uzzi (see *Crit. Bib.* on 1 Ch. 5 31) or a religious utterance = 'Yahwè is strength,' or 'my strength' (§ 29); there is the same difference of

[1] That 'Uzza' in 2 K. 21 18 26 has anything to do with 'Uzziah,' as Wellhausen once suggested, is far from probable (see Uzza). Nor has the name Azriya'u of Ya'udi anything to do with our Uzziah or Azariah. With regard to the authentication of the names in the OT, 'Azariah' has on the whole the support of Kings, 'Uzziah' of Chronicles. More particularly, the form עזיה (Uzziah) occurs in 2 K. 15 13 (?) 30 Hos. 1 1 Am. 1 1 Zech. 14 5, but in 2 K. 15 32 34 Is. 1 1 6 1 7 1 2 Ch. 26 1 *ff.* 27 2 עזיהו (Uzziahu); עזריה (Azariah) in 2 K. 14 21 15 1 7 17 23 27, perhaps 13 (see Ginsb.), 1 Ch. 3 12, but עזריהו (Azariahu) in 2 K. 15 6 8. From the point of view of the study of clan-names Azariah is the most to be preferred of these forms. An examination of the occurrences of Eleazar, Eliezer, Azariah, Azarel, Ezri, shows indisputably that there was till quite late times a consciousness that Azar or Ezer represented a clan of the Negeb. It is noteworthy that by their mothers the kings of Judah were much connected with the Negeb. Very possibly the mothers of Amaziah and Uzziah came, not from 'Jerusalem,' but from 'Ishmael' (ירושלם and ישמעאל being liable to confusion). When a queen-mother was of Jerusalem, it was possibly not stated; take, *e.g.*, the cases of the mothers of Hezekiah and Manasseh. In 2 K. 15 13 𝔊's readings are οχοζιου [A] (cp οχοζειαν, B, 2 Ch. 26 1); 30 αχας [B], αζαριου [A] (om. L); 32 αζαριας [BAL]; 34 (οζ[ε]ιας [B], αζαριας [AL]).

opinion as to 'Uzziel.' The question is hardly decided by the existence of the Phœn. pr. names עזבעל, עזמלך, or the Palm. עזי and Nab. עזיו, or by the name found on old Heb. seals—עזיו, 'uzziyā'ū, for which see Wright, *Comp. Sem. Gr.* 72 *f.*—[Che.]).

1. Son of Amaziah, king of Judah, whom he succeeded at the age of sixteen (2 K. 14 21 = 2 Ch. 26 1).

1. Earlier criticism. That the name Uzziah was changed to Azariah at his accession is highly improbable. Both names are equally religious or rather perhaps equally non-religious, and from 1 Ch. 6 24 [9] and 36 [21] we see how easy it was for עזיה to become עזריה, or for עזריה to become עזיה. The form Azariah is the more accurate, but Uzziah may have been a popular corruption; it is hardly worth while therefore to disturb the modern usage, and substitute Azariah for Uzziah. According to Stade[1] in 1887, there is very little information respecting Uzziah at the disposal of the historian. After stating that Azariah or Uzziah was proclaimed king by a popular assembly, he adds that 'the Book of Kings knows nothing of any warlike achievements of Uzziah. The king had the misfortune to become a leper, so that in functions like that of pronouncing judgment, the discharge of which would have brought him into contact with the people, he had to be represented by his son Jotham, who was invested with the office of a prefect of the palace. Where the leper-king resided (see 𝔊) did indeed originally form a part of the tradition; but the word in question (15 5) has become disfigured beyond recognition.'

In further explanation Stade adds, 'bet hachophschit [הַחָפְשִׁית], 2 K. 15 5, chopschût [החפשות], 2 Ch. 26 21, cannot possibly mean an infirmary [RVmg., 'a lazar house']. The aphphûsôth [αφφουσωθ; but in 2 Ch. αφφουσιων B, απφουσωθ A] of 𝔊 seems to suggest that it is not the original reading. It is, however, equally obscure what is the Hebrew word underlying it. Probably some building in the royal fortress is meant.'[2]

Stade concludes with the remark that 'the sixteen years which the Book of Kings gives to Jotham, include the period during which Jotham was the regent for his father.' Elsewhere (567) Stade further mentions that Uzziah rebuilt Elath, which his father had probably recovered. It is clear, however, that fresh investigations of the Book of Chronicles and of the Hebrew text both of Kings and of Chronicles do not favour this extreme historical sobriety. Considering that the Book of Kings gives Uzziah a (nominal) reign of not less than fifty-two years, an augmentation of our scanty material is of importance. Let us consider our situation.

As to the accession of Uzziah, and the assumed conquest of Elath, we can hardly rest satisfied with the

2. Circumstances of Uzziah's accession. ordinary view of the circumstances of the time. As Kittel has pointed out, these are contained in portions of two different documents, viz., 2 K. 14 7-14 and *vv.* 19-22;[3] each source, in a carefully revised text, must be separately studied. From the former we infer (cp JOKTHEEL), that the contest between Jehoash and Amaziah was for the possession of the NEGEB (*q.v.*), a part of which Jehoash had recovered for Israel,[4] but which Amaziah wanted for Judah. A decisive battle took place 'at Beth-cusham which belongs to Jerahmeel,' and Amaziah was worsted and (according to this stratum of the narrative) taken captive. We now have to turn to our second fragment of narrative, remembering (this we learn from *v.* 7, where read 'Arammites,' and for the rest see JOKTHEEL, SELA) that Amaziah had excited the bitter animosity of the Arammites or Jerahmeelites by his cruelty at the rock of Kadesh. The notice (*vv.* 19-22) is very meagre, and the text is imperfect. We can, however, venture to infer from *v.* 19 that, according to this document, Amaziah had not been carried away by Jehoash, but had sought refuge at some place in the independent, non-Israelitish portion of the Negeb.[1] Thirsting, as it would appear, for vengeance, some of the inhabitants conspired against the fallen king. He fled to Eshcol[2] or Ḥaluṣah (?), an important city in the Negeb, but the dagger of the assassin found him there. The actors in the following scene (*vv.* 20-22) are the non-Israelites of the Negeb.

'And all the Cushites bore him [to Jerusalem], and he was buried in Jerusalem. . . . And the Jerahmeelites took Azariah (16 years of age) and made him king instead of Amaziah his father, and imposed oaths upon him. And they returned to Jerahmeel, after the king had lain down with his fathers.'[3]

The humiliation of Judah was now complete. First Israel, and then Jerahmeel, had treated it as a subject state. The only comfort was that Israel and Jerahmeel were foes, and in a struggle between the two the wishes of Judah would naturally accompany Israel. (It will be seen that the statement of the conquest of Elath has arisen out of a corruption of the text.[4])

As to the wars of Uzziah. According to the Chronicler, the king warred successfully against the Philistines, the

3. Wars of Uzziah? Arabians, and the Meunim, and strengthened the fortifications of Jerusalem, which must have suffered greatly at the capture of the city by Jehoash (2 Ch. 26 6-9). The Book of Kings (as we have seen) is entirely silent as to this national aggrandisement; but elsewhere valuable information has been found underlying the statements of Chronicles. Still, great exaggeration there must at any rate be, as Guthe (*GVI* 186) remarks. Unless we could bring ourselves to identify Azariah of Judah with Azriya'u of Ya'udi, we could not possibly imagine the sudden and unexpected revival of the martial prowess of Judah. M'Curdy, it is true, assumes this;[5] he also thinks that the relation of Hezekiah to the Philistine city of Ekron in the time of Sennacherib, and the statement of Sennacherib that the cities which he had cut off from Judah he gave to the kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza, imply a period of Judahite expansion which we can only place in the reign of Uzziah. Winckler, on the other hand, remarks, 'Such successes as those which are described would be possible only if Azariah acted as the vassal of a more powerful prince. Muṣri could not be such, for it is certain that the Philistine cities would have enjoyed its special protection. There was Assyria, no doubt; but Azariah could have taken part in the Assyrian campaign of 773 [the last year of Shalmaneser III.] only as a feudatory of Jeroboam II.' (*KAT*(3), 262).

There is no difficulty in supposing that either the Chronicler has misread his authority, or the text of Chronicles itself has suffered corruption. There is no difficulty in supposing that Uzziah after a time broke his 'oaths' and made war on the Jerahmeelites—*i.e.*, on that section of the Jerahmeelites which neither Jehoash nor (2 K. 14 28, explained in col. 3861, n. 1) Jeroboam II. had subdued. That he 'broke down the wall' of Rehoboth and Ashḥur,[6] is improbable, but he

1 *GVI* 1 569 *f.*

2 For Stade's fuller expression of opinion, see *ZATW* 6 156-159 (1886), where, *inter alia*, it is suggested that the true reading may have been בֵּית הַחֹרֶף, Jer. 36 22 (Am. 3 15)—*i.e.*, the winter palace.

3 Kittel wrongly detaches *v.* 22, and assigns it to the same document as *vv.* 7-14. The text, in its true form, does not appear to allow this.

4 In 2 K. 13 25 the reference is to cities in the Negeb; the present text of 10 33 is full of distortions of names of districts and places in that region. See *Crit. Bib.*

1 In *v.* 19 we read, 'And they conspired against him in Ishmael' (ישמעאל, as elsewhere, for ירושלם).

2 Reading אשכל for לכיש. The same change may be required in Mic. 1 13.

3 For the corrections see *Crit. Bib.*

4 The emendation in 2 K. 14 22*a* (ויבא אחו באלות; cp Ezek. 17 13) has already been suggested by Klostermann, who, however, makes Jeroboam II. the subject of the verb. To connect *v.* 22, either in whole or in part, with *v.* 7 (as most propose), is very difficult.

5 *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 312, n. 1; 'Uzziah and the Philistines' *Expos.* 1891 *b*, pp. 388-396.

6 So read for 'Gath' (as often) and 'Ashdod' (as Am. 3 9). A

may have made successful incursions into the Jerahmeelite land,[1] and have inflicted a check on his enemies. More than this we cannot say, and underlying the account of Uzziah's leprosy there is probably a record of a great humiliation sustained by the king.

As to Uzziah's leprosy (cp LEPROSY, § 5, iv.). In 2 Ch. 26 16-21 he is said to have been struck with leprosy

4. Reported leprosy.

as a punishment for attempting to usurp the office of the priesthood by burning incense in the temple, in spite of the well-established fact that the ancient kings from time to time exercised sacerdotal functions. But in 2 K. 15 5 all that is said is, 'And Yahwè smote the king, so that he became a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in the house * *' (the last word appears untranslatable). Has something been omitted by the compiler of Kings, and if so, did it agree with Chronicles? To answer the latter question in the affirmative is difficult, the story in Chronicles being so clearly post-exilic. The case is parallel to that of 2 K. 14 22. The true text probably runs nearly as follows:—'And Jerahmeel led the king away to Miṣṣur to the day of his death, and he dwelt in Beth-zarephath of Miṣṣur.'[2]

The mother of Jeroboam I. was called in error 'a leper,' whereas really she was a Miṣrite (col. 2404, n. 2); Naaman in the earlier form of his story was called, not a leper (2 K. 5 1), but a Miṣrite.[3] And Uzziah, too, in the narrative from which the compiler of Kings drew, must have been brought into connection with the Miṣrites. Like Manasseh (probably), Uzziah was carried into captivity by the Miṣrites or Jerahmeelites of N. Arabia; but unlike Manasseh he did not return. Meantime, his son Jotham was necessarily regent at Jerusalem.

As to the earthquake, a detail so romantically used by Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 10 4). In Zech. 14 5 Am. 1 1 (title)

5. Earthquake.

we find obscure references to an earthquake in Uzziah's reign, and the suggestion has been hazarded that this earthquake may have suggested the imagery of Is. 2 19-21 and Am. 4 11. It is true, the available evidence for the fact is very late, and Wellhausen throws doubt on its historical character (cp AMOS, § 4). In Zech. 14 5 we should probably read, 'as ye fled before Ashḥur' (אשחור), and in Am. 1 1, 'two years before Ashḥur was rooted out.' The Zech. passage alludes to the frequent raids of Jerahmeelites or Ashḥurites from N. Arabia, and the Am. passage probably to the events attending the successes of Jeroboam II. in the Negeb (see § 2).

As to references to Uzziah in Isaiah. That there is such a reference in Is. 6 1, is unquestionable. In Is.

6. Uzziah in Isaiah.

26-8 12-16, however, it is only to Jotham, first as regent and then as king, that the prophetic writer's descriptions can be safely held to apply. Exegesis, of course, is unaffected by this result. T. K. C.

We have no further information respecting Uzziah, unless we may venture to identify Azariah of Judah

7. Azriya'u, is he Uzziah?

with an important personage in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III. This monarch informs us that in his reign (738 B.C.) nineteen districts situated in the neighbourhood of Hamath banded themselves against him under Az-(or Iz-)ri-ya-u of Ya-u-di, but were eventually overcome (see *KAT*(2) 217 *ff.*, *KB* 2 25 *ff.*, Tiele, *BAG* 229 *f.*). The identification of Azriyau of Ya'udi with Azariah (= Uzziah) of Judah proposed by the late George Smith the Assyriologist, and after him by Schrader (*KGF* 399 *ff.*), who ably supported it against A. von Gutschmid, was accepted by Winckler in 1892, and is even now defended by M'Curdy (*HPM* 1 348 *f.*), C. F. Kent (*Hist. Heb. People*(2), 2 126), and Rogers (*HBA* 2 119 *f.*). A strong opposition has, however, been raised to it (see, *e.g.*, Wellh. *JDT* 20 632; Klo. *Sa.-Kö.* 496; Wi. *AOF* 1 1 *ff.*; *KAT*(3) 54, and, following Winckler, Che. *Intr. Is.* 4). Ahaz, it has been urged, was reigning four years later (734 B.C., see AHAZ), and the deaths of Uzziah and Jotham must therefore have been almost contemporaneous. The assertion that Jotham himself may have possibly taken the field, and not Uzziah (M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 414), on the theory that *qui facit per alium facit per se*, is scarcely borne out by the precise wording of the cuneiform text. But a far greater objection is the difficulty of supposing that Uzziah of Judah should ever have wished to interfere with Tiglath-pileser, that he should ever have been in a position to undertake such an expedition, and that he should have been the leader of a band of tribes representing a district extending from the Orontes to the sea, and from the northern flanks of Lebanon and Anti-libanus to the sea of Antioch;[1] for whatever his relations with Jeroboam II. may have been, it is at all events clear that the statement in 2 K. 14 28 cannot be called in to support the identification (see JEROBOAM ii.).

These objections are urged with great force by Winckler (*AOF* 1 10 *ff.*), who, dismissing the old identification, would explain Ya-u-di as the well-known יארי of the Zenjīrli inscriptions mentioned in the steles of Panammu and Hadad, a view which is favourably quoted by Kittel (*Könige*, 263), and unreservedly accepted by Hommel (art. 'Assyria,' Hastings' *BD*).[2]

S. A. C.

2. One of the b'nē Kohath, in the genealogy of HEMAN, 1 Ch. 6 24 [9] = 36 [21] AZARIAH, עֲזַרְיָהוּ.

3. One of the b'nē HARIM, Ezra 10 21 = 1 Esd. 9 21 AZARIAS (but οζιας [L]).

4. Father of Athaiah in list of Judahite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA, ii., § 5 *b*, § 15, 1 *a*) (Neh. 11 4, αζεδ [B], αζεδνα [ℵ]).

5. Father of JONATHAN, 9 (1 Ch. 27 25, עֻזִּיָּהוּ).

T. K. C., §§ 1-6; S. A. C., § 7.

UZZIEL (עֻזִּיאֵל, § 29; either a clan name [cp UZZIAH], the *-el* being only formative, or = 'God is my strength,' § 29; οζ[ε]ιηλ [BAFL]), a name found only in post-exilic writings, and in connection with names capable of being regarded as clan-names of the Negeb (Che.).

1. b. Kohath (cp JAHAZIEL, 3); mostly mentioned last in the list of sons (Ex. 6 18 Nu. 3 19 1 Ch. 6 2 [5 28] 18 [6 3]). According to Lev. 10 4 he was the uncle (דֹּד) of Aaron (αζιηλ [B]). Of his sons who are mentioned in Ex. 6 22 (see also 1 Ch. 23 20 [𝔊[B] identifies Uzziel with Jahaziel of 5 19] 24 24) the most important was Elzaphan (cp ZAPHON), who was the chief of all the Kohathites (Nu. 3 30).

region in or near the Negeb was called Ashḥur, and there must also have been a city bearing the same name (cp the place-name Jerahmeel).

1 The 'Philistines' are our old friends the 'Zarephathites' (see ZAREPHATH), and the 'Arabians of Gur-baal' are the 'Arabians of Jerahmeel.' The 'Maonites' should be the 'Ammonites,' which, as often, is a corruption (which obtained an independent existence) of 'Jerahmeelites.'

2 וינהג ירחמאל את־המלך מצור עד־יום מתו וישב בבית־ערפת מצור. The final word is restored from 2 Ch. 26 21. The strange word החפשית comes from האשפות, 'the dung-hill,' and אשפות (as in the phrase שַׁעַר הָאַשְׁפֹּת, Neh. 2 13, etc.) is a corruption of צפת = צרפת.

3 The rendering of 2 K. 5 1*b* and accompanying note in the OT of Kautzsch should open the eyes of some readers. 'But the man was . . . leprous.' 'The two omitted words mean elsewhere, "an able (or valiant) man"; either they have arisen from a mutilation of the text or they have got in here by mistake.' מצרי, however, if we restore this word, is in apposition to גִּבּוֹר חַיִל.

1 Among the districts named are *Ḫatarikka*, *Arḳa*, *Ṣianna* (see HADRACH, ARKITE, SINITE).

2 See, on the other hand, M'Curdy, *Hist. Proph. Mon.* 1 413 *ff.* It has also been plausibly suggested that יארי may be meant in the famous title of Sargon at the opening of the Nimrūd inscription (*KB* 2 37), 'the subduer of Ya'udu, whose situation is far off.' Elsewhere, Sargon calls Canaan *bît Ḫumri* (cp *KAT*(2) 189, and see OMRI). See SARGON, § 17.

The b'nē Uzziel are mentioned in 1 Ch. 15 10 with Amminadab their chief as amounting to 112; and it is noteworthy that Elzaphan appears in *v.* 8 as a separate clan. From Uzziel come the UZZIELITES (הָעָזִּיאֵלִי, Nu. 3 27 ὁ οζειηλεις [B], ὁ οζιηλ'εις [A], οζιηλ 'εις [F], οζιηλ εἰς [L]; 1 Ch. 26 23). See GENEALOGIES i., § 7.

2. b. Ishi, a captain of SIMEON (§ 5) in the raid against the Amalekites and Meunim (1 Ch. 4 42).

3. b. Bela, in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *a*) (1 Ch. 7 7).

4. A Hemanite musician (1 Ch. 25 4 *αζαραηλ* [B], who in *v.* 18 is called AZAREL (L, however, *οζιηλ*).

5. In 2 Ch. 29 14 Uzziel figures as a son of Jeduthun, not of Heman (as above). It is also noteworthy that the name occurs here in close connection with that of Elzaphan (*v.* 13).

6. 'Uzziel, the son of HARHAIAH (*q.v.*) goldsmiths,' in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 8 (𝔊^{BNA} omits). See Ryle, Be.-Ry., Siegfr. *ad loc.*

[Various explanations have been given of this strange phrase. Apart from the 'Jerahmeelite theory,' we may be grateful for S. A. Cook's ingenious suggestion (*Exp. T* 10 280, and HARHAIAH). But in the light of many other passages in which 'Jerahmeel' and 'Zarephath' put on strange disguises, and, in particular, of *vv.* 31 *f.* (on which see *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* 5 440 [1901], and PERFUMERS), it is difficult not to decide somewhat positively in favour of the following restoration, 'Next to him repaired Uzziel, son of Jerahmeel, a Zarephathite. And next to him repaired Hananiah, son of Jerahmeel.' The historical inference of Meyer (*Entst.* 153) that artisans with no landed estate had no *gens*, the guild taking the place of the *gens*, is therefore hardly justified.—T. K. C.]

V

VAHEB (וָהֵב [אֶת־]; but MSS and Gr. Ven. אתוהב), apparently a locality in the Amorite country, towards Moab, described as being 'in Suphah' (בְּסוּפָה); Nu. 21 14 RV.

AV (following Onkelos) gives the indefensible rendering, 'What he did in the Red Sea'; Vg. 'sicut fecit in mari rubro';[1] Gr. Ven. *ετεβαεβη ἐν λαίλαπι.* The rendering of 𝔊^{BA}, however—*τὴν ζωοβ* (*ζοοβ* [FL]) *ἐφλόγισε*[2]—presupposes the reading את־זהב סרף, and studying this in the light of suggestions elsewhere made with regard to the 'stations' of the Israelites and the place-names in Dt. 1 1 Gen. 36 31-39, we see that 'Vaheb' is probably a corruption of 'Miṣṣur' and 'Suphah' of 'Ṣarephath' (see DI-ZAHAB, SUPH). If the quotation really comes from a poetical record of the ancient wars we may further suppose that a verb has dropped out, and render '(he conquered) Miṣṣur and Ṣarephath' (two places in N. Arabia on the border of S. Palestine; see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*, ZAREPHATH). It is much more probable, however, that instead of 'the book of the wars of Yahwè' (ספר מלחמת יהוה) we should read 'the list of Jeraḥmeel' (ספר ירחמאל), and suppose that the Priestly Writer here introduces us to one of his chief sources of information for N. Arabian place-names.

The passage then becomes, 'Wherefore it is said in the list of Jeraḥmeel, The land of Miṣṣur and Ṣarephath; the land of Jerahmeel which stretches towards the city of Zarephath, and is adjacent to the border of Miṣṣur' (עַל־כֵּן יֵאָמַר בְּסֵפֶר יְרַחְמְאֵל אֶרֶץ מִצּוּר וְצָרְפַת וְאֶרֶץ יְרַחְמְאֵל אֲשֶׁר נָטָה לְעִיר צָרְפַת וְנִשְׁעַן לִגְבוּל מִצּוּר).' See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

VAJEZATHA, RV **Vaizatha** (וַיְזָתָא; ζαβουθαιον [BL^{b}], ζαβουδεθα [ℵ], ζαβουγαθα [A], ιζαθουθ [L^{a}]), a son of HAMAN, Esth. 9 9. The names of Haman's sons put a heavy strain on the traditional theory respecting the Book of Esther. In the case of Vaizatha the form itself is not certain, the ו being exceptionally long and the ז exceptionally short (a trace of an early corrector's work?). Benfey conjectures as the Persian original Wahyaz-dâta.

If, however, the story has been remodelled, and in its original form the names were such as a Hebrew writer might regard as Jeraḥmeelite (see PURIM, § 7), one might venture to restore זיתר (cp יתר, I 10), behind which may lie צרפתי, 'Zarephathite.' Haman, being an Agagite, was an Amalekite (*i.e.*, Jeraḥmeelite). T. K. C.

VALE, VALLEY, occurs in AV as the rendering of the following Heb. words:

1. עֵמֶק, *'ēmeḳ* (etym. 'depth'; κοιλας, φαραγξ, πεδιον, etc.), for which, in geographical designations, RV, followed by G. A. Smith, gives 'vale,' is the most natural antithesis to הַר, *hār*, 'mountain' (cp Mic. 1 4 1 K. 20 28, מִישׁוֹר, *mīšōr*, *v.* 23, cp PLAIN, 5). It is applied to wide level spaces opening out of a mountainous country. About the names of most of these 'vales' considerable controversy has gathered (see ACHOR, ELAH, ESDRAELON, MULBERRY-TREE, REPHAIM, SIDDIM, SUCCOTH). The vales of Hebron and Aijalon, however, are well-known, and may be taken as typical. 'Ēmeḳ is also applied to parts of the Jordan valley (Josh. 13 27 [cp 𝔊] 17 16, and, if the text is correct, Ps. 60 6 [8], but see SUCCOTH), and to the lateral valleys of the Jordan (1 Ch. 12 15 [*αὐλών*] Cant. 2 1). In Ps. 65 14 Job 39 10 'vales' are apparently referred to, not as the antithesis of mountains, but as containing fertile arable land. But the text of these passages is disputed. AV has VALE in Gen. 14 3 8 10 37 14, and DALE in Gen. 14 17 (RV 'vale') 2 S. 18 18 (EV). On the difference between the *'ēmeḳ* and the *biḳ'ā* (see 2), see ESDRAELON.

2. בִּקְעָה, *biḳ'āh* (etym. 'split,' 'cleft'; *πεδίον*) is also used in contrast to 'mountain' (*e.g.*, Dt. 8 7 11 11, [*πεδινή*], cp Ps. 104 8). The etymological meaning explains Is. 40 4, 'Every *biḳ'ah* (EV 'valley'; 𝔊 *φάραγξ*; Di. 'ravine') shall be exalted'—*i.e.*, filled up. The modern Arabic equivalent *el-Buḳā'* is the name given to the valley situated between the Lebanons. The same word is rendered PLAIN (*q.v.*) by AV in Am. 1 5 (RV 'valley'), Ezek. 37 1 *f.* (AV$^{mg.}$ 'champaign'), and by EV in Neh. 6 2 Dan. 3 1 (Aram. בִּקְעָא), Gen. 11 2 Ezek. 3 22 *f.* (RV$^{mg.}$ 'valley') 8 4, etc. On Dt. 34 3 (EV inaccurately, 'the plain of the valley of Jericho') see JORDAN, § 2.

3. גַּיְא (also גֵּיא, גַּי, גֵּי; see the Lexicons), *gai*, *gē*, etc. (etym. perhaps 'depression'; *φάραγξ*, also *νάπη*, *κοιλάς*, etc., once *βουνός*, 2 K. 2 16 [om. A]). A frequently occurring word for a somewhat narrow opening in the mountains, gorge, ravine; see (*e.g.*) JIPHTHAH-EL, HARASHIM, SAMARIA, ZEBOIM, ZEPHATHAH, HAMONGOG, and especially HINNOM. In 1 S. 17 3 (*αὐλών* [𝔊^{AL}]) it apparently designates the deep channel, dug by the turbid water torrents in the middle of the vale (*'ēmeḳ*) of Elah. Relatively to the *gai*, or lower valley, the *'ēmeḳ* might be called *hār*, 'mountain,' unless we suppose in 1 S. 17 the combination of elements from two sources. See ELAH, EPHES-DAMMIM.

4. נַחַל, *náḥal*, denotes both a winter torrent and the valley it flows through. It occurs in both senses 1 K. 18 5. See BROOK.

5. הַשְּׁפֵלָה, the *shĕphēlāh*, AV 'vale,' 'valley,' 'low plain,' RV 'lowland.' See JUDÆA, SHEPHELAH.

6. *αὐλών*, Judith 4 4 (see SALEM, VALLEY OF) 7 3 17 10 10 *f.* (see BETHULIA).

7. *φάραγξ*, Judith 2 8 (*φάραγγας . . . χειμάρρους*, 'ravines . . . wâdys') 7 4 11 17 12 7 13 10 Lk. 3 5 (= Is. 40 4).

VAMPIRE (עֲלוּקָה), Prov. 30 15 RV$^{mg.}$; see LILITH (§ 2).

VANIAH (וַנְיָה), of the b'nē BANI (*q.v.*), in list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i., § 5, end); Ezra 10 36 (*ουιεχωα* [B], *-ερεχω* [ℵ], *ουουνια* [A], *ουαν.* [L]), apparently the ANOS (*ανως* [BA], ? om. L) of ‖ 1 Esd. 9 34.

VASHNI (וַשְׁנִי), 1 Ch. 6 28. See JOEL i., 2.

VASHTI (וַשְׁתִּי; αcτιν [BℵAL$^{\beta}$], ουα. [L^{a}], ετι [? Bℵ$^{c.a}$AL in 1 19]), the name of the consort of Ahasuerus, who was divorced on account of her refusal to present herself before the guests of the king on the seventh and last day of his great banquet (Esth. 1 9-22).

[1] Vg. continues 'sic faciet in torrentibus Arnon. Scopuli torrentium inclinati sunt, ut requiescerent in Ar, et recumberent in finibus Moabitarum.'

[2] 𝔊 continues *καὶ τοὺς χειμάρρους Αρνων καὶ τοὺς χειμ. κατέστησεν κατοικίσαι Ηρ, καὶ πρόσκειται τοῖς ὁρίοις Μωαβ.*

According to Herodotus (5 18; cp 9 110) it was the custom of the Persians to have their wives and concubines present at great feasts. This, however, hardly illustrates the story of Vashti, for it was evidently by an arbitrary command of the king, whose heart was 'merry with wine,' that Vashti was summoned to the banquet. Indeed, Vashti had made a feast of her own for the women of the palace (*v.* 9).

Vashti's name used to be connected with the Persian *vahista*, 'optimus,' but, according to a very clever hypothesis of Jensen, Vashti, Haman, and Zeresh are pale reflections of Elamite divinities, named respectively Mashti (or Vashti?), Humman, and Kĕriša (see ESTHER, § 7; Jensen, *WZKM* 6 70; Wildeboer, 'Esther' in *KHC* 17 173). This view, however, is not very probable.

Ahasuerus (?) and Vashti (?) are as much a couple as Haman and Zeresh, and both ought to be explained on the same principles. Moreover, the text of Esther ought to be not less carefully criticised than that of Samuel before any hypothesis as to the origin of the story is formed. There is no issue out of the perplexities caused by the book as it has come down to us. But revising the text on the same principles as we revise the text of Samuel we see that (as in parts of Samuel) a story underlies the present story of Esther and Mordecai which has a different geographical and historical setting. The Jewish people, doubly represented by Esther (=Israelith) and by Mordecai (Carmeli=the Jerahmeelite Jews), are in captivity in the land of the hostile Jerahmeelites (see OBADIAH, § 7; LAMENTATIONS, BOOK OF, § 7 *f.*; PSALMS, §§ 28 *ff.*)—*i.e.*, the Edomites and other Arabians, whose king is described as 'Ashhur, king of Jerahmeel and Cush' (for אחשורש הוא אח׳ המלך מהדו ועד־כוש read אַשְׁחֻר מֶלֶךְ יְרַחְמְאֵל וְכוּשׁ׳). Vashti, therefore, ought to be a representative of the Asshurite, Jerahmeelite, and Cushite people, that the nation of the oppressors may, like the nation of the oppressed, have double and therefore complete representation. That the name Vashti is corrupt is plain; cp VANIAH, VOPHSI. Most probably it comes from Asshurith, 'Asshur' being often used as a synonym for 'Jerahmeel' Cp MORDECAI, PURIM. T. K. C.

VAULT (נָצוּר), Is. 65 4 RVmg.; see TOMB.

VAULTED CHAMBER (גַּב; οικημα πορνικον; *lupanar*), Ezek. 16 24, etc., RVmg.; see HIGH PLACE, § 6. A mound or shrine for illicit worship is obviously intended; but the rendering of 𝔊 and Vg. (after analogy of *fornix*) is 'without sufficient proof, and needless' (BDB).

VEDAN (וְדָן), Ezek. 27 19 RV. See JAVAN, § 1 *g*.

VEIL (VAIL). It is not easy to distinguish between the veil and the mantle in the OT. As in the East at the present day, the Hebrew veils were mostly ample wraps which protected the head and shoulders against exposure, and sometimes reached the feet. Though veils were part of the ordinary attire of Hebrew women, unmarried girls did not muffle their faces, nor did married Jewesses usually wear veils even out of doors (1 Cor. 11 5 *f.*). In the Talmud we find that only Jewesses of Arabia wore veils (*Šabbāth*, 65 *a*) to cover their whole face, the eyes excepted. The bride, however, veiled herself (cp *nubere viro*) in presence of the bridegroom, both before marriage and at the wedding ceremony (Gen. 29 25); see MARRIAGE, § 3.[1] The modern Oriental *yashmak*, which hangs in a narrow strip from below the eyes to the feet, was not used by the Hebrews.

The terms rendered 'veil' are:—

1. *ṣā'īph*, צָעִיף, Gen. 24 65 38 14 19†, which, as Lagarde (*Sem.* 24) has shown, was not a veil (EV), but an ample wrap square in shape. 𝔊(ADEL) renders θέριστρον, a light summer garment; cp MANTLE, § 2 [12].

2. *ṣammāh*, צַמָּה, Is. 47 2 RV (κατακάλυμμα [BℵAQ]; AV 'locks'), Cant. 4 1 3 6 7† RV (σιώπησις [BℵA]; AV, RVmg. 'locks').[2]

3. *rĕdīd*, רְדִיד, θέριστρον [BℵAQΓ], EV Is. 3 23; AV, RVmg. Cant. 5 7† (RV mantle); and

[1] On the *ṣā'īph* of Gen. 24 65, see the first of the Hebrew terms.

[2] According to Delitzsch from √צמם, *constringere*. 𝔊's reading seems to rest upon a confusion with צמת, 'be silent' (cp in Syr.).

4. *miṭpáḥath*, מִטְפַּחַת, Ruth 3 15 AV (περίζωμα [BAL], σινδόνιον [Sym.]; AVmg. 'apron,' 'sheet,' RV 'mantle') were all ample wraps; cp Is. 3 22 and see MANTLE, § 2 [3].

5. *massēkah*, מַסֵּכָה, EV Is. 25 7 (perhaps the reading should be מְסֻכָּה, a covering, as in Ezek. 28 13); most moderns render 'covering' (cp Is. 28 20, EV).

6. The term *lōṭ*, לוֹט,[1] in Is. 25 7 (EV 'covering') is usually explained as a veil. The figure in this passage is derived from the custom of covering the face as a token of grief (see MOURNING).

7. *rĕ'ālāh*, רְעָלָה, Is. 3 19†, is either a soft shawl (EV 'muffler,' AVmg. 'spangled ornaments'), or a fine veil (so Che.). The root רעל is cognate to רעד (tremble), and the form of veil was so called from its loose, clinging material.

8. περιβόλαιον, 1 Cor. 11 15 AVmg., EV preferably 'covering'; cp MANTLE, § 2 [19].

The face of the king or other chief was sometimes covered to hide the divine halo; thus Moses wore a *masweh*, מַסְוֶה, Ex. 34 33 *ff.* (κάλυμμα [BAFL], cp 2 Cor. 3 13), with which Dillmann compares *sūth*, סוּת, Gen. 49 11.[2] It will, however, be noted that, according to MT, Moses seems to have worn his veil only in private, and to have removed it not only when seeking an oracle but also when addressing the people. I. A.

VEIL (OF THE TEMPLE). See TABERNACLE, § 5, and cp TEMPLE, § 33.

The words are *pārōketh*, פָּרֹכֶת, Ex. 26 31 etc.; καταπέτασμα, Mt. 27 51 Lk. 23 45. Jerome (in Mt. 27 51; also Epist. 18 9; and again Epist. 120 8) affirms that in Matthew's Hebrew Gospel he read, not 'veil,' but 'lintel'—*superliminare templi infinitæ magnitudinis fractum esse atque divisum* (also *corruisse*, also *sublatum*). Nestle infers that Jerome found, not פָּרֹכֶת, 'veil,' but כַּפְתֹּר, 'capital' (of the column supporting the roof; see CHAPITER, 4), though Jerome less accurately gives *superliminare* (*Expos.* 1895 *b*, 310 *ff.*). Cp TEXT, § 65 n. 2.

VENISON (Fr. *venaison*, Lat. *venatio*, 'a hunting'; Heb. צַיִד, *ṣayid*, √צוד, 'to hunt,' cp Ar. *ṣaydun*, Syr. *ṣaida*). The Hebrews, as described by the OT writers, had already reached the stage of pastoral nomads when 'the hunting which is the subsistence of the ruder wanderer, has come to be only an extra means of life' (to quote Tylor, *Anthropology*, 220). ESAU (*q.v.*) is probably meant to represent nothing more than this ('a man acquainted with hunting,' אִישׁ יֹדֵעַ צַיִד, Gen. 25 27; cp 25 28 27 3), since later he seems to be himself possessed of flocks and herds (Gen. 33 9; for Nimrod see the special article).

As weapons used for this purpose or for driving off wild animals, mention is made of the bow and arrow (Gen. 27 3 Is. 7 24; see WEAPONS, § 2) and the SLING (*q.v.*, 1 S. 17 40). Dt. 14 5 enumerates amongst the animals that might be eaten several belonging to the venison class. These are some species of fallow deer (*'ayyāl*, *ṣĕbī*, *yaḥmūr*; see HART, ROEBUCK), two kinds of wild goat (see GOAT, § 2, CHAMOIS), the PYGARG (*q.v.*, the Addax?), and the ANTELOPE (*q.v.*; so RV).

One of the Hebrew terms for 'provision' is actually reminiscent of the hunting stage (צֵדָה, *ṣēdāh*, Gen. 42 25 45 21 Ps. 132 15 [|| לֶחֶם], Josh. 9 5 [לחם צ׳]; cp the use of the verb in Josh. 9 12, 'this our bread we provisioned ourselves [הִצְטַיַּדְנוּ] with it hot from our houses').[3] But, although both as a necessity and as a pastime the pursuit has in general played an important part in the education and evolution of mankind,[4] the Hebrews, hampered[5] again (see COLOURS, § 1) perhaps by certain peculiarities in their religion, after they had passed through the stage were not often induced 'to revert for amusement to what their ancestors had been compelled

[1] The expression פני הלוט shows that the outside of the veil differed from the inside. Cp פני לבושו, Job 41 5 [13].

[2] In the Talmud מסואה, מסוא is both 'covering' and 'veil.

[3] Elsewhere we find the verb כִּלְכֵּל, *kilkēl*, used (1 K. 4 7), and the noun לֶחֶם, *leḥem* (1 K. 4 22 [5 2]).

[4] As to its value in this respect Charles Kingsley's *Glaucus* is suggestive in parts.

[5] In view, that is to say, of the struggle of the nations.

to practise from necessity' (to quote M. G. Watkins, *Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients*, chap. 10). Assyrian,[1] Egyptian,[2] Chaldæan,[3] and Persian monarchs, on the other hand, boasted of their exploits in hunting; the Assyrians and Persians even maintained private hunting-grounds, called *παράδεισοι*.[4] The Greeks and Romans pursued the pastime vigorously.[5] Their writers describe it frequently (Homer, Horace, Cæsar), and in some cases whole treatises were written on the subject (Xenophon, Appian).

Solomon's table, it is true, was, we are told, supplied with species of fallow-deer (*'ayyāl, ṣĕbī, yaḥmūr*; see HART, ROEBUCK); but there is nothing to indicate that they were taken in the hunt. We know that in other cases traps were used for the purpose (see NET, SNARE). In 1 S. 26 20, too, according to EV we have a figure of hunting a partridge, but the Hebrew term is *rādaph*, 'pursue,' and in any case the meaning of the context is not clear (see PARTRIDGE; and for the methods of capturing birds see FOWLING). M. A. C.

VENUS, TEMPLE OF (το ατεργατιον [AV]), 2 Macc. 12 26, AV^mg. See ATARGATIS.

VERMILION (שָׁשַׁר), Jer. 22 14 Ezek. 23 14†. See COLOURS, § 14.

VERSIONS. See TEXT AND VERSIONS.

VESTMENTS (לְבוּשׁ, etc.), 2 K. 10 22, etc. See DRESS.

VESTRY (מֶלְתָּחָה; τω επι του οικου μεσθααλ [BL], τοις επι του μισθααλ [A]; . . . του στολισμου [Aq. Sym.]), in the phrase 'him that was over the vestry' (2 K. 10 22†), is generally supposed to mean the place where the holy vestments supplied to the worshippers of Baal were kept; see DRESS, § 8; JEHU, col. 2356. The ancient versions differ; there was no fixed traditional interpretation. The moderns have defended 'vestry' or 'wardrobe' by a far-fetched comparison of Ethiopic *e'ltâḥ*, 'tunic, coat.' The text must be corrupt.

Read probably אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַלִּשְׁכָּה, 'him that was over the hall' (*Exp. T*, Nov. 1899). That there were several 'halls' or 'chambers' (לְשָׁכוֹת) attached to the Jerusalem temple we know (Jer. 35 24 Ezra 10 6 Neh. 13 5, etc.); and from 1 S. 9 22 (cp I 18 𝔊) we gather that close to the altar on a *bāmāh*, or 'high place,' there was a *lishkāh*, or 'hall,' in which those who partook of the sacrificial meal assembled. It was in such a *lishkāh* that the Baal-worshippers assembled in expectation of a sacrificial feast[6] (*v.* 19). Cp TEMPLE, §§ 24, 32.

This view does justice to the context, and accounts for 𝔊's τῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου (μεσθααλ = μελθαα is a correction from the later [?] Hebrew text); that 𝔊 did not fully understand לשכה is plain from 1 S. (see above). ש and כ are liable to be confounded with ת and ח; מ may come from ה, repeated in error. To correct מִרְקַחַת, 'the composition of the (sacred) perfumes,' or מְלָאכָה, 'the ceremonial' (cp Klo.), gives a less suitable sense. On the guesses of the other versions see commentators. T. K. C.

VESTURE (ιματιον), Rev. 19 13 16 AV, RV 'garment.' See MANTLE, § 2 [17].

VETCHES, WILD (חָרוּל), Job 30 7 RV^mg., EV NETTLES (*q.v.*).

VIAL. 1. פַּךְ, *pak*, 1 S. 10 1; also 2 K. 9 1 3 RV (where AV has BOX [*q.v.*]; φακός). Cp also CRUSE.
2. φιάλη, Rev. 5 8 15 7, etc., where RV always BOWL (*q.v.*, 9).

VILLAGE. 1. A 'village' as distinguished from a 'town' or 'city' (עִיר, *'ir*) is properly כָּפָר, *kāphār* (Cant. 7 11 [12] 1 Ch. 27 25), or כֹּפֶר, *kōpher* (1 S. 6 18 in combination with הַפְּרָזִי, *happĕrāzī*, 'village of the peasantry,' EV 'country village),' or כְּפִיר *kĕphīr* (Neh. 6 2, plur., if MT is correct; see CHEPHIRAH). Like the Arabic *kefr*, the word enters into compound place-names—*e.g.*, Chephar-ha-ammonai; cp Capernaum.

2. חֲצֵרִים, *ḥăṣērīm*, is the name given to villages which grew out of the early settlements of nomads, Gen. 25 16 (‖ טִירוֹת, *ṭīrōth*; cp CASTLE, 4), Lev. 25 31 ('villages [enclosures] which have no wall around them'), Josh. 19 8 ('villages which lay around their cities'; see CITY), Neh. 12 28 *f.* See HAZOR, HEZRON, HAZERIM, HAZEROTH.

3. In AV 'villages' is now and then given for בָּנוֹת, *bānōth*, 'daughters'—*i.e.*, the dependent towns of a city; Nu. 21 25 32 (RV 'towns'), 1 Ch. 2 23 (so too RV). Cp DAUGHTER.

4. On חַוֹּת, *ḥawwōth*, a less distinctly Hebrew term than 2, and properly synonymous with it, see HAVOTH-JAIR, HIVITES.

5. פְּרָזוֹת, *pĕrāzōth*, properly 'level country.' RV renders 'villages' (AV 'towns') 'without walls' in Zech. 2 4 [8], and in Ezek. 38 11 Esth. 9 19 EV gives 'unwalled villages,' 'unwalled towns.' פְּרָזוֹת should possibly be restored for חרשים in 2 Ch. 27 4 (see FOREST), unless we hold that it was in conquered portions of the Negeb (read בָּאַשְׁחֻרִי, 'in the Ashhurite') that Jotham, like REHOBOAM (*q.v.*), built 'castles and towers.' In Esth. (*l.c.*) the noun *pĕrāzīm* is rendered in EV 'of the villages'; cp EV of Dt. 3 5 1 S. 6 18. Some connect PERIZZITES (*q.v.*) with this word.

6. פְּרָזוֹן, *pĕrāzōn*, too, is conjecturally rendered 'villages,' 'villagers' by AV and some recent scholars (cp Moore and Budde) in Judg. 5 7 11, but by RV, not less conjecturally, 'rulers,' 'rule.' For Judg. 5 11 Robertson Smith in 1892 suggested 'in the redemption of Israel' (see Black, *Judges*, 42); but more probably the true reading in Judg. 5 7 11, and Hab. 3 14 is רֹזְנִים (רוֹזְנִים); cp 𝔊 δυνατοί [B], φραζων [AL], δυναστῶν (but in Judg. 5 11 αὔξησον [B], ἐνίσχυσαν [AL]). So Cheyne, and (in Hab. *l.c.*) Vollers.

7. פרזים Hab. 3 14 AV, 'the head of his villages' (RV 'of his warriors'; mg. 'hordes'; or, 'villages'). But see 6.

8. κώμη in NT is uniformly rendered village in RV (Mk. 8 27—the villages of Cæsarea Philippi; Jn. 7 42—the village of Bethlehem). In 𝔊 it sometimes represents not only בַּת, חַוָּה, חָצֵר, טִירָה, כָּפָר, כְּפִיר, and כֹּפֶר, but also even עִיר and קִרְיָה.

It is given as a Rabbinical view that a city, as distinguished from a village, was a community with ten learned men in it—*i.e.*, a sufficient number to entitle it to have a synagogue. According to Furrer (Schenkel, *BL* 2 12) the modern criterion in Palestine is the possession of a separate market. In Esth. 9 19 οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν (om. B*), and οἱ διεσπαρμένοι ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ constitute the two categories to one or other of which every Jew is assumed to belong.

VINDICATOR (גֹּאֵל), Job 19 25 RV^mg. See GOEL, and JOB ii. col. 2474.

VINE (גֶּפֶן, more fully גֶּפֶן הַיַּיִן Nu. 6 4 Judg. 13 14). Like the name of the grape (עֵנָב), the word is common to Heb. Aram. Arab. and Ass.—from which Guidi infers (*Della Sede primitiva*, etc. 40 *f.*) that the vine was known to the people who formed the original Semitic stock. But from the names for pruning, vintage, winepress, and wine being distinct in the different languages he concludes that the primitive Semites were unacquainted with the making of wine, their original 'strong drink' (שֵׁכָר, a word common to the four languages and Ethiopic) being probably made from barley.

1. Hebrew Terms.

Gĕphen (גֶּפֶן) denotes the grape-vine everywhere but in 2 K. 4 39, where *gĕphen śādeh* (גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה) is used of some plant resembling the vine in form, but bearing poisonous or bitter gourds; see WILD GOURDS. Another word *śōrēḳ* (שֹׂרֵק, Is. 5 2 Jer. 2 21†) or *śōrēḳāh* (שֹׂרֵקָה, Gen. 49 11†) seems to denote a superior sort of vine. Probably it derives its name from the rich dark hue of the grapes (cp Ar. *šaḳira* or *šaḳura*; Lag. *Uebers.* 31 *f.* explains differently). Its grapes were called

[1] See Ball, *Light from the East*, 161 *ff.*
[2] See Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilisation*, 61 *ff.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 766 *ff.*
[4] See Warre-Cornish, *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq. s.v.* Παράδεισος.
[5] *Ibid.*, *s.v.* 'Venatio.'
[6] Moore (*Judges*, 361) suspects that the 'house' which Samson pulled down by leaning against its two pillars was the banqueting hall of the temple of Dagon.

śĕrūḳīm (שׂרוקים, Is. 16 8, though RV's 'choice plants' is a possible rendering). According to Jewish tradition, they were very sweet, with almost invisible kernels *ḥarṣannīm* (חַרְצַנִּים; see GRAPE, 7). The vine branch or shoot is called *zĕmōrāh* (זְמוֹרָה), from זמר to 'prune'; or *śārīg* (שָׂרִיג, Gen. 40 10 12 Joel 1 7†), from שׂרג to 'interweave.' *Zalzallīm* (זַלְזַלִּים,[1] Is. 18 5) seems to denote low branches or clusters that lie on the ground. The gathering of grapes is expressed by the verb בצר (Lev. 25 5, etc.), the vintage or vintage-season being *bāṣīr* (בָּצִיר, Lev. 26 5, Judg. 8 2†); to prune the vine is זמר (Lev. 25 3 *f.* Is. 5 6†); the pruning-hook is *mazmērāh* (מַזְמֵרָה). The 'pruning of vines' (Budde, Siegfried) is a more likely interpretation of *zāmīr* (זָמִיר) in Cant. 2 12 than the 'singing of birds' (Del., König). The obscure word *zimrath* (זִמְרָת) in Gen. 43 11 is by Frd. Delitzsch connected with this root, and interpreted as 'fruits cut (from the plants that bear them)'; but Dillmann rightly objects that זמר is used only of pruning away that which is useless: probably the word must be traced to some other source; 𝔊 renders τῶν καρπῶν. In Talm. *zĕmer* (זֶמֶר) = dessert-fruit (grapes, etc.).

2. Biblical references. The Israelites traced the planting of the vine to Noah (Gen. 9 20; see Budde, *Bibl. Urgesch.* 306 *ff.*, 407, and cp NOAH); and Budde thinks that the 'comfort' spoken of in Gen. 5 29 refers to the invention of wine. Noah was not a dweller in Palestine; thus the Israelites preserved the tradition of the introduction of the vine from another land. Palestine, as described in the OT, was a great wine-producing country. Joseph (Ephraim) in Gen. 49 22 and Israel in Ps. 80 8 [9] (cp Is. 5 2 Hos. 10 1, etc.) are compared to a vine. Delitzsch, in his charming essay 'The Bible and Wine' (*Iris*, 1888, essay 9), sees in the fact that Jesus compares himself to a vine (Jn. 15 1), an allusion to his being the Messiah, the Second David—which illustrates a passage in the early Christian *Didachè*. The phrase to 'sit under one's own vine and one's own fig-tree' occurs constantly in descriptions of a time of peace (1 K. 4 25 [5 5] Mic. 4 4 Zech. 3 10). Passages like Judg. 9 13 Ps. 104 15 show with what simplicity men thanked God for the gift of wine. But the vine supplied another figure. There were wild vines—not of a 'genuine' stock (Jer. 2 21). Israel, when unfaithful, is compared to these (Jer. *l.c.* cp Is. 5 2), and the enemies of Israel are even likened (Dt. 32 32) to a 'vine of Sodom'—*i.e.*, one whose juices and fruit were tainted by the corruption typified by Sodom (Driver). Cp SODOM, § 3, n. 2.

3. Natural history. The vine (*Vitis vinifera*, L.) 'grows spontaneously'[2] (according to de Candolle, *L'Origine*, 151 *ff.*) in W. temperate Asia, S. Europe, Algeria, and Morocco; but its spontaneous growth is most marked in the region S. of the Caspian, and between that and the Black Sea. Its original home was most probably in Transcaucasia, though traces of it have been found in deposits of prehistoric and probably prehuman age in other quarters—as in N. Italy, Switzerland, and S. France. It has been cultivated from the most ancient times in W. Asia and in Egypt; in the latter country there is evidence reaching back five or six thousand years. The 'soma' of the Vedas appears to have denoted primarily a beer made from grain, but subsequently *wine*: and it is probable that wine was one of the earliest discoveries of the Aryan race and that they carried the vine with them as they migrated westward. Of the condition of vine-growing in modern Syria an account is given by Anderlind in *ZDPV* 11 160 *ff.* Cp also Tristram, *NHB* 407 *ff.*, and see WINE. N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

[1] Possibly סַלְסִלּוֹת in Jer. 6 9† has a similar meaning.

[2] This phrase does not necessarily imply that it is a native of these districts.

VINEGAR (חֹמֶץ √ 'be sour,' 'leavened,' Nu. 6 3; ὄξος, Jn. 19 29). Cp cols. 959 n. 3, 2752, 5309.

VINEYARDS, PLAIN OF THE (אָבֵל כְּרָמִים), Judg. 11 33 AV, RV ABEL-CHERAMIM (*q.v.*).

VIOL (נֶבֶל), Is. 5 12 AV. See MUSIC, § 2, 6-9.

VIOLET (תְּכֵלֶת), Esth. 1 6 AV^mg.; EV 'blue.' See PURPLE and COLOURS, § 13.

VIPER (אֶפְעֶה, Is. 30 6; ἔχιδνα, Acts 28 3). See SERPENT, § 1 [1].

VIRGIN (παρθένος). There is no clear trace of an Order of Virgins in the Apostolic Church. The four daughters of Philip the Evangelist [cp PHILIP], who exercised the gift of prophecy, were virgins (Acts 21 9). In 1 Cor. 7 25-38 Paul declares that he has 'no commandment of the Lord' respecting virgins: they may marry, or not marry, without sin. On the whole he is inclined to recommend for them and for all the unmarried state, 'on account of the present necessity,' which should make all Christians sit loosely to the world.

A later age, which valued virginity as a superior virtue, peopled the Apostolic age with virgins living in community and presided over by the Virgin Mary: see, for example *Dormitio Mariæ* (Tischendorf, *Apocal. Apocr.* 1861) pp. 96 *f.*; *Coptic Apocr. Gospels*, F. Robinson, 1896. But this picture has no historical authorisation, and is simply the reflex of a subsequent institution. On the difficult passage in Ignatius, *Smyrn.* 13, 'I salute . . . the Virgins, who are called Widows,' see Lightfoot's note *ad loc.*: he is probably right in interpreting it as 'I salute the Widows, whom I prefer to call Virgins, for such in God's sight they are by their purity and devotion.' [Cp MINISTRY, § 41 end.] J. A. R.

VISION (מַחֲזֶה etc.), Gen. 15 1, etc. See PROPHECY.

VISION, VALLEY OF (גֵּיא חִזָּיוֹן, or גַּיְא, τῆς φάραγγος [ὧν ℵ* in *v.* 5] ἐν φάραγγι Σ[ε]ιών), a place called Valley of Ḥizzaion, from which the Assyrians were expected to make an assault on the fortifications of Jerusalem, Is. 22 1 (late heading), 5†. That Ḥizzaion is a proper name, and that the phrase does not mean 'valley of vision' (or, prophetic revelation) is generally admitted. According to Dillmann, some part of Jerusalem is referred to, perhaps the Tyropoeon, where the fortification may have been specially weak. This implies the Massoretic division of the verse, which, however, must surely be wrong (see Duhm; Marti; *SBOT*). No such name as Ḥizzaion being known, it has been proposed to read —גֵּי הִנֹּם 'the valley of Hinnom,' comparing Zech. 14 5, where גיא הרי ('valley of my mountains') and גיא הרים ('valley of mountains') may be miswritten for גֵּיא הִנֹּם 'valley of Hinnom' (see 'Isaiah,' *SBOT* [Heb.], 112; Marti).

It is, however, by no means improbable that Is. 22 1-14, in its original form, referred to an expected blockade of Jerusalem by the Jerahmeelites (cp SENNACHERIB, § 5), and that בני חזיון should be בְּנֵי כוּשָׁן 'the sons of Cushan.' The next metrical line begins with עֵילָם, where עֵילָם (Elam), as also probably in 11 11 21 2 Jer. 25 25 49 34 Ezek. 32 24, is a misunderstood corruption of ירחמאל (Jerahmeel). Such is the position of the undecided question respecting the reference of Is. 22, and the meaning of 'Valley of Ḥizzaion.' T. K. C.

VOPHSI (וָפְסִי; ιαβ[ε]ι [BAFL]; *Vapsi* [Vg.]), father of Nahbi (Nu. 13 14†).

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERINGS. A vow is a voluntary obligation solemnly assumed toward God to do something not otherwise required, but believed to be acceptable or influential with him. The promise may be either simple or conditional. In the former case it is usually a pledge to perform at a future date—for example, at the next recurrence of a feast—an act of worship which is less convenient or suitable at the time the vow is made; and the motive may be any which would prompt man to the act itself, such as gratitude to God, the desire to secure his favour, etc.

1. Definition, etc.

VOWS, VOTIVE OFFERINGS

A conditional vow is commonly made in circumstances in which the urgent need of God's protection or help is felt, as in illness, an attack by the enemy, or for the obtaining of a greatly desired end, such as the birth of a child, the increase of flocks and herds, victory in battle, and the like. In such a case a man solemnly binds himself, if God does for him what he wishes, to do such and such a specified thing for God.

Vows of the latter kind were in ancient religions the common accompaniment of prayer, and were believed to contribute greatly to its efficacy. The transaction seems to us commercial in even a higher degree than the familiar motive of sacrifice, *Do ut des;* this may be formulated, *Dabo si dederis.* We have to remember, however, that man's gift was not conceived as an equivalent by which the service of God was purchased, but as a present, just as in similar transactions among men when an inferior sought the aid of a great man. The thing vowed might be anything with which it was conceived that God would be pleased—a sacrifice, a service, a dotation of gold and silver, houses and lands, cattle, or persons to God, that is, to the temple. It might also be an interdict imposed by the maker upon himself for a time or for life in the use of things otherwise lawful; thus fasting, abstinence from particular kinds of food—as the grape and its products in the Nazirite's vow—from the wearing of ornaments, sexual intercourse, etc., were often vowed. Such arbitrary self-denial was thought, like the scrupulous observance of the similar restrictions imposed by religion itself, to be a proof of devotion.

The general word for vow is נֶדֶר, *néder*, 𝔊 *εὐχή*. For a vow of abstinence specifically, Nu. 30 employs אִסָּר, אֱסָר, *issār*, *ĕsār* (𝔊 *ὁρισμός*), from אָסַר, 'bind.' The meaning of this word is especially clear in Dan. 6 7 12 *f.* 15, where RV well renders 'interdict'; cp also the rabbinical use of the verb in the sense of prohibit, and Mt. 16 19 18 18.

The vow, being a solemn promise freely made, was a most binding obligation; it had the force of an oath, with which, indeed, it was frequently associated (see Nu. 30 2 Acts 23 21). Even a rash vow or one which entailed unforeseen and terrible consequences, like Jephthah's (Judg. 11), must be fulfilled to the letter. To break faith with God in such a matter was to invite destruction. Men, nevertheless, often tried to slip out of their obligation by subterfuges, or practised deceit in paying their vows. Malachi (1 14) pronounces accursed the fraudulent man who had vowed a male victim and had one in his flock, but sacrificed a blemished beast.[1] The Deuteronomic law enjoins the prompt payment of vows according to their tenor, for God will strictly exact it; it is no sin not to make a vow, but being voluntarily made it must be fulfilled (Dt. 23 21-23 [22-24]; cp Prov. 20 25 Eccles. 5 4 *f.* [3 *f.*] Ecclus. 18 22).

Examples of vows in the OT history are those of Jacob at Bethel (Gen. 28 20-22, cp 31 13, 35 2-7), Jephthah (Judg. 11 30 *f.* 34-39), Hannah (1 S. 1 11 *f.* 24-28), Absalom (2 S. 15 7 *f.*). Frequent references in other connections show how important a place vows had in all periods of religion: see Dt. 12 6 11 17 26 Ps. 22 25 50 14 56 12 61 5 8 65 1 66 13 76 11 116 14 18 Prov. 7 14 Is. 19 21 Nah. 1 15 Jon. 1 16 2 9 Judith 4 14 1 Esd. 2 7 2 Macc. 3 35 9 13 *ff.* Acts 21 23 23 21.

2. Laws. The only laws in the Pentateuch on the subject of vows in general,[2] Lev. 27 1-29 and Nu. 30, are both late. Nu. 30 determines who can make a binding vow, with especial reference to the vows of women (see *M. Nĕdārīm*). If a man makes a vow or imposes upon himself by an oath some abstinence, he must not 'profane his word,' but strictly fulfil his obligation. The vow of a widow or a divorced woman is similarly binding (*v.* 10); but the vow of an unmarried woman in her father's house, or of a married woman in her husband's, is null without his consent, which, however, is assumed to be tacitly given, if, being cognisant of the vow, he did not oppose her. If a woman marries while under a vow made in her father's house, the subsequent consent of her husband is necessary; if he annuls it she is free. If the husband lets the vow pass in silence when he first learns of it, but afterwards prevents its fulfilment, he makes himself guilty of the breach of obligation. The law does not say how it is with the vow of a minor son in his father's house, or with that of an Israelite slave.

Lev. 27 treats of the conditions under which persons or property that have been given to God in fulfilment of a vow may be redeemed. An animal of the kinds from which sacrifices are made to Yahwè is made 'holy' by the vow; no redemption, substitution, or exchange is allowed; if such a thing is attempted both animals become 'holy' (*v.* 9 *f.*). On an unclean animal a value is set by the priest, and it may be redeemed by the payment of this sum with one-fifth added (*vv.* 11-13). Human beings are redeemed at a price fixed by the law in accordance with their age and sex (cp Jos. *Ant.* iv. 4 4); a boy between one month and five years old, five shekels, a girl, three; from five years to twenty, twenty shekels and ten respectively; from twenty to sixty a man is valued at fifty shekels, a woman at thirty; after sixty this value fell to fifteen and ten. If a man was too poor to pay the price on this scale, the priest fixed a sum within his means. If a man consecrates a house to Yahwè by a vow, the priest estimates its value, and the owner may redeem it on payment of six-fifths of the sum. In the case of hereditary lands which revert to the family in the Jubilee year, the value depends on how far off this term is. The basis is, on an acreage seeded with one homer of barley, fifty shekels for the whole period, that is, one shekel for each year the tenure has to run. The surtax for redemption is, as in all other cases, one-fifth. If not redeemed, or if sold to another man, the reversion is cut off, and the land ceded to the priests.[1] Purchased land, in which the buyer has really only a leasehold till the next Jubilee year, is estimated by the priest.

Some things cannot be consecrated to God by a vow, either because they already belong to him, like the firstlings of animals fit for sacrifice (Lev. 27 26), or because they are abominable to him, as the hire of a religious prostitute of either sex (Dt. 23 18)—a kind of votive-offering frequent in that world.

A vow of abstinence of a peculiar kind is that of the NAZIRITE (*q.v.*), for which there are special laws in Nu. 6 1-21.

A man might not only vow to 'hallow' some object to God (הִקְדִּישׁ, *hiḳdīš*), he might devote it (הֶחֱרִים, ***heḥĕrīm***) by his vow so that it became ***ḥērem*** (see BAN, and cp Nu. 21 2). What was so devoted became intensely 'holy,' that is, God guarded his rights in it most jealously; it could neither be sold nor redeemed. Lands or animals so dedicated belonged irrevocably to the sanctuary, that is to the priests (Nu. 18 14 Ezek. 44 29); men thus devoted must be put to death (Lev. 27 28 *f.*). The last provision can hardly be an actual provision for a private ban.

Vows, like oaths, were frequently made rashly and about trivial matters; indeed, they often became a mere form of speech to fortify an asseveration or a declaration of purpose, as 'I vow, if I didn't see a snake as big as the beam of a wine-press' (*M. Nĕdārīm*, 3 2). With a lurking scruple such as among us gives rise to minced oaths, men in NT times said *ḳōnām*, *ḳōnāh*, or the like, instead of ***korbān***. The rabbis discouraged the practice by requiring the fulfilment of unadvised vows, and declaring the clipped formula equivalent in force to the proper word. They had to distinguish, however, between vows the fulfilment of which, though inconvenient, was a proper punishment for the rash undertaking, and such as ought not to be kept, and to provide some way of absolution for the latter (*M. Nĕdārīm*, 3 1 9 1 *ff.*). In this endeavour they were led into a casuistry not always accordant with sound ethics. The example given by Jesus in Mk. 7 10 *f.* Mt. 15 4 *f.* of the way in which they nullified the law of God by their traditions has been discussed under CORBAN (*q.v.*).

The commonest vow in all ages was doubtless a sacrifice, and votive offerings were probably the commonest of private sacri-

[1] Cp the Arab substitution of gazelles for sheep in payment of a vow, SACRIFICE, § 8.

[2] On the Nazirite's vow, see NAZIRITE.

[1] The provisions of the law are not clear; see the commentaries. For the rabbinical elaboration of these rules see *M. 'Ărākīn.*

fices. The votive sacrifice might, according to the terms of the vow, be a burnt-offering or a peace-offering, or both combined, and consist of any kind or number of sacrificable animals, or simply of an oblation. The rites were those appropriate to the species of sacrifice and the victim (see SACRIFICE); a votive peace-offering was subject to the ordinary rule that the flesh should be eaten on the day of the offering or the next, not to the narrower restriction of the thank-offering (*tōdāh*), and to the general requirement of ceremonial purity in those who partook of the feast (Lev. 7 16 *ff.*). Nu. 15 3 *ff.* prescribes an oblation with every victim in the case of votive as of other sacrifices. Offerings of wine and oil were also made in the fulfilment of vows (see SACRIFICE, § 31 *a*).

3. Bibliography. *M. Nĕdārīm*, *'Ărākīn*, cp also *Šĕḳālīm*, 46-8; the works on biblical archæology, especially Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 1358 *ff.*; Nowack, *Hebr. Arch.*; Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.*; articles 'Gelübde' in *PRE*(3), Riehm, *HBA*, Schenkel, *BL*, 'Vow,' Hastings, *DB*. G. F. M.

VULGATE. See TEXT AND VERSIONS, §§ 21, 59.

VULTURE. Of the four species of Vulturidæ described by Tristram from Palestine, three (*Gyps fulvus*, *Neophron percnopterus*, and *Gypaetus barbatus*) are treated under the headings (1) EAGLE [RVmg. 'Great Vulture'], (2) GIER-EAGLE and (3) OSSIFRAGE. The fourth species is the black vulture, *Vultur monachus*, the only living representative of its genus. This bird inhabits the countries surrounding the Mediterranean and extends eastward to China. It is not common in Palestine, and does not seem to be mentioned in OT or NT.

4. The 'vulture' (דָּאָה, *dā'āh*) in AV of Lev. 11 14† is in RV rendered 'kite.' Its identification can only be conjectural; but see KITE.

5. The 'vulture' (דַּיָּה *dayyāh*, דַּיּוֹת, *dayyōth*, another form of דאה above) of Dt. 14 13 (om. Di. after Sam. 𝔊), Is. 34 15† (ἔλαφος) is also rendered KITE in RV. See above.

6. אַיָּה *'ayyāh*, Job 28 7, AV (RV 'falcon), but elsewhere KITE (*q.v.*). A. E. S.

W

WAFERS. 1. רָקִיק, *rāḳīḳ*, Ex. 29 2, EV, etc., 1 Ch. 23 29 RV. See BREAD, § 2 (*c*).

2. צַפִּיחַת, *ṣappīḥath*, Ex. 16 31† ἐγκρίς; see BAKEMEATS, § 3 (3), where, however, צַפִּיחַת is to be read for 'רָקִיק . . . BREAD.'

WAGES. See, generally, TRADE AND COMMERCE, § 83 (*e*) 4. The words are:—

1. שָׂכָר, *śākār*, μισθός, *merces*, of the hire of a servant (Gen. 30 32 Ex. 2 9 Dt. 24 15 1 K. 5 20 [6] [𝔊B om. μισθόν], etc.), the 'reward' of priests (Nu. 18 31), passage-money (Jon. 1 3, ναῦλον), etc.

2. שֶׂכֶר, *śeker*, Prov. 11 18 Is. 19 10; on the latter passage see SLUICES.

3. מַשְׂכֹּרֶת, *maśkōreth*, μισθός, *merces*, Gen. 29 15 31 7 41 Ruth 2 12†.

4. פְּעֻלָּה, *pĕ'ullāh*, μισθός, *opus*, Lev. 19 13, etc.

5. μισθός, *merces*, Jn. 4 36, etc. See above, 1.

6. ὀψώνιον, *stipendium*, *stipendia*, 1 Esd. 4 56 1 Macc. 3 28 14 32 Lk. 3 14 Rom. 6 23 1 Cor. 9 7 2 Cor. 11 8 (cp ὄψον 'meat' Tob. 2 2 [ὀψάριον א] 7 8, [om. א] ὀψοποίημα Judith 12 1, ὄψος = דג Nu. 11 22).

WAGON. 1. עֲגָלָה, *'ăgālāh*; see CHARIOT, § 2.

2. צַבִּים, *ṣabbīm*, Is. 66 20, EV 'litters,' but better, following 𝔊 (ἐν λαμπήναις [ἡμιόνων]), 'cars' such as are drawn, for swiftness, by mules (cp Pind. *Pyth.* 4 94 *f.* ἀπήνη); cp Ass. *ṣumbu* (from *ṣubbu*), a car drawn by mules, as distinguished from *narkabtu*, a wagon drawn by horses. At the same time, the 'cars,' like the 'chariots and horses,' in Is. (*l.c.*) are very possibly due to an editor; the original text gave the names of the peoples whence the Jews were to be brought; see *Crit. Bib.* 49.

In Nu. 7 3 עֶגְלֹת צָב, EV 'covered wagons'; but this is merely a syn. for צַבִּים 'cars.' Cp ציבא Tg. Is. 49 22 Nah. 2 8 (the queen sitting in a ציבא).

3. רֶכֶב, *rékeb*, Ezek. 23 24 AV, RV CHARIOT (*q.v.*).

4. גַּלְגַּל, *galgal*, Ezek. 23 24 RV, Ezek. 26 10 RV, AV RVmg. 'wheel,' cp WHEEL.

On the 'place of the wagons' 1 S. 17 20 etc. RV, AV 'trench,' see CAMP, § 1.

WAIN, THRESHING (חָרוּץ), Job 41 30 [22] RV. See AGRICULTURE, § 8 *β*.

WALL. 1. On חוֹמָה, *ḥōmāh*, see FORTRESS, *passim*.

2. חֵיל, *ḥēl* (√חול), a surrounding wall, defined by Jews as בֶּן חוֹמָה—*i.e.*, 'a little wall' (see BDB), a *glacis*; see FORTRESS, § 5, end, col. 1557.

3. גָּדֵר, *gādēr*, is rendered 'wall' by AV in Nu. 22 24 Ezra 9 9 Is. 5 5 Ezek. 42 7 12 Hos. 2 6 where in each case RV or RVmg. prefers 'fence.' See HEDGE, 2, and cp the place-names Geder, Gederah, Gederoth, Gederothaim, Gedor. RVmg. suggests 'walls' for 'hedges,' גְּדֵרוֹת, in Nah. 3 17.

4. קִיר, *ḳīr*, of a town-wall in Josh. 2 15, etc.; of a house-wall in 1 K. 6 5 *f.*, etc., of a room-wall in 1 S. 18 11 20 25, etc., cp HOUSE, § 1.

5. שׁוּר, *šūr*; Gen. 49 22 Ps. 18 30 [29]†, 2 S. 22 30; in Jer. 5 10 for שָׁרוֹת, שֻׁרוֹת is suggested—*i.e.*, rows of vine-plants; see Ges.-Bu. *s.v.*, שׁוּרָה, and cp Duhm, *ad loc.*

6. כֹּתֶל, *kōthel*, Cant. 2 9† of a house-wall.

7. אֻשַּׁרְנָא, *'uššarnā'*, Ezra 5 3 9†. Word of uncertain meaning; see Ges.-Bu. who suggest 'Gebälk'—*i.e.*, 'timberwork.' 𝔊BAL has χορηγίαν; ‖ 1 Esd. 6 4 has τὴν στέγην ταύτην. See Marti, *KHC*, *ad loc.*

WALLET (πηρα), Mt. 10 10 RV, AV SCRIP (*q.v.*).

WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF. 'The Wilderness' (*ham-midbār*, הַמִּדְבָּר) was, in all periods, the

1. Term 'wilderness.' standing phrase among the Hebrews for the scene of that epoch in their history which immediately preceded the settlement in Canaan; in addition to the Hexateuchal narratives see, *e.g.*, Am. 2 10 Hos. 13 5 Jer. 2 6 Ezek. 20 10 Neh. 9 21 2 Ch. 24 9 Ps. 107 4. Undefined by reference to particular places, the Hebrew term is a wide one. Agreeably to its etymological signification, 'the place where (cattle) are driven,' it denotes country inhabited by nomads, and in actual OT usage includes the country stretching SW. of Canaan to Egypt, together with the Sinaitic peninsula, SE. to Arabia and E. to the Euphrates. (See CATTLE, § 5, DESERT, § 2 [3].)

2. Topographical problem. The topographical problem, with which alone the present article is concerned, is to discover the limited district within this larger area of wilderness to which the nomadic life of the early Hebrews was referred in the memory or imagination of the various biblical writers. The difficulties and uncertainties attending the solution, which probably will never be wholly overcome, are due mainly to the uncertainty in many parts (but chiefly in the case of J and E) of the analysis of the sources, our insufficient acquaintance with the actual historical conditions (cp SINAI), and the paucity of trustworthy identifications of particular sites. The literature of the subject, which is extensive, needs to be used with extreme caution on account of the general neglect of a critical employment of the sources and the utter insufficiency—in some cases also, the thoroughly unphilological character—of the reasons for the identifications. [Textual criticism, too, may have to be applied more methodically.]

3. Site of Kadesh. The sites of the Egyptian starting-point of the Exodus, of Sinai, and of the intervening stages, are discussed elsewhere (EXODUS, SINAI). We are here more immediately concerned with the district in which the people are said to have wandered for forty years between the first abortive attempt on

Canaan from the S. and the final successful attack from the E. For this the most important site is KADESH (*q.v.*); long a matter of almost hopeless dispute, it is now, by general consent, identified with 'Ain-Ḳadīs (50 m. S. of Beersheba), which was visited by Seetzen in 1807 (*Reisen durch Syrien*, 3 48 [1859]), and then by Rowlands, who first identified it with Kadesh (Williams, *Holy City*, 1 464 *ff.*), and by Clay Trumbull (*Kadesh Barnea* [1881]), who has elaborately and successfully vindicated the identification.

Now, what relation does Kadesh bear to the wilderness of Wanderings? In P, where the case is simplest,

4. Kadesh in P. Kadesh is the stage reached immediately before Mt. Hor (Nu. 20 22 [1] 27 14 Dt. 32 51 and P in Nu. 20 1-13). Apparently, therefore, it was not visited before the fortieth year—*i.e.*, the end of the nomadic period. For, according to P, the sentence of forty years wandering was given in the wilderness of Paran and was to be carried into effect in the same wilderness (Nu. 12 16*b* 13 1-3 26*a* 14 35), whereas Kadesh is in the wilderness of Zin (Nu. 20 1 22, cp 33 36), which is distinct from the wilderness of Paran (Nu. 13 21). Doubtless, the fortieth year was originally mentioned in Nu. 20 1 (cp 33 38), and was subsequently omitted for obvious harmonistic reasons. In P the whole people in the fortieth year moved as the spies had done a generation earlier out of the wilderness of Paran into the wilderness of Zin to Kadesh.

From the foregoing representations all the remaining narratives differ; for all these, in spite of other differences among themselves, agree in associating Kadesh with the beginning of the 'forty years'' wanderings.

In the combined narratives of JE—and probably also in both of the originally separate narratives J and E—

5. In JE. Kadesh is the place whence the spies were despatched (Nu. 13 26, from 'to Kadesh'; cp 32 8 *ff.*) and, presumably, where the condemnation to the forty years' wandering was pronounced (Nu. 14 33), where the people abode (וישב העם), and where Miriam died and was buried (Nu. 20 1 *b*), and whence, at the close of the period, they made their request to pass through Edom (Nu. 20 14 *ff.*).[2] In brief, Kadesh was the goal of the people after the Exodus and their visit to Sinai, their headquarters while they were shepherds (רעים) for 'forty years,' and their point of departure for the final attack on Canaan. Cp also Judg. 11 16.

In D Kadesh is the goal of the people after leaving Horeb (Dt. 1 19, cp 9 23 Josh. 14 6 *f.*), the place whence

6. In D. the spies were despatched (Dt. 1 20-24 Josh. 14 7), and the scene of their condemnation to a prolongation of the nomadic life (Dt. 1 34 *ff.*). There they abode for an indefinite period, not, however, exceeding a few months (Dt. 2 1, cp 7 14); but the main part of the period—thirty-eight years—was spent in compassing Mt. Seir (Dt. 2 1 14). Moreover, according to the only natural interpretation of Dt. 2 14, Kadesh, once left, was never revisited; there is no suggestion here (nor anywhere else) of a second visit to Kadesh after absence.

Thus in JE Kadesh is the (apparently) permanent *centre*, in D the *starting-point*, and in P the *final stage* of the nomadic wanderings which intervened between the defeat of the Hebrews on their first attempt to conquer Canaan from the S. and the commencement of that definite march which led to the actual conquest from the E. a generation later.

We must now consider what hints the various narratives contain for the closer definition of the district in

7. Sinai to Kadesh in JE. question. JE contains no reference to places which directly serve to define the district; for Ḥormah is not mentioned as a place in the wilderness of Wandering, but as a point connected with a definite attempt to gain an entrance into Canaan from the S., and all the other places referred to in JE are stages in the movements (1) from Egypt to Sinai, (2) from Sinai to Kadesh, which preceded the nomadic period proper, and (3) from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan, which succeeded it. For the first series, see EXODUS, i. §§ 10 *ff.* The second consists of Taberah (Nu. 11 3), Kibroth-hattaavah, and Hazeroth (Nu. 11 35). The identifications which have been offered of these sites have little more to recommend them than that they agree with a particular theory of a route from the spot identified as Sinai. In the only case where the similarity of the modern name ('Ain el-Ḥaḍra = חצרת; so Robinson, Palmer) appears to furnish an independent reason for the identification, this circumstance is far from conclusive, for names like Hazeroth were frequent (cp NAMES, § 105). The third series concludes with places

8. To E. of Canaan. which are obviously on the E. of the Arabah—'the wilderness before Moab toward the sun-rising' (Nu. 21 10), the valley of Zered (Nu. 21 12), 'the other side of Arnon' (Nu. 21 13), Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel, Bamoth, 'the valley that is in the field of Moab'—Nu. 21 16-20, cp further 21 21 *ff.*; for details reference must be made to the several articles. An isolated fragment, apparently of E, in Dt. 10 6-8 preserves the names of four places—Beeroth-Bene-Jaakan, Moserah, Gudgodah and Jotbathah—which were probably stages in the earlier part of the march down the W. of the Arabah; but in the absence of identification, we cannot speak with certainty.

Indirectly and negatively, however, the district of the nomadic period is, within broad limits, thus defined

9. Result for JE. in JE. The country to the N. of Kadesh is implied to have been effectually held by other peoples[1] (Nu. 14 39-45; cp *v.* 25 13 29—to the NE. by Edom—cp Nu. 20 16; see more fully Buhl, *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 22-26, and EDOM). The wanderings, therefore, in JE are conceived as taking place from Kadesh as a permanent centre over an indefinite part of the wilderness stretching to the S. and W. of that place—in other words, over the desert of et-Tīh, and more immediately over that part now held by the 'Azāzimeh.

In D, as in JE, Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah are stages on the journey from Horeb to Kadesh (9 22);

10. D's narrative. Hazeroth in Dt. 1 1 is either different from the Hazeroth of JE, or else the passage in question has ceased to be intelligible (cp Dr. *ad loc.*). D chiefly differs from JE in making the scene of the wanderings for the greater part of the period (thirty-eight years) distant from Kadesh, but immediately bordering on Edom. The command in Dt. 2 3 appears to be referred to the close of the period, and to have immediate reference to the final attack on Canaan; consequently, although the punitive wanderings extended up to the brook Zered (Dt. 2 14*b*) on the E. of Edom, we must conceive the greater part of the period to have been spent on the W. borders of Edom. Removing from Kadesh at the beginning, the people are found at the close of the period at the SE. end of the Arabah (Dt. 2 3). (In attempting to arrive at D's view, Dt. 10 6 *f.* must be disregarded; the verses form an isolated fragment out of relation to D's other statements; cp Dr. *ad loc.*)

[1] Nu. 20 22 has been generally assigned to P in its entirety. Carpenter, in the Oxford Hexateuch, assigns clause *a* to E. If this were certain, which it is not (see Gray in *Internat. Crit. Com.*), it would still be clear that 20 22*b*-29 in P, as in the present compilation, was preceded by P's story of the sin of Moses and Aaron at Kadesh; cp 20 24 with *v.* 23.

[2] It must suffice merely to draw attention to the theory recently advanced by Steuernagel (*Die Einwanderung der israelitischen Stämmen*, 1901) that in J one section of the people (the 'Leah' tribes, according to his denomination) actually made their way into Canaan from Kadesh, whereas in E the 'Jacob' tribes, leaving Kadesh at the beginning of the nomadic period, spent their years of wandering in the deserts *East* of the Jordan and the Arabah. [Cp EXODUS i., § 6, TRIBES, § 13 *f.*]

[1] Thus much it seems safer to affirm of JE. It is unnecessary here to discuss at length the analysis of the several sources as between J, E and editors, for which the Commentaries must be consulted.

When we turn to P we have to distinguish between the general narrative and the summarising chapter, Nu. 33.

11. P's narrative. In the narrative, the Hebrews journeyed from Sinai to the wilderness of Paran. Here they encamped, hence the spies were despatched, and hither they returned; and 'in this wilderness' (Nu. 14 35) the punitive wanderings took place. On the boundaries of the wilderness of Paran, see GEOGRAPHY, § 7. The remaining places in P's narrative appear to be referred to the final year. These occur in this order: wilderness of Zin (Nu. 20 1), Kadesh, Mt. Hor (20 22), Oboth, Iye-abarim (21 10), plains of Moab (22 1), pointing to a northward movement (Paran to Kadesh) followed by an eastward (to the plains of Moab); and the latter movement was in all probability regarded as being direct across the N. territory of Edom (cp We. *CH* 110, Buhl, *Gesch.* 23, Gray on Nu. 21 11), not, as in JE (*e.g.*, Nu. 21 4), or D (Dt. 2 3 8), by means of a march round the S. end of Edom; for although the site of Oboth is uncertain, and Iye-abarim unidentified, yet the latter certainly lay, as its name indicates, on the E. of the Arabah (cp ABARIM). Thus, the main narrative of P, like JE and D, contains no topographical details of the scene of the wanderings proper. The district suggested by P is more southerly than in JE, less easterly—*i.e.*, less definitely associated with the borders of Edom—than in D.

12. P's list. In Nu. 33 the point of view is different. We have here a succession of forty places at which the children of Israel encamped, between the time when they left Rameses and the time when they arrived at the Fields of Moab. Probably the number has been fixed at forty by artificial selection, to equal the number of the years of wandering; although the compiler clearly does not intend us to suppose that the people tarried at each place just a year, for seven of the stages clearly belong to the fortieth year (cp *v.* 38). The interpretation of the chapter must, to some extent, vary with our estimate of its historical value, and that, in turn, will depend on our general view of the antiquity of the priestly strata of the Hexateuch. One at any rate—and the chief—of Dillmann's arguments in favour of the antiquity of the itinerary is quite inconclusive (see below). Starting from the view that the chapter is a late compilation, the following points must be noted: (1) It is compiled from more than one of the literary strata of the Hexateuch; for it contains some names (*e.g.*, Pi-hahiroth, wilderness of Zin) peculiar to P, others unknown to him, but occurring elsewhere—*e.g.*, Kibroth-hattaavah (JE, D), Ezion-geber (D); (2) it also draws on an otherwise unknown source, for seventeen of the places are mentioned nowhere else; (3) it is dominated in its representation by P, for, like the main narrative of P, it makes Mt. Hor the death-place of Aaron (contrast Dt. 10 6 *f.*) and places the wilderness of Zin = Kadesh immediately before Mt. Hor; on the other hand, between Hazeroth and Kadesh, which are immediately connected in JE, this list inserts eighteen stages.

13. Its relation to his narrative. This being the case, the one striking divergence from P (claimed by Dillmann in favour of the high antiquity of the list) is all the more remarkable, and probably contains the true clue to the view of the period underlying the chapter. *The wilderness of Paran, so prominent in P, is not mentioned in the list.* This will be entirely accounted for, in complete accordance with the evident purpose of the list, which is to name, not large districts, but definite camping-grounds, if we assume that the stations mentioned between Sinai and Kadesh are conceived to have lain in the wilderness of Paran. Thus, the compiler derives from the other sources such places as are there naturally referred to the forty years between Sinai and Kadesh—viz., from JE Hazeroth, Kibroth-hattaavah, and the four places mentioned in the fragment Dt. 10 6 *f.*; Ezion-geber from D, and thirteen places mentioned only in this list from some sources unknown to us. Granted this single assumption, the view of the compiler is found to be in complete accord with P—thus *vv.* 3-15 contain the stages in the straightforward march from Egypt to Sinai; *vv.* 16-36 give the names of the camping-grounds during the forty years of punishment, the names of the individual places being substituted for that of the general district—Paran; *vv.* 37-49 describe the march from Kadesh to the plains of Moab, and this, as in the main narrative of P, is apparently across the N. end of Edom, not round Ezion-geber on the S. border. With a recognition of a double tradition as to the route of the final march, the old difficulty occasioned by a comparison of Dt. 2 8 10 6 *ff.* with Nu. 33 30 37, which was met by various unsatisfactory hypotheses (such as that there was a second Ezion-geber near Kadesh, or a backward and forward movement from Ezion-geber to Kadesh, or that Nu. 33 36*b*-41*a* originally followed immediately on 30*a*) falls to the ground. Ezion-geber was considered by the compiler of the itinerary to have been merely a camping-ground during the nomadic period, not a stage in the final march from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan.

14. Its origin. The question whence the compiler of this chapter derived the otherwise unknown names can only be met by conjecture. Possibly it was from a now lost written source; but it is, perhaps, more probable that they are names of places known in his own day as belonging to that region. That the names (or at least the great majority of them) are genuine names of places, there seems no reason to question; and if, as is far from unlikely, they are names of caravan stations (Masp. *Hist. Ancienne*, 2 475, n. 1) given by travellers, but never used by the inhabitants of the district, the failure to identify the sites would be accounted for (cp Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, 1 49). It is, further, quite possible that Alush and Dophkah (*v.* 13), stages in the movement from Egypt to Sinai, and Zalmonah and Punon (*v.* 42), stages in the movement from Kadesh to the E. of Canaan, are only accidentally absent from some of our present sources in which they originally stood. That the eastern traditions had little or nothing to say of the places connected with the wanderings, is merely one side of the more general silence as to the period. In Nu. between the incident of the spies (13 *f.*) at the beginning and the events at Kadesh (20 1-21) at the end of the period, but five chapters intervene. Two of these (15 19) contain miscellaneous laws wholly unrelated to the period, and the remaining three (16-18) relate the revolt of Koraḥ (Dathan, and Abiram) and the laws which were the outcome of it. But whether even this incident was referred to this period in the sources, or only by the editor, it is impossible to decide.

15. JE's tradition. In conclusion, some of the general features of the country may be mentioned. In JE, as we have seen, Kadesh is the permanent centre. This harmonises with JE's view of the punishment as a postponement of the possession of the richer country of Canaan rather than the infliction of positive hardship. The people, for their unbelief, are to remain as they had been—nomads (רעים). That is all; the punishment is not aggravated by their being condemned to a peculiarly barren tract of country. For Kadesh ('Ain Ḳadīs) is a singularly fertile and attractive oasis; cereal crops even, in small quantities, can be raised in the neighbourhood. The Wādy 'Ain el-Ḳudeirat, to the W., with its important well, is also fertile; less valuable, but also worthy of mention, are the *themā'il* or shallow pits of water in the Wādy Ḳasaimeh, situated still farther W. Southwards and westwards, whither according to JE the Hebrews must have wandered, stretches the desert of et-Tīh; this, according to the description of Palmer (*Desert of Exodus*,

286-288), is an 'arid featureless waste' marked by scanty lines of vegetation along the shallow wadies, but for the most part waterless. The ground is hard and unyielding and covered with small flints, and only in spring, after the rains, becomes covered with grass; cp also Seetzen, *Reisen*. 3 48 *ff.*

16. Conclusion. Thus, the discovery of the true site of Kadesh and the literary analysis of the Hexateuch have brought to light a very noticeable difference of general representation. In the earlier traditions embodied in JE, the Hebrew nomads had as their common centre a large and fertile oasis in the neighbourhood of two other fertile valleys and a vast roaming ground southwards and westwards, barren for most of the year, but, as is usual in these deserts, abounding with grass in spring. On the other hand, the greater part of the time in D, the whole of it in P, is spent away from this fertile centre on the arid and barren plateau described above.

17. Literature. Guthe in *ZDPV*, 1885, pp. 182 *ff.*; Lagrange, 'L'itinéraire des Israélites du pays de Gessen aux bords du Jourdain,' *Rev. biblique*, 9 (1900) 273-287. On the literary analysis, the relevant works of Dillmann, Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Driver, should be consulted; Bacon's *Triple Tradition of the Exodus* is especially worthy of attention for his careful attempt to discriminate J and E; the frequent uncertainty in the analysis of these two sources may be seen by consulting the analytical tables in Holzinger's *Einl. in den Hex.* On the site of 'Ain Ķadīs (Kadesh) and on the character of this and the neighbouring valleys, see Clay Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea* (which also contains a very full index of the literature), Seetzen, *Reisen durch Syrien*, 3 43-48, and on the character of the desert of et-Tīh, E. H. Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, pt. ii. chaps. 1-5.

[Cp, among other illustrative articles, KADESH 1; MAKHELOTH; MOSES, § 14; MOSERAH; NAHALIEL; NEBO [MOUNT], § 2; PARAN; REPHIDIM; RIMMON-PAREZ; SIN; SINAI; ZIN.]

G. B. G.

WAR. The ordinary word in Hebrew for 'war' is מִלְחָמָה, *milḥāmāh;* to 'fight' or 'carry on war' is נִלְחַם, *nilḥam* (*nif'al*), צָבָא, *ṣābā'*, קָרַב, *ķārab* (lit. 'advance to war,' followed by אֶל or עַל of the object), עָשָׂה מִלְחָמָה, *'āsah milḥāmāh*, etc., 'to advance to war' is also expressed by עָלָה (with עַל, לְ, or בְּ). The ordinary Greek equivalent is *πόλεμος, πολεμεῖν*.

1. Palestine as a theatre of war. Palestine and all its adjacent land bordering on the Mediterranean, including Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus (Gebal), was called by the Babylono-Assyrians (mât) Martu or Amurri, or, in its northern portion, mât Ḥatti, and by the Egyptians Rtnu (see WMM *As. u. Eur.* 147). All this country stood in a position of great strategic importance in the mutual relations that subsisted between the Euphrates and Tigris lands on the one hand, and the Nile territory on the other. For Palestine possessed a fairly well-watered and fertile belt of hills and plains extending from the Lebanon mountains on the N. to the el-'Arīsh stream on the S. Consequently Canaan became the natural highway for the trading caravans (Gen. 37 28 1 K. 10 15) that passed from N. to S. or from SW. to NE. (see TRADE). It would also be the most fertile route for the Egyptian army as it moved to the NE., or for the Assyrian army as it advanced to the SW. to attack Egypt along its short vulnerable frontier defended by frontier fortresses, N. of the Gulf of Suez. For the empire on the Nile, on the one hand, and the empire on the Tigris or on the Euphrates, on the other, were, to adopt the language of modern politics, the two first-class powers, protagonists in the drama of Western-Asian history, whose mutual relations overshadowed and dominated all other political interests and combinations among the minor Western-Asian states. Unless this controlling factor be kept clearly in view during the larger part of the regal period, the history of Israel in its external aspects can be but imperfectly understood. For a time—*e.g.*, in the days of David and Solomon—the power of Egypt or of Assyria may suffer decline, or lapse into quiescence, and the Hittite states or Syria (*e.g.*, in the 9th cent.), or Israel itself, may come into temporary prominence, but this is only a passing phase. The more permanent and dominating factor, to which we have referred, is nevertheless ever present and reasserts itself.

No land, therefore, felt the pulses and tremors of war more acutely than the plains and mountains inhabited by Israel. Of this the prophetic oracles bear abundant witness. The prophet of Israel—which geographically stood so central to western-Asiatic movements—could not but be deeply interested in foreign politics. Hence the earliest prophet of Judah whose oracles have come down to us in separate collections (Amos), as well as the latest of the closing years of the monarchy (Jeremiah), uttered his *Maššā* on foreign peoples. No other land was better situated as a watch-tower for the inspired seer. Probably no other country on the earth's surface has been more frequently traversed by armies or has oftener resounded to the shock of battle or suffered greater hardships from the ravages of war. Belgium has been called the 'cock-pit of Europe' from the days of Louis XIV. and Marlborough to those of Napoleon and Wellington. But in a far truer sense, during the millenniums that separate Thotmes III. from the age of the Saracens, Palestine has been the cock-pit of Western Asia.

It was at Elteķeh (Altakū), not far from Ekron, that the power of SENNACHERIB (*q.v.*) recoiled from the onset of his southern enemies, and it was on the fatal field of Megiddo that Pharaoh Necho slew JOSIAH (*q.v.*) who resisted the endeavours of the Egyptian monarch to capture the spoils of the defunct Assyrian empire. The Palestinian towns, Samaria, Jerusalem, Ekron, Ashdod, and Lachish, were regarded by the Assyrian kings as outposts on the path of the invader of Egypt, whilst the empire on the Nile, on the other hand, would naturally regard with apprehension their possession by a foreign foe. It is difficult to over-estimate the strategic importance of Palestine.

2. Religious significance of war. The close vital bond that existed between the clan or tribe and the clan or tribal deity profoundly affected the ancient Semitic conception of war. 'Religion,' as Wellhausen says, 'was patriotism.' Thus war against a foreign nation, like other national acts, was only undertaken under the favour or sanction of the patron deity or deities.

Thus the inscriptions of the Assyrian monarchs preface the annals of a campaign with phraseology like this:—'In my fourth campaign Ašur inspired me with confidence; then I summoned my mighty forces. . . .' (Sennacherib's prism inscription [Taylor cyl.] col. iii., 42. Cp Judg. 11 29.) Kings in all their public functions, whether of building temples or conducting wars, like to describe themselves as under divine favour and guidance. Sargon opens his cylinder inscription by describing himself as šaknu Bêl išakku na'id Ašur nišit inâ Anim u Dagan, 'Bel's officer, exalted priest of Ašur, favourite of Anu and Dagan.' Cp also Nimrud inscription 1. On the other hand, Sargon's enemy Merodach Baladan, son of Jakin, king of Kaldu, is described as being under the influence of an 'evil demon' (*gallu limnu*),[1] and 'showing no fear for the name of the lord of lords' (triumphal insc. 122). The Rassam cylinder of Ašurbani-pal continually recites the names of Ašur, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Bel, Nebo, Ištar of Nineveh, Ištar of Arbela, Nergal, and Nusku. In fact, the king (or his tablet-writer) seems possessed with a nervous dread of offending any deity by omitting his name. Doubtless in all these cases the magic potency of the name operated in the recital.

Ištar was the Assyrian war-goddess (Jastrow, *Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.* 83, 204; Driver, 'Ashtoreth' in Hastings' *DB* 1 168). The Canaanite war-deities, ac-

[1] It may here be noted that the deity of a defeated nation became relegated into the position of a demon, like the Titans overthrown by Zeus. It is to be observed in this connection that the Hebrews called the deities of the Gentiles *šēdīm* (שֵׁדִים) or demons (Dt. 32 17 Ps. 106 37, see DEMONS, §§ 2, 4), and we meet with several of their names as the demons of later Judaism—*e.g.*, Rešpâ is the flame demon, the old Canaanite flame-deity Rešeph, the Rešpu of the ancient Egyptians (Baethg. *Beitr.* 50, Wiedemann, *Rel. Aeg.* 83, and cp the present writer's article 'Demon' in Hastings' *DB*). Beelzebub is the most conspicuous example.

cording to Egyptian data, were the goddess 'Anat (represented as armed with helmet, shield, and lance, and in her left hand a battleaxe) and the god Rešeph (armed with helmet and lance). See Wiedemann, *Relig. der alten Aegypter*, 83. The warrior Shamgar was Ben 'Anat; see Baethgen, *Beiträge*, 52 *f.*, Judg. 3 31 5 6.

The Moabite stone yields us other parallels (see MESHA).

Chemosh, national deity of Moab, says to Mesha, 'Go, take Nebo against Israel.' This time it is Yahwè, national deity of Israel, who suffers. His vessels (?) are dragged before Chemosh, and Chemosh drives the king of Israel out of Yahaṣ, *ll.* 14, 18 *f.* A high place is made for Chemosh because he had saved Mesha from all his foes, and had caused him to see his desire on all them that hated him. In former times when Omri reigned over Israel Moab was oppressed because Chemosh was angry with his land (*l.* 4 *f.*). The biblical parallels to this language are very close both in Judges, Samuel, and the earlier Psalms—*e.g.*, Ps. 60, which may contain, as Ewald supposed, a Davidic fragment. (Cp MESHA; see also Wi. *GI* 2 204 *f.*)

The name Israel may not improbably have originated with the early Hebrew battle-cry of the desert 'El fights'; and the cry 'for Yahwè and for Gideon,' and 'the Sword of Yahwè and of Gideon,' are the echoes of old Hebrew battle-cries.[1] All Israel's victorious wars were therefore wars of Yahwè. He was called in comparatively early times יהוה אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת, 'Yahwè, God of Hosts.' The view of Wellhausen, Smend, and others, that this phrase originated with the prophets of the eighth century, is hardly probable. The conception of Yahwè as an atmospheric deity is obviously ancient, and the designation of the Hebrew god as Lord of the heavenly, as well as the earthly, armies is in full accord, Judg. 5 20 (Deborah's song). That Yahwè was closely identified with Israel's wars is clearly shown in Dt. 20 4 Josh. 10 11 Ex. 15 3, etc. Like other Semites the Hebrews inaugurated war by sacrifices. This was said to consecrate war (קִדֵּשׁ מִלְחָמָה, *ḳiddēš milḥāmāh*), Mic. 3 4 Jer. 6 4 cp Josh. 3 5.[2] Hence the burnt-offerings at the opening of a campaign (Judg. 6 20 26 20 26 1 S. 7 9 13 10). The sacrificial pieces sent round by Saul to the Israelites were probably intended not simply to inaugurate a war against the Ammonites (1 S. 11 7) but also to unite the warriors into a holy league of war under Yahwè by a covenant. Every war against a common foe thus tended to weld the scattered clans into a unity, and this union was cemented by the rites of sacrifice. Moreover, in war-time, in seasons of great anxiety or strife, special piacular sacrifices would be offered. In times of special danger a human victim might even be sacrificed. Of this we have a remarkable example in 2 K. 3 27, which is the more significant as it reveals the Hebrew dread of its potency. (On the Hellenic belief in the efficacy of human sacrifice see WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 402 *f.*, and n. 5.) In early Hebrew warfare the leaders would always be accompanied on the field of battle by the priest-soothsayer with the ephod and sacred lot, or, as in the early Philistine campaigns, with the ark of God (1 S. 4 3 *f.* 14 18 *f.* 23 6 9 *f.* 30 7 *f.*). What is probably meant by the use of his ephod in divination by the priest-soothsayer is that the sacred lot was used in the presence of the plated ephod image which gave the procedure divine sanction. Wellhausen reminds us (*Heid.*(2), 132, 136 *f.*) that nearly all the clan chiefs of the Ḳuraish consulted lots before they marched on their expedition to Badr, though requested by Abu-Sufiān, whom they sought to rescue, not to wait to consult lots. Similarly, though with more elaboration of detail, the Assyrian ruler questioned the deity before definitely entering upon a fresh expedition, all possible contingencies being enumerated, so that there might be no loop-hole of escape, just as in a lawyer's deed.[1] As Yahwè, Israel's national deity, was identified with the people, and especially with the national act of war which was undertaken in his name and under his auspices, so the booty, including the human captives as well as the cattle, belonged in a very special sense to him. This is evidently the underlying principle of the *ḥērem*, which surrounded the objects captured in war with a sacred ring-fence which forbade their appropriation for human uses. This explains Samuel's action in slaying Agag in 1 S. 15 7-33, the whole passage viewed from this aspect being exceedingly instructive.

The language of *v.* 18 is exactly parallel to that of the stone of Mesha', *ll.* 14 *f.* 32. In the latter case Mesha devotes to Aštar-Kemosh (*l.* 17, החרמתה) the entire population of Nebo, both men and women. The inscription makes it clear that this means wholesale slaughter (cp Josh. 6 17; see BAN). This tradition of ancient Semitism even persisted in Hebrew legislation. Dt. 7 2 20 13-17, however, limit its application to Canaanite towns which, near the close of the seventh century, practically meant nothing but the maintenance of an old formula. Women, children, and cattle were permitted to live and be divided as spoil of war (see SIEGE, end, and cp Nu. 31 7 *f.* Josh. 8 2 27 *f.* Judg. 21 11 *f.*).

The negotiations which precede a declaration of war are set forth in fuller form in Judg. 11 12-28 1 S. 11 1-10 1 K. 20 2-11.

3. Preliminaries of war.

The negotiations took place by word of mouth through messengers (Judg. 11 12 1 K. 20 2). Proverbs or parables might be employed (2 K. 14 9 *f.* 1 K. 20 11). Proceedings of this kind are regulated in Dt. 20 10 *f.*; but we have no precise information as to the form in which war was declared. Probably the cessation of negotiations would be the indication that war was in preparation.

4. Preparations for war.

(*a*) *Provisioning of troops.*—On this subject we have very slight information. The methods consisted in the rough and ready ones of providing sufficient for the sustenance of the army for a brief space until it entered the enemy's territory; each family, household, or local clan sending provisions sufficient for its own warriors. Of what these consisted we may gather from 1 S. 17 17. *Ḳālī* or roast (parched) corn was the usual diet of workers who led an out-door life (Ruth 2 14) and therefore of soldiers (cp 2 S. 17 28); and to this would be added curds and cakes ('rounds,' כִּכָּרוֹת, Judg. 8 5) of unleavened bread;[2] see BREAD and MILK. In one case (Judg. 20 10 *f.*) we read that a special corps, about one-tenth of the army, was told off for the express purpose of supplying the army with necessaries. These could be furnished without difficulty in ordinary circumstances, to an expeditionary force at a short distance from its base. But when the territory of the enemy was entered the simple method adopted was that of unlimited spoliation of the crops and fruit-trees, including the palm-groves and the vines, in the country through which the army passed (cp Is. 1 7). The Assyrian army was specially destructive and left a wide tract of desolation behind it. Is. 7 20 compares it to a 'razor

1 Judg. 7 18 20. Moore regards the introduction of חֶרֶב in the form given in *v.* 20 as due to a gloss.

2 This use of the Hithpael הִתְקַדֵּשׁ shows that warriors consecrated themselves for war just as they would for the performance of a religious rite. This idea seems to underlie Is. 13 3, and Benzinger in *PRE*(3) would connect with this the ancient Semitic custom of sexual abstinence which prevailed among the Arabs; WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), 455. It is in this sense we should understand 2 S. 11 6 *f.*; Uriah refuses to come to his wife as long as the ark of God and the army of Israel are on the field. Evidently there was a taboo on sexual uncleanness in war-time. Hence the strict camp-regulations with regard to uncleanness in Dt. 23 10-14. These were manifestly old Tōrōth based on the conception that Yahwè was present in the camp (*v.* 14). Probably this is the underlying motive of Dt. 20 7. It is not easy, however, to follow Schwally (*Semit. Kriegsaltert.*) in his interpretation that in the other cases mentioned in Dt. 20 5 *f.* the individual was believed to be specially exposed to demons.

1 See Knudtzon's *Assyr. Gebete an den Sonnengott*, where examples are given of prayers of this kind addressed to Šamaš. An excellent illustration is quoted by Jastrow, *Rel. Bab.* 334 *f.* See also 'Soothsaying' in Hastings' *DB*.

2 Also round cakes of figs—summer figs dried into cakes, and used as an article of consumption, called *dĕbēlah* (1 S. 30 12 cp 25 18; see FRUIT, § 7)—as well as raisins (*ṣimmūḳ*; see FRUIT, § 4) which were also made into cakes (*'ăšīšāh*; see FRUIT, § 5). Moreover the grape juice which came from trodden clusters was boiled down to a syrup called 'honey,' in modern Arabic *dibs* (see FRUIT, § 3; HONEY, § 1 [3]). This may have been the honey which Barzillai bestowed on David and his warriors (2 S. 17 29); see Whitehouse, *Heb. Antiquities* (*RTS*), 102 *f.*

hired' by Yahwè for the infliction of his chastisements (cp Is. 16 9 *f.*). Even the flocks and herds were not spared (Jer. 5 15-17). Israel's practice was in reality the same in the spoliation both of sheep (1 S. 15 9) and of fruit (2 K. 3 19), the trees being cut down partly for the timber, which could be turned to account (see SIEGE), and partly to deprive the enemy of their use. This practice was forbidden in the Deuteronomic legislation (Dt. 20 19 *f.*); but it was recommended by Elisha to Israel in the war against Moab (2 K. 3 19).

(*b*) *Mustering of troops.*—Troops were summoned in early times by the blowing of the trumpet or war-horn whereby the clan warriors were rallied together (Judg. 3 27 2 S. 20 1; cp 1 Macc. 3 51).[1] An alarm of war was usually sounded in this way, and was the function of the watchman (צֹפֶה, *ṣōpheh*). Compare Ezekiel's use of this metaphor for the prophet's vocation in 33 2-11. Frequent messengers were sent if the forces were to be summoned from a large district (1 S. 11 7).

5. Varied details.

(*a*) Spring-time would be the natural season chosen for beginning a campaign. The annual expeditions recorded by Shalmaneser II. probably commenced at that time. The reasons are obvious, and have been partially indicated in the previous section (§ 4*a*). Troops on the march—especially in a hostile territory—were sustained by the crops and other fruits of the earth. Winter, to say nothing of its climatic rigours, was the time when the earth was bare of subsistence for man. By the close of the month Tišri (Ethānīm in the old Hebrew-Canaanite calendar) the troops would betake themselves to their homes. Thus in 2 S. 11 1 'at the return of the year, when the kings march forth' (cp 1 K. 20 20-26) does not mean the beginning of the year in the old pre-exilian calendar—viz., Ethānim or Tišri—but about the time of the spring months.

The expression בָּא שָׁנָה in 2 K. 13 20 cannot be cited in this connection since the passage should probably be emended, as Kittel suggests, into יָבֹאוּ בָאָרֶץ שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה '(bands of Moabites) used to invade the land yearly.'

(*b*) Scouting was necessary in order to ascertain the strength and position of the enemy (1 S. 26 4 Judg. 1 24 7 10 *f.* Josh. 2 1 *f.*, שֹׁמְרִים, מְרַגְּלִים חֶרֶשׁ; cp SPIES); or strict inquiries would be made by the leaders of the army of those whom they chanced to meet (1 S. 30 11).

(*c*) The camp (מַחֲנֶה, *maḥăneh*) was carefully guarded, since it formed the base of operations (cp 1 S. 30 24). We have very few details to guide us as to its character or shape. Nu. 2 would lead to the conclusion that it was square; but as this passage is late (belonging to a considerable P section) it should be cautiously used. The Egyptian camp was, however, four-cornered. See Erman, 530—a vivid description (see, further, CAMP).

Probably the camp was round like the encampments of the Bedouins (cp TENT). It is hardly possible to draw any particular inference from the *ma'gal*, מַעְגָּל, of 1 S. 17 20 26 5. The word is found only in 1 S. in this particular sense of a 'waggon-laager.' Probably it would in many cases be fenced in with stones, like the *ḥāṣēr*, חָצֵר, of the nomadic tribes (Gen. 25 16) for purposes of protection. Dwelling in booths must have largely prevailed in the time of David, and the language of Uriah the Hittite (2 S. 11 11) shows that this was certainly the case in time of war. The camp was guarded by sentinels, who had three watches (Judg. 7 19 1 Macc. 12 27). To the rules for the maintenance of purity in the camp (Dt. 23 10 *f.* Nu. 5 1-4), we have referred already (§ 2, n).

6. Accoutrements and other appliances of war.

The arms or weapons used in warfare would vary considerably at different periods of Israel's history. In the early nomadic stage of the nation's development the arms would consist of the spear or lance, *ḥănīth* (חֲנִית), a wooden shaft with a bronze or, in later times, an iron head (see SPEAR). We also read of the smaller *kīdōn* (כִּידוֹן), or JAVELIN [*q.v.*] (1 S. 17 6 45; also a Babylonian weapon, Jer. 6 23 50 42) and of the *rōmaḥ* (רֹמַח, difficult to distinguish from the חנית; see SPEAR). The SWORD (*q.v.*), *ḥéreb* (חֶרֶב), would be fastened to the girdle, and we likewise find in use the dagger, *lâhab* (לַהַב; Judg. 3 22), so called from its glittering blade or point. The bow (see WEAPONS, § 2) and the SLING (*q.v.*) were also employed as weapons of offence, particularly by the Benjamites (cp 2 S. 1 22 1 S. 20 20 *f.*). The use of the bow by the Josephite tribes is clearly indicated in Gen. 49 23 *f.*, cp Ps. 78 9. The use of the sling is specially connected with the Benjamites whose left-handed slingers became famous (Judg. 20 16, cp SLING). That the tribe of Judah also possessed slingers is evident from 1 S. 17 40 etc., and the constant presence of slingers in Assyrian warfare is certified by the figures on the monuments (see SIEGE). They were specially formidable in sieges, and operated with the Israelite forces with potent effect against the Moabite stronghold, Ḳīr Ḥarāšeth. In early times we read little of defensive armour. The SHIELD (*q.v.*) in use was the smaller and simpler *māgēn* (מָגֵן, ἀσπίς) employed to defend the bowman on the chariot (cp CHARIOT, § 9, and fig. 7). Neither chariots nor horsemen, however, were used till the time of Solomon. The shield was probably carried only by the more important warriors (2 S. 1 21). The BREASTPLATE (*q.v.*) was likewise a rarity in ancient Israelite warfare and, like the bronze HELMET (*q.v.*), would be the privilege only of the chiefs (1 K. 22 34). Probably the Israelites were among the most backward among Semitic peoples in adopting these accessories of combat, and the story of David's proving the armour provided by Saul probably reflects old tradition and prejudice (1 S. 17 38 *f.*). The ordinary warrior wore only the *simlah* (see MANTLE, § 2, 1), which displayed the blood-stains of battle (Is. 9 4). Even Joab merely wears the *lĕbūs* (2 S. 20 8 text restored by Klostermann). We may therefore assume that in the earlier period of Israel's history, when the nomad clans were establishing their position on the hills of Canaan, all their fighting-men were light-armed. As soon, however, as they learned the arts and methods of the Canaanites and Philistines who inhabited the plain, the distinction began to arise between the light-armed (whose weapons would be the spear, bow, sling, sword, and smaller shield) and the heavy-armed, whose accoutrements were the larger shield (*ṣinnāh*, צִנָּה, θυρεός; see SHIELD), resembling that of the Assyrians, as well as the cuirass (*siryōn*, סִרְיוֹן) and the helmet. According to the statements of the Chronicler, which in this case McCurdy (*Expos.*, Nov. 1891) has shown to be worthy of credence in the main facts, it was Uzziah who first provided his army with helmet and breastplate (2 Ch. 26 14), to what extent is uncertain. Previously they had belonged to the captains or chieftains only.

It is not easy to determine how the Israelite forces in early times were shod. But it seems fairly probable that they wore the ordinary sandals consisting of soles of leather or wood tied under the feet by thongs (Gen. 14 23). From Isaiah's vivid description (5 27) as well as from the portrayal on Assyrian monuments, we gather that the soles were firmly and strongly made and the back was protected by leather, but the toes and upper part of the foot were bare, covered only by the thongs that were bound firmly and tightly across. Not improbably the Hebrews had by this time (740-700 B.C.) learned the value of a strong and serviceable military shoe, and the Hebrew word *seōn* used by Isaiah in 9 4[1] is probably a loan-word from the Assyrian *šênu*. See SHOES.

It is by no means easy to ascertain at what time the wheeled battering-ram of the Assyrians (Assyr. *arammu*, *šupû*) was first employed by the Hebrews. Probably it was quite unknown to Israel until the ninth century, when it was employed by Assyria against the Syrian towns in the N. See SIEGE.

[1] The trumpet was also used in sounding a halt or a return (2 S. 2 28 18 16 20 22).

[1] Regarded, however, as post-exilic by Hackmann and Cheyne.

It has been pointed out already (see CHARIOT) that one powerfully determining factor in the advance of Israel's military accoutrements and tactics was the great change brought about when the people ceased to be a band of hardy warriors armed with spear and bow who sallied forth from their mountain fastnesses, and became a disciplined force that waged aggressive wars upon the plain. It was the life and death struggle with the Philistines that first welded the Israelite clans into some semblance of unity under Saul, the representative of the hegemony of Benjamin, and subsequently under David of Bethlehem-Judah. The Philistines taught the Hebrews some severe lessons from the time of the destruction of Shiloh down to Saul's tragic overthrow at Gilboa. The Hebrews were able to hold their own with wonderful skill and persistence when the fighting was in mountain passes like that of Micmash (1 S. 14 5 *f.*) or in the forests of Ziph (1 S. 23 14) or Ephraim (2 S. 18 6), or when sudden night attacks were made (Josh. 10 9 *f.* Judg. 7 5 *f.*), or rocky citadels stormed (2 S. 5 6 *f.*); but their inability to forge their own weapons placed them at a great disadvantage (1 S. 13 19 *f.*), and their irregular guerilla tactics were utterly at fault when the Philistines managed at Aphek to concentrate immense forces around Saul (whose strength was weakened by David's defection), and to drive him from the open plain of Jezreel (where the methods of attack employed by Jonathan could not avail) into his last forlorn stronghold on Mount Gilboa.

7. Tactics.

The mountainous regions, where chariots and horsemen could not operate, afforded the best ground for the irregular tactics of the Israelites. Even as late as the time when the dynasty of Omri reigned (9th cent.), Israel's God, Yahwè, was regarded by the Syrians as god of the hills (1 K. 20 23).

A change, however, begins to be apparent in the reign of David, whose wars of conquest led him beyond his own borders and who was seconded by one of the ablest and most energetic generals that the Hebrews ever possessed, from the days of the Exodus to those of Judas the Maccabee. What Hannibal was to Carthage in the latter end of the third century, Joab was to David throughout his stormy reign in the tenth. We have already seen (see SIEGE) that it was Joab who first taught the Israelites the regular methods of reducing a fortified town (2 S. 20 15). Nevertheless, the equipment of Israel must still have remained primitive, for horses and chariots were not employed, and even the leader Absalom rides upon a mule (2 S. 18 9). In the reign of Solomon Israel began to enter into fuller intercourse with foreign peoples, and the dynasty of Omri united Israel closely with Phœnicia, and was able to wage successful wars with Syria and Mesha, king of Moab. Omri and Ahab were capable generals, and the strategic instinct of the former marked out Samaria as his royal fortress-citadel. Omri's name was dreaded by the Moabites, as the stone of Mesha clearly testifies (*l.* 4 *f.*), and became permanently identified by the Assyrians with the Ephraimite kingdom long after his dynasty had disappeared (see OMRI). Chariots and horsemen were now a recognised part of Israel's war-equipment, and in the Syrian coalition against Shalmaneser II. (as we learn from his monolith insc. col. 2 91) Ahab figures as Hadadezer's (see BENHADAD, § 2) most powerful ally, furnishing a contingent of 2000 chariots and 10,000 men. Probably Ahab had brought Israel to a level of military efficiency fully equal to that of any other Palestinian state, evidenced by his brilliant victory at Aphek over much superior numbers (1 K. 20 27 *f.*). In the last fatal battle of Ramoth Gilead Ahab's value is so highly esteemed that the word of command goes forth among the Syrian ranks that he must be slain at all costs. See AHAB, § 8.

The term *ma'ărākāh* (מַעֲרָכָה, 1 S. 17 8 10 etc., 23 3) and the phrase [מִלְחָמָה] עָרַךְ, *'ārak* [*milḥāmāh*] (Judg. 20 20 22 30 33 1 S. 4 2 17 21), show that in comparatively early times the fighters were drawn up in line.[1] Sometimes we read that they were disposed in three separate divisions (Judg. 7 16 20 1 S. 11 11). This seems to have been a favourite tactical arrangement of forces, and it was adopted by David against his son Absalom with complete success in a country of wide extent covered by forest (2 S. 18 2).

The Hebrews remained throughout their history without a navy manned by their own sailors. The geographical configuration of the sea-coast of Palestine S. of Tyre, with its almost utter absence of harbours, made the sea a strange element.[2] Naval warfare was therefore unknown to them. For even their rivers were insignificant, and thus we never read of river expeditions like those which proceeded up the Nile, or of such naval battles as those which were waged by Rameses III. in which he repelled the hordes of barbarians (who had defeated the Syrians and the Hittites) from their descent on the mouth of the Nile by sea (Erman, 540). It is true that Phœnician vessels were utilised by Solomon; but this was not for military purposes. On the other hand Sennacherib (like Xerxes more than two centuries later) employed Phœnician ships and sailors in his expedition to Elam in 697 B.C. A vivid relief, now in the British Museum, exhibits a Phœnician galley armed with shields and propelled by two banks of rowers (bas relief from Ḳuyunjiḳ). In the ninth century B.C. Shalmaneser II. describes in his annals how he crossed the Euphrates on boats of sheepskin (ina elippâni ša mašak taḫsi;[3] cp ASSYRIA, col. 356); but such details are entirely foreign to the military annals of Israel. Cp SHIP.

When we come down to the second century B.C. we are brought into contact with Græco-Asiatic civilisation and its military methods. 1 Macc. 6 gives us a vivid description, garnished with some luxuriance, of the warfare and equipment of king Antiochus.

The conquests of Alexander had extended to India, and Pyrrhus, in the preceding century, had made Italy familiar with the sight of Indian elephants in warfare. The army of Antiochus advanced against Judas the Maccabee in the phalanx formation. A thousand men, armed with coats of mail and bronze helmets, accompanied each elephant. The number of troops of Antiochus that were engaged is computed at 100,000 footmen and 20,000 cavalry and 32 elephants 'trained for war.' 400 horsemen were detailed for service around each elephant. Each elephant carried a wooden tower, 'strong and covered' and 'bound fast with cunning contrivances,' containing 32 warriors besides an Indian, probably the driver who managed the elephant. The remainder of the cavalry, amounting to 4000 men, were placed on the wings for the protection of the phalanxes. The whole army covering the hills and the plain moved with precision. One elephant was believed by Eleazar, surnamed Avaran, fourth of the Maccabæan brothers, to carry king Antiochus himself. It towered above the other animals and was protected by royal breastplates. Eleazar daringly broke through the protecting phalanx, crept beneath the elephant, stabbed it, and was crushed by its fall. Cp ELEPHANT.

8. Accompaniments of war.

(*a*) The conquerors were welcomed home with song and dance. Of this we have several examples in the literature of the OT; Ex. 15 and Judg. 5 (Deborah's song) are songs of triumph and thanksgiving after victory. 1 S. 18 6 *f.* gives only the brief refrain of the song of the maidens who greeted Saul and David (cp Judith 16 1 *f.* 1 Macc. 4 24). Of such a character is Hannah's song in reality (1 S. 2 [cp col. 2965]). Similarly Esarhaddon says (*Prism Inscr.* col. i., 53): 'With singers (*zammurê*) and playing on lutes I entered Nineveh.' See fig. 25

1 The procedure of battle even in the later regal period cannot be described in any but general terms, as we have no materials for an accurate and detailed portrayal. Perhaps the following description (by Sir G. Wilkinson) of ancient Egyptian warfare (1 264) will serve as the best illustration: 'The archers drawn up in line first discharged a shower of arrows on the enemy's front, and a considerable mass of chariots advanced to the charge; the heavy infantry, armed with spears or clubs and covered with their shields, moved forward at the same time in close array, flanked by chariots and cavalry, and pressed upon the centre and wings of the enemy, the archers still galling the hostile columns with their arrows.'

2 See Nowack, *HA* 1 247.

3 Monolith insc. col. 2 16.

in Music. The burial of dead warriors was a sacred duty (1 K. 11 15), and lamentations were composed and sung, 2 S. 1 17-27 3 31-36 (Ezek. 32 18-32).

(*b*) The darker reverse is presented when we deal with the treatment of the conquered. This was characterised by the utmost cruelty. The wars with the Canaanites are full of examples (Josh. 10 26 *f.*, and *passim*). Also we have instances of mutilation of the captives (Judg. 1 6 *f.*; cp 1 S. 11 2 and 2 S. 12 31). Captured kings or generals were frequently slain (Judg. 7 25). Too often we read of wholesale slaughter (Judg. 8 7 2 S. 8 2) indicated by the phrase הִכָּה לְפִי חֶרֶב (EV 'smote with the edge of the sword'). The feet were placed (in token of conquest) upon the neck or head of the conquered (Josh. 10 24). The dead were decapitated (1 S. 17 54 31 9 2 Macc. 15 30 Jos. *BJ* i. 17 2). The dead were often rifled of their property, and prisoners plundered (1 S. 31 8 2 Macc. 9 27). The horses of the enemy had their sinews severed ('houghed') that they might be rendered useless (Josh. 11 6 9). We also read of pregnant women ripped up, and infants dashed to pieces (2 K. 15 16 Is. 13 16 Am. 1 13 Hos. 10 14 Nah. 3 10 Ps. 137 8 2 Macc. 5 13). The land of the enemy was desolated, the trees cut down, and the wells stopped up (Judg. 6 4 1 Ch. 20 1 Dt. 20 19 *f.*). Towns and villages were burnt to the ground (Judg. 9 45 1 Macc. 5 28 10 84). The payment of large sums of money was imposed on the conquered, or a yearly tribute (2 K. 18 14 Is. 33 18), a custom which was universal and is constantly referred to in the Assyrian inscriptions.

A severe judgment, however, cannot be passed on the treatment by the Hebrews of their conquered. The universal custom of antiquity must be taken into consideration as well as the all-prevailing conception of war as a religious act in which the deity of the nation was deeply involved. The old Semitic conception of the *ḥērem* explains much of the practice. In comparison with Assyrian usage the Hebrews must be called humane. By far the larger proportion of the captured were made into slaves. The women became concubines, and were treated with consideration.

The Egyptians also, according to Wilkinson's judgment, were humane as compared with the Assyrians in their treatment of captives (*Anc. Egypt.* 1 264). 'The cruel custom of flaying alive and the tortures represented on the sculptures of Nineveh show that the Assyrians were guilty of barbarities at a period long after the Egyptians had been accustomed to the refinements of civilisation.' Just as the followers of David reckoned up the foreskins of the Philistines whom they had slain, so the ancient Egyptians reckoned up the severed hands which were placed in heaps before the king and counted by his secretary (Wilkinson, *ibid.* 1 266).

9. Attitude of Prophets. The attitude of the Hebrew prophets towards the wars of their people against a foreign foe was at first one of unquestioning sympathy. This was inevitable in consequence of the religious aspect of war above indicated. Elisha advises the allied monarchs of Israel and Judah to adopt a skilful ruse in their war against Moab (2 K. 4 15 *f.*), and on his deathbed he is greeted by Joash, king of Israel, with the same words 'The chariots of Yahwè and the horsemen thereof,' with which the prophet himself had greeted Elijah in the latter's closing hours (2 K. 2 12 12 14); and Elisha's last address to the king of Israel is one of passionate insistence on the need of persistent energy in prosecuting the war with Syria. More than a century later, Isaiah's powerful personality is Judah's strongest stay in the kingdom's darkest hour of conflict with Assyria. Towards the close of the eighth century, however, prophecy scanned more closely the religious and ethical aspects of national policy, and in the days of Jeremiah the divorce between nationalism and religion in its purest sense was complete, and the prophet saw nothing before the disordered and corrupt state but irrevocable doom. There gleamed also upon the distant horizon the vision of a pure, holy, and righteous rule, when men would 'beat their swords into coulters and their spears into pruning-knives' (Mic. 4 3 Is. 2 4), 'the image of Joel 3 10 reversed' (Cheyne), sustained also by the utterances of Is. 9 5 and 11 1-9; cp Zech. 9 10. These are the ideals which Christianity seeks to realise.

10. Metaphorical references. In the moral world there is a constant opposition between the powers of good and evil, both in the individual mental life and in the life of society. Both the Old and the New Testament, therefore, inevitably employ the material terms of earthly warfare as metaphors. God is repeatedly called a 'shield' in this world of strife (Gen. 15 1 Dt. 33 29 Ps. 5 12 59 11 84 9 11), or his truth (or faithfulness) is so called (91 4). These terms abound in the NT passages which deal with spiritual warfare. The apostle Paul is especially prone to their use (1 Cor. 9 26 2 Cor. 7 5 1 Tim. 6 12 2 Tim. 4 7 and in Eph. 6 11 *f.* [see Breastplate]). In the Book of Revelation, which moves in the language and ideas of Jewish apocalyptic and Messianic eschatology, we have a 'war in heaven' (πόλεμος ἐν οὐρανῷ) in which Satan and the Beast are finally quelled by God and his heavenly host, Megiddo being employed as the type of the great heavenly Armageddon (see Beyschlag, *NT Theol.* II. pp. 399-408).

11. War in Islām. War in Islām, on the other hand, is chiefly regulated by Ḳurān, *Sur.* 47, and is nothing but old Semitic warfare carried out beyond the distinctions of nationalism into that of believers and non-believers in the prophet. Allah is the Lord-protector of the faithful but not of unbelievers (*Sur.* 47 12). The Jihād should even be carried on against unbelievers during the four sacred months, while for all believers those months are exempt (*Sur.* 9 36 *f.*). Those who are slain in a Jihād have paradise as their reward (*Sur.* 47 5-7). See further Sell, *Faith of Islam*(2), 360 *f.*

12. Literature. The most important recent contribution is Schwally's *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer*, of which his first Heft, dealing with the religious side, has appeared. Especially important is his account of the taboos imposed during war, as well as of the apparatus of religious cultus in war. The writer, however, is somewhat in danger of finding religious motives connected with war where none such existed. See criticism by Volz (in *TLZ*, 13th Sept. 1902). Next in importance are the arts. 'Kriegswesen, etc.' by Benzinger in *PRE*(3), and § 72 in Nowack's *Heb. Arch.* (1 372 *f.*). Respecting war among the Assyrians the materials are found in the royal annalistic inscc. in Schrader's *KIB* i. and ii. For Egypt consult especially Erman's *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 20 (520 *ff.*).

O. C. W.

WARD. See Prison. The words are:—

1. מִשְׁמָר, *mišmar*, Gen. 40 3 *f.*, מִשְׁמֶרֶת, *mišmèreth* (§ 1).
2. סוּגַר, *sūgar*, Ezek. 19 9† (§ 2 2).
3. פְּקִדֻת, *pekidūth*, Jer. 37 13† (§ 2 10).
4. τήρησις (§ 2 14).
5. φυλακή (§ 2 15).

WARDROBE, KEEPER OF THE (שֹׁמֵר הַבְּגָדִים; 2 K. 22 14, τοῦ ἱματιοφύλακος [BAL], 2 Ch. 34 22, φυλάσσουσαν τὰς ἐντολάς [BAL]), see Dress § 6, Huldah.

On 'vestry' (מֶלְתָּחָה) in 2 K. 10 22, see Dress, § 8, Vestry.

WARP (שְׁתִי), Lev. 13 48 *ff.* See Weaving.

WARS OF THE LORD [BOOK OF THE] (סֵפֶר מִלְחֲמוֹת יהוה), a book cited in Nu. 21 14 *f.* (E), according to RV, in the following terms. (We remove RV's poetical arrangement, however, and assume provisionally that the text of the formula of citation is correct; that the text of the passage quoted is not by any means correct, is maintained under Vaheb.) 'Wherefore it is said in the book of the Wars of the Lord, Vaheb in Suphah, and the valleys of Arnon, and the slope of the valleys that inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar, and leaneth upon the border of Moab.'

Kuenen gives the following brief statement of what is

WASHINGS, CEREMONIAL

supposed to be known respecting the 'book' referred to. 'Evidence of the date of the *Sepher Milḥamoth Yahwè* is supplied by the title itself: the "wars of Yahwè" are the wars of Israel against his neighbours in the period of the Judges, under David (1 S. 18 17 25 28), and later on. The collector of the songs referring to these wars presumably lived after their close, when Israel's heroic age was long gone by' (*Hex.* ET, p. 35, n. 5). According to Stade (*GVI* 1 50), the fragments of song in *vv.* 17*b* 18 and (probably) *vv.* 27*b*-30 come from the same source as *vv.* 14*b* 15. Dillmann, too, thinks it plausible to derive from this source *vv.* 17*b* 18 and perhaps also Ex. 15 1-19. The 'book' referred to was therefore, these scholars think, a collection of songs, similar to the Book of JASHER (*q.v.*), and its date is variously placed, in the time of Omri, about 900 B.C. (Stade), the latter half of the ninth century (E. Meyer, *ZATW*, 1881, p. 131), and the times of David and Solomon (Reuss, *Gesch. der heil. Schr. AT*(2), 172; Dillm.).

1. A historical song-book?

There is, however, only *one* express quotation from the 'book,' and it is not certain that it is poetical or even metrical.[1] Looking at the contents of the quotation, moreover, one would not judge it to come either from a history or from a collection of historical songs or ballads. Was the title of the 'book' really 'Wars of Yahwè?' 𝔊 at any rate did not so understand it, for it renders thus, *διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται ἐν βιβλίῳ*[2] [,] *Πόλεμος τοῦ κυρίου τὴν ζωοβ ἐφλόγισεν*. 'Another' version in the Hexapla agrees; it gives *διὰ τοῦτο εἴρηται ἐν καταλόγῳ τῶν πολεμούντων* ΠΙΠΙ [=יהוה] *πρὸς μὲν αυζαβ*. Nor is the title 'Book of the Wars of Yahwè' a probable one. It says either too much or too little. The phrase 'wars of Yahwè' occurs elsewhere (1 S. 18 17) of the wars of Saul, and (1 S. 25 28) of David in his earlier period. But can a historical work, such as a 'book of wars' must be supposed to be, have excluded the unsuccessful campaigns of the champions of Israel? 'Book of the Wars of Israel' is possible, but surely not the title which now stands in Nu. 21 14. What then is a possible title? The quotation suggests that it had reference to geography. Elsewhere (see VAHEB) it is maintained that the Jerahmeelite Negeb is the region spoken of, and we have reason to think that David, after conquering a large part of the Negeb, took a military census of its inhabitants (see TAHTIM-HODSHI). Both מלחמ[ו]ת and יהוה have sometimes arisen out of ירחמאל. The one word represents חמ[א]ל, the other ירח. Most probably the book quoted from by E in Nu. 21 14 was called *sêpher Yeraḥme'el—i.e.*, 'the book, or list, of Jerahmeel.' It was a geographical survey.

2. A geographical survey?

T. K. C.

WASHINGS, CEREMONIAL. On the subject generally see CLEAN (§§ 15 and 17) and SACRIFICE; cp also BAPTISM, JOHN THE BAPTIST.

The words for 'washing,' whether ceremonial or not, are:

1. רָחַץ, *rāḥaṣ*, Ass. *raḥāṣu*; *λούειν* (Ex. 29 4, etc.), *πλύνειν* (of the feet, Lev. 1 9 etc.), *νίπτειν* (of feet, Gen. 19 2 etc.; of hands, Ex. 30 21 etc.; of face, Gen. 43 31), *ἀπονίπτειν* (Prov. 30 12). Mainly in P

2. כִּבֵּס, *kibbēs*, *πλύνειν* (of garments, Ex. 19 14 Lev. 13 6 etc.), *ἀποπλύνειν* (of garments, 2 S. 19 24); Ass. *kabāsu*, to tread. See FULLER.

3. טָבַל, *ṭābal*, *βάπτειν*, 'to dip' (in blood, Lev. 9 9 14 51; in water, Nu. 19 18 [hyssop], 2 K. 8 15 [coverlet]; in oil, Dt. 33 24 [the feet], etc.). Cp MEALS, § 5.

4. דוּחַ, *dûaḥ* (in Hiph.), *ἀποκλύζειν* (of washing in the lavers, 2 Ch. 4 6), *πλύνειν* (burnt offering, Ezek. 40 38).

5. *βαπτιζόμενος*, Eccl. 34 30 ‖ Nu. 19 11 *f.*, מי נדה לא־זורק עליו.

6. *λουτρόν*, Ecclus. 34 30 [25], 'washing.'

7. *λούειν*, Jn. 13 10 (*ὁ λελουμένος*, RV 'he that is bathed').

8. *νίπτειν*, Mt. 15 2 Mk. 7 3 (hands) Jn. 13 5 etc. (feet) Jn. 9 7 (in healing).

9. *βαπτισμός*, Mk. 7 4 (cups).

It is well known that man in a primitive state, but at the stage at which he has become a religious being and some degree of reason has succeeded to what was little more than instinct, looks upon rivers, springs, and wells as the abodes of gods or as being themselves deities (cp SPRINGS).[3] To drink the water, to bathe in it, or merely to sprinkle the person with it, was to imbibe

1. Original ideas.

1 The arrangement in RV is misleading.

2 So BF; AL, *βίβλῳ*.

3 See Frazer, *Golden Bough*, and *Pausanias*; Grant Allen, *Evol. of the Idea of God*, 388 (cp 405); Clodd, *Primitive Man*, 182 *ff.* Cp WRS, *Rel. Sem.*(2), 135.

or to cover oneself with a divine and mysterious power. Bathing was a religious act. Water therefore was holy. Further evidence for the idea that a more than natural power was inherent in water would be seen in the refreshing, and sometimes healing, effect of this act. Water was refreshing and healing because it was holy. When a reason was sought for the fact that water cleansed, the explanation would again be the same: it cleansed because it was holy.[1] Then, water is looked upon as purifying, as washing away impurities or cleansing from a taboo; and finally the frequent use of water becomes a social and sanitary, as well as a religious act. The order of ideas can hardly have been otherwise. Primitive man fears water, therefore makes a god of it, worships it (cp *religio*); this fear must have been overcome before he could make frequent use of it for other than strictly religious purposes.

Benzinger tells us (*Heb. Arch.* 108) that in the ablutions of the Hebrews it is often difficult to distinguish between the washings performed purely for the sake of the body, and such as were purely religious. That is no doubt because originally no distinction was made. The Hebrews, however, when we make their acquaintance, had already forgotten the true origin of ablutions; it is the second idea that now prevails: cleansing or washing is a holy act, and water is holy because it cleanses.[2] In this sense for the most part ablutions play an important part in the religious and social life of the Hebrews, as in that of their neighbours (Egyptians, Arabians, etc.).[3]

2. Among the Hebrews.

The next step is for ceremonial washings to become symbolical. 'Water and fire,' says Jastrow, 'are the two great sources of symbolical purification that we meet with in both primitive and advanced rituals of the past' (*Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, 276). Thus amongst the Jewish ESSENES (*q.v.* § 4; cp De Quincey, *Works*, vol. vii.), as already amongst the Babylonians (Jastrow, 276; see also RITUAL, § 10) and Persians (see ZOROASTRIANISM, § 16), washing as a religious act received quite a special importance.[4]

The ablutions of the Jews may be divided, as far as it is possible now to distinguish them, as follows:—(1) The purely religious (magical)[5] (2 K. 5 10 cp Jn. 2 97). In these we can still detect the primitive idea. (2) The purely ritual, which were suggested by the first. In these the idea is now that of purification. Under this heading come (*a*) washings of initiation and consecration (Lev. 8 6). With this is connected the washing or baptism of the Jewish PROSELYTE (*q.v.* § 5). (*b*) Washings with a view to the performance of a sacred function (Ex. 30 17-21). The Egyptian priests, too, were required to bathe frequently in cold water (cp Herod. 2 37; also the Mohammedan *Wadu*).[6] (3) The semi-ritualistic washings for the purpose of cleansing from uncleanness. Examples are: Lev. 13 6 34 54-58 (leprous garments), 14 47 (clothes after contact with leprous house), 14 52 (house—with running water), 15 6-8 10 *f.* 13 16 *f.* (clothes and person), 15 12 (earthen vessel; wooden vessel) 15 18 (person), 15 22 27 (menstruous contact; cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 572); in D, Dt. 21 1-9 23 9-11; in JE, Ex. 19 10-15. Besides these, there arose (4) the purely social usage common to all eastern peoples. The hot climate and the wearing of sandals[7] made the practice

3. Occasions.

1 The writer in Schenkel (*BL*, *s.v.* 'Waschen') reverses the order of ideas. As a preparation for contact with holy things, the body must be cleansed. Because water was used for the purpose, streams, etc., were worshipped and men bathed in them as a religious act.

2 At a much later date, however, to perform ablutions was not always considered a virtue. Cp Stanley, *Christian Institutions*, 6 *f.*: 'Cleanliness is a duty which some of the monastic communities of Christendom have despised, and some have even treated as a crime;' also Socrates, *HE* 4 23.

3 For the Egyptians, cp Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, 2 48. For the modern Arabians, see Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 250; where water is lacking or scarce they use sand (cp Doughty, 1 536; Benzinger, *HA*, 108 note), but the act is here no doubt symbolical.

4 For the Greek practice see Hesiod, *Op. et Dies*, 722.

5 See Th. Frede, *Wunderglaube im Heidentum und in der alten Kirche*, 59 *f.*

6 For Mohammedan usage, see, further, Ḳoran *Sura*, 5 8, and Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, under 'Ablution.'

7 The writer in Schenkel adds other reasons for washings of the clothing, of the whole body, or of particular parts of it in the East—viz., on account of the desert sand, and particularly as a protection against cutaneous diseases.

of feet-washing important, and the offering of water for the purpose a common mark of hospitality (Gen. 18 4 19 2 24 32). To the same category probably belong the washings before (Mt. 15 2) and after meals (*Berachoth* 8 4), on which see MEALS, § 5.[1]

To the first of the social usages (§ 3 [4]) Jesus no doubt conformed. The fourth gospel, which has to be used with the greatest caution, even tells us that he himself washed his disciples' feet (Jn. 13 2). To the second social usage, however, he seems to have attached little importance (Lk. 11 38). We are also told that he submitted to a ritual washing or baptism, and further showed his approval of such an act by making it a Christian institution. As, however, such a rite would be contrary to the general tenor of his teaching, so far as we can gather it from our imperfect sources (cp Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God*, chap. 3), and cannot be certainly inferred from the passages in the Gospels which are generally adduced as evidence (see O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*, p. 411; cp, on the other hand, BAPTISM), its adoption by Jesus himself must be considered extremely doubtful.[2] Moreover, Paul, or the Pauline school, does not mention it as an institution of Jesus. 1 Cor. 1 17 even makes Paul say 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel' (cp Ernst von Dobschütz, *Die Urchristlichen Gemeinden*, 22 *f.*). Feine, indeed, thinks that Paul implies it, while not actually mentioning it because it was not a matter of controversy in the apostolic church (*Jesus Christus und Paulus*, 243). And Dreschen (*Das Leben Jesu bei Paulus*) takes a very similar view. But almost anything might be implied (or read into) the NT, and the simplest conclusion is that it had not yet become a Christian institution. It has been contended that the rite was a natural development of the Jewish practice of baptizing the proselyte (see Stanley, *Christian Institutions*, 5; cp Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 2 440 *ff.*) or of the ceremonial washings of the Essenes (see E. Plauta Nesbit, *Christ, Christians, and Christianity*; De Quincey, *Works*, vol. vii.). The second suggestion is unnecessary (see von Dobschütz, p. 105). As to the first, it is much more probable that the rite, as in the case of the Eucharist,[3] was taken over from the Pagans.

4. Washings in NT.

This, with other rites, was adopted at a time when the new sect was trying to win over converts among the Gentiles, and when the gap between Judaism and Christianity had widened. With that wonderful power of adapting itself which it once had, the new religion admitted the pagan ceremony of initiation.[4] Cp ROME.

M. A. C.

WASHPOT, a term of abuse applied to Moab in the expression 'Moab is my washpot' (מוֹאָב סִיר רַחְצִי; ΜΩΑΒ ΛΕΒΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΟΣ ΜΟΥ; similarly Vg.; רְחַץ in Tg. = Heb. בָּטַח 'to trust'); Ps. 60 8 [10] 108 9 [10]. The commentators refer to the story told of Amasis (Herod. 2 72), or to the custom of Persian kings of having a footpan carried in their train when in the field. The latter illustration is preferred by Delitzsch.

This base image, however, is surely due to corruption of the text. Both סיר and רחצי are corruptions of מְצוּר, Miṣṣur, or of אַשְׁחוּר, Ashḥur. See Che. *Ps.*(2), *ad loc.*, and cp MOAB, § 14 ('Moab' and 'Miṣṣur' liable to confusion).

WASP (ΣΦΗΞ), Wisd. 12 8 AV, also RVmg., RV HORNET (*q.v.*).

WATCH (מִשְׁמָר), Neh. 7 3. See GUARD, 3.

WATCHER (עִיר, *'īr* [Aram.]; ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ [𝔊87] ΕΙΡ [Theod.]; ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΟΣ [Aq. Sym.]; *vigil*, in the Gk. Enoch ΕΓΡΗΓΟΡΟΣ); Dan. 4 10 14 [om. 𝔊] 20 [13 17 23]. The term reminds us of the שֹׁמְרִים, *šōmĕrīm* (Is. 62 6) whom Yahwè charges to watch over the ruined walls of Jerusalem, and to remind him of their sad condition. We find it again in Enoch and in Jubilees. In Enoch it is used in a double sense. In 1 5 10 9 15 12 2 4 13 10 14 1 3 15 2 16 1 2 91 15 it designates the fallen angels; in 20 1 39 12 13 40 2 61 12 71 7 it belongs to the archangels. In Jubilees 4 15 (cp 8 3 10 5), in the explanation of the name Jared (which agrees with that given in Enoch 6 6, except that Mt. Hermon is not mentioned as the place on which they descended) it is said, 'in his days the angels of the Lord descended on the earth, those who are named the *Watchers*, that they should instruct the children of men, and that they should do judgment and uprightness on the earth.' A myth of the watchers which differs somewhat from that in the Ethiopic Enoch is given in the Slavonic Enoch (18 3 cp 6 3; see Charles's notes in *Secrets of Enoch*); they are there called the *Grigori* (ἐγρήγοροι). In the Book of Adam and Eve (6th cent. A.D.) the watchers are also represented as the fallen angels, who, as long as they preserved their virginity, were called the 'sons of Seth.' See Charles's very full note on Jubilees 4 15.

WATCHES OF THE NIGHT. See DAY, § 4.

WATCHTOWER (מִצְפֶּה, *miṣpeh*; Is. 21 8). Cp MIZPAH, MIZPEH. For בַּחַן, *báḥan* (Is. 32 14†) and מִגְדָּל, *migdāl*, see TOWER. In Is. 2 16 RVmg. has 'pleasant watch-towers' for שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֶמְדָּה, *śĕkiyyōth haḥemdāh* (AV 'pleasant pictures,' RV 'pleasant imagery'); but see 'Isa.' *SBOT* (Heb.), note *ad loc.*, and *Crit. Bib.*

WATER (מַיִם). On the 'holy' or 'bitter' water, called also the 'water of purifying' (AV) or 'of expiation' (RV) of Nu. 8 7 *ff.* see JEALOUSY [TRIAL OF]; on the water of 'separation' or 'of impurity' (RVmg.) in Nu. 19 9, see CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 17

WATERCOURSE. 1. *tĕ'ālāh*, תעלה, see CONDUITS, § 2.

2. *péleg*, *pĕlaggah*, פלג, פלגה, see RIVER, 5.

3. *mōṣā máyim*, מוצא מים, 2 Ch. 32 30 AV. See SPRINGS, § 2 [6], and cp GIHON.

4. *ṣinnōr*, צנור, 2 S. 5 8 RV, AV 'gutter'; meaning doubtful.

WATERPOT (ΥΔΡΙΑ), Jn. 2 7. Cp POTTERY, § 3 (1).

WATERS OF MEROM (מֵי־מֵרוֹם), Josh. 11 5 7. See MEROM [WATERS OF].

WATERSPOUT. (1) צִנּוֹר, *ṣinnōr*, Ps. 42 7 (RVmg. 'cataract'). Cp WATERCOURSE, 4. (2) תַּנִּין, *tannīn*, Ps. 148 7 RVmg. See SERPENT, § 3 *f.* n. 2; WHALE.

WAVE LOAVES (לֶחֶם תְּנוּפָה), Lev. 23 17. See SACRIFICE, § 34 *b*. **WAVE OFFERING** (תְּנוּפָה), Ex. 29 24. See SACRIFICE, § 14, and cp CLEAN AND UNCLEAN, § 3.

WAX (דּוֹנַג, *dōnag*; ΚΗΡΟΣ), Ps. 22 14 [15] 68 2 [3] 97 5 Mic. 1 4; also Judith 16 15 Ecclus. 24 20; also Ps. 58 8 [9] 𝔊 (see SNAIL, 2), Is. 64 1 [2] 𝔊BNAQ; and possibly Ezek. 27 17 (emended text; so Co.; but see PANNAG), and Ps. 118 12 [see 𝔊]. Beeswax, which is secreted by

[1] Cp, further, Kohler's art. 'Ablution' in the *Jewish Encyclopædia*.

[2] Colenso (*Natal Sermons*, 1866, No. 10) thought that 'the command in Mt. 28 19, "Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost," would be conclusive as to the fact of his having directly enjoined the practice, were it not that this formula, with its full expression of the name of the Trinity, betrays the later age in which the passage in which it occurs was most probably written.' Conybeare has recently shown (*ZNTW*, 2 275 *ff.* [1901]; cp *Hibb. Journ.* 1 102 *ff.*) very strong reasons for believing that the mention of the three Persons in the Trinity is not original (cp col. 3270 [top]). The passage as it stands, therefore, seems to have been edited for liturgical purposes, and it is likely that in the first instance there was no reference whatever to baptism. Apart from this we have no evidence, as Colenso again says (*ibid.* No. 9), that any of Jesus' disciples were baptised.

[3] This again has been looked upon as a development of a Jewish practice. See, especially, G. H. Box in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, 3 357-369, who thinks that the Last Supper was not a Passover, as is commonly supposed, but the weekly *Ḳiddūsh*, a service in the house.

[4] Cp Grant Allen, *Evol. of the Idea of God*, 388 405; Clodd, *Primitive Man*, 182 *ff.*; J. M. Robertson, *Short Hist. of Christianity* (see Index).

all honey-bees and formed into the cell walls of their comb is intended. It melts at 144° F. See BEE.

WAY. On 'the way' (Η ΟΔΟC), Acts 9 2, etc., see HERESY, § 1.

WAYMARK (צִיּוּן), Jer. 31 21 [20]. See MASSEBAH, § 1 *e*, col. 2978; also *Crit. Bib.*

WEAPONS. Cp WAR. Hebrew uses the general term *kēlīm* (Gen. 27 3), which means simply instruments or implements. In 1 S. 20 40 AV renders by the more ambitious word 'artillery.' In the NT (Jn. 18 3 Rom. 6 13 2 Cor. 10 4) the common Greek term ὅπλα is employed.

1. In general. Naturally at first any implement or instrument would be used as a weapon, a club or a STAFF ([*q.v.*]; cp Darwin, *Descent of Man*, 81 [1890]). But the natural weapons of the lower animals (horns, etc.; see Darwin, 500 *ff.*) would soon suggest to man the use of something more effective. Later, it is possible that one at least of the agricultural implements, the sickle (see AGRICULTURE, § 7, with figs.), gave rise to the scimitar or SWORD (*q.v.*). This would add force to the words in Is. 2 4. In no art, perhaps, has more ingenuity or more rapid progress been shown than in that of the manufacture of weapons (see Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, 1(3) 59). As the Hebrews had no doubt to wage war continually, it would be no matter for surprise if they had displayed some skill in this art at quite an early date. Later, they would also be quick to note and to copy the equipment of more advanced neighbours (*e.g.* Canaanites, Egyptians, Assyrians, etc.), who realised more fully the value of well-equipped, organised, and disciplined armies. See ARMY and cp WAR. The more primitive weapons of offence, however, such as the CLUB (see STAFF) and SLING (*q.v.*) were perhaps never entirely displaced by the SWORD and DAGGER (see SWORD), JAVELIN (*q.v.*), BOW (see below, § 2), and SPEAR (*q.v.*); and instruments with flint edges or points, as has frequently happened, no doubt continued to be used side by side with those of metal. Of defensive weapons, a SHIELD (*q.v.*) of some kind was probably in use at a very early date; but we also hear in the OT of BREAST-PLATE, GREAVES, and HELMET (*qq.v.*).

2. The bow. On Egyptian and Assyrian monuments one of the weapons most commonly represented is the BOW (see CHARIOT, SIEGE, WAR).

The Hebrew term is קֶשֶׁת, *ḳéšeth*. With this are of course connected the ARROW, חֵץ, *ḥēṣ*, and the case for carrying it, תְּלִי, *tĕlī* (Gen. 27 3), or אַשְׁפָּה, *'ašpāh*—*i.e.*, the QUIVER (*q.v.*; cp also CHARIOT). This seems to have been one of the earliest of the more elaborate weapons. The throwing of a small SPEAR (*q.v.*) or DART, שֶׁלַח, *šĕlaḥ* (2 Ch. 32 5 AV, RV 'weapons'; cp Joel 2 8),[1] with the hand would soon give rise to a mechanical instrument (cp SLING), to which the dart would be suitably adapted, feathers being added to increase its flight (cp Tylor, *Anthropology*, chap. 8).[2] In this way we get the ARROW. The bow was commonly made of reed, wood, or horn. The Israelites used it both in war (Gen. 48 22), and in the chase (21 20); and seem to have bent it with the foot (for the Egyptian practice, see Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 1 203). The strings, מֵיתָרִים, *mēthārīm* (Ps. 21 12), were probably made of gut or hide. Here we seem to have a case in which an implement of war suggested an instrument of music (see MUSIC, § 2; cp Tylor, *Anthropology*, chap. 12). According to the AV of 2 S. 1 18 David 'bade them teach the children of Judah [the use of] the bow' apparently an irrelevant notice where it stands in 2 S.; hence RV substitutes 'song' for 'use.' The remedy, however, seems inadequate, and it is open to methodical textual critics to devise something more radical and effective. See H. P. Smith, *ad loc.*, and cp *Crit. Bib.* The bowmen of Elam (Is. 22 6 Jer. 49 35, if the text is correct), of Kedar (Is. 21 17), and of an unnamed people from the land of צפון (Jer. 6 23) are specially mentioned in the OT.

1 Other words rendered DART are: שֵׁבֶט, *šēbeṭ*, 2 S. 18 14 EV, RVmg. 'staves,' see STAFF; תּוֹתָח, *tōthāḥ*, Job 41 29 [21] AV, RV 'clubs,' but see JAVELIN, 2; מַסָּע, *massā'*, Job 41 26 [18] EV; חֵץ, *ḥēṣ*, Pr. 7 23 AV, RV 'arrow' (see above); τὰ βέλη, Eph. 6 16; and βολίς, Heb. 12 20 (but the clause should probably be omitted; see Ti.).

2 In other respects the construction was no doubt similar to that of the SPEAR (*q.v.*).

WEASEL (חֹלֶד;[1] ΓΑΛΗ; *mustela*), the name of an unclean animal, Lev. 11 29† (EV, 𝔊, Targ. Jon.; Pesh., Vg., and most Rabbins). There is some little doubt, however, whether the weasel is really referred to, and various interpreters (Saadia, Bochart, Lag. *NB* 144) have preferred on philological grounds[2] the rendering 'mole' (but see below). The weasel is an animal hardly ever eaten, and its long body and short legs might be urged as justifying its position 'among the creeping things that creep upon the earth.'

Zoologically weasels are placed with the pole-cats, martens, and others in the family Mustelidæ of the order Carnivora. One species of each of the above-mentioned animals is recorded by Canon Tristram from the Holy Land. The southern weasel, *Mustela boccamela*, is found about Mount Tabor and probably in other wooded districts; the pole-cat, *M. putorius*, lives under Hermon and Lebanon, and the white-breasted or beech marten, *M. foina*, in the neighbourhood of Beyrout. It is unlikely that the Hebrews distinguished between these species, though from its habits and habitat they may have separated off the otter, *Lutra vulgaris*, which is common on the shores of the sea of Galilee.

A. E. S.—S. A. C.

WEAVING

Raw products and their preparation (§ 1).
Spinning (§ 2).
The horizontal loom (§ 3).
Two types of upright loom (§ 4).
Technique and terminology of weaving (§§ 5-8).
Warping (§ 5).
Shedding (§ 6).
Passing and beating up of weft (§ 7).
Direction of web (§ 8).
Final processes (§ 9).
Pattern and figure weaving (§ 10).

In the present study of the art of weaving as practised by the Hebrews from the earliest times to the opening centuries of our era it is proposed (1) to glance briefly at the raw materials and the manner of their preparation for the loom, which will include the process of spinning; (2) to explain the construction and *modus operandi* of the loom itself; and (3) to close with brief references to the further processes through which the web had to pass after leaving the loom, and to the more obscure subject of pattern and figure weaving.

1. The raw products and their preparation.[3] Throughout the whole period of their national existence, the needs of the Hebrew households in the matter of textiles were supplied for the most part by WOOL and FLAX (*qq.v.*)—frequently mentioned together in OT, Hos. 2 5 Prov. 31 13, etc.—with the addition, for coarser textures, of the HAIR (*q.v.*) of goats and camels, and, in the latest periods of their history, of COTTON and SILK (*qq.v.*). In an interesting passage of the Mishna treatise *Shabbāth* (7 2), among the various categories of work forbidden on the Sabbath—'forty save one' in number (cp 2 Cor. 11 24)—we find an enumeration of the chief processes in the manufacture of woollen cloth, including 'shearing, scouring, teazing, dyeing, spinning, warping, attaching the leashes to the leash-rods (for these technical terms, see below, § 5 *ff.*), weaving,' etc.

The fleece (גִּזַּת הַצֶּמֶר, Judg. 6 37), according to the statement in the Mishna, was first scoured (לִבֵּן) to remove impurities and restore the original white colour (hence the term), after which it was thoroughly teazed (נִפֵּץ) and carded (סָרַק) with a carding comb. The latter operation is done at the present day in the wool bazaars of the Levant (cp Jos. *BJ* v. 8 1 [§ 331] for an ἐριοπώλιον in Jerusalem, the שׁוּק שֶׁל צַמָּרִים of *Erub.* 10 9) by means of a bow and its string. At this stage the wool might

1 For proper names possibly derived from the name of this animal see HELED, HELDAI, HULDAH.

2 Cp Ar. *ḫuld*, Syr. *ḥūldā*, 'mole,' and חוּלְדָּה, an animal often mentioned in the Talm. (see Di. *ad loc.* A connection with חלד which means 'penetrate deeply' [cp החליד in Talm., 'to plunge in the sacrificial knife'], is probable); Lewysohn, *Zool. Talm.* 101, and Hommel, *Säugethiere*, 337. It is, however, to be observed that, now, at any rate, no true mole occurs in Palestine. See MOLE. On a later Heb. word for weasel, see col. 1210 n. 1.

3 The standard work on this subject is still *Textrinum Antiquorum, an Account of the Art of Weaving among the Ancients*: Part 1 [all published]: 'On the raw materials used for weaving,' by James Yates, 1843.

be dyed, or this process might be deferred till after the spinning or even until it could be dyed 'in the piece' after leaving the loom.

In the case of flax, we can follow the similar processes by the help both of literary references (Mishna, *passim*; Pliny, *HN* 19 3 etc.), and of the graphic representations on Egyptian tombs (see Yates, *op. cit.* [n. 3, above], pl. 7; Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 173). Here we see the stalks being pulled up by the roots, laid in order and rippled with a rippling-comb, or beaten over a stick to free them from the seed capsules. After being exposed on the flat roof (see Josh. 2 6) or elsewhere until thoroughly dry, they were steeped in a trough to separate the inner fibres from the woody portions of the stalk, a process technically known as 'retting.' The stalks thus macerated were again dried in the sun or in an oven (*Shabb.* 16), and then beaten with a wooden mallet (Pliny's 'stupparius malleus') to complete the separation of the inner fibres. In the earliest period these fibres were sorted by the hand (Erman, *Egypt*, 450); later they were 'heckled' or combed by means of a comb (מַסְרֵק שֶׁל פִּשְׁתָּן, illustr. Wilkinson, 2 174), by which the longer and finer fibres were separated from those of inferior quality. Women as well as men were engaged in this process of heckling the flax, as appears from Is. 19 9, where the שְׂרִיקוֹת of MT (AV 'fine flax,' RV 'combed flax'; cp Symm. κτενιστόν) should be read שׂוֹרְקוֹת, the flax-combers (Vg. *pectentes*).[1] Linen was preferably worn in its native whiteness; but, if required, the flax might be dyed before being spun, as in the case of the Tabernacle curtains (Ex. 35 25), or the dyeing might be postponed to a later stage as explained above for wool. To judge from an incidental remark in *Bābā Ḳamma* 10 9, woollen garments were more favoured in Judæa, whilst Galilee preferred linen.

Goats' hair was employed for textures of the coarser sort, especially for the garb of mourning (see SACKCLOTH),[2] and like camels' hair was often mixed with sheep's wool (*Kĕlaim* 9 1). In later times COTTON and SILK (*qq.v.*) (Rev. 18 12 but not Ecclus. 45 10 [AV], see RV, nor Am. 3 12 [RV]) were introduced; the *hindewīn* (הנדוי, *Yōma*, 3 7) or Indian fabrics worn by the high priest were undoubtedly of cotton. To these the Mishna adds hemp (קַנְבּוֹס, κάνναβις—but the 'hempen frock' of Ecclus. 40 4 RV is an incorrect rendering of ὠμόλινον for which see below, § 9) and the fibres of a species of mussel, for which see Yates, *op. cit.* 152 *ff.*

2. Spinning. Whilst among the Hebrews, as among the Egyptians, both men (Ex. 35 35 1 S. 17 7 [and ||s], 1 Ch. 4 21) and women (Judg. 16 13 *f.* 2 K. 23 7 Prov. 31 24 1 Esd. 4 17; cp Jos. *BJ* i. 24 3 ἅμα ταῖς δούλαις) plied the loom, the art of spinning was peculiarly a feminine accomplishment (Ex. 35 25 *f.* Prov. 31 19 Tob. 2 11). The apparatus for spinning (טָוָה; νήθω Mt. 6 28 Lk. 12 27) both wool and flax consisted of the distaff (*kīšōr*, כִּישׁוֹר [see *BDB s.v.*] Prov. 31 19 RV; AV spindle—in the Mishna אַמָּה, ἠλακάτη, *colus*) and the spindle (*pélek*, פֶּלֶךְ, Prov. *l.c.* RV; AV 'distaff,' ἄτρακτος, *fusus*; Mishna, פּוֹשׁ). In 2 S. 3 29 we should render 'that holdeth the spindle' (Vg. *tenens fusum*) for 'that leaneth on a staff' (EV) [though here—see STAFF—the suitableness of the reading has been disputed].[3] The distaff generally consisted of a piece of cane round the open head of which the wool or flax was wound. It is held in the left hand or fixed in the girdle, while the spinner draws out and twists the yarn between the finger and thumb of the right hand,[4] with which also the spindle is kept rotating. The spindle consisted of three parts (see Maimon. on *Pārā* 12 8 ap. Surenh. *Mishna*): a hook by which the thread from the distaff was fastened, the wooden shank, 9-12 inches in length, and the circular or spherical whorl of clay, stone, or other heavy material which served to steady the rotatory motion of the spindle.[1] (For illustration of early Palestinian spindle-whorls see Bliss, *A Mound of Many Cities*, 82, cp 80.)

[1] So modern edd. For the technical process disguised under the following שחותה see below, § 5.

[2] For the variety of haircloth named by the Romans *cilicium*, and its interesting association with Paul, see CILICIA, § 3.

[3] From the original significance of the root פלך in Semitic, viz. 'to be round, globular,' *pélek* must originally have signified the round or spherical whorl with which the spindle was weighted, as the cognate fem. form still does in Arabic, then by metonymy the whole spindle (see Driver, *TBS* 192 *f.*). Cp DISTRICT, 1.

[4] Cp Jerome, *Ep.* 150 15 'habeto lanam semper in manibus, vel staminis pollice fila deducito,' etc.

The word 'yarn,' in Heb. מַטְוֶה (Ex. 35 25, lit. that which is spun [טָוָה], cp 𝔊 νενησμένα), occurs in AV only 1 K. 10 28 2 Ch. 1 16 as a curious rendering of מקוה, in which recent editors are unanimous in finding the name of the district of Ḳuē in Asia Minor (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *a*; and Benzinger and Kittel *ad loc.* but cp CHARIOT, § 5, col. 726, n. 1, and *Crit. Bib.*). It is introduced by the revisers in Prov. 7 16 as the rendering of the obscure אֵטוּן (for which see LINEN, 1), and Ezek. 27 19 where most scholars would read as in RVmg. 'from UZAL' (*q.v.*).

The art of spinning was carried to perfection in Egypt even under the earlier dynasties. Much of the linen used as wrappings for the royal mummies is composed of threads of almost incredible fineness. Thus it has been calculated that the bandages in which the hands of Thotmes III. were enveloped, and which shows about 150 threads of warp and 75 of weft to the square inch, was woven from yarn so fine that 60 miles of it would only weigh one pound avoirdupois (reduced to English measures from Braulik, *Altägypt. Gewebe*, 6; cp Birch's note, ap. Wilk. *op. cit.* 2 162). Such gossamer threads, however, cannot be identified with those of the 'fine twined linen' (*šēš mošzār*, שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר) of Ex. 26-28 36-39, as a fabric of this sort would be entirely out of place as curtains for the court of the tabernacle (for the most probable explanation of the term, see LINEN, § 7).

3. The horizontal loom. Probably no department of the technology of antiquity is so beset with difficulties as that which deals with the art of weaving.

After all that has been done by Blümner (*Technol. u. Terminol. der Gewerbe*, etc., 1875) and Marquardt (*Privatleben der Römer*, 1879) for the Greek and Roman looms, by Braulik (*Altägyptische Gewebe*, 1900) for those of Egypt, and by Rieger (*Versuch einer Terminol. u. Technol. der Handwerke in der Mishna*: 1 Th., Spinnen, Weben, etc., 1894) and others, there remains much that is uncertain, not only as regards the terminology and *modus operandi*, but even as regards the details of construction. Were the ancients, for example, familiar with the mechanism of the treadles? Was the horizontal or low loom in use among the Romans of the republic and early empire? To the latter question Blümner and Marquardt reply in the affirmative, whilst Ahrens (*Philologus*, 35), Rich (in his excellent *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*), Yates and Marindin (in Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*,(3) *s.v.* 'tela') present a good case for the exclusive use of the upright loom. Certainly no monumental representations of the horizontal loom, or for that matter few of the upright loom, have come down to us from classical antiquity.

Treating the question from the point of view of the history of man's progress in the arts of civilisation, we find that weaving is merely a development of the art of plaiting, and has been correctly defined by Plato as πλεκτικὴ κρόκης καὶ στήμονος ('a plaiting of weft and warp,' cited by Marq. *op. cit.* 504). More precisely, the art of weaving, in its simplest form, consists in intersecting a series of parallel threads, called the *warp*, at right angles by another set of threads called the *weft* or *woof*, in such a way that each weft thread shall pass alternately over and under each of the warp threads. In plaiting, this interlacing is done by hand, and even at the present day in some parts of Arabia and N. Africa —no doubt also among many other half-civilised tribes —the art of weaving has not advanced beyond this stage. The late E. H. Palmer thus describes the very primitive work of an old Bedouin woman in the neighbourhood of Jebel Mūsa. 'On one of these occasions I noticed an old woman weaving at the tent-door. Her loom was a primitive one, consisting only of a few upright sticks upon which the threads were stretched;

[1] For illustration of Egyptian distaffs and spindles see Wilk. *op. cit.* 2 172; Gk. and Roman ap. Blümner, *Technologie*, etc. 1 118 *ff.*, and the Dicts. of Class. Antiq. *s.vv.* 'colus' and 'fusus.'

the transverse threads were inserted laboriously by the fingers, without the assistance of a shuttle, and the whole fabric was pressed close together with a piece of wood. Beside her stood a younger female spinning goats' hair to supply the old lady with the materials necessary for her task' (*The Desert of the Exodus*, 1 125). Between this incident and the first representations of the horizontal loom by Egyptian artists, there stretches a period of nearly 5000 years. Even at that early period, however, and, as the textile remains abundantly prove, for at least a millennium previously, the inventive genius of Egypt, which, according to Pliny, taught the ancient world the art of weaving, had furnished the loom with the apparatus necessary for more expeditious work. Putting aside the case illustrated by Wilkinson (*Anc. Eg.* 2 170), which furnishes no indication of any appar-

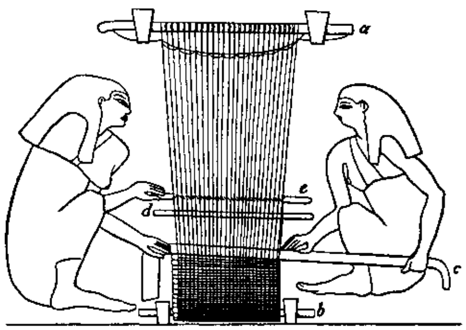


FIG. 1.—Women weaving

atus beyond a simple frame, and is therefore, in all probability, a case of mat-plaiting, we may take the familiar representation from the tombs at Beni Ḥasan of the two women squatting on the ground and engaged in the process of weaving (Wilk. *op. cit.* 1 317, Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 448, after Lepsius; Moore's 'Judges,' *SBOT* Eng., 86; Braulik, *op. cit.* Figs. 89-91, pp. 59 *ff.*). Till recently, it was assumed that this picture, which dates from the middle empire, represented an upright loom. It is evident, however, that this is a mistake due to the absence of perspective in Egyptian drawing. The loom is horizontal with a yarn-beam *a*, and a cloth-beam *b*, each fixed to the ground by a couple of wooden pegs. Between the beams the warp is stretched, and, if we can trust the artist in this detail, the cloth-beam is capable of revolving and winding up the finished web. The remaining parts of this instructive representation will require a more detailed examination in a subsequent section (§ 6).

Now, when we consider the antiquity and prevalence of the horizontal loom in Egypt,[1] and its prevalence in a variety of forms throughout the E., from Africa to India, at the present day,[2] it would be strange if the Hebrews were unacquainted with it. We have, however, no explicit testimony to the form and construction of the early Hebrew loom. Still, a study of the well-known passage which will engage our attention when we come to deal with the terminology of weaving (§ 7)—shows that the probabilities of the case are in favour of Delilah's loom being of the horizontal type. The operation of weaving the hair of a person asleep on the ground into the warp could be much more easily and naturally done on a horizontal loom such as that shown above.[1]

4. The two types of upright loom.

Of the upright loom, which consists essentially of two upright posts joined at the top by a cross-beam, the *jugum* of the Roman loom (for this view of the *jugum* see Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Ant.*[(3)] 2 765), there are two main types, regarding which it is difficult to say which is the older. (1) There is first the type familiar to classical students from the representation of Penelope's loom on a Greek vase of the fifth century B.C. (see ill. *EB*[(9)] 23 206; Blümner, *op. cit.* 1 357, and often elsewhere), the distinguishing feature of which is the absence of a cross-beam below, the warp threads being kept taut by a series of small stone weights attached either to the individual threads, as in the case just cited, or to bundles of threads, as in the comparatively modern Icelandic loom (ill. Smith, *op. cit.* 2 766, less complete in Rich, *s.v.* 'tela'). The Roman looms were also of this type, as were those of the lake dwellers of Switzerland in the neolithic age (Buschan, 'Die Anfänge u. Entwickelung der Weberei in der Vorzeit' in *Verhandlg. d. Berlin. Ges. f. Anthropologie*, etc., 1889, pp. 227 *ff.*). In one of the strata of the mound of Tel-el-Ḥesy (*circa* 500-400 B.C.), Dr. Bliss found a large number of objects, some round, some pear-shaped, of unburnt brick, which he considers to have served as weaver's weights (*A Mound of Many Cities*, 113). On this view we must admit the existence of this type of loom in Palestine, although it has not yet been found in Egypt.

(2) The other type of upright loom is characterised by the presence of a second cross-beam below. Where, as usually in Egypt according to Herodotus (2 35), the web was commenced at the bottom of the loom, such a beam was indispensable and served as a cloth-beam; where, as was presumably the case in Palestine, the web was 'woven from the top' (Jn. 19 23), the lower beam served as the yarn-beam. In either type of upright loom, however, an additional cross-beam might be provided—usually constructed so as to revolve, thus rendering it possible to weave a length of web greater

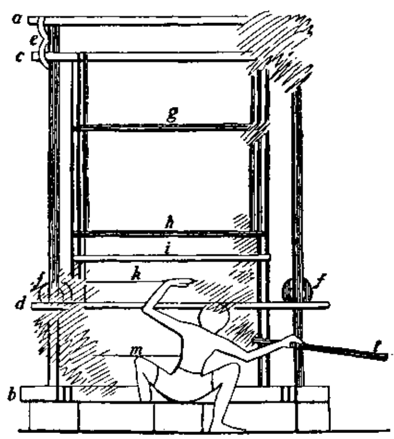


FIG. 2.—Upright loom. From Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.* 2 171.

than the height of the loom—as is the case in the earliest representation of an upright loom that has come down to us by an Egyptian artist of the new empire (here reproduced from Wilk.-Birch, *op. cit.* 2 171).

This picture is unfortunately imperfectly preserved, and the details of the construction are in several points uncertain. The weaver sits on a bench in front of his

[1] The apothegm dating from the twelfth dynasty, quoted by Braulik (*op. cit.* 89)—'the weaver is more unfortunate than a woman, he has his knees for ever reaching to his chin'—proves, as he rightly observes (1) that men as well as women exercised the art, and (2) that they worked in a squatting attitude, and therefore, like the women of the Beni Ḥasan picture (Fig. 1), at the horizontal loom.

[2] This was also the type of loom in use among the Aztecs of Central America; see illustration in Tylor's *Anthropology*, 248. A full description of the modern Syrian looms, with a valuable list of the Arabic *termini technici* will be found in the *ZDPV* viii., 1885, pp. 73 *ff.*, 180 *f.*

[1] Moore (*op. cit. sup.*) gives this picture to illustrate Delilah's loom, but is in error in regarding both looms as consisting of 'a simple *upright* frame.'

loom, the frame of which is composed of two upright posts, kept rigid by two cross-bars, *a* and *b*. The roller *c* serves as a yarn-beam and is suspended from the upper beam by twisted loops of rope, *e*. But a revolving yarn-beam seems to imply a revolving cloth-beam as well, which makes it probable that the roller *d*, attached to the uprights by the loops *ff*, serves this purpose. The functions of the three rods, *g*, *h*, *i*, suspended from the yarn-beam will be discussed in a subsequent section (§ 6).

There is no indication of the date at which the upright loom, which, to judge from the existing repretations, was a later development in Egypt (Erman, followed by Braulik), was introduced into Palestine. It may have been in use from time immemorial alongside of the horizontal loom. That the ordinary Jewish loom in NT times was of the second type above described is evident from various indications.

Thus the upper and lower beams (reff. below) are referred to in the Mishna, where also there is frequent reference to the 'standing warp' (שְׁתִי הָעוֹמֵד, cp the classical *στήμων* and *stamen*, the warp, from the root *s-t-a*); weaving was done standing as well as sitting (*Zab.* 3 2); the Latin transference of *jugum* and *stamina* to the cross-bar and strings of the lyre is paralleled in late Hebrew and Aramaic by the transference, though in the contrary direction, of נֵבֶל (also נַבְלָא and נַוְלָא, Syr. *naulā*) to signify a loom, a phenomenon which points to the upright loom. The seamless robes 'woven from the top throughout,' finally, could only have been made on the upright loom, although this does not of necessity require that the looms for the manufacture of ordinary fabrics were of this type.

The loom in use at the present day in Palestine, as has been said, is uniformly of the horizontal type, and resembles our own handloom in being furnished with healds or heddles worked by a pair of treadles. The frame, however, is much lower, the weaver sitting on or near the ground, and the warp, instead of being wound round the yarn-beam at the opposite end of the frame, as with us, is usually carried upwards and passed over a roller attached to the opposite wall, a few stones fastened to the ends of the warp-threads serving to keep them taut. (For other forms with slightly different arrangement, see *ZDPV* viii., 1885, p. 73 *f.*)

To weave is, in the OT, generally אָרַג, *'ārag*, a weaver אֹרֵג, *'ōrēg* (masc. and fem.), the latter supplanted to a large extent in later Hebrew by the loanword גַּרְדִּי [1] (*γέρδιος*, *gerdius*). The loom is probably אֶרֶג, *'ereg* (Judg. 16 14 EV 'beam,' perhaps also Job 7 6 EV 'shuttle').

In commencing a new web the weaver's first care is to stretch the warp in parallel lines evenly between the upper and the lower beam (כּוֹבֶד הָעֶלְיוֹן and כ״ הַתַּחְתּוֹן, *Kel.* 21 1 *Neg.* 11 9), if the upright loom is adopted.

5. Warping.

If we assume that the web is commenced at the top of the loom, these become the cloth-beam and yarn-beam respectively. The cloth-beam apparently is intended by the דיוסטר, *διωστήρ* (a term used in the later chapters of Ex. to render בַּדִּים, the poles for carrying the tabernacle furniture; in Ex. 25 *ff.* the earlier translators of 𝔊 used *ἀναφόρευς*) of *Kel.* 20 3, from which we gather that it might either lie across the forked ends of the uprights or be passed through the latter.[2] Fig. 2 shows, as we have seen, that a roller (אַכְסָן, *ἄξων*, Tg. Judg. 16 14 1 S. 17 7) might be attached to the upper beam to serve as a cloth or yarn-beam, as the case may be. In five passages of our EV (2 S. 21 19 1 Ch. 11 23 20 5 and the two just cited) mention is made of a weaver's 'beam,' but in none of the cases is this rendering admissible, as will be shown in the following section.

The process of arranging the warp is technically known as 'warping,' the late Heb. הֵיסֵךְ (*Shabb.* 7 2, etc., from סכך), the Gk. *διάζομαι*, Lat. *ordiri*.

This verb occurs in OT only in the metaphorical sense of the beginnings of the human fœtus (Ps. 139 13, cp שׂכך in the same sense, Job 10 11 and the similar metaphorical use of the Lat. *ordiri*, *exordiri*, *exordium*). The cognate נָסַךְ (Is. 25 7 30 1) had originally the same signification. In Is. 30, in particular, as is shown by Aquila's and Theodotion's rendering *διάζομαι*, and Jerome's 'ordiremini telam,' we have a metaphor derived from the warping of the loom in commencing a new web for the beginning of political intrigue. So too *massēkah* (מַסֵּכָה Is. *ll.c.*) and *masséketh* (מַסֶּכֶת, Judg. 16 13 *f.*, Mishna, *passim*) are both primarily the 'warp,' then by metonymy the 'web.' Another technical term for warping was שָׁתָה (cp Ar. *sadā* in this sense), which is to be restored for the corrupt MT in Is. 19 10 (see modern edd. for reading שֹׁתֶיהָ, to be rendered 'those that warp it [in the loom]') as already by an early hand of 𝔊ℵ *διαζόμενοι*, which has every probability of being more correct than the non-technical *ἐργαζόμενοι* of the other copyists. Here we find an unexpected confirmation of the traditional rendering of שְׁתִי (Lev. 13 48 *ff.* †, cp Ar. *masdî*) as 'the warp,' the sense which it regularly has in the Mishna, but which the majority of commentators have refused to recognise here, a position reflected in RVmg. 'woven or knitted stuff'[1] for 'warp or woof.' The obscure word דַּלָּה (Is. 38 12 AV 'pining sickness,' RV 'loom') seems also, from its etymology (cp Cant. 7 6 [5] where it denotes the spreading tresses of a woman's hair), to have originally signified 'warp,' the שְׁתִי הָעוֹמֵד of the Mishna, then perhaps, by metonymy, the loom.

Now the essential movements in the process of weaving are three in number. These are (1) the 'shedding' of the warp, that is, in its simplest form, the dividing of the warp into two sets of the odd and the even threads respectively, to allow of the passage between them of the weft, the opening through which the latter passes being technically known as the 'shed,' (2) the passing of the weft through the 'shed' by means of a rod, needle, or other contrivance serving as a shuttle, and (3) the beating up of the weft to form with the warp a web of uniform consistence throughout. The first of these movements is the most complicated and demands a closer study. In the mediæval and modern horizontal loom, as found from the Atlantic to the Ganges, the operation of shedding is effected by a pair of heald- or heddle-frames worked by treadles underneath the loom. This arrangement, the result of a long process of evolution, is believed by some of the best authorities, as we have indicated in an earlier section, to have been adopted with the horizontal type of loom by the classical peoples before the Christian era. Rieger, in his frequently cited monograph on the arts of spinning and weaving in the period of the Mishna, even goes so far as to provide the upright Jewish loom with an arrangement of pedals (בֵּי נִירָא[2] *op. cit.* 30). The evidence, however, for the presence of the horizontal loom N. of the Mediterranean before the middle ages is of the slenderest character, and for the use of treadles is absolutely non-existent (see Ahrens, *Philologus*, 35 385 *ff.*; Yates and Marindin in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*(3) 2 768 *f.*).

6. Shedding.

The various stages in the evolution of the apparatus for rapid shedding may be thus briefly traced. In the earliest stage of all, when weaving was scarcely as yet differentiated from plaiting, 'the transverse threads were inserted laboriously by the fingers,' as in the case thus described by Palmer (see above, § 3). It was soon perceived, however, that by inserting a flat lathe or a rod over and under every alternate warp thread, so that, let us say, all the odd threads were above the lathe and all the even threads under it, a shed could be rapidly formed by turning the lathe through an angle of 90°,

[1] In the vocalisation of the many terms in the sequel found in Talmudic literature, the pointing adopted by Dalman in his *Aramäisch-Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch* has been generally followed.

[2] Rieger's suggestion that ר״ may be the shuttle (*op. cit.* 32) is inadmissible.

[1] The introduction of 'knitting' here is a curious anachronism, this art, according to Beckmann's *History of Inventions*, having probably been invented in Scotland not long before the year 1500 A.D. (Yates, *op. cit.* 6 *f.*).

[2] For what we believe to be the true explanation of this technical term, see below, col. 5285 *f.*

and the weft passed through by means of a pointed stick with which (or with the lathe) it was then beat up. This stage is represented by the Arab horizontal loom described by Burckhardt (*Notes on the Bedouin and Wahaby*, 67 *f.*): 'to keep the upper and under woof (read 'warp') at a proper distance from each other a flat stick is placed between them. A piece of wood serves as the weaver's shuttle, and a short gazelle's horn is used in beating back the thread of the shuttle.' With a single dividing rod, however, it must still have been necessary to insert every alternate weft thread by means of this primitive shuttle *over* the odd threads (in the case supposed) and *under* the even threads, since the formation of a second shed requires a second rod. This, however, was the next stage of the evolutionary process now being traced, and is already represented in the early Egyptian loom reproduced above (fig. 1). Here we note the presence of two rods in close connection with the warp; the one, *d*, a plain rod inserted between the two halves of the warp—let us say, as before, that the odd threads, 1, 3, 5, etc., pass over the rod,[1] the even threads, 2, 4, 6, etc., under it—the other rod, *e*, which must lie outside and above the warp, crossed by a series of threads which are represented in the picture by short diagonal lines. The invention of this simple device for expediting the operation of shedding deserves to rank with that of the 'flying shuttle,'[2] for by this means almost twice as much work could be done in a given time. A single rod, such as *d*, as we have seen, is capable of forming but one shed, which allows the weft to be passed *under* the odd and *over* the even threads of the warp only. Now in order that warp and weft shall be properly interlaced to form the web, it is necessary that in returning the weft shall pass *under* the even and *over* the odd warp threads. To effect this each of the even threads passing under the rod *d* is attached by a loop to the rod *e*. Therefore by simply raising this rod —in the upright loom by its being drawn *towards* the operator standing in front of the loom—all the even threads are pulled upwards (or forwards) so as to be above (or in front of) the odd threads and thus a second shed is formed through which the weft is passed. Rod *d* is again raised, then *e*, and so on alternately. But this cannot be done with the rods in the relative positions which they occupy in fig. 1, for if the reader will make the experiment on a model with twenty or twenty-four warp threads, he will find that the shed formed by raising the rod *e* with its attachment of loops will not reach to the edge of the web owing to the obstruction caused by the rod *d*. Braulik, who alone, apparently, of previous writers has attempted to describe the exact *modus operandi* of the Egyptian loom, has overlooked this defect in the artist's picture and has even gone so far as to assume, contrary to his own description of the drawing, that both rods were worked in the same manner as rod *e* (see Braulik, *op. cit.* fig. 92, p. 62). The true explanation is that the artist—if we assume the correctness of the reproduction in fig. 1—being unskilled in the technique of weaving, has reversed the true position of the rods, since it will be found by experiment that with two such rods, the one separating the two leaves of the warp, the other attached to the lower leaf by a series of looped threads, the latter rod must always be placed nearer to the edge of the web. This holds good of both types of loom and of both methods of weaving on the upright loom, namely from above or from below (see below, § 8).

The principle here enunciated for the first time will be immediately recognised as indispensable from the following diagrams in which the letters correspond to those of fig. 1, with the addition of *x* to denote the odd, *y* the even threads of the warp, and *z* the web.

[1] The prepositions 'over' and 'under' are here used with special reference to the horizontal loom, fig. 1; but the principle of the upright loom in fig. 2; is essentially the same; only in this case the prepositions 'before' and 'behind' must of course be substituted for 'over and 'under.'

[2] By John Kay of Bury in 1733.

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Fig. 3 shows the formation of the first or natural shed at *s* through the raising of the odd warp threads by the rod *d*, fig. 4 the formation of the second or artificial shed at *s* through the raising of the even threads by the rod *e*.

The final stage, we are convinced, in the evolution of the shedding apparatus for plain weaving on the looms of antiquity was reached, when in the case of the upright

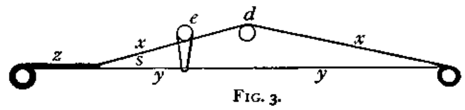


FIG. 3.

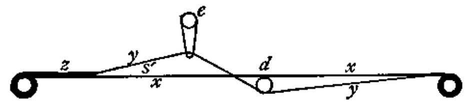


FIG. 4.

loom it was found expedient to attach *both* sets of the warp, the odd and the even threads alike, by loops or leashes to a couple of rods, which we shall henceforth call leash-rods, both being suspended in front of the warp from the *jugum* or upper crossbeam of the loom, or from the second of the top beams if there were two, as in the case of the Theban loom in fig. 2. Here, so far as the imperfect condition of the picture enables us to infer, we have a rod *g* near the top of the loom, doubtless dividing the warp into two sets ('stamen secernit arundo,' Ovid, *Met.* 6 55) to facilitate the attachment of the leashes to the leash-rods *h*,*i*, all three suspended from the yarn-beam *b*. By pulling forward *h* and *i* alternately, are formed the alternate sheds through which the weft-thread *k* is passed.

We come now to the perplexing question of the Hebrew terminology of the apparatus just described. The single reed of the more primitive loom was termed by the Greeks κανών, by the Romans *arundo;* in the more elaborate looms, such as fig 2, we find not only κανόνες and κάλαμοι but also in 𝔊 ἀντίον[1] (see below), in Latin *liciatoria*, as the names of the leash-rods to which the warp-strings were attached by means of loops or leashes of thread (hence called μίτοι, *licia*), corresponding to the healds or heddles of the modern loom. Now the *liciatorium* or leash-rod of the classical loom was named by the Jews of NT times not only *ḳāneh* קָנֶה (*Ohol.* 8 4, here mentioned along with the *spatha* [see *infra*], Jer. *Shabb.* 10 5), but also as Jastrow (*Dict.*, *s.v.*) and Rieger (*op. cit.* 29) have rightly perceived, *nīr* (נִיר *pl. nîrîm* and *-în*). Etymologically identical with the Assyrian *nîru*, a yoke, this term might be applied to any transverse rod or beam, hence to the leash-rods or shafts of a loom. This meaning alone suits the (textually corrupt) description of the veil of the temple in *Shĕḳālīm* 8 5, of which many wonderful renderings have been given by lexicographers and commentators.

This veil, we read, 'was a handbreadth thick and was woven upon 72 rods (נִירִין), and over each rod (ועל־כל נירא ונירא—so we must read for *nimin* and *nima* of the ordinary text) were 24 leashes (חוטין lit. 'threads,' cp Gk. μίτοι).'[2] These two *nīrīn* of the ordinary loom might be suspended by cords passing over the cross beam as in fig. 2, or from a peg (חָף) projecting from either end of the beam in question, 'two rods on one peg, and two pegs

[1] The conjecture may be hazarded that the ἀντίον was at first the rod which lay or hung outside, as if opposite to (ἀντί) the warp (see *e* of fig. 1), as distinguished from the κανών, *d*, which latter again may be the μεσάντιον of certain MSS. of 𝔊 (1 S. 17 7—for the strange variety of readings in 𝔊 see Moore, *Proc. of Am. Or. Soc.* 1889, p. clxxvii).

[2] The arrangement is not essentially different if we take חוּטִין here of the threads of the warp, in which case each *nir* would resemble not *e* but *d* of fig. 1. For the *modus operandi* of such complex looms, but of the horizontal type, with as many as 80 to 90 shafts see *EB*(9) 24 465. Moore's rendering of the above passage (*l.c.*), 'and on every thread (*nima* of *textus receptus*), namely of the warp, were 24 strings (connecting it with as many different heddles)' is unintelligible to the present writer.

for one rod' (Jer. *Shabb.* 7 2, so Rieger; cp illustr. *op. cit.*). This identification of the *nīrīn* with the *liciatoria* of the contemporary Roman looms must be maintained against that of Maimonides and other commentators who identify the *nīrīn* with 'the threads wound round the rods (קָנִים, *κανόνες*, *arundines*), by which the warp-threads are raised, etc.' (see *ap.* Surenh. *Mishna*, *Kēlim* 21 1), in other words with the leashes (*μίτοι licia*) to which we come presently. Equally impossible is Moore's identification of *nīr* (*PAOS*, 1889, p. clxxix) with the 'gear' of the developed horizontal loom—which certainly bears this name (*nīr*) in modern Arabic—consisting of two heddle-leaves, connected by spring-staves or otherwise with a pair of treadles. For not only have we no evidence, as has been already maintained, of the presence of treadles in the ancient looms, but it is difficult to see how they could be conveniently adjusted in the upright loom of the Mishna.[1]

The identification of the *nīr* with the shaft or leash-rod (*liciatorium*) of the ancient loom, here maintained, gives us a clue to the mysterious *mĕnōr 'ōrĕgīm*, מְנוֹר אֹרְגִים of 1 S. 17 7 2 S. 21 19 1 Ch. 11 23 20 5 to which the shaft of a giant's spear might be compared,[2] for מְנוֹר cannot be separated etymologically from נִיר (see BDB, *s.v.*). Now the shaft of a good-sized loom with a heavy warp must have been considerably thicker than the ordinary light spear-shaft (see the actual *ἀντίον* or *liciatorium* of a modern Lycian loom, apparently a branch of a tree, reproduced from Benndorf in Smith's *Dict. Ant.*(3) 2 769), and seems to satisfy all the conditions. In support of this view we have (1) the expression itself, 'like the weavers' shaft,' which suggests something usually in the weaver's hand, rather than a fixture of the loom such as the cloth or yarn-beam (see below); (2) the testimony of the oldest versions. 𝔊 in three places has *ἀντίον*, a synonym of *κανών* (see the authorities in Blümner, *op. cit.* 1 132); so also Aquila and Theodotion in 1 S. 17 7 where the MSS. of 𝔊 have a set of curious variants (see ref. to Moore above), all, however, identified by the later Greek lexicographers with the leash-rod, the *liciatorium texentium* of Jerome in all the passages cited.

The less probable rendering of EV 'a weaver's beam,' has the sanction of the Targum and of Jewish commentators of note. Thus Rashi (on 1 S. 17 7) quotes with evident approval the Tg. rendering אכסן הגרדאים (*i.e.*, *ἄξων γερδίων*, the weavers' roller) adding 'in the vernacular [French] it is *ensuble*.' The latter at once suggests the *insubuli* of the Roman loom, rightly explained by Yates and Marindin (Smith, *Dict.*(3), 2 765 *b*) as the yarn and cloth beams of the upright loom (*b* and *d* of fig. 2, above), an identification of which Rashi's comments, both here and on Judg. 16 13 *f.*,[3] supply a hitherto unnoticed corroboration.

The leash-rod, as we have seen, was passed through a series of loops or leashes of thread, each loop also passing behind every alternate warp-thread. These leashes, the *μίτοι* and *licia* of the classical looms, must be identified with the בָּתֵּי נִירִין (sing. בֵּי נִירָא *domus liciatorii*) of the Mishna (*Shabb.* 7 2 13 2), of which also many curious explanations have been offered, the latest being none the less objectionable that it is given without any qualification. 'The raising of the shafts,' says Rieger (*op. cit.* 30), 'was usually effected by an arrangement of treadles (בי נירא), the shafts being joined to pedals by cords,' a statement absolutely unsupported by the accompanying references. The key to this enigmatical expression will be found in the idiomatic use of *bēth* in compounds familar to every Semitic scholar. In the OT we have an exact parallel in בָּתִּים לְבַדִּים (Ex. 25 27 etc., lit. 'houses for the staves'), and בָּתִּים לִבְרִיחִים (Ex. 26 29 etc., lit. 'houses for the bars'), explained in each case by טַבָּעוֹת, rings. The *bātē nīrīn*, therefore, are the loops or rings of thread through which the *nīrīn* or leash-rods are passed. The identification here proposed suits admirably the passage *Shabb.* 7 2 where the operation of 'making two *bātē nīrīn*' intervenes between the warping (מֵיסֵךְ) and the weaving; so also in *Shabb.* 13 2 'he that fastens two leashes (*bātē nīrīn*) to the leash-rods (*nīrīn*)' before beginning to weave. *Bātē nīrīn*, in short, is the idiomatic equivalent of the loan-word לִיצִין *licia* (*Tos. Neg.* 5 10).

The shed having been formed as explained in detail above, the weaver proceeded to pass the weft (עֵרֶב; *κρόκη*; *subtemen*; cp Lev. 13 48 *ff.*, או בשתי או בערב 𝔊 *ἢ ἐν στήμονι ἢ ἐν κρόκῃ*, AV 'in the warp or woof'). This was done by means of a flat stick or lathe somewhat longer than the width of the web, carrying sufficient weft by a hook at the end, which also served, as in many places at the present day, for a batten to beat up the weft (so, most probably, in fig. 1 the curved stick *e* serves both purposes). Later the functions of shuttle and batten were differentiated; the rod which the Egyptian weaver holds in his right hand in fig. 2 serves to all appearance as a shuttle, and suggests the corresponding *radius* of the Romans (cp Ovid's 'inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis'), the *κερκίς* of the Greeks. Even so early as Homer's time, this shuttle-rod appears to have been fitted with a revolving spool (*πηνίον*), on which the weft was wound, and from which it unwound itself in passing through the shed.

7. Passing and beating up of weft.

Rieger (*op. cit.* 31 34) has attempted, with doubtful success, to discover the various parts of the classical shuttle, regarding which there is still much uncertainty, in the Talmudic writings. It is scarcely safe to go beyond the conjecture that the מַחַט, or weaver's needle, and the pointed כֶּרְכַּר (*κερκίς*, *Shabb.* 8 6) may be the native and the imported names of the combined shuttle and batten. The *kerkid* was certainly used to beat up (שָׁבַט *κρούειν*) the weft. For this purpose the Greeks used a sword-shaped lathe, resembling a modern paper-cutter on a large scale, the *σπάθη*, adopted both by the Romans (*spatha*) and the Jews (אִסְפַּתִי *Ohol.* 8 4). When the older type of upright loom, in which the warp was stretched by means of weights, was superseded by the Egyptian type with the yarn and cloth beams, the Egyptian comb (*κτείς*, *pecten*, Martial's *Niliacum pecten*, illust. from Wilkinson in Rich, *s.v.*, with which cp the modern comb from Asia Minor, Smith, *Dict.*(3) 2 768 *a*) was introduced, and the weft driven home by inserting the teeth of the comb between the warp threads. The obscure קֵירוֹס (*καῖρος*) of *Shabb.* 13 2 *Kel.* 21 1 is identified by Maimonides (see on latter passage *ap.* Surenh.) and others with this comb, a very doubtful equation.[1] To judge from its original sense (for which see Blümner, *op. cit.* 1 126), the *ķērōs* was rather some arrangement of loops and cords, stretched across the loom to ensure that the web was kept of a uniform width.

One interesting reference to the beating up of the weft has been preserved in the OT, the recovery of which in modern times is due to G. F. Moore in the paper to which reference has frequently been made (*Proc. Am. Or. Soc.*, 1889). In Judg. 16 13 *f.*—a passage which has suffered considerable curtailment in MT (see Moore's *Comm.* and his editions [Heb. and Eng.] of Judges in *SBOT*, also Bu. and Now. *in loc.*)—Delilah is told to weave the seven braids of Samson's hair with the warp and to beat them up (תָּקַע) with the pin (יָתֵד, the batten or *spatha*).[2] The inadmissible rendering of EV, 'to fasten with the pin,' is due to the

1 This is the least satisfactory part of Rieger's attempted reconstruction of the Jewish loom in his monograph, *Versuch*, etc.

2 Ahrens, in *Philologus* (vol. 35 400 *f.*), gives an extract from an old Norse saga, in which also the shafts of the loom are compared with the warrior's spear.

3 Rashi, however, on this passage wrongly defines מַסֶּכֶת, which he takes as a *nomen instrumenti* from הֵימַךְ to 'warp' (see § 5), as 'the wooden beam on which the weaver mounts the warp, in the vernacular *ensuble*,' which may apply to either cloth or yarn-beam This comment has been entirely misunderstood by Moore (*l.c.* clxxvii), who strangely supposes Rashi to refer to the 'heddles' of the developed horizontal loom, and takes the מְנוֹר to be the cross-beam—the *jugum* of Marquardt and Blümner's untenable theory—from which the heddles are suspended.

1 Still more doubtful is Rieger's identification of the *ķērōs* with a fully developed modern 'reed,' an apparatus found only with the horizontal loom (*op. cit.* 34).

2 With this sense of יָתֵד as a flat instrument with a thin edge like a paper-cutter, cp Dt. 23 14 [13], also *Shabb.* 17 4, where it denotes the flat point of the ploughshare (illust. Vogelstein, *Die Landwirthschaft in Palästina*, 79). The ungrammatical form in which it occurs in Judg. 16 14*b* (הַיְתַד הָאֶרֶג) shows it to be an intruder here (Moore), so that we may dispense with the inquiry as to what is intended by 'the pin of the beam' (EV).

influence of the early translators, who had formed a quite erroneous, though intelligible and consistent, conception of the details of the incident.[1]

In the case of the older classical loom, the *tela pendula*, open below, the operator had no alternative but to commence his web at the top of the loom; he had also to weave standing. With the looms figured above, on the contrary, the web might be begun at either end of the low loom (fig. 1), and at either top or bottom of the high loom (fig. 2). According to Herodotus (2 35) 'other nations push the weft upwards,' *i.e.*, commence at the top of the loom, 'the Egyptians, on the other hand, push it downwards,' *i.e.*, commence at the bottom. The position of the leash-rods in fig. 2, relative to the weft at *l*, shows that Herodotus is right as regards the usual Egyptian practice, although absolute uniformity is scarcely probable. The operator, as we further see, was able to remain in a sitting posture while the lower half of the web, at least, was being woven, and if, as we have inferred is the case in Fig. 2, the loom was provided with a cloth-beam, he might at the expense of a yard of warp remain seated throughout. That the Jews in NT times wove from the top downwards is a probable, though by no means conclusive, inference from the description of the tunic of Jesus which was woven ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν δι' ὅλου (Jn. 19 23, for which see also below), a phrase which strictly means—as paraphrased by Delitzsch in his Hebrew rendering—'from collar to selvage.' That the inference is a correct one, however, is attested by Theophylact, archbishop of Bulgaria, about 1070, who, with reference to the passage just cited, comments thus: 'Others say that in Palestine they work their looms not as with us (among whom) the leashes and the warp are at the top, the web being woven at the bottom and thence upwards, but on the contrary, the leashes (μίτοι = *bātē nīrīn*) are at the bottom and *the web is woven from the top*' (*Ad Joann.* 18 25; cp the similar though less explicit testimony for Galilee, quoted from Isidorus Pelusiota by Ahrens: *Philol.* 35 390).

8. Direction of web.

The web having reached the desired length, it was severed from the remaining warp threads (בִּצַּע, Is. 38 12, ἐκτέμνειν, Tob. 2 12 𝔊), and rolled round the cloth-beam (hence the figure in Is. *ibid.*: קִפַּדְתִּי, RV 'I have rolled up like a weaver my life'), for removal from the loom. Linen in this undressed (ἄγναφος, Mt. 9 16 Mk. 2 21 RV—AV 'new cloth') condition was termed ὠμόλινον (Ecclus. 40 4, RV wrongly 'hempen frock'), and was exposed to less danger from shrinking, if exposed to wet, than cloth made from wool. The task of milling or felting the cloth (to use the modern terms) fell to the FULLER (*q.v.*), by whom it was steeped in water mixed with various alkaline ingredients, stamped and beaten to complete the felting process, then bleached with fumes of sulphur, carded to raise the nap, and finally pressed in the fuller's press. To enter into these processes in detail would extend this article unduly (see for full references Rieger, *op. cit.* 39-45, and cp Blümner, *op. cit.* 1 157-177).

9. Final processes.

In the preceding sections regard has been had only to the most ordinary sort of weaving, where the warp and weft are of the same material, the weft passing over and under each alternate thread of the warp. It remains now to refer briefly to a few of the more complex varieties of the textile art. The Hebrews were forbidden to follow a custom in vogue among all nations of combining a warp of flax with a weft of wool, which is probably what is signified by the obscure term שַׁעַטְנֵז (Lev. 19 19 Dt. 22 11). The reason for this taboo was certainly not that given by Josephus (*Ant.* iv. 8 11 [§ 208]), that garments of this sort were priestly wear, but must probably be sought in connection with illicit magical practices (see Goldziher, *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 36 *f.* for an Arab parallel, and cp the similar prohibition against seething a kid in its mother's milk: see COOKING, § 8 end). The simplest variation from the plain web hitherto discussed, was obtained by using alternately different coloured wefts, say white and black, or by mounting the warp in alternate bands of white and black yarn, by which striped fabrics were produced, similar to those so much in favour among the Syrian peasantry at the present day. It is very doubtful, however, whether the obscure and textually suspicious חֲטֻבוֹת אֵטוּן of Prov. 7 16 (see LINEN, 1) means 'striped cloth of the yarn of Egypt' (so RV). The coloured representations of Syrians on Egyptian monuments show that they 'wore narrow close-fitting, plain clothes, in which dark blue threads alternated with dark red, and these were generally adorned with embroidery' (Erman, *Eg.* 216 *f.*, where also illustration of Syrian ambassador with dress as just described, the embroidery being in the form of stars, a form of ornamentation called *oculi* by the Romans, Marq. *Röm. Privatleben*, 526 *f.*). By having the warp all of one colour and the weft all of another, what is known as a 'shot' fabric was the result. Thus we read of garments 'of which the warp is dyed and the weft white, or the weft dyed and the warp white' (*Neg.* 11 4). By alternating different coloured bands, both in warp and woof, further, a 'check' or chequered pattern is obtained. Such 'chequer work' was in great favour in antiquity, as may be seen from the extant coloured representations, not only for everyday clothes (see *e.g.*, in the procession of Semitic immigrants, part of which is reproduced in colours in Riehm, *HWB*(2), opposite p. 54), but as a pattern for the sails of vessels (see Wilk. *op. cit.*, frontispiece to vol. ii.). Among the Jews we find mention of 'a summer garment of white and coloured checks' (פְּסִיפְסִים [ψῆφος]; so read for פספסים, *Neg.* 11 7). Joseph's 'coat of many colours' (כְּתֹנֶת פַּסִּים), it need hardly be said, belongs, according to one line of tradition (𝔊, Vg., see Comm. on Gen. 37 3), to one or other of the categories just enumerated.

10. Pattern and figure weaving.

What precise style of weaving is denoted by *šibbēṣ* (שִׁבֵּץ, Ex. 28 39 AV 'embroider,' RV 'weave in chequer work') applied to the high priest's tunic—hence its description as כְּתֹנֶת תַּשְׁבֵּץ (*ib.* 4 AV 'a broidered coat,' RV 'a coat of chequer work') is quite uncertain. The revisers, as we see, indicate their preference for some kind of check. Braun (*de vestitu sacerdot.* [1680], 367-384) argues at great length in favour of Maimonides' view that a species of honeycomb pattern is intended, resembling the lining of the second stomach (*reticulum*) of ruminants.

From the earliest times in the E. we find evidence of the use of gold, and to a less extent of silver, to enhance the richness and value of textile fabrics. Thus, gold thread, prepared by cutting finely beat plates of gold into narrow strips (Ex. 39 3), was directed to be employed in the manufacture of the robes of the high priest (Ex. 28 5 *f.* 39 2 *ff.*). It was chiefly used as weft (cp Vergil's 'picturatas auri subtemine vestes,' *Æn.* 3 483), fabrics wholly of gold thread being of late and rare occurrence (Marq. *op. cit.* 519). The ghostly horsemen of 2 Macc. 5 2 were arrayed in 'cloth of gold' (AV, διαχρύσους στολάς), so, too, according to the Greek interpretation, was the royal bride of Ps. 45 9 [10] (ἐν ἱματισμῷ διαχρύσῳ = בְּכֶתֶם אוֹפִיר). Holofernes' mosquito curtain was of 'purple and gold' (Judith 10 21). Agrippa's royal robe (cp Acts 12 21), on the other hand, is described by Josephus (*Ant.* xix. 8 2) as woven throughout of silver thread.

The rectangular plaid-like upper garment or *simlāh* of the Hebrews (MANTLE, § 2 [1]) was, of course, woven in one piece; the undergarment, *kĕthōneth* (TUNIC), on

[1] The technical terms employed in the divergent renderings of 𝔊 show that the Greek translators thought of Samson's hair as *stretched with the warp* of the horizontal loom, the end of which was fastened by a pin into the opposite wall (see above, § 3), while in MT the braids are clearly intended to be used as *weft*.

the other hand, which had to be more in accordance with the stature of the wearer, was apparently made by sewing together two lengths of cloth cut more or less to measure. This we infer from Josephus' description of the high priest's tunic (χιτών), which was 'not made of two pieces, so as to be sewed together upon the shoulders and down the sides, but was woven in one long piece, etc.' (*Ant.* iii. 7 4 [§ 161]). The tunic worn by Jesus at the close of his ministry was also of this sort; ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτὼν ἄραφος (without seam) ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑφαντὸς δι' ὅλου (Jn. 19 23). For the manufacture of such seamless fabrics it was necessary to mount a double warp which was woven with a continuous weft. The warp threads, that is, were so arranged as to lie on both sides of the upper beam, each face of the warp being provided with its own set of leash-rods. The operator, if there was but one, had to pass the weft across first one face, and then the other in succession by going round and round the loom, a procedure which, of course, could be obviated by having two operators for the same loom. In this way a cylindrical web was produced. Whether the sleeves were worked at the same time, as Braun in his classical treatment of this style of weaving maintains (*op. cit.* with illustration of specially constructed loom opposite p. 360) is less certain. It may also be noted that Braulik (*op. cit.* with technical diagrams, 28 *f.*, 77 *f.*, 89 *f.*) has discovered that the Egyptians from, at the latest, the time of the twenty-second dynasty, were familiar with a similar style of seamless fabrics, as indeed might have been inferred from the extremely tight-fitting garments represented on some of the Egyptian statues.

The finest products of the textile art known to the Hebrews are evidently intended to be represented as the work of the craftsman designated by the authors of the priestly code the *ḥōšēb* (חֹשֵׁב, Ex. 26 1 31, and often), literally, the designer, inventor, artist. Three grades of craftsmanship, it will be remembered, are mentioned together in the directions for the construction of the tabernacle and the priestly robes: the ordinary weaver (אֹרֵג), the *rōkēm* (רֹקֵם, Ex. 26 36, and often), and the *ḥōšēb*. The nature of the work (רִקְמָה) produced by the second of these has been the subject of much discussion. German scholars, as a rule, understand merely colour-weaving (Buntweberei), such as we have discussed above; but various considerations which cannot be detailed here (see EMBROIDERY, and the writer's forthcoming commentary on *Exodus* in the Intern. Crit. Series) lead to the belief that embroidery, the *opus plumarium* of the ancients, is intended. There is a greater consensus of opinion in favour of identifying the מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב (Ex. 26 1, etc. EV 'work of the cunning workman') with tapestry. This differs from ordinary weaving in respect that the weft is not thrown across the warp by a shuttle, but the design is traced by inserting short coloured threads by the fingers, or by a 'broach' or needle, behind as many warp threads only as may be required. The high loom in use in the celebrated Gobelins factory is almost an exact reproduction of the Egyptian loom of fig. 2 above (E. Müntz, *A Short History of Tapestry*, 5 [where, however, the reference is to our fig. 1], and especially 356 *ff.* with illustrations). Indeed, it is by no means improbable that the picture in question is that of a tapestry rather than of an ordinary weaver. The curtains of the tabernacle are clearly intended to be of tapestry with cherubim figures; so too, the veil both of the tabernacle (Ex. 26 31) and of Solomon's temple (2 Ch. 3 14; cp Heb. וַיַּעַל with 𝔊 καὶ ὕφανεν κ.τ.λ.). Jewish tapestry was celebrated at a later period, and noted for the unnatural figures of animals designed by the Jewish artists (Claudian *in Eutrop.* 1 350 *ff.*, cited by Marquardt). The tapestry worker was known to the classical world as *polymitarius* (Jerome's rendering of *ḥōšēb*), and his work *polymita* (πολύμιτος, used by Symmachus Ezek. 16 13 27 16), because as explained by Pliny (*HN* 8 196) he wove 'plurimis liciis,' that is, with weft threads[1] of various colours (cp Isidorus, *Orig.* xix. 22 21: 'polymitus enim textus multorum colorum est'). In EV 'tapestry' is twice introduced (Prov. 7 16 31 22); but the sense and even the text of the original are doubtful (see the Comm.).

It only remains to add that the weavers as a class enjoyed a bad reputation among their countrymen, many curious illustrations of which have been collected by Delitzsch (*Jüd. Handwerkerleben*, 45 *ff.*). Like other craftsmen, however, in NT times, those of Jerusalem formed a strong guild, the beginning of which may be traced back to at least the days of the Chronicler (1 Ch. 4 21).

The literature of the subject has been referred to with some detail in the course of the article. A. R. S. K.

WEDGE. 1. לָשׁוֹן, *lāšōn*, Josh. 7 21 24.

2. כֶּתֶם, *kéthem*, Is. 13 12 RV 'pure gold'; see GOLD, § 1 *e*.

WEEDS (סוּף), Jon. 2 5. See FLAG.

WEEK. The subdivision of the month into weeks, as also into decades (*'āšōr*, עָשׂוֹר)—the week representing approximately a fourth, the decade a third, of 29-30 days—is of great antiquity.

1. Origin.

The old Hebrew for the week of seven days is שָׁבוּעַ, *šābūă'* —*i.e.*, a seven, a heptad[2] (=Gk. ἑβδομάς, Lat. *septimana*); cp Gen. 29 27 (𝔊 τὰ ἕβδομα). In later times שַׁבָּת, *šabbāth*, also was currently employed, although only four instances of its use for 'week' are met with in OT—viz., Lev. 23 15 [cp Dt. 16 9] Lev. 25 8 Nu. 28 10 and Is. 66 23—and in Aramaic it became the ordinary word (שַׁבְּתָא or שַׁבָּא; cp also Arab. *sanba* and *sanbata* = 'a short space of time'). Similarly in NT the week is never called ἑβδομάς, but invariably only σάββατον or σάββατα (pl.); cp Mk. 16 9 Lk. 18 12 Mt. 28 1.

This quadripartite division of the month into weeks was naturally suggested by the phases of the moon and was far from being peculiar to the Hebrews. In particular it has been shown to have been an ancient institution with the Babylonians, and even in their case it had nothing to do with the number of the seven planets, after which at a later date the days of the week came to be named. Whether the Israelites used the week as a division of time even in their nomadic stage remains obscure. It is not impossible that they may have derived it from the Babylonians even before their settlement in Canaan, as the Canaanites also had done. However that may be, the development of the seventh day into a day of rest must certainly be referred to the time when the Israelites had already become an agricultural people (see SABBATH).

2. Mode of reckoning.

The mode of reckoning among the Israelites was originally doubtless the same as that of the Babylonians —viz., by dividing the first 28 days of each month into four weeks terminating respectively on the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th day, and by making the first week of the new month always begin with the new moon. This intimate connection, however, between the week and the month was soon dissolved (cp the expression 'feast of weeks' in Ex. 34 22 [J]). Whether the preponderance which the Sabbath day, as marking the close of the week, acquired over the day of new moon, was a cause or a consequence of the loosening of the connection it is impossible to determine; we are not precluded from supposing that quite other reasons may have contri-

[1] *Licium* (= μίτος), has this meaning here, not the special and technical sense which it had above.

[2] In view of this original meaning of the word it becomes possible for שָׁבֻעִים in Dan. 9 24-27 to mean a week of years (*annorum hebdomas*). Cp the corresponding use of שַׁבָּת with the explanatory addition of שָׁנִים (Lev. 25 8: שֶׁבַע שַׁבְּתֹת שָׁנִים, 'seven weeks of years').

buted to the increased importance attached to the Sabbath ; what is certain is that the week soon followed a development of its own, and it became the custom, without paying any regard to the days of the month that did not fit in with the four weeks, to reckon by regular periods of seven days so that new moon no longer coincided invariably with the first day of the week. After this the week of course, having no fixed point of attachment, became quite unsuited as a measure by which the dates of events could be fixed ; on the other hand, however, it became useful for the measurement not only of comparatively brief intervals of time but also of periods exceeding a month ; thus we not only have the week of marriage festivities (Gen. 29 27 *f.*), and periods of two weeks (Lev. 12 5) and of three (Dan. 10 2 *f.*), but also of a space of seven weeks (Dt. 16 9 *f.* [Ex. 34 22], Lev. 23 15).

When it was desired to specify the precise day of the week on which an event had happened or was expected

3. Specification of days. to happen, the ordinal numbers had to be used as long as the days remained unprovided with special names. Friday and Saturday are the only days that have names of their own ; in the OT—if we leave the Apocrypha out of account—Saturday only.

Thus for Friday in OT we have merely בַּיּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי, *bayyōm haššiššī*, 'on the sixth day' (Ex. 16 5 22), and, for Sunday in the NT, [ἐν τῇ] μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων (Mk. 16 2 Lk. 24 1 Acts 20 7 cp 1 Cor. 16 2 Mt. 28 1) or πρώτῃ σαββάτου (Mk. 16 9).

Besides the articles in the various dictionaries of the Bible, and sections in the handbooks of Benzinger and Nowack, see

4. Literature. Schr. 'Der Bab. Urspr. d. siebentägigen Woche' in *St. Kr.* 1874, p. 343 *ff.* and *KAT*² 19 *ff.* ; E. Mayer, 'Ursprung der sieben Wochentage,' in *ZDMG*, 1883, pp. 453 *ff.* ; cp W. R. Smith's note in same volume, 476 ; Lotz, *Quaest. de historia Sabbati libri duo*, 1883 ; We. *Prol.*² 116 *ff.* ; *Heid.*⁽¹⁾ 173. K. M.

WEEKS, FEAST OF (חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת), Ex. 34 22. See PENTECOST.

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. In view of the position of Palestine, lying between Egypt, Phœnicia, and Assyria, it was to be expected that the systems of weights and measures there in use would harmonise with one or other of the systems belonging to the neighbouring countries. According to C. H. Toy,[1] 'from Amos 8 5 we may perhaps infer that, as early as the eighth century B.C., the Israelites had a legal standard of weights and measures . . . it is possible, indeed, that the Babylonians had introduced this system into Canaan in or before the fifteenth century' [cp the Amarna correspondence as a proof of Babylonian predominance in Canaan]. The literary evidence from Palestine itself, however, is often very unsatisfactory, and we are accordingly reduced to choosing between mere probabilities.

The most important measure of length is the CUBIT (*'ammāh*, אַמָּה), which contains 2 spans (*zěreth*, זֶרֶת) or 6 palms (*ṭóphaḥ*, טֹפַח), or 24 fingers' breadths (*'eṣba'*,

Bible.	Bab. Planet Names.	Latin.	French.	German.	English.
	Šamaš	Dies Solis	Dimanche	Sonntag	Sunday
	Sin	,, Lunæ	Lundi	Montag	Monday
	Nergal	,, Martis	Mardi	Diens(=Zivis)-tag	Tuesday
	Nabu	,, Mercurii	Mercredi	Mittwoch (Wodanstag)	Wednesday
	Marduk (Bel)	,, Jovis	Jeudi	Donners(=Thors)tag	Thursday
παρασκευή, προσάββατον	Ištar (Beltis)	,, Veneris	Vendredi	Frei(=Freias)-tag	Friday
שַׁבָּת	Ninib	,, Saturni	Samedi	Samstag	Saturday

Saturday is, in the OT, called שַׁבָּת, *šabbath*, or יוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת *yōm haššabbāth* (*e.g.*, Am. 8 5 Ex. 20 8) ; in the NT [τὸ] σάββατον (*e.g.*, Mk. 6 2), ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ σαββάτου (Lk. 13 16), [τὰ] σάββατα (Mt. 28 1 Col. 2 16) or ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν σαββάτων (Lk. 4 16). Friday, as preceding, or as preparing for, Saturday is called either προσάββατον (as early as Judith 8 6 ; cp Mk. 15 42) or παρασκευή (Mk. 15 42 Mt. 27 62 Jn. 19 31 ; cp also Lk. 23 54 ἡμέρα παρασκευῆς, and Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 6 2).

The naming of the days of the week after those of the seven planets (of which no instance occurs in OT or NT) has its explanation simply in the coincidence of number. The allocation of particular planets to particular days was, no doubt, determined by astrological considerations ; the planet that presided over the first hour, presided over, and so gave name to, the whole day. Amongst the Sabians of Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia we already find the seven planetary deities recognised as the deities of the days of the week in the order still current with ourselves : the sun, the moon, Nergal (Mars), Nabu (Mercury), Bel (Jupiter), Beltis (Venus), Kronos (Saturn).[1] It is worth noticing also that Jewish tradition assigned the care of a day of the week to each of the seven archangels (Raphael, Gabriel, Sammael, Michael, Izidkiel, Hanael and Kepharel).[2] The divine names of the day passed from the East to the various nations of Europe, native deities in some instances taking the place of foreign ones, just as among the Jews the names of archangels were substituted. See the above table.

1 See *KAT*⁽²⁾ 21.

2 Weber, *Altsynag. pal. Theol.* 164 ; ⁽²⁾ (1897), p. 169.

אֶצְבַּע). Above the cubit was the reed or *ḳāneh* (קָנֶה) of 6 cubits (Ezek. 40 5). The

1. Measures of length. foot and the fathom, characteristic of so many other systems, are foreign to the early Jewish scale.

The old Hebrew literary data are as follows :—

The bedstead of Og was measured 'after the cubit of a man' (Deut. 3 11)—which gives us no exact indication.

Solomon (2 Ch. 3 3) laid out his temple in cubits 'after the first (=ancient) measure.' Ezekiel (40 5 43 13) describes the cubit of the temple of which he foresees the restoration, as being 'a cubit and an handbreadth.' It may be presumed (Hultsch, *Metr.* 440) that this longer cubit is identical with the cubit of Solomon's temple, and that the common cubit of Ezekiel's time was only 6/7 of the cubit of Solomon's time.[2] Certain views of Talmudic writers which conflict with this explanation may be satisfactorily explained ; for instance, the idea that the short cubit contained only 5 hand's breadths (Zuckermann, *Das jüd. Maas-system*, 17) is due to an inverted conception of Ezekiel's meaning. The idea of a cubit of one finger's breadth more than the long cubit is also mistaken. This (to argue on the basis of the royal Egyptian cubit) would be .547 m., which is nearly a 'simple' hand's breadth (.0792 m.)

1 Note on Prov. 16 11 (*Internat. Crit. Comm.*).

2 In Egypt the short cubit (450 m. or 17.72 in.) was similarly 6/7 of the royal cubit (.525 m. or 20.67 in.).

more than the 'simple' cubit according to Julian of Ascalon (see below). This 25-finger cubit was therefore due to an attempt to interpret Ezekiel as speaking in terms of the 'simple' cubit.

It would be futile to discuss in detail the various attempts which have been made to ascertain the exact length of the Hebrew cubit. Since in Egypt the two cubits stood in the same relation to each other as the Hebrew (6 : 7) and were similarly divided into 24 fingers' breadths, it is natural to make an attempt to identify the two systems. Supposing the length of the Siloam canal, as stated in the inscription, to be really 1200 cubits, and accepting Conder's measurement (537.6 m.) we obtain a short cubit of .525 to .527 m.[1] Unfortunately, the distance stated in the inscription of Siloam is doubtful, and there is some reason to suppose that it is not 1200 but 1000 cubits (see, *e.g.*, *PEFQ*, 1890, p. 209*f.*), which yields .5376 m. for the short and .6272 m. for the long cubit. Among other attempts to deduce the cubit we may mention Petrie's measurements of tombs at Jerusalem (*PEFQ*, 1892, p. 28*f.*).

One set of tombs seems to be planned on a cubit which is the same as the Egyptian; another cubit which he deduces measures 22.6±.03 in. (about .575 m.); while there is one chamber which suggests 25.2 in. (about .641 m.). We must remember in dealing with deductions of this kind that it is not certain that buildings were always planned so as to contain an exact number of cubits in their various dimensions.

The method of ascertaining the length of the cubit from the measurement of grains of barley which, according to a recent attempt (*PEFQ*, 1897, p. 201), gives a cubit of 17.77 in. (.451 m.), is liable to objections (see Hultsch, *Metr.* pp. 434, 435); nevertheless the result helps to make the balance of the evidence incline in favour of the Egyptian cubit, although there may well have been other systems in use in early times. [For other discussions of the length or the cubit, see *e.g.* *PEFQ*, 1879, p. 181; 1880, p. 98; 1899, p. 226*f.*]

Assuming the short cubit to be .450 m., and the long cubit .525 m., as in Egypt, we obtain the following values for early Jewish long measures.

	Longer System.		Shorter System.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth.	0.022	.86	0.019	.74
Palm	0.087	3.44	0.075	2.95
Span	0.262	10.33	0.225	8.86
Cubit	0.525	20.67	0.450	17.72

The Hebrew measures of length of later times are explained in the Table of Julian of Ascalon, a Byzantine writer of uncertain date (Ἐπαρχικὰ ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Ἀσκαλωνίτου Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιτέκτονος ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἤτοι ἐθῶν τῶν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ: Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 1 200*f.*). It appears that that table, or its original, was drawn up for the purpose of legally defining the measures of the province. From it we obtain the following measures and equivalents:—

1. The δάκτυλος or finger's breadth.
2. The παλαιστή or palm = 4 δάκτυλοι.
3. The πῆχυς or cubit = 1½ ft. = 6 palms.
4. The βῆμα or pace = 2 cubits = 3 ft. = 12 palms.
5. The οὐργία (ὄργυια) or fathom = 2 paces = 4 cubits = 6 ft. = 9 spans 4 fingers' breadths.
6. The ἄκαινα or reed = 1½ fathoms = 6 cubits = 9 ft. = 36 palms.
7. The πλέθρον = 10 reeds = 15 fathoms = 30 paces = 60 cubits = 90 ft.
8. The στάδιον or furlong = 6 plethra = 60 reeds = 100 fathoms = 200 paces = 400 cubits = 600 ft.
9. (*a*) The μίλιον or mile, 'according to Eratosthenes and Strabo' = 8⅓ stadia = 833 fathoms [more exactly, 833⅓ fathoms].
(*b*) The μίλιον, 'according to the present use' = 7½ stadia = 750 fathoms = 1500 paces = 3000 cubits.
10. The present μίλιον of 7½ stadia = 750 'geometric fathoms' = 840 [more exactly 833⅓] 'simple' fathoms; for 100 geometric fathoms = 112 simple fathoms, or more exactly, 9 geometric = 10 simple fathoms.

[1] Cp the dimensions of the grave in *Rev. Archéol.*, 1886, p. 225*f.*

There can be no doubt that the 3000 cubits (4500 ft.) which make up the mile according to 9 (*b*) are the royal Egyptian cubits of .525 m. We thus obtain the following values for the two scales (geometric and simple) according to Julian.

	Geometric.		Simple.	
	Metres.	Inches.	Metres.	Inches.
Finger's breadth.	0.022	.86	0.020	.79
Palm	0.088	3.44	0.079	3.11
Span	0.262	10.33	0.236	9.31
Cubit	0.525	20.67	0.473	18.62
Fathom . . .	2.100	82.68	1.890	74.49

In this table, the span is taken as half the cubit, as in the earlier system; the passage in Julian (5) which equates 9 spans to the fathom is either corrupt, or an attempt to express the fathom of one system in spans of another.

Of the measures longer than the cubit, the ḳāneh (ἄκαινα) is equated by Ezek. 40 5 to 6 cubits (3.150 m. or 10 ft. 4 in.). It will be noticed that in § 6 Julian gives the ἄκαινα 9 ft., whereas in § 8 he equates 60 ἄκαιναι to 600 feet. In the latter case he must be thinking of the ordinary Greek foot of .315 m., in the former of the Ptolemaic Egyptian foot of .350 m., the two standing to each other as 9 : 10.

Julian's plethron and stadion must be regarded as being on the Ptolemaic scale—*i.e.*, 100 × .350 m. and 600 × .350 m.—*i.e.*, 38 yds. 10 in. and 228 yds. 5 ft. respectively. The stadion thus corresponds very nearly to our furlong, by which it is generally translated. The mile of 7½ stadia on the same system is 1575 m. or 1722 yds. 1 ft. 5 in.

The 'pace' of Julian is a fixed measure of 2 cubits; but it probably did not belong to the original Hebrew scheme, and the pace (צַעַד) of 2 S. 6 13 is probably not intended for a definite expression.

The 'Sabbath day's journey' (Zuckermann, 27*f.*; cp Sabbath, col. 4175, n. 4) is equated by most Hebrew authorities to 2000 cubits; thus, too, Josephus gives us 5 stadia (= 2000 cubits) as the distance of the Mt. of Olives from Jerusalem, a distance which in Acts 1 12 is σαββάτου ὁδός. On the other hand the Talmud (Zuckermann, 27) equates Sabbath day's journey and *mil*—*i.e.*, the μίλιον of 3000 cubits or 7½ furlongs; and we meet with measurements (such as the 'threescore furlongs' of Lk. 24 13) which contain this distance an exact number of times. Hultsch (445) accordingly thinks that this (1721.475 yds.) was the distance originally permitted for a Sabbath day's journey, and afterwards shortened by one third. There was probably much vagueness in the term.

'Some way' (כִּבְרַת־הָאָרֶץ, Gen. 35 16 48 7 2 K. 5 19), if the text is correct [for criticism, see Rachel, § 2], is still vaguer than the preceding; the fact that it was compared by the Syrian and Arabic translators with the parasang hardly justifies us, even if we adhere to MT, in regarding it as a fixed measure (Hultsch, 446). The same, or even greater, indefiniteness attaches to the expression 'a day's journey' (1 K. 19 4 Lk. 2 44, etc.).

2. Measures of area.

Of measures of area, the only one which receives a special name in the OT is the *ṣémed* (צֶמֶד, 1 S. 14 14 Is. 5 10) or yoke of land, translated 'acre'—*i.e.*, as much as could be ploughed in one day with a yoke of oxen (on Winckler's different view, see Acre). The Egyptian ἄρουρα of 100 royal cubits square was equivalent to .2756 hectares, or .6810 acre; but we have no authority for identifying *ṣémed* with *aroura*.

3. Measures of capacity.

i. *Sĕ'āh.*—In Is. 5 10 𝔊 translates אֵיפָה (*ephah*) by 'three measures' (cp Mt. 13 33, and the Talmud, Zuckermann, 42*f.* 44). The 'measure' *par excellence*, or Hebrew modius, here mentioned is the *sĕāh* (סְאָה, μέτρον, cp δίμετρον [BA in 2 K.], σάτον [Hag. 2 17 (16), cp Mt. 13 33]; Gen. 18 6 1 S. 25 18 2 K. 7 1 16). This is described by Epiphanius (Hultsch, *Metrol. Scr.* 1 260) as a μόδιος ὑπέργομος—a modius of extra size—and is equated by him to 1¼ Roman modius—*i.e.*, 20 sextarii. Josephus

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

on the other hand (*Ant.* ix. 4 5) gives σάτον = $1\frac{1}{2}$ mod. = 24 sextarii. Elsewhere, Epiphanius and other authorities equate the Hebrew modius with 22 sextarii. This last squares with the estimate of the Babylonian ephah at about 66 sextarii (Hultsch, 412). The sĕāh was used both as liquid and dry measure, but more commonly mentioned as the latter, especially in the biblical writings.

ii. *Ephah.*—Like *hīn* (see below, iv.) the word *ephah* is said to be of Egyptian origin (on which cp Hommel's remark, *AHT* 293, n. 1). The ēphāh (אֵיפָה, Lev. 19 36, etc., see EPHAH), as we have seen, was three times the sĕāh; the name was confined to dry measure, the corresponding liquid measure being called *bath* (בַּת, βάδος, βάτος, etc., Is. 5 10 [κεράμιον] Ezek. 45 11 [χοῖνιξ]—'the ephah and the bath shall be of one measure, that the bath may contain the tenth part of an homer, and the ephah the tenth part of an homer'). The ephah corresponds to the artabe (cp Is. 5 10 where, however, ἀρτάβαι ἕξ = a homer), or Attic metretes; and it, or rather the bath, is equated by Josephus (*Ant.* viii. 2 9) to 72 sextarii, in accordance with his estimate of the σάτον. The bath was divisible into tenths (Ezek. 45 14); but the name for this division is not mentioned. It corresponded, of course, to the dry measure *'ōmer* (see below). On the other hand, we find the ephah divided into sixths (Ezek. 45 13 46 14), which have no name, but correspond to the liquid *hīn* (see below, iv.).

iii. *Ḥōmer* and *'cōr.*—The *ḥomer* (חֹמֶר, Ezek. 45 11 14 Hos. 3 2 etc.) was ten times the ephah or the bath, being used for both dry and liquid measure. The name *cōr* (כֹּר, κόρος, Ezek. 45 14 [not in 𝔊] Lk. 16 7, etc.; see COR) is an alternative, though this term is used more especially for a liquid measure.[1] Epiphanius equates the κόρος, which he derives from Hebrew χορ, with 30 (Hebrew) modii. Josephus' statement (*Ant.* xv. 9 2) that it = 10 attic medimni contains a slip for metretæ; cp iii. 15 3. C. H. W. Johns (*Assyr. Deeds and Documents*, 2 245) suggests a connection between *cōr* and the Assyrian *gurru*.

The half ḥōmer (dry measure), according to the tradition adopted in Vg. and EV, was called *lethek* (לֶתֶךְ, λεθέκ). But the only occurrence is in Hos. 3 2, where 𝔊 reads differently;[2] indeed, the whole passage labours under the suspicion of corruptness (see below, on νεβελ). Epiphanius gives 'large omer' as another name for the λεθέκ, and equates it to 15 modii.

iv. *Hīn.*—Of measures smaller than the ephah-bath, we have first of all, for liquids, the *hīn* (הִין, [ε]ἱν, Lev. 19 36 [χοῦς]—'a just ephah and a just hīn'), a name apparently of Egyptian origin (see above, ii.). It is equated by Josephus (*Ant.* iii. 8 3 9 4) and Jerome (on Ezek. 4 11) to 2 Attic *choes* = 12 sextarii = $\frac{1}{6}$ bath = $\frac{1}{2}$ sĕāh = 12 lōg (cp Talmud, Zuckermann, 49). The hīn was divided into halves, thirds (= cab), quarters, and sixths (Nu. 15 9 *f.* 15 6 Ex. 29 40 Ezek. 4 11, etc.).

There is evidence (from Epiphanius and Eusebius) of the existence in later times of a sacred hīn (ἅγιον ἵν) = $\frac{2}{3}$ of the ordinary hīn, and a large hīn (μέγα ἵν) = $\frac{3}{2}$ of the ordinary hīn.

v. *'Omer.*—The *'ōmer* (עֹמֶר, γόμορ, Ex. 16 16 36, etc.) was $\frac{1}{10}$ ephah and hence is called assaron (*'iśśārōn*, עִשָּׂרוֹן, Ex. 29 40 Lev. 14 10 23 13 17 Nu. 15 4 9). Epiphanius puts it at $7\frac{1}{5}$ sextarii (= $\frac{1}{10}$ ephah of 72 sextarii), Eusebius at 7 sextarii (a mere rough statement). [The last calls it γόμορ μικρόν; as such it must be distinguished from the μικρὸν γόμορ of 12 modii, itself so called in distinction from the 'large gomor' of 15 modii, as Epiphanius calls the lethek—see above.] Josephus is apparently wrong once more when he makes it = 7 attic kotylæ (*Ant.* iii. 6 6). The name 'omer is confined to dry measure.

vi. *Căb.*—The *cab* (קַב, κάβος, 2 K. 6 25[1]) was used for both liquid and dry measure. Josephus (*Ant.* ix. 4 4) equates the fourth part of the cab with the ξέστης or sextarius; thus the cab would be $\frac{1}{3}$ of the hīn (so in the Talmud, see Levy and cp Zuckermann, 37, 40). The cab is divided into halves, quarters, and eighths. Other values given for the cab are: (*a*) 6 sextarii—*i.e.*, the Ptolemaic χοῦς (Heronian fragm. περὶ μέτρων, Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 1 258; Eusebian fragm. *ibid.* 277); (*b*) 5 sextarii: 'great cab' of the Talmud given as $1\frac{1}{4}$ cab, Zuckermann, 37; (*c*) Epiphanius calls the cab $\frac{1}{4}$ modius (Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 262), which may mean 4, 5, $5\frac{1}{2}$ or 6 sextarii according to the sense in which he uses 'modius'—*i.e.*, the Roman modius, or any of the three values given to the Hebrew modius (see above, sĕāh).

vii. *Lōg.*—The *lōg* (לֹג, Lev. 14 10 12) is mentioned as a measure of oil, and in the Talmud (Zuckermann, 49) is made = $\frac{1}{12}$ hin or $\frac{1}{24}$ sĕāh; if this is correct, it is the $\frac{1}{4}$ cab.

Finally, we may perhaps mention the νέβελ οἴνου, given by 𝔊 in Hos. 3 2 instead of the léthek of barley.[2] All the authorities agree in making it = 150 sextarii; but whether they mean ordinary sextarii, or the larger Syrian sextarii of which 50 went to the bath (Hultsch, *Metr. Scr.* 261, 271, etc.), so that the νέβελ (נבל) would = 3 baths, it is difficult to say. On נֶבֶל, 'wine-skin,' 'wine-jar,' see BOTTLE.

We thus obtain the following systems of dry and liquid measures:—

DRY MEASURES.

Homer (Cor)	1									
Léthek	2	1								
Ephah	10	5	1							
Sĕāh	30	15	3	1						
$\frac{1}{6}$ ephah	60	30	6	2	1					
'Omer (Issaron)	100	50	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1				
—	—	—	—							
Cab	180	90	18	6	3	$1\frac{4}{5}$	1			
—	—	—	—							
$\frac{1}{2}$ cab	360	180	36	12	6	$3\frac{3}{5}$	2	1		
$\frac{1}{4}$ cab	720	360	72	24	12	$7\frac{1}{5}$	4	2	1	
$\frac{1}{8}$ cab	1440	720	144	48	24	$14\frac{2}{5}$	8	4	2	1

LIQUID MEASURES.

Homer (Cor)	1									
—	—	—	—							
Bath	10	1								
Sĕāh	30	3	1							
Hīn	60	6	2	1						
$\frac{1}{10}$ bath	100	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1					
$\frac{1}{2}$ hin	120	12	4	2	$1\frac{1}{5}$	1				
Cab	180	18	6	3	$1\frac{4}{5}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1			
$\frac{1}{4}$ hin	240	24	8	4	$2\frac{2}{5}$	2	$1\frac{1}{3}$	1		
$\frac{1}{6}$ hin	360	36	12	6	$3\frac{3}{5}$	3	2	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1	
Log	720	72	24	12	$7\frac{1}{5}$	6	4	3	2	1
—	—	—	—							

It is obvious that we have here a mixture of two systems, the decimal and sexagesimal. The foundation of the whole seems to have been the sexagesimal portion, the 'ōmer (with the corresponding $\frac{1}{10}$ bath), and also the léthek (the occurrence of which, indeed, as we have seen, is doubtful), being foreign to the original system (Nowack, *HA* 202 *f.*).

To obtain the modern equivalents of these measures, there are two equations which may be chosen out of

[1] [Apart from Hos. 3 2, where, as shown in *Crit. Bib.*, the text is disputable, the *ḥōmer* is mentioned only in writings of late date.—T. K. C.]

[2] 'Neither is the text secure, nor, if לֶתֶךְ is genuine, do we know the capacity of the measure' (Nowack, on Hos. 3 2).

[1] [The statement (in 2 K.), however, depends on later notices and elsewhere (see CAB) a more probable reading of 2 K., *l.c.*, is indicated.—T. K. C.]

[2] [Here, as always, we are dependent on later notices, and elsewhere (*Crit. Bib.*) it is maintained that both לתך שערים ('a lethek of barley'?) and נֵבֶל יַיִן ('a nebhel of wine'?) are corruptions which conceal something very different.—T. K. C.]

the many set forth by Hultsch (pp. 453 *f.*). These are (1) the equation of the lōg with the Græco-Roman sextarius, of the bath with the metretes, of the 6-lōg cab with the Ptolemaic χοῦς. Assuming lōg and sextarius to be exact equivalents, we should have an ephah of 72 lōg-sextarii = 39.39 litres = nearly 8⅔ gallons. (2) On the other hand the connection of Hebrew with Babylonian and Egyptian measures makes it probable, in the eyes of many metrologists, that the lōg is only roughly equivalent to the sextarius, and is really the same as the Babylonian unit of .505 l. From this we obtain an ephah of 36.37 l., or very nearly 8 gallons, or about 66.5 sextarii.[1] It must be remembered that it is perhaps more common to confound closely resembling measures in cases of capacity than in cases of length, and that for most purposes the equation lōg = sextarius was near enough.

Assuming, then, the lōg to be .505 l., we obtain the following values in lōgs, sextarii, litres, and gallons.

	Lōgs.	Sextarii.	Litres.	Gallons.
Ḥṓmer (Cor) .	720	660	363.7	80.053
Léthek . . .	360	330	181.85	40.026
Ephah-bath .	72	66	36.37	8.005
Sĕāh . . .	*24*	*22*	*12.120*	*2.668*
Great Hīn . .	18	16.5	9.090	2.001
Hīn	12	11	6.060	1.334
Sacred Hīn .	9	8.25	4.545	1.000
ʿOmer . . .	7.2	6.6	3.637	.800
½ hīn . . .	6	5.5	3.030	.667
Cab	4	3.66	2.020	.445
¼ hīn . . .	3	2.75	1.515	.333
½ cab . . .	2	1.84	1.010	.222
Lōg	1	0.92	0.505	.111
⅛ cab . . .	0.5	0.46	0.252	.055

The chief standards of weight in use in the East, *outside of Egypt, are explained elsewhere* (SHEKEL).

4. Weights. It is there shown that coins struck on the three standards, the gold shekel standard, the Babylonian, and the Phœnician, circulated in Palestine, and these standards must therefore have been understood by the Jews. It is curious that the influence of Egypt does not seem to have made itself felt in this sphere.

As already explained, the Phœnician and the Babylonian system both used the same scale of denominations—*i.e.*, (*a*) for ordinary purposes, the shekel as unit, the mina of 60 shekels, and the talent of 60 minas; (*b*), for weighing the precious metals, the shekel as unit, the mina of 50 shekels, and the talent of 60 minas. The mina, although it must have been well known, was, so far as we can judge from literary sources, not employed by the Jews until post-exilic times. The weights of the shekels of the Babylonian and Phœnician standards having been ascertained by the method already explained (SHEKEL), we obtain the following weights (in grains troy, and in grammes) for the three denominations, reckoning 60 shekels to the mina, and confining ourselves to the common norm, as this would presumably be used for ordinary transactions.

	BABYLONIAN.				PHŒNICIAN.			
	Heavy.		Light.		Heavy.		Light.	
	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
Shekel .	336.6	21.81	168.4	10.91	224.4	14.54	112.2	7.27
Mina .	20,196	1,308.68	10,098	654.34	13,464	872.45	6,732	436.23
Talent .	1,211,760	78,520.77	605,880	39,260.38	807,840	52,347.18	403,920	26,173.59

[1] Cp Epiphanius' equation of the sĕāh, or ⅓ ephah, with 22 sextarii.

[Cp Winckler in *KAT*(3) 1 337-342, and on the Ass.-Bab metrology Johns, *Assyrian Deeds*, 2 134-281.]

As regards the extant weights, it must be admitted that the evidence is somewhat unsatisfactory. A number of them have been discussed by Clermont-Ganneau (*Rec. d'Arch. Orient.* 4 24 *f.*). They are :—

(*a*) 3 stone weights from Tell Zakarīyā reading apparently *néṣeph* :—

A, 10.21 grammes = 157.564 grains troy.
B, 9.5 ,, = 146.687 ,, ,,
C, 9.0 ,, = 138.891 ,, ,,

(*b*) A weight with the same inscription from ʿAnātā near Jerusalem :—

D, 8.61 grammes = 134 grains troy.

(*c*) A weight from Samaria (now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) reading apparently רבע נצף (¼ néṣeph) and רבעשל.

E, 2.54 grammes = 39.2 grains troy.

B and C are somewhat broken, D is pierced, and if this piercing was not an original feature of the weight, something must be allowed for the material removed. The meaning of the inscription on E, and even the genuineness of part of it, have been hotly canvassed, *Acad.*, Nov. 18, 1892, pp. 443 *ff.* (= *PEFQu.St.*, 1894, pp. 225 *ff.*); Driver, *Intr.*(6) 449, n.*; (see *PEFQu.St.* 1894, pp. 220 *f.* 284 *f.*, and especially König, *Einl.* 425, n. 1; Lidzbarski, *Ephem. f. Semit. Epigr.* 1, pp. 13 *f.*, cited in *Ann. Br. Sch. Athens*, 7, p. 13); but the fact that the weight represents a quarter of some denomination is not disputed. The denomination in question must be not less than 4 × 39.2 grains—*i.e.*, 156.8 grains. We need not concern ourselves with the meaning of the much-disputed word נצף, which has also been read נצג and כסף (*i.e.*, silver). The highest weight represented by these pieces is about 10 grains below the light Babylonian shekel; at the same time they are too high for the Egyptian standard (in which the *ket* weighed about 140 grains), and we must therefore assume that they are meant to represent either the *Babylonian shekel or a local standard approximating to* it. If the latter, it is a heavy standard corresponding to that which Petrie (*Nebesheh and Defenneh*, published by Eg. Expl. Fund, 1888, p. 92) describes as being usually 'smothered over' as a low variety of the Persian unit; he prefers to recognise in his 80-grain standard (which would be the light standard corresponding to the one we are concerned with) a separate standard, possibly 'Hittite,' from the fact that the tribute of the Ḥeta in the lists of Thotmes III. and Ramessu III. appears to conform to it.

Of other weights found in Palestine, we may mention those analysed by Petrie (*PEFQ*, 1892, p. 114) from Tell el-Ḥesy (Lachish). His results are as follows :—

STANDARD.	No. of Specimens.	Average Value in Grains Troy.
(*a*) Phœnician . .	27	217
(*b*) Aeginetan . .	18	192
(*c*) Attic	6	65.6
(*d*) Egyptian . .	4	151
(*e*) Assyrian . . .	3	128
(*f*) Hittite . . .	3	80.5

In estimating the value of such results, it must be

remembered that, in dealing with ancient weights, it is not so much the average of a number of specimens, as the highest, which must be taken as representing the normal. It is just possible that the 'Aeginetan' weights (*b*) are merely low examples of the Phœnician standard (*a*); that (*d*) and (*f*) are to be classed together as the unit and the half of the standard of something under 168 grains arrived at above; that (*e*) and (*c*) are the unit and the half of the gold-shekel standard of nearly 130 grains, or, if of comparatively late date, belong to the slightly higher Attic-Euboic standard to which Petrie attributes (*c*). In any case, he justly calls attention to the weakness of Egyptian influence in the very S. of Palestine.

Most of the extant weights are of stone, a fact which illustrates the well-established use of אֶבֶן ('stone'), for 'weight'—*e.g.*, 2 S. 14 26, 'after the king's stone' (EV weight); Pr. 16 11, 'all the stones (RV weights) of the bag.' Further, many ancient weights were made in the form of living creatures, such as lions and ducks. Probably this is the explanation of the fact that ḳěsītah (Gen. 33 19 Jos. 24 32, etc.) is translated 'lambs' by 𝔊. Ridgeway (*Origin of Metallic Currency*, 271) considers that the name was due to its representing an old unit of barter.[1]

See especially F. Hultsch, *Griechische u. röm. Metrologie* (2) (1882), and the Greek and Roman authorities in his *Metrologicorum Scriptorum Reliquiæ*, 2 vols. (1864-66).

5. Literature. Also, B. Zuckermann, *Das Judische Maassystem* (1867); C. F. Lehmann, *Alt.-babylonisches Maas u. Gewicht* (*Verhandl. d. Berliner Gesellsch. f. Anthropologie*, 1889); W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight-Standards* (1892); C. F. Lehmann, *Das altbabylon. Maas- u. Gewichts-system* (8th Oriental Congress of 1889), 1893; W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie* (1894); C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 2 (1901); A. E. Weigall, 'Some Egyptian Weights in Prof. Petrie's Collection' (Egyptian, Assyrian, Attic, Phœnician, Persian, Aeginetan), *PSBA* 23 378-395 [1901]. G. F. H.

WELLS (בְּאֵר), Gen. 26 15. See SPRINGS; also CONDUITS, § 1 1, and NATURE-WORSHIP, § 4.

WEN (יַבֶּלֶת, *yabbéleth*), Lev. 22 22†. See DISEASES, 5.

WEST, WEST WIND. See EARTH, FOUR QUARTERS OF, § 3, and WINDS.

WHALE ([or תַּנִּין־ם]). The 'whale' of AV has become, in RV, (1) 'sea-monster' (Gen. 1 21 Job 7 12), (2) 'dragon' (Ezek. 32 2); cp the 'jackal' of Lam. 4 3. See DRAGON, JACKAL. In Mt. 12 40, however, RV retains 'whale' (κῆτος) for the 'great fish' (דָּג גָּדוֹל, *dāg gādōl*, κῆτος μέγα) in Jon. 1 17 [2 2], though this is as inappropriate as the rendering 'a whale' in AVmg. of Job 41 1 for 'leviathan.' 'How,' says Hasselquist, 'could he (the author of Job) speak of an animal which never was seen in the place where he wrote, and at a time when he could have no history of Greenland and Spitzbergen?' (*Voyages and Travels*, 1766, p. 440). The same remark applies to the author of Jonah. It may be doubted, however, whether we need trouble ourselves to make these obvious, but superficial criticisms, nor is it more to the point to remark that the Cetacea are represented by numerous species in the Mediterranean, and that Elasmobranchs (including sharks) are also to be found there. What we have to do is to find out to what class of narrative the Book of Jonah belongs, and to interpret the 'great fish' accordingly. See JONAH (BOOK).

WHEAT[2] (חִטָּה, etc.; Dt. 8 8 etc.) has always formed one of the staple products of Palestine. In modern times the districts most suitable for its cultivation are Philistia, Esdraelon, the Mukhneh to the E. of Nāblus, and, above all, Ḥaurān, the granary of Syria, which exports its produce through the markets of Jaffa, Beirūt, Ḥaifâ, etc. In ancient times Galilee was regarded as the most fertile district; but Tyre (or possibly the N. Arabian Muṣri [Che.]) imported corn from Judah in the time of Ezekiel (Ezek. 27 17); cp also Acts 12 20, though here there is express mention of wheat. In the Sidon inscription Dora and Joppa are termed ארצת דגן, *'arṣōth dāgān*, 'lands of grain' (*CIS* i. 3 19), thus testifying, if we adopt this highly probable rendering (cp col. 984 n. 1, and see DOR, § 3), to the early fertility of the S. maritime coast.

WHEEL. 1. Of the words so rendered in EV, אוֹפָן, *ōphan* (√אפן, 'turn'?) is of most frequent occurrence; it is used of chariot wheels (Ex. 14 25, etc.), and of the wheels of threshing wains (Is. 28 27 Prov. 20 26); also in the description of Ezekiel's vision (1 15 *ff.* 10 2 6 12), and in that of the 'bases' of Solomon's lavers (1 K. 7 30 etc.).

The component parts are: (*a*) גַּב, *gab*; νῶτον, νῶτος; AV 'nave' or 'back'; RV 'felloe'; 1 K. 7 33 Ezek. 1 18 10 12. (*b*) חִשֻּׁק, *ḥiššūḳ*; πραγματεία; AV 'felloe,' RV 'spoke'; 1 K. 7 33 (*c*) חִשֻּׁר, *ḥiššūr*, αὐχήν [A]; AV 'spoke,' RV 'nave'; 1 K. 7 33; (*d*) יָד, *yād*; χείρ; EV 'axletree' (AV in Ezek. 10 12 'hand'); 1 K. 7 32 *f.* Ezek. 10 12.

2. גַּלְגַּל, *galgal* (√גלל 'roll'), is applied to the wheel of a war chariot (Is. 5 28 Jer. 47 3) and in Ezek. 23 24 26 10 may perhaps mean 'wagon.' So RV. In Ps. 83 13 for 'like a wheel' render rather 'like stubble' (see THISTLE, end).

3 and 4. For the potter's wheel (אבנים, *obnáyim*; Jer. 18 3†) see POTTERY, § 8, and in Judg. 5 28 (פעמי) read 'steps' (RVmg.)—*i.e.*, 'hoofbeats' (Moore).

Three passages, not yet mentioned, deserve separate notice: (*a*) Eccles. 12 6, (*b*) Ecclus. 36 (33) 5, (*c*) Jas. 3 6. (*a*) 'The wheel (גלגל) breaks down at the pit'—*i.e.*, the 'machinery' of the body (likened to a water-wheel) comes to a stop. (*b*) 'The heart (σπλάγχνα) of a fool is like the wheel (τροχός) of a cart'—*i.e.*, he never continues long in the same mind. (*c*) The tongue is that member which 'sets on fire the wheel of nature' τὸν τροχὸν τῆς γενέσεως—*i.e.*, the whole course of the events of life may be disturbed, ruined, by an unbridled tongue.

In Ps. 77 18 [19] AV ought to have given in marg. 'Heb., wheel,' to justify its very peculiar rendering of גלגל. Its text runs 'The voice of thy thunder was in the heaven' (RV 'in the whirlwind'). This is a development of the sense of 'wheel,' the heavens being regarded as a round arch; it is an exegetical curiosity derived from Ḳimḥi. The variety of explanations of גלגל in this passage may well excuse AV; RV's 'whirlwind' is itself a precarious rendering (see WIND).

The variations in Hab. 3 10 11 15 suggest the probability of corruption. Read probably קוֹל רַעַם בְּמַעְגְּלֶיךָ. God's 'wheels' no one could understand; but the phrase 'God's tracks (or paths)' is plain enough in the description of a theophany.

WHIP (שׁוֹט, *šōṭ*, μάστιξ), Prov. 26 3 1 K. 12 11 14 2 Ch. 10 11 14 Nah. 3 2. Figured in art. CHARIOT, fig. 7. As an Egyptian emblem of royalty, see Erman, *Anc. Eg.* 60, 63. See SCOURGE, SCEPTRE, § 2.

WHIRLING DUST (גַּלְגַּל) Is. 17 13 Ps. 83 13 [14]† RV. See WHEEL, 2, THISTLEDOWN, end.

WHIRLWIND (סְעָרָה, etc.), 2 K. 2 1 etc. See WIND, § 6.

WHITE. For לָבָן, *lābān*, Gen. 30 35 37, and חִוָּר, *ḥiwwār*, Dan. 7 9, see COLOURS, § 9 (*a*); and for צָחֹר, *ṣāḥōr*, Judg. 5 10, § 7. For לבנה, **WHITENESS**, see COLOURS, § 9 (*a*).

WIDOW[1] (ΧΗΡΑ). The earliest mention of widows in the Christian Church is in connection with the daily meal in Jerusalem (Acts 6 1), when the Greek-speaking Jews murmured against the Hebrews because 'their widows were being neglected in the daily ministration.'

[1] [Cp KESITAH, where the 'lambs' of 𝔊 is otherwise accounted for, and the passages where *ḳěsītah* (perhaps a fictitious word) occurs are examined from the point of view of textual criticism. —T. K. C.]

[2] Cp CORN, also FOOD, § 1 (*a*).

[1] For 'widow' in the OT, see MARRIAGE, § 7.

Here the widows come before us at the outset as the pensioners of the Church; but we are told no more about them. In Acts 9 39 41 we catch another brief glimpse of them in connection with the good deeds of Dorcas, who had supplied them with clothing. Peter is here spoken of as 'having called the saints and the widows,' the word being clearly used in a technical sense. In 1 Cor. 7 8 this technical sense is not equally clear; and we hear no more of widows till we come to the regulations regarding them in 1 Tim. 5 3-16. [Cp MINISTRY, § 41.] Here we find that the church of Ephesus was liable to be burdened with pensioners of this kind who had no right to claim public support. Widows who had children or grandchildren should be supported by them and not thrown upon the Church. A Christian woman who had widows—*i.e.* a woman of property with aged dependants—should recognise her individual responsibility to maintain them. 'Widows indeed'—*i.e.*, destitute and worthy of the name—the Church must support; but for admission to the roll various qualifications were necessary—destitution, piety, and prayerfulness, the age of sixty years, besides evidence of purity of life, and a record of good works such as women might be expected to perform for the common benefit. Younger widows were to have no recognition: they were a source of calumny to the Church for their idle and dissolute habits; they were to marry and bear children and rule their families.

No definite duty is assigned to widows, unless it be the service of continual prayer: they were aged pensioners, whose activity of service was past. At a later time more seems to have been expected of them in certain quarters of the Church; and a confusion consequently arose between widows and deaconesses. In the earliest period, however, the two orders were wholly distinct, the one consisting of pensioners, the other of active servants of the Church. This distinction is clearly maintained in the *Apostolic Constitutions* as late as the fourth or fifth century, and indeed never seems to have been lost in the Greek and Syrian churches. In Egypt, however, and in the Latin churches there is no trace of deaconesses, except sporadically, and even so mainly for Gaul: and the work which deaconesses did in the East was done to a large extent by widows. Ultimately both orders were swallowed up by the monastic system.

For details, and for the clearing up of the common confusions on this subject, see *The Ministry of Deaconesses* by Deaconess Cecilia Robinson (1898). J. A. R.

WILD BEAST (זִיז), Ps. 50 11 [12]. See BEAST, 6.

WILD BEAST OF THE REEDS (חַיַּת קָנֶה), Ps. 68 30 [31]. See CROCODILE; REED, col. 4024 *f.*

WILD BEASTS OF THE DESERT (צִיִּים), Is. 13 21. See CAT, end; DESERT, § 2 (5).

WILD BEASTS OF THE ISLANDS (אִיִּים), Is. 13 22 AV. See JACKAL (4).

WILD BULL (תּוֹא), Is. 51 20 AV, RV ANTELOPE (*q.v.*).

WILDERNESS (יְשִׁימוֹן, etc.), Dt. 32 10 etc. See DESERT.

WILDERNESS OF WANDERING. See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.

WILD GOURDS. See GOURDS (WILD).

WILD OLIVE (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן), Ecclus. 50 10. See OLIVE, § 2.

WILD OX (רְאֵם), Nu. 23 22 RV, AV UNICORN (*q.v.*).

WILD VINE (גֶּפֶן שָׂדֶה), 2 K. 4 39. See GOURDS, WILD.

WILLOW, WILLOWS, occur in EV as the rendering of two Hebrew words. 1. עֲרָבִים, *'ărābīm* (Lev. 23 40

Job 40 22 Ps. 137 2 Is. 15 7 44 4†). In each mention of this tree there is reference to its growing by river banks; and there can be little doubt that either a willow or a poplar closely resembling a willow (such as *Populus euphratica*, Oliv.) is intended.

The various renderings of 𝔊 point in this direction:—ἰτέας καὶ ἄγνου κλάδους Lev. 23 40; κλῶνες ἄγνου [ℵ^c.a A], ἀγροῦ [Bℵ*], Job 40 22; ἰτέαις Ps. 137 2, and ἰτέα Is. 44 4.[1]

The word is found in Arabic as *ġarab* and in Syriac as *'arbĕthā* (MH ערבה). The evidence as to species is conflicting. Thus both *ġarab* and *'arbĕthā* are ordinary renderings of ἰτέα, 'willow' (Löw, 300 *f.*, cp Cels. 1 304 *ff.*), and the Arabic word is so explained by native lexicographers. On the other hand travellers find that in modern Palestine the name is that of *Populus euphratica* (*ZDPV* 2 209), and branches of *ġarab*, brought to Europe and examined, proved to belong to this plant (Wetzstein, *ap.* Del. *Gen.*(4) 568), which is very common in Palestine, being found on the 'banks of the Jordan and all other rivers' (*FFP* 414)—including those streams E. and SE. of the Dead Sea, of which the נַחַל הָעֲרָבִים, *naḥal hā'ărābīm*, of Is. 15 7 (**Brook of the Willows**; see ARABAH ii. and cp JEROBOAM, 2, Che. *Intr. Is.* 84), is believed to be one. Willows are not very characteristic of the oriental region. Boissier gives only two as certainly indigenous in Syria proper:—*Salix fragilis* and *S. alba*, and the former may not improbably have been introduced. On the whole, therefore, there can be little doubt that the Jordan tree is *Populus euphratica*, which often greatly resembles a willow by the length and narrowness of its leaves.

The עֲרָבִים, *'ărābīm* of Ps. 137 2 have been in comparatively modern times identified as weeping willows (*Salix babylonica*)—a tree which is originally a native of Japan and could not have existed in Syria in biblical times. If it be true that it is in Palestine now 'frequently found on the coast overhanging wells and pools' (Tristr. *NHB* 415), it must have been introduced into Syria, as it has been into the Caucasus, at a later time. Here again it is most probable that *Populus euphratica* is meant.[2]

2. צַפְצָפָה, *ṣaphṣāphāh* (ἐπιβλεπόμενον[3] Ezek. 17 5), the Ar. *ṣaphṣāph*,[4] may denote the willow, or more probably the *Populus euphratica* (see above). N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

WIMPLE (obsolete, originally a covering for the neck, chin, and sides of face), AV for מִטְפַּחַת, *miṭpáḥath*, Is. 3 22, RV SHAWL. See MANTLE, § 2 [3]; VAIL.

WIND, WINDS (רוּחַ; ανεμος; πνευμα [in 𝔊, Gen. 8 1 Is. 7 2 Job 30 15 Ps. 104 4 Wisd. 13 2; in NT, only in Jn. 3 8 Heb. 1 7];[5] πνοη [Acts 2 2]; *ventus, aura*,[6] *spiritus*).

1. Hebrew conception.

The four 'ends' of the earth, in the Hebrew mind, correspond to the four 'ends' of the heaven (see EARTH, § 1); and it might equally well be said that the four winds came from the ends of the earth and from the ends of heaven, the earth being a disk surrounded by an ocean, and the heaven a vault overarching that ocean. Hence 'Enoch' tells us (*Enoch*, 76), 'And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve portals opened for all the winds, from which the winds proceed and blow over the earth. . . . Through four of these came winds of blessing and prosperity, and from those eight came

[1] In Is. 15 7 it is taken as a proper name—Ἄραβας.

[2] The text, however, is disputed (see Che. *Ps.*(2), who reads in *v.* 1 עַל־נַחֲלַת יְרַחְמְאֵל and in *v.* 2, עֲרָבִים בְּתוֹכָהּ פִּתְחוּ כנ׳, referring to the N. Arabians). Tristram's identification of the עֲרָבִים with oleanders (*Nerium Oleander*) labours under this difficulty—that *ġarab* is not used in this sense. Winckler's view (*AF* 3 417) that the *'arbhê náḥal* of Lev. 23 40 are synonymous with the *hădas* of Neh. 8 15 ignores the arguments mentioned above.

[3] Implying an erroneous derivation from צפה.

[4] Acc. to Fränkel (143) this is a loan word.

[5] Heb. 1 7 = Ps. 104 4; in Jn. 1 7 πν. is suggested by symbolism. See SPIRIT.

[6] Gen. 3 8, 'ad auram post meridiem'; EV 'in the cool (Heb. wind) of the day.' Cp Cant. 2 17 4 6.

hurtful winds.' This notion (on which cp DEW, RAIN) illustrates a number of biblical passages.

See, *e.g.*, Jer. 10 13=51 16 (cp Ps. 135 7) 'he causes mists to ascend from the ends of the earth, . . . and brings forth the wind out of his store-chambers'; Jer. 49 36, 'I will bring the four winds from the four ends of heaven'; Dan. 7 2, 'the four winds of heaven burst forth upon the sea'; Rev. 7 1, 'I saw four angels standing at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth, that no wind should blow on the earth, or on the sea, or on any tree.'

This, then, would seem to be the Hebrew idea—that the winds are stored in chambers at the point where heaven and earth join. For though the circle down to which the vault of heaven reaches is 'marked on the surface of the ocean' (Prov. 8 27; cp Job 26 10), yet ocean and earth are not rigidly separated in the Hebrew mind, as we see from the (probable) fact that the Bab. *apsu*, 'ocean,' has become in Hebrew *'aphsē* in the phrase *'aphsē 'āreṣ*,[1] (ends of the earth'), which has arisen by a process of Hebraising adaptation. The idea in Rev. 7 1 seems to be that the angels placed over the respective store-chambers of the wind keep back the winds which are impetuously pushing forward, somewhat as Ištar is said (IR 29 3 Karppe) to hold together the vault of heaven and earth (so that the upper waters cannot burst forth in excess).

Very different ideas were awakened by the thought of the wind. As 'Enoch' says, the wind might be either a blessing or a curse. Two of its characteristics were specially depressing: (1) its immense power, and (2) its apparent irregularity. (1) The early disciples of Jesus exclaim, 'Who then is this, that even the *wind* and the sea obey him' (Mk. 4 41 cp Ps. 107 29), and a poet, unable to find a worthy name for God, asks, 'Who has gathered (=can gather) the wind in his fists'? (Prov. 30 4). Certainly human power was baffled in presence of the wind. (2) And not less powerless here was human wisdom. Once allow the belief in God's love-directed wisdom to be obscured, and it becomes a most depressing thought that the wind is perpetually 'going toward the south,' or 'turning about to the north,' in a series of revolutions devoid of apparent reason (Eccles. 1 6; cp 11 4). But there are more comforting associations of ideas than these. God 'created the wind' (Am. 4 13), and the cosmogonist who says that all God's works were attested by him to be 'very good' ascribes the growth of order and of life to a 'wind of God' which 'hovered' (the wind is imagined as a mighty bird) over the primeval waters (Gen. 1 2; see CREATION, § 10)—an old myth which has become a symbol of the highest spiritual energy (cp Jn. 3 8), and which was in the mind of Ezekiel when he wrote, 'Come from the four winds (=parts of heaven), O breath (הָרוּחַ), and breathe upon these slain, that they may live' (Ezek. 37 9). See SPIRIT, § 1 *f.* And if the wind ever does harm, it is only at God's command (Is. 29 6 Am. 1 14 Ecclus. 39 28); indeed, 'he makes winds his messengers' (Ps. 104 4; cp 148 8).

2. Terms: north wind. Such compound expressions as 'north-east' (εὐρακύλων; see EUROCLYDON) being impossible in Hebrew, the four great terms for winds had to be used freely. It was not always convenient to take two clauses to express the simple idea that something was occasioned by a NE. or a SE. wind (see Is. 41 25 Ps. 78 26).

In the two following passages, N.=NW., and in the second, S.=SW.: (*a*) 'The north wind bringeth forth rain' (Prov. 25 23 RV); (*b*) 'Awake, O north [wind], and come, thou south [wind],' Cant. 4 16. See below, § 5, and, for parallels, § 3.

The *north wind* proper is called by Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 9 6, § 338) ἀνέμων αἰθριώτατον, 'the wind which most produces clear weather,' as contrasted with the impetuous south winds on the coasts of Palestine which prevent ships from finding commodious anchorage. Still, it could be boisterous without being rainy; mariners passing near Joppa called it μελαμβόρεον 'the black N. wind' (Jos. *BJ* iii. 9 3, § 422). So 𝕲 in Prov. 27 16 gives the emphatic words βορέας σκληρὸς ἄνεμος,[1] and Jerome, describing the wind from many years' acquaintance, calls it *ventus durissimus.*[2]

Jerome was even misled by his local knowledge into a false rendering of תחולל in Prov. 25 23, *dissipat* (pluvias), AV 'driveth away (rain)'. The meaning of 'north' is explained elsewhere (see EARTH AND WORLD). Cold comes from the north star (Job 37 9 emended text)—*i.e.*, from the rough N. wind, which, as Ben Sira tells us, covers water with a 'breastplate' of ice (Ecclus. 43 20). He adds that it 'burns up' the grass; cp Milton (*PL*, 2 595),

. . . . the parching air
Burns fierce, and cold performs the effects of fire.

Ezekiel, in his great vision, speaks of a 'whirlwind (רוּחַ סְעָרָה, *rūaḥ sĕ'ārāh*) coming out of the north' (Ezek. 1 4). This suggests a correction of the Hebrew text of Ecclus. 43 17 *b*, where the Oxford editors render,

'The *hot winds* of the north, the tempest, and the
whirlwind';

but where a reading given in the margin of the MS is surely preferable,

'The *whirlwind*[3] of the north, the hurricane, and the
tempest.'

For though soon after the parching effect of the cold does seem to be referred to (*v.* 20), yet זלעפות, *zil'āphōth*, a word used of the simoom (see below), could hardly be used of the N. or NW. wind, especially in combination with סוּפָה, *sūphāh*, 'hurricane,' and סְעָרָה, *sĕ'ārāh*, 'tempest.'

The parallel to the line with 'the whirlwind of the north' Ecclus. 43 17 should probably be

At his will the south wind blows.[4]

3. South wind. Just so in Job 37 9 the whirlwind is said to come from the 'chambers of the south' (EARTH [FOUR QUARTERS], § 2); cp Is. 21 1 Zech. 9 14. Either the SE. or the SW. (strictly SSW.) wind may be meant; both these winds are called sirocco by travellers in Palestine, though etymologically the term only belongs to the E. wind.[5] In Ps. 78 26 the SE. wind is called first a S., and then an E. wind; in 𝕲 (see Ex. 10 13 14 21 Job 38 24 Ps. 78 26*a* Ezek. 27 26) it becomes νότος or the S. wind. This is because a hot, parching wind analogous to the sirocco blows in Egypt from the S.; it is there called *khamsīn*, because it blows at intervals during a period of fifty days. In Palestine, however, in the south of which the 'sirocco' is very troublesome, it does not often blow directly from the S., so that when in Job (which was hardly written, as Hitzig and Herz have supposed, in Egypt but in Palestine), we find the sultry heat of the 'south wind' described (Job 37 17) in terms appropriate to the 'sirocco,' we must suppose the SE. and the SSW. wind to be meant' Lk. 12 55 ('when ye see the S. wind blow, ye say, καύσων ἔσται), requires a similar explanation. In Babylonia the SW. wind was represented as a ferocious demon, images of which are to be seen in museums. This does not, however, illustrate Is. 21 1, which refers to the S. of Palestine (cp Zech. 9 14).

This wind blows from the Syrian and Arabian desert

1 (The phrase does not happen to occur in our oldest records [cp GEOGRAPHY, § 1], but is evidently archaic.) So Hommel, and Gunkel, *Schöpf.* 46. Halévy (*Recherches*, 228), however, derives Bab. *apsû* from a Semitic root אפס; cp Jensen, *Kosmol.* 244. The original vocalisation of the above Heb. phrase may have been *'a̧phsī' āreṣ*. In course of time *'aphsi* was interpreted as meaning 'ends (of)'=אַפְסֵי, as if syn. with קְצוֹת. But even if אַפְסֵי or קְצוֹת is used in the sense 'ends (of the earth)' the old idea has not entirely gone. 'The creator of the ends (קְצוֹת) of the earth,' (Is. 40 28) means 'the creator, not merely of the most distant countries, but of the confines of earth and heaven, where the storehouses of the winds and the rain are,' unless, indeed, we suppose that the writer does but repeat an old phrase taken from hymns to Yahwè, the sense of which he has forgotten. So Karppe, *J. As.* 9 92 *f.* [1897].

1 𝕲's form of the text, however, was, like MT's, corrupt.

2 The Targ. (Prov. 25 23 27 16) gives the north wind the expressive title גרביתא, the scouring, or sweeping (wind).

3 Reading עַלְעוֹל (see below). 𝕲 καὶ καταιγὶς βορέου.

4 Reading as 𝕲. The text is disarranged (see Lévi and Halévy).

5 Sirocco from Ar. *šarḳiyya* 'easterly.'

(Jer. 4 11 13 24 Hos. 13 15 Is. 21 1, cp Job 1 19), and, as 𝔊's rendering καύσων[1] suggests, brings extreme heat, at any rate when it blows for a length of time in the spring; in the winter, however, it brings agreeable, bright, and warm days between the times of rain. For its parching effect on vegetation, to which 𝔊's name refers, see Gen. 41 6 23 27 Ezek. 17 10 19 12 Jon. 4 8 (where חֲרִישִׁית, *ḥărīšīth*, RV 'sultry,' is obscure; see JONAH [BOOK], § 1 [1], n. 2). It is also commonly found by critics in רוּחַ זִלְעָפוֹת, *rūăḥ zil'āphōth* (AV 'horrible [mg. burning] tempest'; RV 'burning wind') in Ps. 11 6; see *e.g.*, Baethgen, but on the text cp *Ps.*(2) In the Lebanon the E. wind is still used as a simile for anything very disagreeable; there, as in Arabia, it is called the *šamūm* from *šammun* ('poison').

4. East wind.

Its effects are thus described by a traveller in the desert. 'When this wind blows the atmosphere assumes a yellowish appearance, fading into gray, and the sun becomes of a dusky red. The smell is nauseating and sulphureous, the vapour thick and heavy, and, when the heat increases, one is almost suffocated.'[2] See Wetzstein's instructive statement in Del. *Hiob*,(2) 349, n. 1.

This wind, and the NW. wind, are prevalent in Palestine in summer; we have already mentioned the beneficent mists which they bring from the Mediterranean. These are generally known as DEW (*q.v.*); in Prov. 25 23 they are called נְשִׂיאִים, *nĕśī'īm* (so we should read, with Grä., for גֶּשֶׁם; 𝔊 νέφη; cp Prov. 25 14 𝔊). In Cant. 4 16 the bride calls the N. and the S. winds, by which she means the NW. and the SW., to spread abroad the fragrance of her garden.[3] Both winds in summer would be agreeable, and if at times they bring rain (especially the SW., called in Arabic, 'the father of rain'), yet rain is one of God's best gifts (Ps. 104 13 147 8); in Arabian style, it is 'the father of life.' On the 'strong west wind' of Ex. 10 19, see LOCUSTS, RED SEA, and on the relative prevalence of winds throughout the year, see *PEFQSt.* 1900, pp. 296 *f.*

5. West wind.

Reference has already been made to the 'whirlwind' seen by Ezekiel (1 4), and to the 'whirlwind of the north,' as we should probably read in Ecclus. 43 17.

6. Whirlwind.

Ezekiel's word is סערה, *sĕ'ārāh*; Sirach's (if we are correct) עַלְעוֹל, *'al'ūl*, an Aramaic word, used in Targ. for סופה, *sūphāh*, and סערה, *sĕ'ārah*, and read by Perles [*Analekten*, 38], in Job 36 33, for עַל עולה.

We will now survey the use of the Heb. words rendered 'whirlwind.'

1. סופה, *sūphāh*, is in AV rendered 'whirlwind,' in Job 37 9 (𝔊 ὀδύναι) Prov. 1 27 10 25 Is. 5 28 17 13 21 1 66 15 Jer. 4 13 Am. 1 14 (𝔊 συντέλεια, and in Nah. 1 3) Nah. 1 3, but 'storm' in all the other places where it occurs (Job 21 18 Ps. 83 16 𝔊 ὀργή) Is. 29 6 Hos. 8 7 (𝔊 καταστροφή). RV substitutes 'storm' for 'whirlwind' in Job 37 9 Is. 17 13, and 'whirlwind' for 'storm' Is. 29 6.

That the Hebrew word is not always used in the strictly technical meaning of the English expression seems evident (𝔊 uses καταιγίς; also λαῖλαψ, συσσεισμός (?); Vg. *tempestas, turbo*). The whirlwind suggested itself as an apt figure (*a*) for the rapid attack of great conquering powers, like Assyria, Babylonia, and the Syria of the Seleucidæ. Thus, in Am. 1 14 *f.*, the 'day of the whirlwind' is parallel to the 'day of battle,' and the next verse speaks of captivity. In Is. 5 28 Jer. 4 13, the wheels of war-chariots are 'like the whirlwind,' and in Dan. 11 40 'the king of the north' (Syria) comes out 'like a whirlwind' (but cp 𝔊).

(*b*) The whirlwind also symbolises the suddenness of the divine judgments; nor can we forget that Yahwè, in imaginative descriptions, has an affinity to the storm-gods of neighbouring countries. It has in fact become (in no unworthy sense of the term) a commonplace to say that Yahwè moves in the whirlwind (Ps. 18 10 97 2 Nah. 1 3; cp CHERUB, § 4, THEOPHANY, 2). This accounts for passages like Is. 66 15 Zech. 9 14 (see 𝔊), and also, if we look closely, for Is. 17 13 Hos. 8 7 Prov. 10 25 Ps. 58 9, where the 'whirlwind' spoken of certainly means the divine wrath. Prov. 10 25, however, should be understood as in RV; it states that *when* the whirlwind of judgment *has passed* through the land (cp Is. 28 17 30 30), the wicked will be swept away, but the righteous will stand unmoved. And with this we may compare the fine parallelistic similitude which closes the sermon on the Mount (Mt. 7 24-27). The winds that 'blew and fell upon (προσέπεσαν *v.* 25, προσέκοψαν *v.* 27) that house' are the winds of the Messianic judgment.

2. סְעָרָה, *sĕ'ārāh*, is synonymous with *sūphāh* (cp, *e.g.*, Zech. 9 14 סַעֲרוֹת תֵּימָן with Is. 21 1, סוּפוֹת בַּנֶּגֶב), and when it stands alone is usually rendered 'whirlwind' (2 K. 2 1 11 Job 38 1 40 6 Is. 40 24 41 16, etc.), in EV, but sometimes 'storm' (Ps. 107 29 Is. 29 6 [RV whirlwind]); as also in the compound expressions רוּחַ סְעָרָה, *rūaḥ se'ārāh* (Ps. 107 25 148 8 Ezek. 1 4) or ר׳ סְעָרוֹת, *rūaḥ sĕ'ārōth* (Ezek. 13 11 13). סַעֲרַת יהוה in Jer. 23 19 (σεισμός) 30 23 (ὀργή), is rendered 'whirlwind of the Lord' by AV and 'tempest of the Lord' by RV. 𝔊 renders καταιγίς, συσσεισμός, λαῖλαψ [in Job? λαῖλαψ καὶ νέφη(ος) 38 1 νέφος 40 6]; Ecclus. 43 17, συστροφὴ πνεύματος (סופה וסערה); 48 9 λαίλαπι πυρός [סערה]; *tempestas, turbo.*

3. According to RV we have once an expression for 'whirlwind' in the technical sense—viz., סַעַר מִתְחוֹלֵל, Jer. 23 19 (. . . εἰς συνσεισμόν, συστρεφομένη; *tempestas erumpens;* RV 'whirling tempest'; AV wrongly 'grievous tempest'). But the existence of חול, II., though recognised by Ges.-Buhl, is not quite certain. In all the passages where it occurs, the text is doubtful. Here, *e.g.*, it is possible to read מִתְגּוֹרֵר '*sweeping* (tempest)' as in Jer. 23 19 (RV) ὀργὴ συστρεφομένη; Vg. *procella ruens;* if מִתְגּוֹלֵל 'rolling itself along' should not be preferred (so Grä.).

4. שַׂעַר, *śá'ar*, Dan. 11 40 (𝔊 Theod. om.; *quasi tempestas*); cp Ass. *šâru* (Del. *Ass. HWB* 635), Is. 28 2 (שַׂעַר קֶטֶב, 'destroying storm'; βίᾳ καταφερομένη?).

5. גַּלְגַּל, *galgal*, Ps. 77 19 [18] RV (AV 'heaven'). The rendering has some good authority (Ges., Hitz., Del., Kau.). But nowhere else does גלגל mean 'whirlwind'; the Vv. adhere to the sense 'wheel.' See further WHEEL, and THISTLE, *ad fin.*

T. K. C.

WINDOW. The words so rendered are:

1. אֲרֻבָּה, *'arubbah*, Is. 60 8. See LATTICE, § 2, 1, and COAL, § 3.

2. חַלּוֹן, *ḥallōn*, Gen. 26 8. See LATTICE, § 2 2.

3. כַּוִּין, *kawwīn* (pl.), Dan. 6 10 [11]. See LATTICE, § 2, 3. On these three words, cp HOUSE, § 3.

4. צֹהַר, *ṣohar*, Gen. 6 16. See LATTICE, § 2, 7.

On the שֶׁקֶף, *šĕkeph*, and שְׁקֻפִים, *šĕkŭphim*, of 1 K. 6 4 7 4 *f.*, see LATTICE, § 2, 6. On שֶׁמֶשׁ, *šémeš*, in Is. 54 12 see PINNACLE.

WINE AND STRONG DRINK

Terminology (§§ 1-9). Winepress (§§ 11-16). Wine making (§§ 17-24). Varieties (§§ 25-27). Mixing (§§ 28-30). Metaphors (§ 31). Use of wine (§ 32).

In this article it is proposed to examine the terms rendered wine or strong drink in EV,[1] and to discuss the methods adopted by the Hebrews in the preparation of these beverages. For the cultivation of the vine in Palestine reference must be made to the articles VINE, and NEGEB, § 7, and for the various stages in the growth of the fruit to the article GRAPE.

The first place in our study of the relative terminology belongs to יַיִן *yáyin*, οἶνος, apparently a loanword in Semitic (see BDB, *s.v.*, with references there, to which add O. Schrader in Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Hausthiere*,(6) pp. xiv 91 *ff.*, also

1. yáyin; οἶνος.

[1] καύσων or καύσων ἄνεμος in 𝔊 corresponds to three Hebrew words, קָדִים, 'east wind,' שׁרב (Is. 49 10, see MIRAGE), and חֹרֶב (Gen. 31 40 [A]; cp Lk. 12 55).

[2] *Fundgruben des Orients*, 6 396 (Rosenmüller, *Bibl. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, etc., 126). Dr. Geikie illustrates the effects of the sirocco by the story of Jonah.

[3] So Magnus and Grätz. The words are not a summons to the N. and S. winds properly so-called (Del.), nor yet to all the four chief winds, represented by N. and S. (Siegfried).

[1] For a complete list of passages with the renderings of the principal versions (to be used with caution, however) see Lees and Burns, *The Temperance Bible-Commentary*, 412-428 (1868).

Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic words in Greek and Latin' in *Publications of Amer. Philolog. Ass.* 1892, pp. 142-146). Occurring over 140 times in the traditional text of OT, *yáyin* denotes, like its Greek and Latin congeners, *οἶνος* and *vinum*, the juice of the grape, fermented and matured in appropriate vessels. It is represented as in daily use, whether at the ordinary family meal and the more ambitious banquet (MEALS, § 12), or at the sacrificial feast and in the ritual of the sanctuary (RITUAL, § 2; SACRIFICE, col. 4193 etc.). *Yáyin* is uniformly rendered by 'wine' in EV, by *οἶνος* in 𝔊 (except Job 32 19, where the sense is correctly given by *γλεῦκος* sweet [fermenting] must), and by *vinum* in the Lat. verss. In OT *yáyin* is confined to grape-wine; but in later Hebrew it is extended to include both the freshly-expressed juice or must (see *tīrōš* below) and the fermented juice of various fruits, such as the apple-wine frequently mentioned in the Mishna (see § 26). The corresponding *οἶνος* is found over 30 times in NT, not reckoning its presence in compounds such as *οἰνοπότης* 'winebibber' (Mt. 11 19 Lk. 7 34). In תירוש

2. *tīrōš*. *tīrōš*, we have a word of uncertain etymology,[1] occurring 38 times in OT. A convenient summary of the various qualities predicated of *tīrōš* is given in Driver's *Joel and Amos*, 79 *f.*; for more detailed discussion see A. M. Wilson, *The Wines of the Bible* [1877] 301-339. In 11 places *tīrōš* is associated with corn as a valued product of the soil, and in 19 other passages with corn and fresh oil (*yiṣhār*, the raw, unclarified oil as it flows from the oil press, see OIL). Hence by analogy we ought to regard *tīrōš* as primarily the freshly-expressed and still unfermented grape-juice, technically known as must, the Latin *mustum* (Mic. 6 15 Vg.). It is also applied, however, proleptically to the juice while still in the grape, as in Is. 65 8 ('the new wine is found in the cluster' EV; cp the Latin phrase *vinum pendens*), and by another figure to the grapes in the press-vat (Mic. *l.c.* 'thou shalt tread *tīrōš* [RV the vintage], but shalt not drink the wine' [*yáyin*]). On the other hand it is important, in view of the controversies to which the term *tīrōš* has given rise, to note that in certain passages it clearly denotes the *product of fermentation*, or wine properly so called. Its application in this respect, however, was apparently limited to 'new wine,' as frequently rendered in AV and RV,[2] either while still in the fermenting stage or during the next few months, while the process of maturing was still incomplete. The grounds on which this conclusion is based are these:—

(1) In one passage where *tīrōš* is associated with whoredom and wine (*yáyin*) as 'taking away the understanding' (Hos. 4 11 RV),[3] intoxicating properties are unmistakably assigned to it. (2) *Tīrōš* is repeatedly mentioned as subject to the laws of tithe and of the first fruits (Dt. 12 17 14 23 18 4 Neh. 10 37 *ff.* and elsewhere). Now the later Jewish code specifies the precise moment when the expressed grape-juice becomes subject to the law of tithe: 'Must[4] is tithable from the time that it throws up scum' (*Ma'aser.* 1 7, reading יְקַפֶּה; so evidently Surenhusius' unpointed edition, as shown by the explanations of Maimonides and Bartenora; cp also Levy, *NHWB*, *s.v.* קפא)—*i.e.*, from the moment when it *begins to ferment*. The result is the same if, with later editions, we read the piel יְקַפֶּה and render: 'from the time one begins to skim the froth' (Jost, Sammter; cp also Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targumim, etc.*, *s.v.*). Even the inferior wine made by pouring water on the refuse of the press had to ferment (הֶחֱמִיץ) before becoming subject to tithe (*Ma'ăsēr Sh.* 1 3; cp, for the heave-offering, *Tĕrūm.* 3 1, where the reference is to wine that had passed through the stage of alcoholic fermentation and had become vinegar (acetous fermentation)). Hence when it is said that *tīrōš* shall be drunk in the courts of the sanctuary (Is. 62 8 *f.*), the conclusion is unavoidable that *tīrōš* is not here the unfermented must, but true fermented wine. The wine of the drink-offering (נֶסֶךְ Nu. 15 5, etc.; see under SACRIFICE, § 31 *a*) is never described otherwise than as *yáyin*, except once when it is described as *šēkār* (see below, § 8). The *tīrōš*, finally, which in an early passage (Judg. 9 13) is said to 'cheer God' as a libation, and to exhilarate man in the accompanying sacrificial feast, must be understood, in the light of what has just been said, as a fermented wine. (3) The evidence of the versions in this question must not be overlooked. With two exceptions (Is. 65 8, *ῥώξ* 'grape-stone'; and Hos. 4 11, for which see foot-note above) 𝔊 has uniformly rendered *tīrōš* by *οἶνος*. The Targums and the Peshitta with almost equal uniformity give חַמְרָא חֲמַר fermented wine (see § 4 below), whilst Jerome, with very few exceptions, renders by *vinum*, not as we might expect, by *mustum* (except Mic. 6 15), even where, as in Pr. 3 10 Joel 2 24, the sense seems to require *mustum*.

3. *'āsīs*; γλεῦκος. The word *'āsīs* (עָסִיס) is found five times in OT and is rendered in AV twice by 'new wine,' twice by 'sweet wine' and once (Cant. 8 2) by 'juice.' RV renders uniformly by 'sweet wine' except in the passage cited, where it appears only in the margin.

Derived from the verb עסס, to crush by treading, *'āsīs* is apparently a poetical synonym of *tīrōš*, denoting primarily the freshly-expressed juice of the grape or other fruit (so Am. 9 13; 'sweet wine'; imitated Joel 3 [4] 18). In Joel 1 5 and Is. 49 26, however, the context shows that, like *tīrōš*, *'āsīs* might be an intoxicating beverage, as it doubtless is in Cant. 8 2, where it is made from pomegranates (§ 26). In this passage 𝔊BאA renders by *νᾶμα*, whence EV 'juice'; in Is. 49 26 by *οἶνος νέος*; Am. 9 13 Joel 3 [4] 18 by *γλυκασμός*, which recalls the *γλεῦκος* (EV 'new wine') of Acts 2 13. *Gleukos* is used of the 'sweet' grape juice through all the stages of its passage into fermented wine. Thus the lexicographer Hesychius defines *γλεῦκος* as 'the juice which drops (*τὸ ἀπόσταγμα*) from the grape, before it is trodden' (cp the explanation of Ex. 22 29 [28], § 15 below). Again the word is used of must in the process of fermentation, as Job 32 19 (𝔊B *ἄσκος γλεύκους ζέων*), whilst in the passage before us (Acts 2 13) the reference is clearly to the strongly intoxicating qualities of new and immature wine—in this particular case, wine of the preceding vintage. Here may be taken the reference in Neh. 8 10, to eating the fat and drinking the sweet (מַמְתַקִּים 𝔊 *γλυκάσματα*), evidently a variety or varieties of sweet wine recalling the יַיִן מָתוֹק of *Mĕnāḥ.* 8 5.[1]

4. *ḥémer*, etc. Another poetical designation of wine is *ḥémer* (חֶמֶר) which occurs only in the poem Dt. 32 14; for in Is. 27 2 we must read, for the MT חֶמֶר (AV 'red wine'), with RV^mg. חֶמֶר 'a pleasant vineyard.' In Aramaic, however, as frequently happens, the Hebrew poetical term is the ordinary word for wine; so six times in the Aramaic portions of Ezra (6 9 7 22) and Daniel (5 1 2 4 23). The etymology from חמר, *fervere*, to foam, ferment (cp יַיִן חָמַר Ps. 75 8 [9] 'the wine foameth,' RV) shows that *ḥémer* and its cognates in Aramaic and Arabic specially denote wine as the product of fermentation.

5. *sōbē*. *Sōbé* (סֹבֶא) occurs only in Is. 1 22 (EV 'wine' 𝔊 *οἶνος*), Hos. 4 18 (their drink,' RV^mg. 'their carouse'), and Nah. 1 10 ('their drink'); but the text of the last two passages is very uncertain (BDB *s.v.* and the Comm.). That *sōbē* was some strongly intoxicating beverage the root-word, *sābā*, 'to drink to excess,' abundantly proves (see *e.g.* Pr. 23 20 *f.*). The cognate *sabu*, a synonym of *kurunnu*, denoted in Assyrian a drink from sesame (Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.*).

In a small number of post-exilic passages, we meet

[1] The usual derivation from *yāraš*, 'to take possession of,' though supported in Aramaic by the cognate *mērīth* from *yĕrath*, is not convincing. Recently it has been suggested that *tīrōš* is a loan-word from Sumerian through Assyrian (see Ball and Haupt, *SBOT*, *Gen.*, note on 27 28).

[2] According to *Temp. Bib. Comm.* (*ut supr.* 415) *tīrōš* is translated in AV 26 times by 'wine,' 11 times by 'new wine' . . . and once (Mic. 6 15) by 'sweet wine.' A table of all the occurrences with their renderings is given in Eadie's *Cyclopædia*, *s.v.* 'Wine.' RV adds to these the rendering 'vintage' Nu. 18 12 Mic. *l.c.* and in several other passages in the margin. The American revisers would consistently render by 'new wine' throughout.

[3] It is possible, however, that תִּירוֹשׁ is here a clerical error for שֵׁכָר which the context certainly leads us to expect. 𝔊's rendering *μέθυσμα*, a frequent equivalent of *šēkār*, but not elsewhere of *tīrōš*, supports this view. The other ancient versions follow 𝔊.

[4] The original has יַיִן, *yáyin*, *tīrōš* having now become obsolete.

[1] For the methods adopted to increase the sweetness of wines, see §§ 15 22 below.

with a group of allied terms derived from the verbal root מָסַךְ, to mix (wine) with spices (Pr. 9 2 5), and the cognate מָזַג, which in the Hebrew of the Mishna period signified 'to mix with water'—viz. *mések* מֶסֶךְ (Ps. 75 8 [9] EV 'mixture'),[1] *mimsāk* מִמְסָךְ (Prov. 23 30, EV 'mixed wine,' Is. 65 11 AV 'drink offering,' RV 'mingled wine' [κέρασμα] 'unto Destiny'), and *mézeg*, מֶזֶג (Cant. 7 2, AV 'liquor,' RV 'mingled wine,' 𝔊 κρᾶμα). The nature of the mingling or mixing here implied will be fully discussed later (§ 29).

6. mések, mimsāk, etc.

In Is. 25 6 the word שְׁמָרִים *šĕmārīm*, properly the lees of wine (Ps. 75 8 [9] Jer. 48 11 Zeph. 1 12), is used for the sake of the assonance with *šĕmānīm*, 'fat things,' to signify wine (EV 'wines on the lees') in a figurative sense. For the obscure or perhaps corrupt term אֲשִׁישָׁה which AV, following an erroneous tradition, has rendered a 'flagon of wine' (2 S. 6 19; cp 1 Ch. 16 7 Hos. 3 1 Cant. 2 5) see the discussions under FRUIT (§ 5). In Nu. 6 3 wine and strong drink are both distinguished from the unfermented juice (מִשְׁרָה) (EV 'liquor') of the grape.[2]

7. Miscellaneous and figurative expressions.

Our list of the words rendered wine in EV may close with a reference to three figurative expressions which are met with at very different stages of Hebrew literature. In the early book of the covenant we have the unique expression דֶּמַע (literally 'tear' Ex. 22 28), which includes the first flow of the juice of olives as well as of grapes (for a new suggestion as to the origin of this term see § 15). In the Gospels we find wine designated 'the fruit of the vine' (τὸ γένημα τῆς ἀμπέλου Mt. 26 29 Mk. 14 25 Lk. 22 18), a periphrasis doubtless already current in Jewish speech, since it is found in the time-honoured benediction over the wine-cup in *Bĕrākh.* 6 1 (פְּרִי הַגֶּפֶן—for the words of the blessing see MEALS, § 7, end). In all periods, finally, we find the poetical designation 'blood of the grape' from the red colour of the expressed juice (Is. 63 2) derived from the stalks and skins of the fruit (Gen. 49 11 Dt. 32 14 Ecclus. 39 26 50 15, cp Rev. 14 20 and the Arabic *damu-z-zikk*, blood of the wineskin).

There still remains for examination the important term שֵׁכָר *šēkār* (from the root שׁכר, common to all Semitic dialects, which supplies the Hebrew words for 'drunk,' 'drunkard,' and 'drunkenness'). In 𝔊 the word has assumed the form σίκερα—but occasionally translated μέθυσμα, twice μέθη, and once οἶνος—through the influence of the Aramaic *šikrā*, שִׁכְרָא; and in Jerome, *sicera*. The etymology warrants the inference that *šēkār* is to be regarded as a comprehensive designation for every *sort of intoxicating beverage* from whatever source derived, or, as Jerome has it, 'omne quod inebriare potest' (Vg. Lev. 10 9 Nu. 6 3 1 S. 1 15).

8. šēkār, 'strong drink.'

In one of his letters Jerome expands his definition as follows:—'Sicera hebræo sermone omnis potio, quæ inebriare potest, sive illa quæ frumento conficitur, sive pomorum succo, aut quum favi decoquuntur in dulcem et barbaram potionem, aut palmarum fructus exprimitur in liquorem, coctisque frugibus aqua pinguior coloratur' (Ep. ad Nepotianum, ed. Vallarsi, 1 266).[1]

1 𝔊 has here the apparent contradiction ποτήριον οἴνου ἀκράτου πλῆρες κεράσματος (cp Rev. 10 14 τοῦ κεκρασμένου ἀκράτου), the explanation being that οἶνος ἄκρατος is the usual designation of wine undiluted with water, whilst κέρασμα denotes the addition of aromatic herbs (see § 29).

[2 In Cant. 2 13 etc. Sym. renders סמדר (RV 'in blossom'; Ges., following Syr. authorities, *flos vitis*) by οἰνάνθη. It has been suggested that the 'impossible' שַׁדְמוֹת in Is. 16 8 should be corrected into סמדר (GRAPE, 3), and a special reason for the mention of the vine-blossoms may be found in the use of these blossoms in flavouring new wine (cp Duval, *REJ* 14 277). Such flavoured wine was called οἶνος οἰνάνθινος. Hasselquist thus describes the method employed, viz., 'hanging the powder produced by drying the flowers of the vine in the cask, when the new wine begins to ferment' (*Voyages and Travels*, 1766, pp. 401 *f.*).]

From this specification, it will be noted, wine is apparently excluded, and for this exclusion there is a certain amount of justification. Thus in the priestly legislation affecting the Nazirites (Nu. 6 3 *f.*) vinegar of *yáyin* is distinguished from vinegar of *šēkār*,[2] which shows that by the early post-exilic period, in certain circles at all events, *yáyin* was no longer included in the category of *šēkār* or 'strong drink.' We are not justified in inferring from this, however, that the two categories of wine and strong drink were at all periods mutually exclusive. Thus when the term *šikaru* is first met with on the soil of Palestine, it is used for 'drink' generally, and is repeatedly associated with food, oil, honey, etc. (see the Amarna letters, *KB* 5, index *s.v.*). One has but to recall the enormous number of jars of wine which Thothmes III. received from Syria at an earlier period to see that the *šikari* or 'drinks' of the Amarna letters must have included wine. In the Assyro-Babylonian contract-tablets *šikaru* denotes intoxicating beverages generally, and in particular wine made from dates (Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v*; see further, § 25). Indeed it is extremely probable that in prehistoric times, while the Semitic races were still confined to their primitive home in Arabia, the principal, if not the sole, intoxicant was obtained from fermented date-juice.[3] To this first of all the name *šēkār* would be given. When at a later period the Semites spread northward and became acquainted with the vine and its fruit, it is only natural that the term should be extended *to include the fermented juice of the grape*, for which, however, the loanword *yáyin* was by and by adopted to distinguish grape wine from the older date wine or *šēkār* in the strict sense, as well as from the fermented juices of other fruits, such as pomegranates, quinces etc. (see § 26) included under *šēkār* in its wider application

The distinction which has just been drawn between these varying applications of the term *šēkār* receives ample confirmation from a closer study of the OT data. Thus in the many poetical and semi-poetical (prophetical) passages where the word occurs in the parallelism alongside of *yáyin* (Pr. 20 1 31 6 Is. 5 11 22 28 7 etc.) it is unlikely that *šēkār* is more than a synonym of *yáyin*, denoting 'strong,' 'heady' wine or such like. Perhaps also 'spiced wine' (for which see § 29), as stated in Suidas' definition, *s.v.* σίκερα: σκευαστὸν πόμα, καὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις οὕτω λεγόμενον μέθυσμα, οἶνος συμμιγὴς ἡδύσμασιν. The Targums and the Peshitta frequently render *šēkār* by 'old wine,' whilst the Midrash records the tradition that it denoted wine in the natural state (חַי) as distinguished from *yáyin* or wine diluted with water (מָזוּג); in both cases, however, we have probably nothing more than exegetical guesswork. Of much greater importance for our argument is the fact that in the unique passage, Nu. 28 7, the material of the drink offering is expressly designated *šēkār* (AV 'strong wine,' RV 'strong drink'). Now it is difficult to believe that in the historical period any liquor other than the juice of the grape was accepted for this purpose,[4] and still more difficult to admit that any other liquor than wine was intended in this passage of the Priests' Code. In other legislative passages, such as Nu. 6 3 *f.*, cited above, and Dt. 14 26, *šēkār* must be distinguished (from *yáyin*) in the direction suggested by Jerome, as a general term for all fermented beverages other than *yáyin* and in particular—though of this we have no positive OT evidence—for date wine. A land whose produce of dates was beyond reckoning (*Aristeæ Epist.*, ed Wendland, 112) was certainly not ignorant of the methods of manufacturing wine from their juice, although the name date wine is first met with in the Talmudic period (see further, § 25).

Last of all, mention may be made of one or two more comprehensive terms. From the root שָׁתָה, 'to drink' we have מִשְׁתֶּה, *mišteh*, as a general term for beverages, especially wine. Thus workmen, receiving wages and 'everything found,' have an allowance of 'meat and drink (מִשְׁתֶּה) and oil' (Ezra 3 7; cp the parallel *akalī*, *šikarī*, *šamnī* of *Am. Tab.* 209 12 *f.* and elsewhere; also Dan. 1 10 with *vv.* 5 8 16, where the *mišteh* is said to consist of wine). From the associated root שׁקה, we have both שִׁקּוּי, *šikkūy*, (Hos. 2 5 [7], where bread, oil, and 'drinks' are parallel to the 'corn, oil, and wine' of *v.* 8 [10]; Ps. 102 9 [10], and

9. Some general terms.

1 With this definition of *šēkār* may be compared 'Omar's definition of *ḥamr* as including wine from grapes, dates, honey, wheat, and barley' (Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 97, quoting Buḫāri).

2 The distinction here so clearly drawn between the two kinds of vinegar is fatal to our acceptance of the tradition, represented in Onkelos and approved by Rashi (Comm. *in loc.*), that the *šēkār* is old *wine*.

3 For the importance of the palm among the early Semites see Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, 75 *ff.*; cp also PALM, § 1.

4 Date juice was of course accepted in the earliest times; in Babylonia indeed in all periods libations of date wine (*niḳi ša šikari*) were common (see RITUAL, § 2).

figuratively Pr. 3 8) and מַשְׁקֶה, *mašḳeh*. *Mašḳeh* is used comprehensively, as in Lev. 11 34, for 'every drink that may be drunk,' and in the later plural form (מַשְׁקִין) it becomes, in the Mishna, the general term for all sorts of beverages—water, wine, milk, etc. (see *Tĕrūm.* 11 2). Hence מַאֲכָל וּמַשְׁקֶה is Delitzsch's rendering of the Gk. βρῶσις καὶ πόσις (Col. 2 16), whilst their respective plurals represent the βρώματα καὶ πόματα of Heb. 9 10.

The economic use of grapes in ancient, as in modern times, was fourfold. The grapes might be eaten in their natural state (לַחִים, Nu. 6 3, AV 'moist'), or they might be exposed to the sun and used as raisins (FRUIT, § 4), or finally they might be trodden in the press and the juice converted either into grape-syrup or *dibs* (HONEY, § 1 (3)) or into wine. The last of these processes alone concerns us here.

10. Use of grapes.

The ancient winepresses, traces of which are found in every part of Palestine, from Dan to Beersheba, have proved the most permanent memorials of the Hebrew occupation, and show that the land of promise was indeed a 'land of wine and vineyards' (2 K. 18 32). Two adjoining vineyards might have one press in common (*Dĕmai* 6 7). The typical winepress consisted of two troughs of varying dimensions, at different levels, hewn out (חָצַב, Is. 5 3 RV) of the solid rock, the upper of the two having the larger superficial area, the lower the greater depth.[1] In the upper trough, which we shall call the pressvat (גַּת, *gath*, in AV variously rendered press, winepress [sometimes in one word, sometimes in two] and winefat) men and women trod (דָּרַךְ) the grapes, the expressed juice flowing by a channel (צִנּוֹר, *Ma'ăsēr.* 1 7) through the intervening rock into the lower trough or winevat (יֶקֶב, *yéḳeb*; see Schick's diagrams reproduced below). This distinction between the *gath* and the *yéḳeb* is not always observed by the OT writers, *yéḳeb* being occasionally used to denote the pressvat (Is. 16 10 Job 24 11) whilst either may be used by metonymy for the whole winepress, as may be seen from the names of localities now with *gath* (Gath, Gath-hepher, etc.), now with *yéḳeb*, as Zeeb's winepress (Judg. 7 25) and the king's winepresses (Zech. 14 10) in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. A third term, פּוּרָה, *pūrāh*, which may be rendered winetrough, is used as a synonym both of *gath* (Is. 63 3) and of *yéḳeb* (Hag. 2 16 reading as in AV מִפּוּרָה—the RV rendering 'vessels,' following 𝔊 and Vg., is not an improvement). By NT times *yéḳeb* as the name of the winevat had become almost, if not altogether, obsolete, its place being supplied by בּוֹר, *bōr* (Mishna *passim*)—*gath*, however, remaining for the pressvat. Occasionally, however, we find *gath* used in the Mishna for the winepress as a whole, with the two troughs or vats designated respectively the 'upper' vat (גַּת הָעֶלְיוֹנָה) and the 'lower' vat (גַּת הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה, *Tĕrūm.* 8 9 *Ma'ăsēr.* 1 7 etc.). In 𝔊 the uniform rendering of *gath* is ληνός (also Mt. 21 33 Rev. 14 19 *f.* 19 15), which is also used to represent *yéḳeb* in some passages, whilst in others we find for *yéḳeb* the more exact ὑπολήνιον (Is. 16 10 Joel 3 [4] 13 Hag. 2 17 Zech. 14 10; also Mk. 12 1).

11. Two-trough press.

Whilst a press with two vats seems to have been in general use, several instances are known of an arrangement with three and even four. Thus the late Dr. Schick has given a description (*PEFQ*, 1899, p. 41 *f.*), with plans here reproduced, of an elaborate press discovered by him at 'Ain Kārim, to the SW. of Jerusalem. Here we have a trough *a*, about 7 ft. square, into which the grape-baskets were first emptied. This trough at once recalls the προλήνιον by which 𝔊 renders the *yéḳeb* of Is. 5 2, and is probably the *'abīṭ*, עֲבִיט, of the Mishna (Bāb. *Mĕṣ.* 5 7 [where it occurs alongside of the *ma'ăṭān*, מַעֲטָן, or trough for the olives; see OIL, § 2] *Ṭohŏr.* 10 4 [the grape juice here trickles in drops from the *'ābīṭ* into the *gath*] Jer. *Mō'ēd Ḳāṭ.* 28 1 *a* [grapes trodden in the *'abīṭ*]).

12. Three-trough press.

The *prolēnion*, *a*, is connected by a channel in the rock with the larger trough, *b*, 10 ft. by 8 ft., the floor of which is lower by 3 ft. than that of *a*. From *b*, again, two channels lead into two vats at a still lower level, connected with each other by a third channel; the smaller of the two vats, *c*, is about 3½ ft. square and 4 ft. deep, whereas *d* measures over 5 ft. square and is 6½ ft. deep. In the floor of the larger vat, a circular hollow has been sunk at one side, easily recognisable in the sectional plan, to allow the last drops of the must to be scooped out. This is evidently the 'little vat' (בּוֹר הַקָּטוֹן) of the Mishna. A somewhat similar arrangement of three vats, the floors of which were paved with a mosaic of 'rough white tesseræ set in plaster' was unearthed, with several other presses, in 1889 at Tell-eṣ-Ṣāfi (*PEFQ* 1900, p. 34 with plans, 32 *f.*; see this volume *passim* for numerous vats laid bare by the explorers).

In vineyards where the nature of the ground or other considerations did not permit of rock excavation, pits

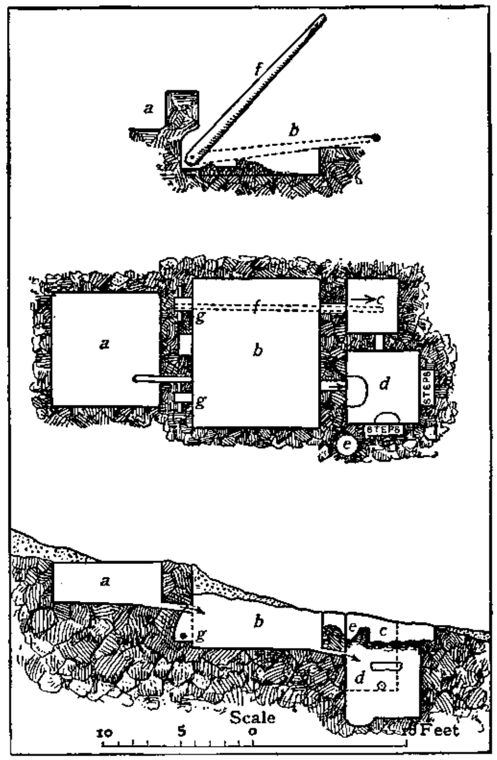


FIG. 1.—Ancient wine-press. (From the Palestine Exploration Fund, *QS*, 1899.)

were dug in the ground (Mk. 12 1 RV, 'a pit for the winepress,' Mt. 21 33),[1] which were then lined with masonry or cement and coated with pitch (see *'Ăbōdāh Zārāh*, 6 11, where the name *gath šel ḥéres*, גַּת שֶׁל חֶרֶס, or cement-vat, is given to this kind of press). An excellent specimen, probably of the thirteenth century B.C., was discovered by Bliss at Tell el-Ḥesy (*A Mound of Many Cities*, 69 *f.*, with illustr.). The vats, of which there were three, were *circular*. The uppermost had a

[1] Of the modern Syrian winepresses it is said that 'if the upper trough be 6 ft. long by 5 broad [and a foot and a half deep] the lower one will be about 4 ft. long by 2 ft. broad, but about 3 ft. deep.' G. M. Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 1898.

[1] That the ληνός of this parable was not rock-hewn, as is generally assumed, is evident from the context of Mt. 25 18 where the same expression, 'dug the ground,' ὤρυξεν γῆν (so B א) is used.

diameter of 63 ins., walls of mud, and a floor of cement sloping gently towards a cup-like hollow, the 'little vat' described above. The second vat of the series had also a diameter of over 5 ft. and walls of brick with a floor of cement consisting of pebbles imbedded in lime, sloping rapidly towards the outlet into the lowermost of the vats, a small pit lined with rough stones and in the side of which was a stone spout.

A third species of press was used from time immemorial in Egypt, and is attested for Palestine, where

13. Wooden press. it bore the name *gath šel 'ēṣ*, גַּת שֶׁל עֵץ, or wooden press (*'Ăbōd. Zār. l.c.*). As represented by Wilkinson (*op. cit.* 1 385) this was simply a large wooden trough raised considerably above the ground and furnished with spouts through which the must flowed into the receiving-jars. In the particular specimen reproduced by Wilkinson ropes are seen hanging from a wooden roof, by means of which those treading the grapes supported themselves. A modern press of the same type is reproduced in Van Lennep, *Bible Lands* [1875] 118. It is possible that the *yéḳeb* of Is. 5 2 is to be understood not as a whole press, but as a rock-hewn vat (such as vat No. 4 at Tell-eṣ-Ṣâfi, *PEFQ*, 1900, p. 33 *f.*), and the ὑπολήνιον of Mk. 12 1 as a cemented pit, both intended to receive the juice expressed from a wooden press such as that now described.[1]

On the approach of the vintage season (ἡμέραι τρυγητοῦ, Ecclus. 24 27, ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν, Mt. 21 34, שְׁעַת הַגִּתּוֹת, *Chăgīgah* 3 4), which corresponded

14. Grape harvest. fairly with our September, whole families repaired to the vineyards for the more expeditious gathering of the fruit, sleeping in booths, and living largely on the ripening grapes. It was the most joyful time of all the Hebrew's year (Is. 16 10). The ripe clusters (אֶשְׁכֹּלוֹת) were either nipped off (קָרַץ, *Pē'ā*, 7 4), or, more usually, cut off (בָּצַר) with a curved knife (מַגָּל, Joel 3 [4] 13, *Ohāl.* 18 1; δρέπανον, Rev. 14 19; EV 'sickle'). Hence is derived the special name for the grape harvest, בָּצִיר, *bāṣīr* (cp בֹּצֵר, the grape-gatherer, Jer. 6 9 49 9; τρυγῶν, Ecclus. 30 25 [33 16]), although קָצִיר, *ḳāṣīr*, strictly the corn-harvest, is sometimes applied to the vintage (Is. 16 9 17 11 18 5 Joel 3 [4] 13, 'put ye in the sickle for the harvest is ripe').[2]

The grapes destined for the manufacture of wine were carried in baskets (סַל, Mishna *passim*, סַלְסִלָּה, Jer.

15. Spreading-place. 6 9 AV, see, however, RV^mg. and art. BASKET) to the press where they were immediately trodden out, or, as is still a common practice in Syria and other wine-producing countries, spread out for some days[3] on the מִשְׁטָח or spreading-place (cp FRUITS, § 4, with footnote), where the grapes were laid either on the bare ground or on vine leaves (*Tohŏr.* 10 4 *f.*). The *miṣṭah* was generally, if not always, close to the press, so that the juice exuding from the grapes under their own pressure might trickle into the vat (נִפַּח לַגַּת, *ib.* 10 5). The object of this proceeding was to increase the amount of sugar and diminish the amount of water in the grapes (see Redding, *A History . . . of Modern Wines*(3) [1851], 55), with a view to the production of a specially sweet wine, like the אִלְיַסְטָן (ἡλιαστόν) of *Mĕnāḥōth* 8 5. An ancient *miśṭāh* or spreading-place with its adjoining vat

[1] Is it possible that *pūrāh* (Is. 63 2; see above) was the special designation for a press of this description?

[2] The unity of the prophet's figure in this verse has hitherto been marred by the commentators taking *ḳāṣīr* in its usual sense of corn harvest, and consequently rendering *maggāl* by 'sickle.' In reality the reference is to the grape harvest and (𝔊 τρυγητός) the gatherer's knife. This view of the passage preserves the unity of the figure and is confirmed by 𝔊 and the author of Revelation (14 19 *f.*), and by the fact that the only other instance of בָּשַׁל, in the sense of 'to be ripe,' refers to the ripening of grapes (Gen. 40 10).

[3] At present from five to seven days, near Hebron even for sixteen days *ZDPV* 11 170.

has, in the writer's opinion, recently been laid bare at Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi (*PEFQ*, 1900, p. 31 *f.* with plans). It consists of 'a floor of rock, roughly rectangular, about 42 ft. long by 16 ft. 8 ins. broad. It has been smoothed level and sunk to a maximum depth of 5 ins. below the surrounding rock outcrop.' The many cups scattered over the floor (cp a similar series of cups at Tell-el-Judeideh, *ib.* 249, with illustrations) were evidently for receiving the juice expressed from the grapes by their own weight. This has always been considered to produce a quality of wine superior to that obtained by treading the grapes, and was termed πρόχυμα by the Greeks, and *protropum* by the Romans (*Geopon.* 6 16, Pliny *HN* 14 85; cp Hesychius' definition of γλεῦκος cited above, § 3).

The many cup-like hollows in the floor of the *miśṭāh* suggest a new explanation of the unique term דֶּמַע (Ex. 22 29 [28] lit. 'thy tear' [דִּמְעֲךָ] EV 'thy liquors,' 𝔊 ἀπαρχὰς ληνοῦ, so Pesh.). The hollows in question may very naturally have been termed the 'eyes' of the *miśṭāh* (cp 'the seven eyes upon one stone' in the difficult passage Zech. 3 9), when the liquid collected in them would as naturally have been called the 'tear.' There are analogies in other languages for this application of the word 'tear,' as in the Arabic *dam'atu-l-karmi* (König, *Stilistik*, etc., 106) and the Spanish *lagrima*, the name for wine made from grape-juice which has exuded without pressure (Redding, *op. cit.* 58).

The treading of the grapes was accompanied by much merry shouting and singing on the part of the treaders (דֹּרְכִים—in later Hebrew דָּרוֹךְ, women treaders דָּרְכוֹת, *Tĕrūm.* 3 4), a proceeding several times referred to in OT. The vintage-shout even received a special name, the *hēdād* (הֵידָד, Is. 16 10 Jer. 25 30 48 33). A snatch of a vintage song is preserved in Is. 65 8: 'Destroy it not, for a blessing is in it.' The Greek translators, as is well known, read the titles of Pss. 8 81 and 84 as עַל הַגִּתּוֹת, which they rendered ὑπὲρ τῶν ληνῶν (Jerome, *pro* [or *in*] *torcularibus*), evidently regarding the Psalms in question as vintage hymns, corresponding to the ὕμνοι ἐπιλήνιοι of the Greeks, a view adopted in recent times by Baethgen (*HK* 16).[1]

The grapes having been trodden as thoroughly as possible with the feet—the juice thus expressed was

16. Qualities of wine. termed by the Romans *mustum lixivum*—a further flow was obtained by piling the husks and stalks in a heap (תַּפּוּחַ, *'Ăb. Zār.* 4 8 etc.) in the middle of the pressvat. Flat stones, or planks of wood, were laid upon the top of the *tappūāḥ*,

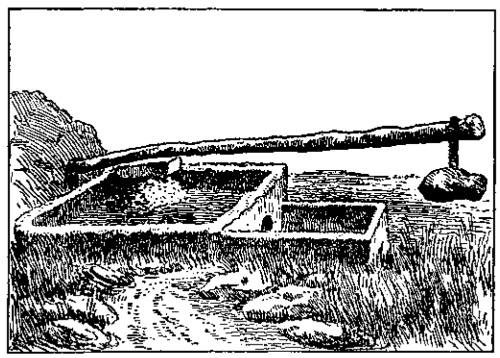


FIG. 2.—Modern contrivance for pressing grapes in Palestine.

and the whole was subjected to pressure by means of a wooden press-beam (עֲנִיל הַגַּת, *Shabb.* 1 9; *Ṭohŏr.* 10 8), one end of which was fixed into a socket in the wall of the pressvat, as shown in Schick's diagram reproduced above, whilst the other end was weighted with stones (see the illustr., fig. 2, of the same procedure at the present day, Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 45). The

[1] Specimens of modern vintage songs in Arabic are given by Dalman in his *Palestinischer Dîwân* (1901) 28, *ff.*

wine obtained from this second pressing, which produced the *mustum tortivum* of the Romans, was of course much inferior to that obtained from the *mustum lixivum*. Still lower in the scale must be placed the beverage termed תֶּמֶד, *temed* (so pointed by Dalman, *Aram.-Neuhebr. Wörterb.*, *s.v.*, who derives the word from the Latin *temetum*), which was prepared by pouring water upon the skins and stalks after they had been pressed (*Ma'ăsēr.* 54 6), or upon the lees of generous wine (*Shabb.* 20 2) and allowing the whole to ferment (הַחְמִיץ, *Ma'ăs. Sh.* 1 3), precisely as in the manufacture of the *lora* of the Romans. *Temed* was also prepared from grapes that had become atrophied on the vine (*'Orlā* 1 8). Some such wine of poor quality may be intended in some cases by the חֹמֶץ, *ḥōmeṣ*, of the OT (AV 'vinegar'), which like *lora* was the *vinum operarium* or workmen's wine (Ruth 2 14).

17. Fermentation. Proceeding now to the preparation of the ordinary varieties of wine, we are met by the somewhat remarkable fact that of the two hundred or more biblical references to wine, only two or three refer specially to any of the many processes in its fermentation and maturing. We are accordingly dependent on the more numerous and more explicit statements to be found in the Mishna, which apply strictly to the procedure of the second century A.D. But the methods then in use are of so primitive a character that they may safely be used to illustrate the procedure of a much earlier period. In the case of small vineyards, it was perhaps possible to allow the must to ferment in the winevat, fermentation, in the warm climate of Palestine in September, commencing a few hours after the expression of the juice. Thus in *Ābōth* 4 26 the man that learns from a young and immature teacher is compared to one 'that eats unripe grapes and drinks wine from his vat' (יַיִן מִגִּתּוֹ).[1] After the first and most active stage of the fermentation, technically known as the 'tumultuous' fermentation (*Redding, op. cit.* 62), was completed in the vat, the new wine was drawn off (חָשַׂף, Hagg. 2 16, in the Mishna, זָלַף) and transferred to skins (Job 32 19 Mt. 9 17 and ||s, see BOTTLE, § 1) or jars for the so-called 'after-fermentation.' It is impossible that the must could ever have been put into skins to undergo the whole process of fermentation, as is usually stated, the action of the gas given off in the earlier stages of the process being much too violent for any skins to withstand. Where a large quantity of grapes had to be trodden, it was necessary to relieve the winevat by transferring the must immediately to earthenware jars, of which the Jews possessed a large variety (see Krengel, *Das Hausgerät in der Mišnah*, pp. 48 *ff.*). The most frequently mentioned is the חָבִית, *ḥābīth*, corresponding to the Roman *dolium*, a large full-bellied jar with a wide mouth, of the type represented under POTTERY, Fig. 3, No. 1, intermediate in size between the smaller כַּד, *kad* (κάδος) and the larger פִּיטֹס, *pīṭōs* (πίθος). The jars, which had previously been lined with pitch, were placed beneath the spout of the vat if it had one (see the Tell el-Ḥesy vat above described), or were filled—but not to the brim (*Mĕnāḥ.* 8 6)—by means of the *māḥaṣ* (מַחַץ, *Ṭohŏr.* 10 7) or dipper, a bowl-shaped vessel like those used in Egypt for the same purpose (illus. Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 1 387; cp POTTERY, Fig. 2, No. 6). Schick's diagram above shows at *e* a special cavity in which the jar was placed to be filled. The jars were then set aside[2] for the contents to ferment. The active fermentation of the Roman wines lasted about nine days, according to Pliny, whilst the modern red wine of Syria is said to complete its first fermentation in from four to seven days, and to become drinkable after the lapse of from two to four months (*ZDPV* 11 171; see below, § 21).

18. Straining, etc. The scum which was thrown up during the process of fermentation was removed from time to time, the technical term for which was קִפָּה (*Ma'ăsēr.* 1 7 4 1 etc.). The later Jewish legislation decreed that the new wine was not admissible for the drink offering until it had stood for at least forty days in the fermenting-jars (*'Ēdūy.* 6 1; *Bāb. Bath.* 97 *a*; *Targ. Jerus.* 1 [Pseudo-Jonathan] on Nu. 28 7, where after rendering *šēkār* by 'old wine' it adds: 'if old wine cannot be had, let wine forty days old be poured out before the Lord'). On the expiry of this period, then, the wine was assumed to have sufficiently settled to allow of its being racked off into smaller jars (נֶבֶל, קַנְקַן, לָגִין, כַּד, for all which see Krengel, *op. cit.*) corresponding to the Roman amphoræ, and into wine-skins (נֹאד). The skins were preferred to the jars where the question of transport was concerned (Josh. 9 4 1 S. 1 24 Judith 10 5 etc.). In order to purify the new wine from the lees (שְׁמָרִים) or deposit of husks, stalks, etc., that had settled at the bottom of the fermenting jars, it was poured through a strainer (מְשַׁמֶּרֶת שֶׁל יַיִן, *Kēl.* 25 3 and often), which might be of metal, as in the passage cited (see Becker's *Gallus*, Eng. ed. 490, for illust. of a fine metal *colum vinarium*), or of earthenware (*Kēl.* 3 8), or more frequently a plain linen cloth (סוּדָר, *Shabb.* 20 2 = σουδάριον), the Roman *saccus vinarius*. To strain wine was termed זִקֵּק (Is. 25 6 'wines on the lees well strained') and סִנֵּן (Mishna, *passim*), in NT διυλίζω (Mt. 23 24 also 𝔊 of Am. 6 6 τὸν διυλισμένον οἶνον, which suits the parallelism better than the MT).[1] A striking figure employed by Jeremiah to denote the even tenor of Moabite history informs us that it was the custom to 'fine' the new wine by pouring it at intervals from one jar to another. 'Moab has been at ease from his youth, and has settled on his lees [cp the similar figure Zeph. 1 12] and has not been emptied (לֹא הוּרַק) from vessel to vessel, neither has he gone into captivity: therefore his taste remains in him, and his scent [the modern "bouquet"] is not changed. Therefore behold the days come, says Yahwè, when I will send tilters [צֹעִים, from צָעָה, to tilt over a vessel in order to pour out its contents; see RV$^{mg.}$] and they shall tilt him, and they shall empty his vessels and break his jars' (Jer. 48 11 *f.*). Care had to be taken, on the other hand, lest this frequent 'tilting' should set up acetous fermentation and turn wine into vinegar. The frequent

19. No 'old' wines. references to this danger in the Mishna show that the Jewish wines were not calculated to keep for a long period. Indeed wine was already 'old' when a year had passed from the time when it had left the winepress. 'Old wine' (יָשָׁן; cp the similar use of παλαιός absolutely in Lk. 5 39) we read in the Mishna (*Bāb. Bath.* 6 3) 'is wine of the previous year'—*i.e.*, of the vintage last but one —'very old wine (מְיֻשָּׁן) is wine that is three years old,' *i.e.*, according to Jewish reckoning, of the vintage last but two, in other words from two to three years old. 'New wine,' accordingly, would apply only to wine of the immediately preceding vintage. Probably the ordinary custom is reflected in the statement in the book of Jubilees (7 1 *f.*) that Noah prepared the wine of his vineyard in the seventh month, and kept it in a jar until he offered it on the following new year's day; that is to say wine which had begun to ferment, say, on the first of October was considered ready for use about the middle of the following March.

1 Here, and elsewhere in the Mishna, however, *yáyin* may be used instead of the now obsolete *tīrōš* to denote the unfermented must, in which case the aphorism throws an interesting sidelight on the Jewish appreciation of unfermented wine!

2 From *Abōdāh Zārāh* 4 10 we learn that the jars were left open; see מפנה in Strack's glossary to this tractate.

1 Ignatius is fond of the metaphor from straining or filtering; see *ad Rom.*, salutation, 'filtered (ἀποδιυλισμένοις) from every stain'; *ad Philad.* 3.

20. Storage. When the wine had been sufficiently refined and clarified, the mouth of the amphora, which had previously been lined (זִפֵּת) with pitch, was closed with a lid (כִּסּוּי), probably in the shape of a hollow cone (Krengel, *op. cit.* 50, illustr. *ap.* Wilkinson, *op. cit.* 1 387), or, if the jar had a narrow neck, it was corked (פָּקַק) with a stopper (מְגוּפָה; Mishna oft.). Both lids and stoppers were carefully luted with gypsum or clay, pitch, wax, etc. (see the list in *Kel.* 10 2).[1] Wineskins were fastened with a knotted cord (*Shabb.* 15 2; cp ἀσκὸς δεδεμένος, Job 32 9 𝔊). The jars were now ready to be stored in the wine-cellars (אֹצְרוֹת הַיַּיִן, 1 Ch. 27 27, Vg. *cellæ vinariæ*, by which Jerome also renders the בֵּית הַיָּיִן of Cant. 2 4 [AV 'banqueting house']). Wine shops (חֲנוּת, *Bāb. Mĕṣ.* 4 11, *'Āb. Zār.* 5 4) were common in Jerusalem in NT times. Those of Arabia—often kept by Jews, whence the name *ḥānūt*—frequently had displayed a sign or 'bush,' with which some commentators have identified the obscure 'banner' of the 'house of wine' in the passage of Canticles just cited (cp ENSIGNS, § 1 *b*).

21. Modern process. The process of wine-making as above described on the basis of the data of the Mishna may be illustrated by two brief accounts of the modern process in Eastern lands. Writing in 1824 Henderson in his *History of Ancient and Modern Wines* thus describes the method adopted in Persia (264): 'When the grapes are gathered, they are brought to the cellar, and introduced into a vat or cistern, formed of masonry, and lined with plaster, about 8 ft. in length and breadth, and 4 in depth, where they are trodden, and the juice which flows from them is collected in a trough at the bottom, from which it is immediately removed into large earthen jars, to undergo the requisite fermentation. . . . When the fermentation has fairly commenced, the murk is stirred by one of the workmen with his arms bare; and this operation is repeated for eighteen or twenty successive days. The wine is then strained, through coarse sieves, into clean vessels, which are filled to the brim, and covered with light matting. In these it is allowed to remain for thirty or forty days, and when the secondary fermentation is thought to be completed, it is racked into smaller jars or bottles in which it can be conveniently transported.' The following extract applies to the present day. 'In Damascus the Christians use principally red grapes in the manufacture of wine. After the grapes have been trodden, the must is transferred with the husks to large earthenware jars, the mouths of which are closed with pieces of linen. Fourteen days afterwards when the fermentation is completed the wine is poured into smaller jars, stirred daily for two months with a rod to prevent acetous fermentation and then strained through a thick linen cloth. The wine is now drinkable. It is preserved in jars which are stoppered and sent to the cellar' (Anderlind in *ZDPV* 11 171 [1888]).

22. 'Boiled wine.' In what has been said hitherto of the Jewish methods of manufacture, the ordinary quality of wine has been exclusively in view. We have also seen (§ 15) that it was usual to expose some part, at least, of the vintage, to the sun before pressing in order to increase the sweetness and strength of the wine; but with this exception the mode of manufacture was as above described. Another procedure which aims at improving a must that is poor in sugar is still in vogue in Syria and elsewhere.[2] The must is boiled in a caldron for a short time, until it is reduced four or five per cent in volume (see the directions from the geoponic collection *ap.* Henderson, *op. cit.* 41), after which the liquor is set aside to cool and in due time to ferment. This is apparently the 'boiled wine' (יַיִן מְבֻשָּׁל, *Terum.* 26; *Mĕnāḥ.* 8 5) which the context shows to have been inferior to wine made and matured in the ordinary way from the best quality of must. The authorities, however, differed in their attitude to 'boiled wine.' 'It is not permissible to boil the must (יַיִן) of the heave offering, because its bulk is thus diminished. But Rabbi Yĕhūda allows it, because it is thereby improved' (*Tĕrūmōth* 11 1). The process now described must not be confused with the much more elaborate process of the manufacture of grape-syrup, full details of which have been given under HONEY, § 1 (3) (cp also PANNAG).

23. Doctored wine. The 'doctoring' of wines, as it is now called, was not unknown to the Jews, since we read of the lees of a more generous wine being added to a wine of inferior quality to increase its strength (see *Bāb. Mĕṣ* 4 11, where also is mentioned the familiar expedient of combining a strong, harsh [קָשֶׁה] wine with one of a milder [רַךְ] quality). The method of hastening the maturing of wines by fumigation (Henderson, *op. cit.* 54 *ff.*, Wilson, *op. cit.* 96 *ff.*, Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*(3), 2 967 *b*) was also practised; but such 'smoked wine' (יַיִן מְעֻשָּׁן, *Mĕnāḥ.* 8 5) was, like the 'boiled wine,' admitted with a grudge as the material of the drink offering (*Mĕnāḥ. l.c.*). The poet's comparison of himself to 'a bottle in the smoke' (Ps. 119 83) is generally supposed to refer to the fumigation of the wine-skin (so RV$^{mg.}$); but the terms are not sufficiently precise for this special application, and the reference is more probably to any skin-bottle exposed to the smoke of the hearth.

24. Various 'brands.' Of the wines most esteemed in OT times, only two are known to us by name, viz., the wine of Lebanon (Hos. 14 7 [8], but see Nowack, who suspects an error in the text [see further *Crit. Bib.*, and cp LEBANON, § 8]) and the wine of HELBON (Ezek. 27 18), a locality about three hours distant from Damascus, to the NW. Its wine was greatly prized by the Assyrians and is frequently mentioned in the cuneiform literature (with nine other varieties in the list R 4 49-13, Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'karânu'). The Persian kings are said by Strabo (15 735) to have drunk only wine from Helbon, and even at the present day it is held in repute. In the Mishna treatise *Mĕnāḥōth* (8 5) five obscure localities are mentioned by name as supplying the wine most esteemed in the Temple service (see for discussion of these Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, 84 *f.*).

25. Date-wine. In discussing the signification of the term *šēkār* (§ 8), we found that both etymology and history pointed to its being originally a comprehensive term for intoxicating beverages of all sorts, including wine, but that, with the popularisation at an early period of the word *yáyin* as the exclusive designation for the fermented juice of the grape, the two terms came to be regarded as mutually exclusive. It was further pointed out that of all the intoxicating liquors, other than wine, likely to be known to the early Hebrews as a branch of the Semitic family, date-wine was historically the oldest. It is not till the Talmudic period, however, that we meet with its Hebrew name, יֵין תְּמָרִים, 'wine of dates' or 'date-wine.' This beverage is said by Herodotus (1 194) to have been the principal article of Assyrian commerce and is mentioned times without number in the cuneiform contract-tablets (Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'šikaru'). The greater part of the wine of Arabia Felix in Strabo's time was made from the palm (4 25; see, further, Löw, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*, for the Arabic *sakr*). The dates were first steeped in water—a modius, or peck, of ripe dates to three congii (about 17 pints) of water is Pliny's recipe (*HN* 14 19)—then submitted to the press, after which the juice was allowed to ferment. The wine which Pliny mentions as being made 'from the pods of the Syrian carob' (see HUSKS, FRUIT, § 14) was no doubt prepared in a similar manner.

26. Apple-wine, pomegranate-wine. Repeatedly in the later Jewish literature reference is made to a species of cider known as tappūăḥ-wine (יֵין תַּפּוּחִים, *Tĕrūm.* 11 2; *Nĕd.* 6 9, etc.). In the uncertainty that attaches to the identification of the *tappūăḥ* (see APPLE, and cp FRUIT, § 12) we cannot be sure whether we have to do with true cider-

[1] There is a decided flavour of modernity about the precautions against 'broaching the admiral' or tampering with the wine-jars *in transitu*, as detailed in *'Ăbōdāh Zārāh* 5 3 *f.*

[2] 'In some parts, *e.g.* Portugal, must which is too watery is concentrated by evaporation in a caldron;' Thudicum, *A Treatise on Wines*, 50 (1894); cp Wilson, *The Wines of the Bible*, 110 *ff.*

or apple-wine, or with the *cydoneum* or *cydonites* of the classical writers, which was made from the juice of the quince. In any case the beverage was intoxicating and therefore taboo to those who took a vow of abstinence from wine (see *Nĕdār.* 6₉). From the kindred pomegranate was prepared the only fermented liquor other than wine mentioned by name in the OT (unless we are prepared to render *šēkār* by palm-wine)—viz., the *'āsīs rimmōnīm*, עֲסִיס רִמֹּנִים (so read Cant. 8₂, AV 'juice,' RV 'sweet wine of [pomegranates]).' This beverage is described by Pliny as 'vinum e punicis quod rhoïten vocant' (*HN* 14₁₆), and is the ῥοΐτης οἶνος of Dioscorides (5₃₄). Both these wines were prepared, like the English cider, we may assume, by crushing the fruit, probably in the oil-mill, as described in detail under OIL, § 3, and allowing the juice to ferment.

It is not surprising to find, in the later literature, reference also to various novel beverages either imported from abroad, or made at home in imitation of the imported article.

27. Foreign beverages. Thus in the minute directions for the removal of every trace of leaven in the Mishna treatise on the passovers (*Pĕsāḥīm* 3₁), four foreign liquors are proscribed on the implied ground that fermented grain in some form or other entered into their composition. These are: 'Babylonian *kuttaḥ*, Median *šēkār*, Edomite (*i.e.*, Roman) vinegar, and Egyptian beer' (זיתום, ζῦθος). The *kuttaḥ* is said to have had sour milk for its basis. The Median differed from the Palestinian *šēkār*, in not being pure fermented fruit-juice, but having an admixture of malt. The Roman vinegar was also suspected of containing a similar mixture. The last of the four is the beer for which Egypt had long been famed. Herodotus (2₇₇) is the first Greek writer to refer to the Egyptians' fondness for 'wine made from barley,' whilst Diodorus styles it ζῦθος, declaring that its bouquet was little inferior to that of wine (1₃₄). This preparation, of which the native name was *heḳ*, is said to be as old as the fourth dynasty (Birch, *ap.* Wilk. *op. cit.* 1₃₉₆) and to have been at all times the favourite beverage of the common people. It was made from barley, and flavoured by an infusion of various plants (for further details see the references, especially to modern investigations, in the list of authorities cited by Schürer, *GJV*⁽³⁾, 2₅₇, and for the *būza* of modern Egypt, see J. Death, *The Beer of the Bible*, 1887). The Alexandrian translators found a reference to the manufacture of beer in Egypt in the already corrupt text of Is. 19₁₀*b* (οἱ ποιοῦντες τὸν ζῦθον; see WEAVING, § 5).

It is still an open question whether the Hebrews under the monarchy drank their wine neat or, as was customary among the peoples of classical antiquity, diluted with water (see MEALS, § 12).

28. With water. From the quaint expression used by Isaiah to symbolise the degeneracy of his contemporaries (1₂₂, 'thy silver has become dross, thy wine mixed with water' [מָהוּל, lit. 'circumcised']), it has been inferred that in the eighth century, at least, the addition of water was not the usual practice. That this is the significance of the unique phrase 'circumcised'—the accompanying *bammayim* in the original is probably a gloss—is proved by many analogies both in the Semitic and in the non-Semitic languages, of which Pliny's *castrare vinum* is the most familiar[1] (see Marti's list of parallels in *KHC, in loc.*). In this connection it should be remembered that the ancient wines were not, like the modern, 'doctored' or 'rectified' by the addition of a strong spirit, and the wines of Palestine, in particular, may be assumed on the whole not to have exceeded the strength of an ordinary claret. It may be taken as a result of Hellenic influence that it is in the late post-exilic period that we first meet with a clear reference to the diluting of wine with water. Thus the author of 2 Macc. remarks that 'it is hurtful to drink wine or water alone' whilst 'wine mingled with water (οἶνος ὕδατι συνκερασθεὶς) is pleasant' (15₃₉; cp 𝔊 rendering of Bel, 33). In NT times it may be taken that the Greek custom had become firmly established, since the diluting of wine is assumed to be the usual custom in the Mishna (*Bĕrākh.* 7₅ 8₂; *'Ăbōd. Zār.* 5₅, and oft.). Wine thus diluted was termed יַיִן מָזוּג; undiluted or 'neat' wine, יַיִן חַי (lit. 'living wine'). In *Niddā* 2₇ *māzūg* wine is defined as consisting of 'two parts of water and one part of the wine of Sharon.' In the Gĕmārā and in the Midrash, however, Sharon wine is said to have been weaker than the ordinary sorts, which were usually mixed in the proportion of three parts of water to one of wine (see also the commentaries on *Shabb.* 8₁). These are the proportions recommended by Hesiod for peasants in the dog-days (*Works and Days*, 596).[1] A refinement of this custom consisted in mixing the wine with snow (*Negā.* 1₂), a practice which some have found referred to in Pr. 25₁₃ (see Toy *in loc.* with reff. there). It is further attested that it was a common custom to mix wine with hot water, so perhaps always at the Passover supper (see *Pĕsāḥ.* 7₁₃, where the hot-water apparatus [מֵיחָם] is specially named). Even the must in the vat was drunk mixed with water, either cold (צוֹנֵן) or hot (הַחַמִּין, *Ma'ăsēr.* 4₄). The Arabs also, in the period before Mohammed, mixed their wine with cold water (half and half) or with hot (Jacob, *Altarab. Beduinenleben*, 102).

A study of the OT passages in which reference is made, either explicitly or by implication, to the 'mixing' or 'mingling' of wine shows that the mixing in question was not with water but with various aromatic herbs and spices, for the purpose of heightening the flavour and increasing the strength of the wine.

29. With spices. Thus the 'men of might' denounced by Isaiah (5₂₂) did not, we may be sure, dilute their strong drink with water, but mingled it with appropriate spices. Indeed, we have seen some ground for supposing that *šēkār* itself may have been sometimes used to denote wine when treated in this way (see § 8, and especially the definition of Suidas there quoted). This 'spiced wine' is plainly specified by the name יֵין הָרֶקַח of Cant. 8₂ and by the יַיִן מְבֻשָּׁם of *Bāba Bathrā* 6₃ (cp the special term פִּטֵּם אֶת־הַיַּיִן, to 'spice' the wine, *Ma'ăsēr. Sh.* 2₁). Maspero thus describes the Assyrian practice: 'The wines, even the most delicate, are not drunk in their natural state; they are mixed with aromatics and various drugs, which give them a delicious flavour and add tenfold to their strength. This operation is performed in the hall, under the eyes of the revellers. An eunuch standing before a table pounds in a stone mortar the intoxicating substances, which he moistens from time to time with some essence. His comrades have poured the contents of the amphoræ into immense bowls of chased silver [cp Pr. 9₂, 𝔊 ἐκέρασεν εἰς κρατῆρα τὸν οἶνον] which reach to their chests. As soon as the perfumed paste is ready they put some of it into each bowl and carefully dissolve it. The cupbearers bring the cups, draw out the wine, and serve the guests' (*Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, 370 *ff.*, with illustrs.). This class of beverages is styled *aromatites* by Pliny, who enumerates the various aromatics used in their composition—myrrh, cassia, calamus, etc. (*HN* 14₁₉). The same authority has much to say of the fondness of the Romans for the special beverage known as *myrrhina* or myrrh-wine (*HN* 14₁₅; cp Smith, *Dict.*⁽³⁾, *s.v.* 'Vinum,' 2967*a*), the οἶνος ἐσμυρισμένος of Mk. 15₂₃ (AV 'wine mingled with myrrh'—see CROSS, § 5.

1 [Or we may read מוֹהַל, which in MH means the dark turbid liquor pressed out from grapes. So Barth, Nöldeke, Cheyne (*SBOT*, 'Isaiah,' Heb., 111).]

1 For other proportions recommended by various classical writers see Iwan Müller, *Handb. d. klass. Altertumswiss.* 4443*b*.

and cp ‖ Mt. 27 34), and the אִינוֹמְרִנוֹן of later Jewish literature (*Shīr Rabba* 4 14).

Here also may be classed another popular beverage of the first centuries of our era in Palestine, the foreign

30. With honey. origin of which is betrayed by its name אִינוֹמִילִין[1] (variously pointed = *οἰνόμελι, Ep. Ignat. ad Trall.* 6 2), the favourite *mulsum* of the Romans. As the name also indicates, we have here a mixture of wine and honey (*Tĕrūm.* 11 1), in the proportion of 'four by measure of wine to one of honey,' to which pepper was added as flavouring (*'Ăb. Zār.* 30*a*).

It is a remarkable fact that the plain and literal references in the Bible to wine and strong drink are

31. Metaphors. exceeded in number by the illustrations and figures borrowed from their preparation and use. Only a few typical cases can be here adduced. Passing by the familiar designation of Israel as a vine and as the vineyard of Yahwè, we have in the treading of the winepress a frequent and expressive figure of the divine judgments (Is. 63 2 *f.* Joel 3[4] 13 Lam. 1 15 Rev. 14 19 *f.*). The action of the must under fermentation suggests to a Hebrew poet a novel metaphor to express agony of soul occasioned by the calamities of his country (Lam. 1 20 2 11). The folly of attempting to force the 'new wine' of the gospel into the 'old wine-skins' (Mt. 9 17 and ‖s), the worn-out forms and formulas of Judaism, is illustrated by the familiar figure discussed above (§ 17). We have also seen how the treatment of the wine while maturing in the wine-jars supplied Jeremiah with an image for the easy-going Moab, who had not been 'emptied from vessel to vessel' (48 11 *f.*), but had settled contentedly 'on his lees,' like the callous *insouciant* contemporaries of Zephaniah (1 12). By the superiority of old wine to new (cp Lk. 5 39) ben Sira illustrates his preference for an old and tried friend over one whose friendship has still to mature (*παλαιοῦμαι*; Ecclus. 9 15 [𝔊 10]). Perhaps the boldest metaphor is that in which the intoxicating properties of wine, as contained in Yahwè's 'cup of reeling,' is employed by prophet and poet (Is. 51 17 *ff.* Jer. 25 15 *ff.* Ezek. 23 33 Hab. 2 16 Pss. 60 5 75 8) as 'a frequent symbol for confusion, bewilderment, and distress. . . . Drunkenness may typify spiritual blindness or perplexity (Is. 19 14 Jer. 23 9). It also supplies the figure for sailors of a ship in a storm at sea, who reel about the deck in bewildered witlessness (Ps. 107 27); and finally it is combined with the image of the wind-tossed booth to illustrate the convulsions of the earth upon the Judgment-day' (Is. 24 20).[2]

This symbolism may be said to reach its highest point in the institution of the Eucharist.

With regard to the attitude of OT and NT to the general question of the use of fermented beverages, it is

32. Ideas about drinks. worthy of note that while *tīrōš* in the OT sometimes denotes the unfermented must, there is no trace in Hebrew literature, from the earliest period to the close of the Mishna, of any method of preserving it in the unfermented state. Indeed it has been maintained that 'with the total absence of antiseptic precautions characteristic of Orientals, it would have been impossible to do so' (Prof. Macalister in Hastings' *DB* 2 34*b*, in this agreeing with many modern authorities). Throughout the OT the use of wine as a daily beverage (see MEALS, § 12) appears as an all but universal custom (for the exceptions see NAZIRITE, and RECHABITE;[3] priests also, while on duty, had to abstain from wine

[1] This name, however, may have supplanted an earlier native designation, since honied wine was known to the Assyrians from an early period, see Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.vv.* 'dašpu' and 'duššupu.'

[2] Quoted from a most suggestive paper, entitled 'A Tentative Catalogue of Biblical Metaphors' by Claude G. Montefiore in *JQR* 3 662.

[3] Schürer (*GJV*(3), 2 569) combats the generally received view that the Essenes also were abstainers.

and strong drink: Lev. 10 9; cp Ezek. 44 21).[1] Even its use to the extent of exhilaration is implicitly approved (Gen. 43 34 Judg. 9 13 Ps. 104 15 Pr. 31 7), whilst the value of alcohol as a stimulant in sickness and distress is explicitly recognised (Pr. 31 6; cp 1 Tim. 5 23). The views of the biblical writers on this subject, in short, may fairly be summed up in the words of Jesus ben Sira (about 180 B.C.): 'Wine drunk in measure and to satisfy is joy of heart and gladness of soul' (Ecclus. 31 28 RV; cp *v.* 27, and for the converse *vv.* 29 *f.*), or in those of a somewhat later, or it may be contemporary, Jewish writer, the Pseudo-Aristeas: *πλὴν ἐν πᾶσι μετριότης καλόν* (in all things [according to the context: eating, drinking, and pleasures] moderation is good; ed. Wendland, 223). Whilst this is so, the opposition of biblical writers to immoderate indulgence in wine and strong drink is too explicit and too well known to require further elaboration here.[2] The problems raised by the very different conditions of the modern world were of course undreamt of by the biblical writers.

A. R. S. K.

WINNOWING (זָרָה; Ruth 3 2 Is. 30 24). See AGRICULTURE, § 9.

WISDOM LITERATURE

Definition (§ 1).	Ethics (§ 9 *f.*).
Early philosophy (§ 2 *f.*).	World-questions (§§ 11-13).
The Sages (§ 4).	Decline (§ 14).
Their teaching (§§ 5-8).	Bibliography (§ 15).

'Wisdom Literature' is the usual designation of those old-Hebrew writings which deal, not with the Israelitish

1. Definition. national law and life, but with universal moral and religious principles of all human life. It is thus sharply distinguished from the PROPHETICAL LITERATURE [*q.v.*] (whose central theme is the obligation to serve Yahwè alone and no other god), from the LAW LITERATURE [*q.v.*] (which is mainly concerned with ritual), and from the Liturgical Literature [see PSALMS, etc.] (which is the expression of religious emotion). As its lower limit we may take the beginning of the Christian era—after this the Jewish thought occupies itself with other things; it may be considered to include all reflective writings before Philo, who forms a new category. 'Inasmuch as it seeks to discover what is permanent and universal in life (which is the aim of philosophy) it may be described as the pre-Philonic Hebrew philosophy. The books and psalms in which it is contained, arranged in what is taken in this article to be the general chronological order, are: Job, certain Psalms (such as 8 19 29 37 49 73 90 92 103 104 107 139 147 148), Proverbs, Ben-Sira (Ecclesiasticus), Ecclesiastes, Wisdom of Solomon, to which may be added the earliest sayings of the heads of schools (reported in *Pirkē Ābōth*). For details the reader is referred to the articles on the several books.

The Israelites, like all other peoples, must have reflected more or less, from the moment when they

2. Early Jewish philosophy; origin. attained a settled civilisation, on general questions of life. The lowest form of such reflection appears in popular proverbs and fables, which express, usually in a one-sided and superficial way, the result of the ordinary common-sense experience and observation; such are Jotham's fable (Judg. 9 8-15), and the proverbs cited in 1 S. 10 12 2 S. 5 8 20 18 Jer. 31 29 (= Ezek. 18 2). Nathan's apologue (2 S. 12 1-4) and the allegories in Is. 5 1 *f.* Ezek. 16 17 23 are of a higher

[1] It has often been remarked that Ezekiel in his ideal sketch of the restored temple worship makes no provision for the use of wine, which had from time immemorial a recognised place in the ritual. [On the daily libation of wine at the morning and evening sacrifice, see SACRIFICE, § 35, and cp Ecclus. 50 15 *f.*]

[2] We may note in particular the deutero-canonical writers (*e.g.*, 1 Esd. 3 4 *ff.*, and the frequent denunciation of excess in Ecclesiasticus): also Philo's treatises 'on the planting of Noah' and 'Drunkenness.' In the latter occurs the fine saying (sect. 32) regarding *ἄκρατον καὶ πᾶν ἀφροσύνης φάρμακον*.

WISDOM LITERATURE

literary and moral character; but they are moral and religious discourses (such as form the staple of the prophetic books) directed against particular cases of sin rather than reflections on life.[1]

In the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Historical Books there is frequent mention of 'wisdom' (חָכְמָה, *ḥŏkmāh*) and 'wise men' (חֲכָמִים, *ḥăkāmīm*). In all these cases the connection shows that what is meant by 'wisdom' is either the skill of the magician (Ex. 7 11), or of the artisan (Ex. 28 3 35 10 25 2 Ch. 26 [7] Is. 40 20), or the sagacity of the man of affairs (Gen. 41 33 Dt. 1 13 2 S. 13 3 14 2 Is. 3 3), or, with larger scope, the broad and high-minded intelligence of him who is in sympathy with the divine law of right (Dt. 4 6 Is. 11 2). In the passage Is. 11 2 the term seems to approach very near the meaning it has in Job and Proverbs, and this it might well do if, as is probable, this passage is later than the sixth century B.C.; but here also the context shows that the wisdom of the king is manifested in his equitable administration of affairs, not in his reflection on life. 'Wise men' are spoken of as a class by some of the earlier prophets (Is. 29 14 Jer. 8 8 *f.* 9 11 [12] 22 [23] 18 18, cp Ezek. 7 26);[2] but their wisdom lies in practical acquaintance with the affairs of the state and of life. A fundamental difference between them and the sages of Proverbs appears in the fact that the prophets are hostile to them; they were probably men of experience and practical sagacity whose views of public policy were opposed to those of the prophets, and in this regard they belong in the same category with the 'false prophets' (see Jer. 8 11). The opposition to the great prophets came from various sources—among others, it would seem, from men who rejected the prophet's claim of a divine revelation (Jer. 8 9), and interpreted the existing *tōrāh* in their own way (Jer. 8 8). These may have been patriotic, conscientious, and able men in spite of the denunciations hurled at them by Isaiah and Jeremiah; but their wisdom concerned itself not with universal human life, but with the political, legal, and moral questions of Israelitish policy. Solomon's wisdom, in the only example of it given in OT (1 K. 3 16-28), is administrative; later Jewish legend (see Wünsche, *op. cit.*) represents it as skill in giving and answering riddles. Of the proverbs and songs and sayings about plants and animals ascribed to him in 1 K. 5 9-14 (4 29-34), nothing has survived. His reputation for wisdom rests, no doubt, on some real fact; he was, very likely, a man of sagacity, and may have been the author of some shrewd observations on men and things; afterwards it may have become the custom to ascribe to him all anonymous songs and apophthegms, summed up by the editor of Kings in large round numbers. In a later age, when his fame was established, his name was assumed in certain books (Ps. 72 Pr. Cant. Eccl. W. Sol., Pss. of Sol.) in accordance with a recognised literary habit of the times.

Outside of Israel the centres of wisdom mentioned in OT are Egypt, Edom or the East, Babylon, and perhaps Tyre (1 K. 5 10 *f.* [4 30 *f.*] Ob. 8 Jer. 41 49 7 Is. 44 25 Ezek. 28 3). Egypt, from a remote time, had its moralising sages.[3] Babylon was the home of astrology (Is. 47 10-13), and Tyre was renowned for artistic and commercial skill (Ezek. 27); of Edom we know only its repute (Ob. 8 Jer. 49 7)—from it, at a later time, come apparently the Three Friends in Job. Of all Israel's neighbours it was, so far as we have exact information, only from Egypt that she could have learned gnomic lore in the earlier period, and it is precisely from Egypt (if we may judge from the religious history) that she seems to have received the least intellectual stimulus. It thus appears that the history, as detailed in OT, gives no warrant for supposing that, down to the close of the sixth century B.C., there was in Israel any universal or philosophic treatment of moral and religious problems.

3. Growth. Though there were, however, no systematic discussions of these questions in the pre-exilic and exilic periods, there was the germ of larger thought. The prophetic declaration that God desires men's love, not their sacrifices (Hos. 6 6), the formulation of the principle of individual moral responsibility (Dt. 24 16 Jer. 31 30 Ezek. 18 4), and the announcement of the obligation to love one's neighbour as one's self (Lev. 19 18) contain the substance of what was afterwards developed into a universal religion. To a man of the sixth century B.C. who recognised the significance of these principles it might have seemed that the natural process of national growth would carry Israelitish thought beyond the limits of nationalism to a moral and religious system which would transcend all that was local and temporary. There is, in fact, every reason to believe that the growth of the Israelitish people in ethical and religious thought was sound and continuous. After the heroic period of struggle for a unitary conception of the divine government of the world, in which the fresh spontaneous prophetic feeling played a great part, came a time of quieter reflection, when the nation was obliged to face the question of orderly organisation on the basis of definite written law. The attempt to formulate principles of organisation must have forced the larger problems of life on the attention of the thinkers of the time. How far this process would have gone, and what direction it would have taken, if the Jews had been all massed in their own land under an independent national government it is impossible to say. From the sixth century, however, they were never independent except in a partial way for a century of Maccabæan rule. Moreover, what is of more consequence, the old national isolation vanished for ever; Jews were scattered over the whole area of Western civilisation, and Judæa was a petty province exposed on all sides to the inroads of new ideas. Israelitism was a single fact hemmed in by great peoples, Babylonian, Egyptian, Persian, Greek—it maintained itself, but not without modification. The Jews were persistent and sympathetic, gave and took, wove into their own system what they got from without, and lived in an atmosphere of comparison and adaptation. From Babylonia they seem to have received suggestions of literary work and of a regular liturgical cultus, from Persia the form of an elaborate angelology and demonology and the doctrine of a bodily resurrection, from Egypt and Greece the belief in the ethical immortality of the soul, and from Greece, further, a touch of philosophy. Out of all these influences sprang that attitude of reflection which produced the Wisdom Literature. The experience of the Jews repeated that of many other civilised peoples—they were educated by contact with their neighbours. The post-exilian Jewish thought, whose basis and soul was the native intellectual force of the people, was constantly stimulated and broadened from without, but received its direction from the course of the national fortunes.

In estimating the literature of the post-exilian Jews two features of their social position should be borne in mind: (1) Though, so far as records go, they were not persecuted by their conquerors till the beginning of the second century B.C., their political dependence probably exposed them in some degree to oppression and humiliation on the part of foreigners and apostate fellow-countrymen; (2) While not giving up the agricultural life in Palestine, they came more and more to live in cities—to no small extent in their own land, but especially in foreign countries (see Job 29 7 31 32 and Pr. and Ecclus. *passim*)—and thus had occasion to observe and acquire the virtues and vices of urban life. Hence, in part, the prominence given in the wisdom books to the insolence of the rich, to sexual immorality,

[1] The riddle, which is a mere exercise of ingenuity, does not come into consideration here (see RIDDLE). The same word (חִידָה) it is true, is used for Samson's riddle (Judg. 14 12) and the moralising discourse of Ps. 78; but the different application in the psalm is an indication of the advance of thought. On Hebrew riddles see A. Wünsche, 'Die Räthselweisheit bei den Hebräern' (in *JPT*, 1883).

[2] Hos. 14 10 [9] appears to be a late editorial addition.

[3] For the Egyptian gnomic literature see *Records of the Past*, and Griffith, art. 'Egyptian Literature,' in the *Library of the World's Best Literature*. For Babylonian magical texts and riddles, see *RP*, and Jaeger, in *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, 1892.

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and to the duties and dangers of the business life; and hence, also, came fuller opportunity of contact with the philosophical thought of the time.

The Jewish sages or philosophers formed a distinct class sharply differentiated from prophets (see PROPHET), priests (see PRIEST), and SCRIBES (*q.v.*).

4. The Sages.

The difference between the point of view of the sage and that of the prophet or the priest is obvious, and he is no less distinct from the scribe, if this term is understood to mean 'one learned in the scriptures.' A member of any one of these classes might, it is true, be also a member of any other class: a priest might be a prophet or a scribe or a sage, and so with the others. But in becoming a sage, one assumed a particular attitude toward life, and thought and spoke in accordance with that attitude. The cultivation of learning and thought began with the priesthood, which was the custodian of the *Tōrāh*. The *Tōrāh*, however, had two sides, the ritual or liturgical, and the civil and moral, and the priesthood soon split into two divisions which devoted themselves severally to these two classes of duties. The second class (which soon came to include others than priests), composite in nature, in its turn called for division; one set of men cultivated the study of the national code of law, becoming necessarily expounders of the national scriptures—these were the lawyers or scribes; others were attracted by the study of universal moral truth—these were the sages.

The aim and function of the sage are clearly described by Ben Sira (Ecclus. 39 1-11): the wise man, whilst he meditates on the law of God, will search through the world for knowledge, and will gain honour and renown among all men for his acute sayings and his practical understanding. The sages made the pursuit of wisdom the chief aim of life. For most of them (for all, so far as our knowledge goes, except Kōhéleth and Agur) the basis of wisdom was religious faith. This conception was a necessary one for the devout Jew for two reasons: first, since God was held to be universal and absolute ruler, it followed that he was the bestower of all gifts of learning, including physical and psychological knowledge (Wisd. 7 16-21), and doubtless all the science of the time; and second, so far as wisdom was regarded as the guide to the best life, it must be founded on the divine moral law, which sprang from God's wisdom and was enforced by his power. This religious conception of wisdom, however, did not prevent the widest study of men and things, if we may judge from the examples of Ben Sira and the author of Wisdom of Solomon; there must have been many Jews, certainly from the fourth century B.C. onwards, who went outside of Israelitish learning.[1] There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of such men when they declared that the fear of Yahwè was the beginning of wisdom: they might hold to this central dogma, and at the same time yield to their thirst for the knowledge which was to be found only in foreign lands and books; they might believe that Yahwè was the teacher of foreign sages, or they might follow their bent without troubling themselves to solve the apparent contradiction that whilst Yahwè's revelation of wisdom to his people was complete and all-sufficient, there was also other wisdom which was good. A similar remark holds of the maxims of prudence and shrewdness which abound in Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus; these, though they had no immediate connection with the fear of God, might be considered as a part of the scheme of life which God had ordained; more probably the moralists wrote what they thought desirable, and the question of logical harmony did not occur to them. Philosophic schools, in the full Greek sense, the Jewish sages did not form—they had no speculative philosophy proper. There were, however, theoretical differences among them, especially in regard to the nature of the divine government of the world, and in regard to the dignity and possible happiness of human life. It is probable that a sort of academic life gradually established itself.

Whilst in Job (12 2 15 10 32 7) the wisdom is that of experience and tradition, there is in Proverbs (1 2-6 22 17-21), Ecclesiasticus (38 24—39 10), and Ecclesiastes (12 11) a distinct recognition of professional study and of a body of teaching. In the second century B.C. there existed an incipient University (Antigonus of Soko and his successors), and before this there must have been some form of the higher teaching (cp EDUCATION, § 5). The thought of the great scholars no doubt took a wide range; we have recorded only so much of it as survived the revisions of generations.

There was a stirring intellectual life, of which we find not a few traces in the extant literature.[1] When the Jews began to be influenced by organised bodies of foreign thought it is difficult to say. Of early Persian literary life we unfortunately know nothing, and it is not probable that Jews came into intellectual contact with Greeks before the time of Alexander. Immediately after his death Greek schools of philosophy sprang up abundantly in Egypt and Western Asia, and from them, it seems probable, Jewish sages got ideas which coloured their thought. No doubt they learned something of all the current science; but they have left no full statements of their non-religious opinions (hints in Ecclus. 43, Wisd. 7, etc.). Here we shall be obliged to confine ourselves to the main points of the moral and religious thought, referring, for other ideas, to the commentaries.

Part of the thought of the wisdom books they have in common with preceding and contemporary literature, and this may be dismissed with a brief mention.

5. Teaching of the Sages: the old material.

They inherited the belief in monotheism, and in the practically unlimited character of the divine attributes pertaining to knowledge and power.[2] For them, as for the prophets, God is terrible to those who violate his commands (Job 15 Prov. 1 20-31 Ecclus. 27 29 Wisd. 5), a compassionate, forgiving saviour to those who fear and obey him (Job 5 18 Ps. 103 Ecclus. 2 11 17 29 Wisd. 16 7). They take monogamy for granted,[3] and recognise a well-ordered family-life and all the ordinary virtues. They retain the common view of man as a being made up of body and soul, and possessing conscience and freedom, while, at the same time, he is absolutely controlled by God; with their predecessors (Dt. 24 16 Jer. 31 30 Ezek. 18 4) they reject the old conception of the solidarity of the family and the nation—or, more exactly, they ignore it. They, however, retain the traditional sharp division of men into the two classes of good and bad. Here also should probably be put their silence respecting the miraculous. In the OT, miracles are described or mentioned only in works written long after the events described. There are no miracles between Hezekiah and the Book of Daniel; Nehemiah says nothing of supernatural intervention, and the Maccabæan apparitions and signs are recorded not in 1 Macc., but in 2 Macc. Miracles play no part in the writings of the Prophets or in the Psalms, except as reminiscences (Is. 63 12 Ps. 105 etc.) or vague expectations (Is. 11 Zech. 14 Joel 3). In the Wisdom books they are referred to only as events of the ancient history, and only in Ecclesiasticus (44 48) and Wisdom (10-19). In a word, neither in the gnomic literature nor elsewhere in the OT does the miraculous enter into the texture of the thought.

Proceeding, now, to examine the characteristic thought of the Wisdom books, we have first to note its relatively non-national character: it lays little stress on national institutions, laws, and hopes; but it holds, to some extent, to the moral and religious superiority of Israel over all other nations.

6. Characteristic thought: the ritual.

The sacrificial ritual is referred to a few times as an existing custom (as in Prov. 15 8 Ecclus. 34 18-20 Eccles. 5 1), but rather with the purpose of controlling it by moral considerations, and faithfulness in the payment of tithes (Prov. 3 9) and vows (Eccles. 5 4) is enjoined. The sages (like the prophets and the Gospels) recognise the propriety of observing the custom; but

[1] Cp Plumptre's biography of Koheleth in his *Ecclesiastes* (in *Camb. Bible*, 1881) and the criticism of it by Bois, in his *Origines d. l. Phil. Judéo-Alexandrine*, 1890.

[1] Cp the evidences, in the Talmud, of thought which went outside of the current orthodoxy.

[2] On the apparent polytheistic conception of Pss. 58 82 see the Commentaries.

[3] Israelitish polygamy had probably disappeared by the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

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they do not put it in the same category with obedience to moral principle. Such things as circumcision and the Sabbath they take for granted, but find no occasion to mention. It is noteworthy that they do not refer to the private reading of the sacred books, or to synagogal services. It is certain that they were well acquainted with the old literature, and that this had, in their time, a semi-sacred character; but reading was an art confined to the few, instruction was largely oral, and the duty of reading was not a thing that could be insisted on for the masses, and for students it was taken for granted. Synagogues hardly existed before the second century B.C., and attendance on the weekly gatherings was a custom which did not need to be enjoined. Forgiveness of sin is not connected with sacrifice, but with the mercy of God and obedience to him (see, *e.g.*, Job 8 Ecclus. 17 25 *f.* Wisd. 11 23). This, however, is not peculiar to the sages; it is a part of the general Israelitish conception; in the Tōrāh there is no sacrificial atonement except for sins of ignorance.[1] The negative attitude of the Wisdom books towards sacrifices and the Temple ritual in general must be ascribed to the progress of moral and religious thought. All the cultivated world of the time was moving away from this external sort of service. This was notably the case in Greece and Rome, and the same tendency (formulated in the Gospels) is visible in the sayings ascribed (in *Pirḳē Ābōth*) to the early Jewish teachers. The moral side of the relation between man and God was of necessity emphasised.

The silence of the sages respecting Messianic hopes is to be explained partly by their philosophic individualism, partly by the circumstances of the times.

7. The nation.

There are glowing pictures of the future of the nation in prophetic writings as late as the fourth century B.C. (Is. 11 Joel 3 4 Zech. 9-14); but of this there is in Job and Proverbs not a word, in Ecclesiasticus only a general wish (Ecclus. 47 22 50 22-26), in Wisdom only a look to the life to come (Wisd. 5). The sages held that the one thing necessary for all men was individual righteousness; they might thus have been comparatively indifferent to hopes of national independence and glory, they might sympathise with their suffering fellow-countrymen (Wisd. 1-6) without cherishing political dreams. They may also (like the Pharisaic party at a later time) have convinced themselves that resistance to the great military powers was useless, and that the true mission of the Jewish people was to cultivate knowledge. Their attitude towards foreign nations was not hostile, but friendly; they recognised the excellence, in certain regards, of the civilisation of these peoples, utilised them by becoming their pupils in philosophy, and thus, while remaining Jews, became in a measure cosmopolitan, and began the formal fusion of Semitic and Hellenic thought.

On the other hand, the belief remained that Israel stood in a peculiar relation with God, had a special revelation of his will, and was entitled to his special protection (Ecclus. 24 44-50 Wisd. 10-19). On this point there may have been diversity of view; there is no reference to it in Job and Proverbs. In these books the name 'Israel' does not occur, and the national Tōrāh is not mentioned. It is hardly probable that the sages (except Agur and Ḳōhéleth) were wholly without national pride; but their national feeling receded before their philosophic and religious devotion to virtue. It is to be noted that the prominence given in the wisdom books (omitting Eccles.) to national topics increases as time goes on: there is nothing of it in Job, next to nothing in Proverbs, somewhat in Ecclesiasticus, more in Wisdom. This fact is probably to be attributed partly to a change in the condition of the Jewish people, and partly to the personal feeling of the writers. At the time when Job and the greater part of Proverbs were composed (that is, in the 4th and 3rd cents. B.C.) the nation was tranquil—so far as the records go there was no persecution, there was nothing to call forth an expression of national feeling. In Ben Sira's time (about 190 B.C.), the Jews had begun to be involved in the conflict between Egypt and Syria; but his Ode to Heroes (Ecclus. 44-50) seems to have been suggested partly by his patriotic feeling, partly by his admiration for the high priest Simon, then lately deceased. Wisdom was written at a moment (about 50 B.C.) when the memory of scorn, insult, and oppression was fresh. Ḳōhéleth stood so far away from his nation that no reference to its fortunes could be expected from him.

What most particularly characterises the Wisdom Literature is its conception of virtue or righteousness, and its discussion of the moral government of the world. These points we may now proceed to consider.

8. The nature of virtue.

The sages do not enter into any formal investigation of the nature of virtue. They assume, in general, that it is sincere adhesion to the moral law (Job 29-31 Prov. Ecclus. Wisd., *passim*). This definition is not affected by their eudæmonistic theory—one may look to a reward and yet be sincere; nor is its reality destroyed by the maxims of selfish worldly wisdom which are occasionally found in their writings (particularly in Ecclesiasticus). But in Job and Proverbs and the succeeding books we meet a conception of the moral life which, while not without a point of connection with the prophetic thought, still goes far beyond anything in the earlier literature; virtue is practically identified with knowledge. Knowledge, it is true, is a necessary condition of obedience, and is so spoken of in the Prophets (Is. 1 3 6 9 Jer. 4 22 5 4); but the sages treat it as if it were the same thing as obedience. The central fact in the books just named is wisdom, which is made to include all the duties of life from the lowest to the highest. The ideal person, he who stands for the right against and above the wrong, is the wise man. When we recollect that in the Prophets, and to some extent in Job (5 15 37 24), human wisdom is looked on as a thing alien to or opposed to God, it is evident that Jewish thought, in representing wisdom as the one thing needful, has taken a new direction. This was the doctrine of Greek philosophy, and we therefore seem warranted in supposing that it was from the Greeks that it came, in its full form, to the Jews.[1] Instead of the simple demands of earlier times, the sole worship of Yahwè and obedience to his ritual and moral laws, there has now arisen a science of living, in which intellectual insight is the central faculty, it being assumed that he, and only he, who sees will do. Wickedness is folly, the bad man is a fool;[2] the guide to right living is the sage, the duty of the young is to seek his instruction. The moral and religious organisation of the Jews corresponded to this conception of life; there were schools like those of Athens and other Greek centres, and the synagogue was also doubtless a house of instruction. This idea—that life is a moral training—proved to be permanent; the Jews never gave it up—it was, in fact, an essential element in the growth of the world. But a pious Israelite, while he accepted wisdom as the guide of life, could not fail to identify its moral code with the law of God, since he looked on this law as the perfect expression of duty. This identification is accordingly made in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom. The terms 'instruction' and 'the law of Yahwè' are used interchangeably, and 'wisdom' itself is said to be the same with 'the fear of Yahwè.'

Freedom of ethical discussion is, however, not

[1] On this point, cp WRS *Rel. Sem.*(2), ch. 11; Smend. *ATliche Rel.-Gesch.* § 21; Montefiore, *Hibb. Lect.* Lect. 9; also SACRIFICE, §§ 48 *ff.*

[1] A similar influence is visible in the stress laid, by Rabbinical Judaism, on knowledge of the Law (Jn. 7 49, *Pirḳ. Āb.* 2 5).

[2] אויל occurs only twice in Job (5 2 *f.*), and כסיל not at all; the two terms are common in the other books.

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diminished by this quasi-nationalistic definition of wisdom. The sages do not confine themselves to the Prophets and the Tōrāh, but seek their maxims everywhere, chiefly by observation of actual life, possibly, also, in such Greek and other writings as they had access to.[1] Nevertheless there is no reason to regard their acceptance of the law of Yahwè as a pretence. They were perfectly sincere in treating the divine will as the final standard of right, only they enlarged the definition of the 'law of the Lord,' making it comprehend all the deliverances of their moral consciousness; for those who would be faithful at once to their national traditions and to their own convictions there was no other course. The sages thus represent the ethical ideas and usages of their time, and are in this regard valuable as making a contribution to the history of ethical thought. It is also true that they assume the position of independent moral teachers, with reason and conscience as their guides; they do not lay claim to revelation or inspiration from God, and they appeal only to the good sense of their readers. All this is in accordance with their philosophical point of view; they wrote simply as moralists, never citing the Law as authority, yet by no means setting themselves above revelation—rather they accepted revelation, and believed in the rightness and authority of their own teaching, and saw no incongruity in these two positions.[2] Of their books two (Ecclesiasticus and Wisdom) were excluded from the canon, two (Job and Eccl.) were substantially modified by interpolations and additions, and two (Prov. and Eccl.) reached canonical dignity only after a struggle.

9. Human wisdom.

The human quality of wisdom is sometimes treated as natural intellectual acumen and breadth, sometimes as the direct gift of God; but there is no discrepancy between these views. The latter belongs to the old-Israelitish theocratic faith, according to which all powers of body and mind come immediately from Yahwè. That the gnomic writers regard 'wisdom' (חָכְמָה, *ḥokmāh*) as primarily an intellectual faculty appears from its various synonyms, such as 'understanding' or 'intelligence' (בִּינָה, *bīnāh*), 'shrewdness' (עָרְמָה, *'ōrmāh*), 'sagacity' (מְזִמָּה, *mĕzimmāh*), 'practical ability' (תּוּשִׁיָּה, *tūšiyyāh*). They, in fact, treat it also as a purely natural power, subject to ordinary conditions of training and growth, and to a certain extent under the control of its possessor. They thus collocate the divine and the human points of view. This sort of collocation or combination appears also in the relation, as conceived by the sages, between human wisdom and divine wisdom. Whilst in the Prophets and the Law it is God's apartness, sacredness, or holiness that is put most prominently forward, it is of wisdom that the sages think as his chief attribute. By it he is said to direct the whole course of nature and the whole life of man. As in the beginning the breath of God gave life to man, so the divine wisdom, filling and ordering all things, yet able to choose its own course, enters into the souls of those who fear him, and brings them into unison with his thought. This conception, indicated in Prov. 2 10 Ecclus. 6 22, is more distinctly stated in Wisdom (1 4), as, in fact, it belongs to the more definitely philosophical side of the idea, and is an approach to personification.

Definite personification of Wisdom is found in Job 28 Prov. 8 22-31 Ecclus. 24 Wisd. 7 8 (and also 10-19). In the first passage[3] she is extolled as a most precious thing, known to God alone, but she has no demiurgic function; and, if the last verse of the chapter be genuine, the personification is half given up. In Prov. 8 she is the companion of Yahwè (though his creature) in the primeval work of creation, in which she takes part as sympathetic friend (God's foster-child). Ben Sira represents her as compassing the universe, only however, to take up her abode in Israel. The completest philosophical personification is found in Wisdom, in which she is substantially identical with the Stoic Logos. The progress in the conception is obvious; Wisdom is unspeakably precious (Job), is the companion of the divine creative energy (Proverbs), is an effluence from the divine glory, the all-powerful maker of all things, material, intellectual, spiritual (Wisdom); only Ben Sira appears to interrupt the line of development by practically identifying Wisdom with the Jewish Law. This interruption will disappear if his description be earlier than that in Proverbs; or if the identification of Wisdom with the Law be regarded as showing a completer national assimilation of the conception. However that may be, the general advance in the thought remains unaffected. That its final form is Greek is universally held, and the same origin is probably to be assigned to the earlier forms. In the more distinctively Israelitish parts of the OT (the Prophets and the Tōrāh) there is no personification of a divine attribute,[1] and we here naturally think of foreign influence, Persian or Greek. The Jews may conceivably have got it from the Gathas (or, from the popular ideas therein represented) in which such personification plays so prominent a rôle; but in the Gathas wisdom is not personified, and is not the principal attribute of God, and to none of the Amesha-Spentas are cosmogonic or universal functions assigned.[2] One of the most striking features of the biblical representation is the conception of the world as an orderly unity, a cosmos—a conception found, however, only in the Wisdom Literature (in which certain Psalms are to be included); it is clearly indicated in Job (28 38 39), and expressed more distinctly in Ecclesiasticus (24 42 43), Proverbs (the 'Righteous Order' of the Gathas corresponds to the Jewish kingdom of God on earth, chap. 8), and Wisdom (chap. 7). This conception is hardly Jewish or Persian; it is undoubtedly Greek. With it we must connect the disposition (shown in the passages just cited, and in Pss. 104 107 139) to make wide surveys of natural phenomena. The movement of thought to which it belongs was a scientific one, and rested on a serious contemplation of all the phenomena of the world, including the life and soul of man. It is no doubt to Greek influence that we must ascribe the selection of wisdom (rather than power, kindness, or holiness) as the attribute distinctively representative of God.

10. The ethical motive.

The philosophy of the sages does not include psychology or moral and religious inward experience. They have no theories of free-will, of the genesis of sin, of the way of salvation. Their interest is in practical questions of life, and in the pre-eminence of wisdom as the guide of man. Their theory of the ethical life is simple; every man may do right if he will, and, if he does wrong, he must bear the consequences; men are divided into two classes, the good and the bad—every man must belong to one of these classes, and is to be treated according

[1] For example, the resemblances between the Jewish gnomic books and the Γνῶμαι Μονόστιχοι which go under the name of Menander are many and striking, though the resemblances may often be accidental, and the date of the Menander material is uncertain.

[2] It must be recollected that at this time the full conception of revelation had hardly been formulated.

[3] The chapter, as it stands, appears to be an interpolation. It decidedly interrupts Job's discourse, breaking the connection between 27 6 and 29 2 (27 7-23 does not belong to the speech of Job), and does not accord with Job's words as elsewhere given, or, indeed, with the tone of the rest of the book. For reasons stated above it seems to be earlier than Prov. 8 22-31; it is probably to be put later than the rest of Job. By Bickell, Budde, and others it is regarded as belonging, in part or in whole, to Job's address. This point does not affect the general view taken above.

[1] The partial personification of the 'word' of Yahwè in Is. 55 10 *f.* is not a case in point; the attribution of objective power to the spoken word belongs to the old popular belief (Gen. 27 33 Judg. 17 2 2 S. 21 3).

[2] (See CREATION, § 9, end.) The date of the Gathas can hardly be regarded as fixed with certainty. Cp ZOROASTRIANISM, §§ 7 *ff.*

to his position. This neglect of the shades of men's characters was doubtless to some extent a feature of the times (the nice balancing of qualities and impulses is a comparatively recent mode of thought); but it was due in great part to the judicial nature of the moral teaching of the sages; a man, they appear to have held, must be judged by his deeds—we cannot see his heart, and we must estimate him by the total outcome of his thought, that is, by his act. In the same way we may explain the fact that no account is taken of temptation and struggle—that is the man's own affair, with which the judge has nothing to do. It cannot be denied that this strict external way of judging man has its advantages; weakness is as dangerous as badness, and we must face the facts of life. On the other hand, the gnomic writings lose educational power by their failure to take account (as, for example, Marcus Aurelius does) of men's inward experiences; they press the rule home, but do not come as sympathetic helpers of the inner life; they warn, but do not persuade, the bad man. Their appeal is simply to man's intelligence; if, they say, he does not see, there is no help for him. That they say nothing directly of the sense of duty is characteristic of OT thought in general, and of their point of view in particular.

The Hebrew language contains no specific terms for 'duty' and 'conscience'—a fact which signifies, of course, not that the Israelites did not have these ideas,[1] but only that their ethical point of view did not lead them so to analyse their experience as to create a demand for such terms. These words are lacking also in Wisdom, though the Greek language contained certainly one of them. The sages preferred not to rely on so uncertain a thing as sense of duty; to their exhortations they add a further consideration or motive. Two motives[2] for welldoing are presented in the Wisdom Literature. One is the individual prosperity and happiness which it confers (so the Three Friends in Job, Prov., Ecclus., Eccl., Wisd. 3-5); the other is the beauty of moral perfectness (Wisd. 7); Job himself says nothing of motives, contenting himself with affirming his integrity. The eudæmonism of the first group of books is that of the OT generally.[3] There is a frank appeal to what is held, not without good ground, to be the most powerful motive for the mass of men—the desire for personal wellbeing. As in the Prophets national prosperity, so here individual prosperity, is the reward of a morally pure life. There is no reference to the public good, no recognition of the unity of the world or the solidarity of society, no mention of personal purity as in itself a desirable object of effort. Doubtless the writers of these books were in sympathy with the best practical morality of their time, and had aspirations after perfection; but, as practical moralists, they preferred to omit all that seemed theoretical or out of reach, and to confine themselves to what they thought would be immediately serviceable. The praise of wisdom in Wisd. 7 is Greek rather than Hebrew, and, from its sublimated form, could act as moral stimulus

[1] We may, perhaps, recognise the conception of conscience in Ecclus. 14 2: 'happy is he whose soul (that is, whose self) does not condemn him.' Cp HEART.

[2] All ethical theories are eudæmonistic—they must assign a motive for welldoing, and that motive must be happiness in some form. The important point is whether the eudæmonism is individualistic or universalistic; in the former case the man looks to the satisfaction of his own immediate desires, in the latter case to the happiness of the world, of which he is a part. Under the second head comes the ethical system in which desire to do the will of God is the motive; for such a motive is morally pure only when the will of God is done because it is morally good, that is, because it seeks the happiness of the whole.

[3] The NT system differs from that of the OT and the Apocrypha (except Wisdom) in that the reward offered is eternal salvation, and the obligation is more definitely recognised to bring it within reach of all men, whereby a universalistic character is given to the desire for happiness. The later OT prophets also look to an impartation of Israel's blessedness to all nations.

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to very few men; and the author, in the practical part of his work (chaps. 3-5) relies, for his motive, on the rewards and punishments dispensed by God.

11. The moral code.

The mingling of worldly shrewdness and unworldly elevation in the Wisdom books is a natural result of the circumstances. The authors of these books were practical teachers, dealing with all of human life that they knew, and giving the results of their experience, observation, and reflection; and they were independent thinkers, not absolutely bound by any code. Their independence makes them all the more interesting and important, and they must be treated not as a mere mass, but as individuals. Their observations are coloured by their characters and surroundings. Ben Sira's shrewdness sometimes degenerates into meanness or hypocrisy (38 17), and Ḳōhéleth's experience made him one-sided and cynical. But the prominence given to the economic virtues (especially in Proverbs and Ecclus.) is legitimate and necessary. On the other hand, the Wisdom Literature also represents the highest ethical standard of the time. Job's confession of ethical faith (Job 31) leaves little to be desired, and the same may be said of passages in Proverbs (as 10 12 24 17 25 21), Ecclesiasticus (4 9 *f.* 5 10 *f.* 28 2 29 2) and Wisdom (7 23 8 7); only Ḳōhéleth has nothing to say of the self-denying and self-forgetting virtues. This higher standard was that which the world had reached. The process of social and ethical unification, begun by the Babylonian empire, was carried on by the Persian and Greek conquests, and the sages of all lands were at one in inculcating justice and kindness. But no people of pre-Christian antiquity, as far as our records go, made so varied and complete a collection.

The most important and the most interesting questions of the Wisdom-books are those which relate to the divine control of the world. First in time came the general inquiry into the moral government of the world, and then, somewhat later, the question as to the value of human life.

12. Divine control of the world.

The idea of a universal divine control of things appears as early as the first of the writing prophets (Am. 1 *f.* 9 7), but, for a considerable time, no difficulty seems to have arisen in connection therewith; the accepted prophetical theory, down to the middle of the sixth century B.C., was that all things were ordered in the interests of Israel (Is. 10 5 Jer. 1 10 25 14 Ezek. 25 3 *ff.*). A perplexing character was given to the situation by the national disaster of the sixth century, but the theory was not disturbed; and in none of the proposed solutions of the problem of the day (Is. 40 2 Zech. 3 Is. 52 13-53 12) was the divine justice called in question. In the course of time the progress of thought transferred the inquiry from the sphere of the nation to that of the individual; it was no longer 'why does righteous Israel suffer?' but 'why does the good man suffer and the bad man prosper?' The old arguments were discarded,[1] and the philosophers addressed themselves to a candid examination of the facts of life. Before looking at their arguments we may recall the fact that God is regarded by them as the sole agent in the control of the world. The old notion of his local limitation lingered (Ecclus. 24 10, cp Wisd. 3 14), though it is not prominent, and the purely spiritual conception of him seems not to have been reached; he is never called 'a spirit.'[2] Nevertheless he is regarded as supreme and

[1] The 'Satan' of Zechariah appears, in larger form, in the prose introduction to Job (which is a recension of an earlier folk-story), but is not mentioned in the poem, nor, in this connection, in any other Wisdom book.

[2] No formulation of this conception is found in any Jewish writing before the end of the first century of our era (Jn. 4 24), at which time the local idea of God still existed (Jn. 4 20). The doctrine of the immateriality of God (as νοῦς) is as early as Aristotle, and its adoption by Jews and Christians was probably furthered by the influence of the later Platonists and Stoics (as in Philo and the Fourth Gospel). On the position of the Talmud see Weber, *Jüd. Theol.* chap. 11.

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in himself sufficient, and the disposition of the sages is to ignore intermediaries between him and the world. The old 'spirit of Yahwè,' which plays so prominent a part in the early narratives, is here not mentioned.[1] Angels appear rarely in Job, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, and not at all in Proverbs and Ecclesiastes; when they are introduced, it is not as messengers sent to protect and guide heroes and prophets, but as attendants on the person of Yahwè.[2] Of the mass of demons of the old popular belief only Satan survives in the Wisdom Literature, and he is there (if we omit the prologue of Job) mentioned only once,[3] and in the latest book of the group (Wisd. 2 24). The rôle ascribed to him in this book is significant. The Hebrew heavenly Satan, the adversary of Israel and the accuser of men, passed gradually, probably under the stimulus and direction of Persian demonology, into the form of an independent Power, at enmity with God and man.[4] Wisdom gives us the earliest extant formulation of the conception (forced on Jewish thinkers by their sense of God's absolute justice) of a demonic author of moral evil. In general, it may be said that the theology of the sages was free from ethically obstructive anthropomorphism. In their system the older apparatus of intermediaries was supplanted by the more refined conception of Wisdom; in Wisd. 10 6 that is ascribed to Wisdom which in Gen. 19 is ascribed to angels.[5]

It was doubtless the Jews' exalted conception of the moral purity of the One God that led them to the discussion of the justness of his government of the world. The Greeks appear not to have gone into this inquiry. They were especially attracted by such problems as the constitution of man, the nature of virtue, the organisation of society. Their conception of God did not force them to hold him responsible for everything; when they considered his nature, they either (like Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics) contented themselves with assuming his perfect justness, and referring evil to other sources,[6] or (like the Epicureans) rejected or ignored the supposition of a divine oversight of the world. For the Jewish philosopher, however, to whom life was God, it was a necessity to attempt to harmonise God and the world. The historical occasion for the Jewish discussion seems to have been given by the condition of society in the fourth century B.C., when Jews, scattered throughout the already decadent Persian empire, had frequent occasion to note the apparently irrational inequalities of men's fortunes; the question arose: Does a man's lot in this life bear any relation to his moral character?

13. Historical occasion for discussion.

We may distinguish four stages in the progress of the discussion; in the first three the future life is ignored, in the fourth it is considered.

1. In the Book of Job the question is argued from several different points of view,[7] but without reaching a definite conclusion. The indictment of the divine government is put sharply by Job, who appeals to ordinary observation and to his own experience. The traditional defence, in the mouth of the Three, is comparatively monotonous and weak; with the exception of the suggestion of Eliphaz (Job 5 17), that the suffering of good men is disciplinary, their discourse is little more than the assertion of a theory, and Job remains unconvinced (Job 31 35-37). Elihu, besides repeating the orthodox view, expands the suggestion of Eliphaz, and declares that the unsearchableness of God is a sufficient answer to all objections; and this last is the point urged in the Yahwè-speeches.[1] The Book thus practically gives up the general question as insoluble; Job maintains, against the Friends, his sceptical position, and only yields to the representation of the Yahwè-discourse which declares the phenomena of the divine government to be incomprehensible for man; and the explanation of Elihu, since it does not touch on the prosperity of the wicked, ignores half the problem.

The Book of Job is the only serious contribution made by the earliest generations of Jewish philosophers to the problem of a theodicy. It shows that the problem existed and was grappled with. The arguments of the discourses of Elihu and Yahwè were no doubt accepted, by some Jewish thinkers, as satisfactory; but those of Job must have appealed to others. His scepticism appears to be purely Jewish; there is, so far as we know, no outside source, Babylonian, Persian, Egyptian, or Greek, whence it may have come. The man Job was the creation of a Jewish genius, who, not unaffected by the culture of his time, boldly faced the problem presented by the monotheistic faith, but found no adequate solution. For a parallel to his thought in his own age we have to go to India. (Cp JOB [BOOK], §§ 8 15.)

2. The Book of Job had no immediate successor. For some reason it did not appeal to the next following generations.[2] It may be surmised that the practical moralists regarded such speculations as futile, as, indeed, they were not in keeping with the Jewish genius. The authors and compilers of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, avoiding discussions of divine justice, assume that the government of the world is righteous, that the compensation, in this life, for virtuous and vicious conduct is moral. It is substantially the pre-exilic view; but it is refined and broadened. The earthly fortune of men is regarded not baldly as the result of an arbitrary divine decree, but as also the product of natural social laws. These laws, it is true, are thought of as made by God, so that all compensation goes back to him; nevertheless man's freedom and the control of natural law are recognised. This position, namely, that God works in and through society, relieves the old theory of much that is difficult. It was the product of deeper reflection on life, induced by the wider social connections of the Jews, under the more or less definite guidance of Greek habits of thought. Thus, for a considerable period the body of Jewish moralists appear to have come to the conclusion that speculations about divine justice were useless, and that the only practical position was the assumption that the world is governed morally.

3. It seems to have been during the second and the first century B.C. that doubt reappeared in Agur and Ḳōhéleth, under the form of philosophic agnosticism. The Book of Job had adduced the incomprehensibility of God as a motive for reverence and trust; Agur and Ḳōhéleth appear to make it a ground of indifference. The isolation and the consequent obscurity of Agur's words (Prov. 30 1-4) make it difficult to define his position with exactness; but he seems to be satirising or protesting against the pretensions of certain theologians who undertook to explain the method of the

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[1] The expression 'spirit of God,' in which the 'spirit' is part of God's person, occurs rarely (Wisd. 1 7 9 17 12 1 Pr. 1 23, perhaps in Job 32 8; the genuineness of Job 33 4 is doubtful); its anthropomorphic tone may have made it distasteful to the sages.

[2] That they did not vanish from the popular faith is evident from Daniel, Enoch, and the later literature (see ANGELS).

[3] Probably not in Ecclus. 21 27.

[4] This development appears to have occupied several centuries; Satan appears as a great demonic Prince first in the Similitudes of Enoch (53 3 54 6).

[5] The question as to how God created the world is not discussed; the picture of the divine creative act in Job 38 7 (cp 26 7) appears to be to some extent independent of the account in Gen. 1. God is conceived of always as standing outside of and above the world, except perhaps in Wisd. 7. On the use of mythological ideas in the Wisdom books see the Commentaries on these books, and on Isaiah and Psalms, and H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*. See also CREATION, § 21.

[6] As, for example, to matter and to bad men. Neither of these explanations could be accepted by a pre-Christian Jew who held with firmness to the national faith.

[7] The Book will here be treated simply as a collection of discussions, without inquiry into its composition. The addresses of Elihu and Yahwè may be regarded as appendages to the dialogue; it is immaterial, for our purposes, whether they were added by the author of the dialogue, or by other persons, nor will the bearing of the argument be seriously affected if the man Job be supposed to represent, in whole or in part, the nation Israel [cp JOB ii.].

[1] The Prologue and the Epilogue appear to have nothing to do with the real argument.

[2] The argument of the man Job is ignored in succeeding Jewish literature, except by Ḳōhéleth and Agur. In the NT Job is mentioned only (Jas. 5 11) as an example of endurance.

divine government. Ḳōhéleth similarly sees in the control of natural law the impossibility of coming in contact with God.[1] Job had affirmed this impossibility in the form of an agonising cry after God; these men set it forth coolly as a philosophic thesis. Neither of them directly calls God's justice in question; but Ḳōhéleth, in his sweeping and sardonic survey of the injustices of life, silently assumes that the world is conducted neither rationally nor morally. If he had not been a Jew, he might have passed lightly over the theocratic difficulty; being a monotheist, he was bound to hold the creator responsible for his creation. He may not employ technical philosophic terms; but his whole conception of the world is philosophic. He seems to have been an isolated thinker. His book was too interesting to be ignored; but it was greatly modified before it passed into the hands of the general public [cp ECCLESIASTES, KOHELETH].

4. It is possible that Ḳōhéleth intends to deny and reject definitely the doctrine of ethical immortality which was probably in his time making its way among the Jews. Certainly his affirmations of the emptiness of the future life are many and pointed, and they stand, by their dispassionateness, in marked contrast with the passionate hopelessness of Job. However that may be, Ḳōhéleth is the last of the Jews to ignore the life to come. The new doctrine gained general acceptance, is taken for granted in Wisdom, and its reception closed the discussion of God's justice. In declaring that the future will wipe out the apparent injustice of the present Wisdom virtually affirms, with Job and Ḳōhéleth, that this injustice exists to human sight, and is inexplicable when the present alone is considered. It thus virtually denies the position of Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus.[2]

14. Value of human life. The question of the value of human life was closely connected with that of the divine control, and its discussion followed the same lines. What may be called the healthy natural view—namely, that life may be honourable and happy if it is morally and religiously good—is taken in Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, and Wisdom, and the gloomier view by Job and Ḳōhéleth. Between these two last there is the difference that is referred to above; one is tortured by the uncertainties and pains of life, the latter calmly affirms its emptiness.[3] This difference is to be ascribed to the philosophic training or to the temperament of Ḳōhéleth, or to both of these causes. The question was substantially solved, as before, by appeal to the life to come. No Wisdom book finds a source of happiness in man's love to God and communion with him. The germ of this conception is expressed by Hosea (Hos. 6 6); but it appears to have been overlaid by the sense of God's majesty. The nearest approach to it is made in Wisdom (7 10 8 2); but there it is not God but wisdom that is loved.

In all this discussion it is physical evil alone that is considered; the sages are at one with other OT writers in not undertaking to deal with the question of the origin of moral evil.[4] They do not purposely avoid the question; rather it did not present itself to them. Man's liability to sin was accepted as an ultimate fact. The problem of the reconciliation of God's goodness with the existence of moral evil was thus left untouched. Here, again, it was doubtless in large measure the overwhelming sense of divine absolute authority which made the Jews intellectually unfriendly to such an inquiry.[1]

15. Decline of the Wisdom-Literature. The phase of Jewish thought represented by the Wisdom books lasted into the first century of our era, ending with Philo of Alexandria. It is, however, to be observed that his expositions take the form of commentaries on the Tōrāh—he thinks it necessary to rest his conclusions on an inspired authority—and that, on the other hand, his system is simply Greek thought in a Jewish dress. The spontaneous philosophical teaching of the Jews reached its culmination in the Wisdom of Solomon (which was probably composed before the beginning of our era). As early as the middle of the second century B.C., the national interest began to turn in other directions—political and legal; the Messianic enthusiasts wrote apocalypses and hymns, and those who were more concerned with the social organisation of the nation developed the jurisprudence. The troublous times which succeeded cramped the creative power of the people. Few of the gnomic sayings of the *Pirḳē Ābōth* can be called philosophical, and later collections, such as the *Alphabet of Ben Sira*, show no originality. The spirit of the Wisdom Literature was not revived till long afterwards, when the Jews began to devote themselves, under different conditions, to the study of Greek, Arabian, and modern European philosophy. The august figure of the creative Wisdom (almost an hypostasis) is not referred to in the NT, and plays little part in later Jewish thought.[2] The philosophy of the earlier time remains a unique and inspiring creation of the Jewish mind.

16. Bibliography. Besides commentaries, articles in dictionaries, and histories of old-Hebrew literature and of old-Hebrew religion, the following works may be mentioned: Gfrörer, *Philo*, 1831; Dähne, *Jüd.-Alex. Religionsphilosophie*, 1834; Bruch, *Weisheitslehre d. Hebräer*, 1851; M. Nicolas, *Doctrines relig. d. Juifs*, 1860; J. Hooykaas, *Gesch. d. beofening v. d. wijsheid onder d. Heb.*, 1862; M. Heinze, *Lehre v. Logos*, 1872; K. Siegfried, *Philo v. Alexandria*, 1875; Derenbourg, *Hist. et géogr. d. l. Palestine*, 1877; J. Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 1888; C. G. Chavannes, *La Religion dans la Bible*, 1889; H. Bois, *Origines d. l. Phil. Judéo-Alexandrine*, 1890; A. Aall, *Gesch. d. Logosidee*, 1896; T. K. Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 1887, and *Jewish Religious Life* (American Lectures), 1898. C. H. T.

WISDOM (BOOK)

Name and plan (§ 1 *f.*).
Structure and aim (§§ 3-5).
Position (§ 6).
Teaching (§§ 7-12, 18).
Literary form (§§ 13-16, 18).
Legendary additions (§ 17).
Historical conditions (§ 19 *f.*).
Text and Versions (§ 21 *f.*).
Bibliography (§ 23).

WISDOM OF SOLOMON, or simply **Wisdom**, one of the Apocryphal books of the OT (see APOCRYPHA, § 8).

1. Name and plan. The title varies slightly in different MSS of the Septuagint: 𝔊B* *σοφία Σαλωμῶνος*, 𝔊B *σ. Σαλωμών*, 𝔊ℵ *σ. Σαλομῶντος*, 𝔊A *σ. Σολομῶντος*; the Latin has *Liber Sapientiæ*; the Syriac, ed. Lagarde (Mus. Brit. 14,443), 'The great Wisdom of Solomon'; in Walton, 'The book of the great Wisdom of Solomon, son of David,' with the remark, 'concerning which there is doubt whether some other Hebrew sage, writing in the spirit of prophecy, did not compose it in the name of Solomon, and it was so accepted.'

The book appears to have been written to console and instruct the Jews, and to warn their enemies, in a time of severe trial; the author's particular point of view is indicated by the title. The book divides itself, by its subject matter, into two main parts, each of which may be further subdivided. Thus:—I. The part played

1 This is clear when his book is freed from orthodox insertions.

2 Why Wisdom says nothing of a bodily resurrection is not clear; the idea had been accepted by some Jews (Daniel) long before its time. Perhaps the author thought of it as a relatively unimportant incident of the future life, and he might the more easily pass it by if, as is probable, the resurrection was confined in the current belief to Israelites. Possibly he did not accept it. The future which he had in mind concerned the nobler life of the soul, and included Gentiles as well as Jews.

3 Ḳōhéleth (Eccl. 2 24), like Ben Sira (Ecclus. 30 23, Heb. of 40 18), advises enjoyment of the enjoyable things of life.

4 Gen. 2 *f.* describes the first human sin, but not the psychological beginning of evil; and its purpose is not so much to relate the origin of sin as to account for certain great facts of human experience, namely, birth, toil, and death. Wisdom 2 24, though it substitutes the devil for the serpent of Genesis, comes hardly nearer a solution of the question.

1 However, the question stood outside the range of thought of the ancient world in general, unless it be held to form a part of the pantheistic systems of India.

2 The Sophia of the Ḳabbālā is a different conception from the Wisdom of Proverbs and of the Book of Wisdom, though the two doubtless spring in part from the same source, and have some things in common.

by Wisdom in human life (1-9): (1) Her moral demands and her rewards (1-5); (2) Her nature and powers (6-9). II. Illustrations of her power taken from the ancient history of Israel (10-19): (1) The patriarchs and the exodus (10 *f.*); (2) The Canaanites (12); (3) Digression on idolatry (13-15); (4) Contrast between God's dealings with the Israelites and his treatment of the Egyptians (16-19).

2. Outline. The author makes his first section (and so perhaps the whole book is to be considered) an address to kings (1 1 6 1-21), apparently wishing to influence the potentates in whose hands lay the outward fortunes of the Jews; but his discourse is of a general nature, applying to all men. He begins by affirming that unrighteousness is alien to Wisdom and is punished with death by God, though, in truth, God does not desire the destruction of any, but the wicked, against his purpose, call down death on themselves (1); then, passing to the moral question raised by the absence of just compensation in this world, he observes that the wicked (by whom he appears to mean Jewish apostates), because they deny future retribution, give themselves up to sensual enjoyment here, and, because they are reproved by the righteous, hate and persecute them, not knowing that God created man to be immortal (2); whilst, on the other hand, the sufferings of the righteous in this world are only a chastening, their hope is full of immortality, hereafter they shall be honoured and happy, and, in fact, the wicked even in this life are miserable, and their offspring is cursed (3 1-12); he adds (against a current view) that happiness does not consist in children and old age, childless virtue is better than vice with children, and the truly venerable age is wisdom and probity (3 13-4 9); then, resuming the general argument, he observes that the value of righteousness will be demonstrated hereafter, when good men, here scorned by the bad, will be blessed, whilst the bad, crushed by divine wrath, will be forced to acknowledge the folly of their course (4 10-5 23). In view of all this he proceeds to assure kings that they need wisdom in order that they may govern worthily and attain to immortality (6 1-21), and king Solomon (with whom the author here identifies himself) describes his own experience, how he had loved and sought after wisdom, what great things she had taught him, with what wonderful power and beauty she is endowed, she being, indeed, an effluence and image of God, how, therefore, he had desired to dwell with her always as his spouse, and he besought God, who alone could give her, to bestow her on him (6 22-8 21); then follows the prayer in which the young king, acknowledging and pleading human weakness, begs that Wisdom and God's Holy Spirit may be sent down to him from the holy heavens (9). The prayer concludes with the reflection that men of former generations were guided by Wisdom, and thus the author passes naturally to his second division, a review of the old history. Wisdom, he says, preserved and guided the patriarchs, from Adam to Joseph, and, by Moses, led the Israelites victoriously from Egypt (10). The remainder of the book (from chap. 11 1), no longer occupying itself with wisdom, takes the form of an address to God, detailing his special miraculous care of Israel, particularly in the treatment of Egypt, with brief reference to the conquest of Canaan. The author, undertaking to give a religious-philosophical sketch of the history, points out that the Egyptians were punished by means of their animal gods, yet not wholly destroyed, but given space for repentance (11); that the Canaanites also were punished for their sins, but not blotted out at one blow, God doing all things in just measure, and training his own people in righteousness by the spectacle of the castigation of their enemies (12 1-22), and (the main argument being now resumed) that the Egyptians, through the terrible punishment inflicted on them by means of their own gods, were compelled to acknowledge the true God, whom they had before declared that they did not know (12 23-27).

At this point the author pauses in order to explain the nature and origin of idolatry (*i.e.*, polytheism). The least blameworthy (though still an inexcusable) form of idolatry, he says, is the worship of the powers of nature, by whose beauty men were naturally attracted (13 1-9), whilst the worship of beasts and stones and images made by human hands is ridiculous (13 10-19), as, for example, the homage paid by seamen to images (14 1-5), and all idolatry is accursed as having been the source of moral corruption (14 6-12); idolatry originated in a desire to honour dead children and kings, and was helped forward by the skill of artists, who made beautiful images (14 13-21), and so came all the frightful vices of society, for which men will surely be punished (14 22-31), from which idolatry Israel kept free, whilst Israel's enemies fell into this childish absurdity (15). Returning now to the history, the author declares that God did indeed send plagues on his people (in the wilderness), not dealing with them in destructive fury, but chastising them, and further, making nature fight for them (in Egypt), and giving them angels' food, that they might learn to trust in him (16); that the contrast in God's dealing further appears in his appalling the Egyptians with a horror of darkness and monstrous apparitions, while the Israelites had light and guidance and the comfort of a pillar of fire and a friendly sun (17 1-18 4), that it is visible in the remarkable destruction of the Egyptian firstborn (when the almighty Word, a fierce warrior, leaped down from heaven into the doomed land), whilst the plague (in the rebellion of Dathan and Korah), which devastated the Israelites, was subdued by the intervention of Aaron (18 5-25), and finally, that it is to be seen in the overthrow of the Red Sea, when the Egyptians were punished for their treachery to strangers (worse than that of Sodom), whilst the freed Israelites roamed over beautiful pastures, and thus in all things God magnified and glorified his people (19).

3. Unity. Certain features of the book have given rise to doubts as to its complete and unitary character. The abrupt close of the historical sketch, which ends with the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, has suggested the view that the work is not complete (Calmet), that the continuation of the historical sketch was abandoned by the author as too large an undertaking, or cut short by some accident (Grotius, Hasse, Eichhorn), or that, having been written by him, it was lost by the accidents of time (Heydenreich). This consideration, though not without force, is not decisive; the author may have stopped at this point because he thought the illustrations given from the earliest history sufficient, or because he wished to single out the Egyptians (Ewald), or (Grimm) because he felt that the later history was lacking in picturesque and dramatic character, and that it chronicled chiefly the subjection of the Israelites to their enemies. The question of completeness may be left undecided; but it may be said that the work, in its present form, does not necessarily make the impression that it is a fragment.

Nor, perhaps, is it possible to decide with certainty whether the book is the production of one man. The two main divisions are not very closely connected; the history of the fathers in the second part (which is at once a glorification of Israel, and an attack on idolatry in general and Egyptian idolatry in particular) may appear to be quite distinct from the praise of wisdom in the first part, which is a philosophical consideration of the life of the author's own day; Solomon is not introduced till chap. 6; after 11 1 the narrative does not mention wisdom, but is wholly concerned with the history; and the style changes, being, in the first part, relatively simple and direct, with constant regard to the Hebrew principle of parallelism, whilst, in the second part, it is ambitious, grandiloquent, or turgid, complicated and artificial, often without parallelism. On the other hand, it may be said that a logical unity is recognisable in the fact that the two points of attack in the work, apostasy and idolatry, represent the two great enemies of the later devout Judaism, and that a consciousness of unity is shown in 9 18, which makes the transition from the first part to the second, and has not the appearance of an editorial insertion; that the similarity between 1 1 and 6 1 suggests that the same speaker is intended throughout, that the non-mention of wisdom after 11 1 is due to the fact that the author became so immersed in his historical sketch (which he meant as an indictment of his own contemporaries) that he forgot the philosophical thesis with which he set out, that the change of style is a natural consequence of the change of subject matter, the moral and philosophical discussions falling more easily into the form of the Book of Proverbs, the dramatic scenes of the earlier history readily suggesting legendary touches and highly-coloured language, and that there are marked resemblances of tone and style in the two parts—*e.g.*, the rush of thought of the second part is paralleled in the description of the wicked (5) and of wisdom (7 22-8 1), and the religiously elevated and dignified tone of the first part appears here and there in the second (cp 1 13-15 9 1-6 with 11 23-26 12 19 16 7). On the whole it seems easier to account for the differences of matter and style under the supposition of one single author than to explain the unity under the supposition of two or more authors.

In the last century there were several attempts to ascribe the book to a number of hands.

4. History of criticism. This analysis was begun, according to Bretschneider, by Houbigant, who divided the work into two parts, chaps. 1-9 and chaps. 10-19, and was herein followed by Doederlein; only, whilst Houbigant ascribed the first part (written in Hebrew) to Solomon, and the second (written in Greek) to a later

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writer, Doederlein denied the Solomonic authorship; from this analysis Eichhorn dissents only in making the division at 11 2 and regarding the whole book as having been originally written in Greek, and Bertholdt begins the second part with 13. Nachtigal's proposal, to cut the book up into a number of parts and make it an anthology, met with no favour, and Bretschneider contented himself with dividing Eichhorn's first section into two, thus making three sections in the book, of which the first (1 1-6 8), a fragment of a larger work written by a Greek-speaking Jew (who, however, was not imbued with Platonic philosophy), at the time when Antiochus Epiphanes was meditating his assault on the Jewish religion, deals with the 'righteous,' that is, the faithful part of the Jewish people; the second (6 9-10), composed by an Alexandrian Jewish contemporary of Philo, is devoted to wisdom; the third (12-19), of the same period, is the work of a Jewish partisan, and chap. 11 is the insertion of an editor.

The arguments used by these scholars (given at length by Grimm) are substantially those which are mentioned above. No one since Bretschneider's time has advocated such a dismemberment of the book, and at present its unity is generally regarded as certain or probable.

5. Aim. The aim of the work appears from what has been already said. The author is equally concerned to rebuke apostate Jews and idolatrous Gentiles, to console and encourage his suffering fellow-countrymen, and to extol the greatness of his nation. He calls on princes to observe that virtue, though here oppressed, will be rewarded in the next world, that wisdom, which is the source of virtue and the informing spirit of all things good, is the gift of the God of Israel, that in the past she has saved men from great perils, and that God, in ancient times, glorified his people Israel by delivering them from the hands of their enemies; especially that, for their sake, he formerly inflicted terrible punishment on the Egyptians. In a word, he comforts his people (and warns their enemies) by assuring them that God is on their side.

6. Fortunes. The work appears to have been always held in high estimation. From its inclusion in the Septuagint we may probably infer that the Egyptian Jews attached great value to it from the time of its composition, whether or not they regarded it as canonical in the full sense of the term.[1] As to the position assigned to it by early Palestinian Jews, the only evidence is that which may perhaps be derived from its recognition in the NT. There are a number of coincidences of expression which have been held by some scholars to indicate a use of the book by some NT writers; lists of such expressions may be found in Nitzsch, Kern (in the Tübingen *Zeitsch. f. Theologie*, 1835), Stier (*Apokryphen*, 1853), and others. On the other hand, Tholuck, Grimm, Farrar, and other writers regard the resemblances as too general to prove quotation. From the nature of the material it is hardly possible to speak decidedly on this point; but a comparison of certain passages makes it not improbable that the book was known to Paul and some of his followers, and suggested to them certain expressions and lines of thought.

For example, 5 17 *f.* Eph. 6 13 *f.* (πανοπλίαν, θώρακα δικαιοσύνης), 7 25 *f.* Heb. 1 3 (ἀπαύγασμα), 9 15 2 Cor. 5 4 (βαρύνει, βαρούμενοι), 9 16 Jn. 3 12 (comparison of earthly things and heavenly things as to the difficulty of understanding them), 11 15 *f.* 13 1-8 14 24-26 Rom. 1 20-32 (description of the blindness and vices of the Gentile world), 11 23 Acts 17 30 (παροράς, ὑπεριδών, God's overlooking of men's sins), 16 7 1 Tim. 4 10 (God the Saviour of all men).

Be this as it may, it is generally agreed that, from the end of the first century onwards, it was esteemed and used by Christian writers.

Clement of Rome, in 1 Cor. 27, has an almost exact verbal reproduction of 11 22 12 12, and so Irenæus in *Adv. Hær.* 4 38, cp 6 19;[2] the later Patristic writers generally regarded the work as inspired, though Origen, Eusebius, and Augustine denied the Solomonic authorship (see Clem. Al. *Strom.* ed. Potter, 609; Hippolytus, ed. Lagarde, 66; Cyprian, *Exhort. Mart.* 12; Origen, *Cont. Cel.* 3 72; Euseb. *Præp.* 1 11; August. *De Doctr. Christ.* 2 8), and the title ἡ πανάρετος σοφία was given to it, as to Ben Sira (see ECCLESIASTICUS); homilies on it appear to have been composed by the presbyter Bellator (so Rabanus Maurus, *Præf. in libr. Sap.*), and, from Rabanus onwards, there is a continuous line of expository works.

It has, with few exceptions, been regarded by Christian scholars as a work of high value, in spite of its occasional turgid rhetoric and narrow nationalism; so Luther and most writers up to the present time. Pellican held it to be inspired; but in this view he stands almost alone among Protestants. The opinion as to its canonicity has varied greatly. The fathers cited it freely as 'Scripture' or as of divine authority, but apparently without having in mind the question of canonicity. Augustine seems to be the first writer who formally included it in the list of canonical books. It was recognised as canonical by the Roman Church in the decree of the council of Trent, and shared the fortunes of the other Apocryphal books in the controversies between Protestants and Catholics in the seventeenth century, in the movement which banished the books from the publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society, in the German discussions of 1851-1855. We may be content to say that the Palestinian Jews did not accept it as an inspired Scripture (their standard being in some regards local and narrow), that it was so accepted probably by the Egyptian Jews (though it is not cited by Philo), certainly by many Patristic writers, that it is now accepted by the Roman and Anglican churches, and rejected by the various Protestant churches, and that, for the rest, it must stand on its own merits.

7. Ethical and religious ideas. The book assumes the divine oneness, omnipresence (1 7 12 1), omniscience (1 7 7 16), and omnipotence (11 23), and God's providential care of the world (14 3); it calls him (13 1) 'he who is' (cp 𝔊, Ex. 3 14). The world, it says, was created by God (9 9), not out of nothing, but out of formless matter (11 17). It ascribes to him wisdom (see below), justice (12 15), and kindness (1 13 11 23-26 12 13-16 15 1 16 7), and calls him Father (14 3), but, like the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms, represents him as the especial friend and guardian of Israel (16 2 18 1 8 19 22): Israel he chastens (12 23), other nations, the enemies of his people, he punishes (12 20), yet with the design of leading them to repentance (12 2-20). But chaps. 11 *f.* clearly express the idea that the enemies of Israel are predestined to be cursed, and this conception is naïvely put by the side of the proclamation of God's universal love. The idea of an all-controlling fate, superior to God, is not found in the book. The ἀνάγκη of 19 4 is the 'destiny' determined by God; the term is Greek, the conception is Hebrew—it is the OT idea of divine predestination.

8. Word, spirit, wisdom, etc. The word of God is simply the utterance of his will (9 1 16 12 26) and never approaches the Philonian Logos, even in the fine passage (18 15) in which the 'almighty word,' a fierce warrior, leaps down from the divine throne into the doomed land of Egypt, or in 9 1, in which 'word' is indeed a parallel to 'wisdom' (*v.* 2), but wisdom is here not a personification, but a simple attribute of God, and the thought of 5 1 is that of Ps. 33 9. The conception of the spirit of the Lord is the same as that in the later (exilian and post-exilian) OT books, the term being equivalent to 'being or person of God'; it is an anthropomorphic expression, based on the assumption that God, like man, has a separate inward principle or true being. This spirit is said to fill the world, to contain all things, to be in all things (1 7 12 1), and is identified with wisdom and with God (1 4-7). It is the holy spirit of God (Is. 63 10 *f.* Ps. 51 11 143 10), which is

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[1] It is possible that it was through the Christians that the book received its place in the Greek collection of Jewish Scriptures, but to this view there are serious objections; it is not likely that the early Christians would adopt any non-Christian book which did not have some sort of Jewish authority (see CANON, § 58).

[2] In the canon of Melito (in Eus. *HE* 2 24) the expression παροιμίαι καὶ ἡ σοφία should probably be read π. ἡ καὶ σοφία. In the *et sapientia Salomonis* of the Muratorian Fragment Credner reads *ut* instead of *et*, and Grimm doubts whether the reference is not to the canonical Book of Proverbs rather than to our Apocryphal Wisdom.

sent from heaven (as a divine breath or influence) to console men (9 17), and, as a divine teacher, cannot dwell with unrighteousness (1 5). This representation does not reach hypostatisation; but it is a very vigorous personification (cp Rom. 8). A similar remark is to be made of the conception of wisdom regarded as an attribute of God, only the description is here more elaborate, and there is a nearer approach to hypostatisation. Wisdom, it is said, was with God when he made the world (cp Prov. 8 22-31) and knew his will, sits ever by his throne, and is his intimate associate (9 4 9 8 3), she is an effluence from his glory, the mirror of his power, the image of his goodness (7 25 *f.*), she is animated by an acute, vigorous, benevolent spirit, is of perfect beauty, knows, directs, controls all things (7 22-29 11 8 1), transforming the souls of men (7 27), bestowing on them all virtues (8 4-8), and guiding their outward fortunes (10), coming to dwell with them as beloved friend and counsellor (8 2 9), but bestowed only by God, and to be obtained from him by prayer (8 21 9). She is thus, on the one hand, substantially identical with Philo's Logos, and, on the other hand, blends insensibly with the human quality of wisdom.

Other quasi-hypostatical intermediaries between God and the world are recognised by some modern writers (as Bois) in the terms 'power' (1 3), 'justice' (1 8), 'providence' (14 3 17 2), 'mercy' (16 10), 'hand' (11 17), 'hypostasis' (16 21); but this seems to be reading too large a meaning into the terms in question (see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 8); as to the 'hypostasis' or 'substance' of 16 21 it appears to be simply manna.

The conceptions of 'wisdom' and 'spirit' stand midway, in the line of advance toward hypostatisation, between the earlier ideas of the OT and the later ideas of Philo and of the NT.

Of other supernatural beings there is mention of only Gentile deities and the devil. The former are declared, with greater distinctness than is found in the OT, to be nonentities, invented by the folly of men (14 13 *f.*). The existence of the devil is assumed, and he is identified (2 24) with the serpent of Gen. 3. The name for him here used (διάβολος) is probably taken from the Septuagint, which so renders the Hebrew *Satan* in Ps. 109 (108) 6 Job 1 6 *f.*, 2 1 *ff.*, 1 Ch. 21 1 (BA; not L); the identification of the serpent with a supreme evil spirit occurs only here and in Secrets of Enoch (31 3-6) in the extant Jewish pre-Christian literature,[1] and in both books his seduction of Eve is ascribed to his envy. This identification probably sprang from a deepening sense of sin, and from a growing conviction of the necessity of separating God from the moral evil of the world. The author's silence respecting demons and angels (in which he accords with the other wisdom books) is possibly due to the philosophical nature of his thought, in which wisdom takes the place of all other good intermediary agents (see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 11), and the one demon, the devil, is held to be sufficient to account for the evil of the world.

The doctrine of the book concerning man is in part an expansion of the teaching of the OT. There is

9. Man. no trichotomy (body, soul, spirit), only the dichotomy of the inward principle of life (soul, spirit) and its outer casement (body). The soul or spirit the author represents (herein following Gen. 2 7) as breathed into the body by God (15 11), and, at death, received into the other world never to return (cp the avowal of ignorance on this point in Eccles. 3 21). The question of human freedom is not formally discussed, and probably did not present itself to the author's mind as a problem to be solved. Freewill is assumed in some passages, as in 1 16, in which it is said that bad men call down destruction on themselves, and in 5 6 13, in which they attribute their wretchedness to their own folly. On the other hand, man is said (12 10 13 1) to be foolish by nature, unable of himself to know God, and yet (2 23, which gives an interpretation of Gen. 1 27) the image of God's being. Of a control by God of human thought and destiny nothing is said directly.

The work passes beyond the OT and Semitic thought in general in its adoption of the Platonic theory of the pre-existence of souls (8 20, and cp 15 8 16), and this involves a sort of predestination; Solomon says that being good he came into an undefiled body. Still, the author's practical view of moral life does not seem to be materially affected by his philosophical theories; he holds to moral weakness, general divine control of life, and moral responsibility without troubling himself to define the limits of these facts, and he appears to adopt the OT division of men into good and bad, going beyond the later OT books, however, in recognising the possibility of passing from one class to the other.[1] But his horizon is here limited—he has in mind the flagrant sinners of his time, the apostates and the idolaters, and he cannot be said to express a general view of the ethical capacity of man. He holds, however (9 15), that the corruptible body presses down the soul (cp 2 Cor. 5 4).

Sin, disobedience to God's moral law, is represented in one passage (2 24) as having been introduced into the

10. Sin. world by the devil (for death is the result of sin), in another passage (14 27) as the result of idolatry. This apparent discrepancy does not point to two authors, but comes from a shifting of the point of view. Following Gen. 3 the author says that sin, as an historical fact, made its first appearance in the world in the disobedience of Eve, and, like the OT, he does not think of explaining its psychological origin; but, looking at the vices of the society of his own time, he traces them all to idolatry, which is the negation of the knowledge of God; the vagueness of his thought on this point is apparent from the fact that he not only gives no chronological beginning of idolatry, but refers it to an intellectual weakness (13 1 14 14) whose origin he does not explain. He falls back on the teaching of observation that men are by nature morally weak (5 13), and must, in order to be saved from error, be instructed and strengthened by God (15 3 *f.*). This natural moral weakness he (like the OT) does not bring into historical connection with the transgression of Eve or of Adam. The spiritual safeguard against sin, union of heart with God, is finely expressed in 15 2 *f.*: 'even if we sin, we are thine, knowing thy power [that is, submitting ourselves humbly to thy righteous and merciful control]; but we will not sin, knowing that we are accounted thine, for to know thee is perfect righteousness.' Faith (only 3 14) is used in the general sense of acceptance of God's will, and trust in him for protection.

For the wicked, it is said (3 10-12 17 4 3), there is retribution in this life, and men are punished by means

11. Future. of their sins (11 16), but the real and universal recompense of moral conduct comes in the future life. Here the author passes quite beyond the OT thought, in which Shĕōl has no ethical character, and the resurrection (Dan. 12) is confined to Israelites. Hereafter, he declares (3-5), the position of all men will be determined by their moral character—the righteous will have peace and glory, the wicked will be in misery (4 18-20 17 21); passages like 5 14 *f.* in which the transitory hope of the wicked is contrasted with the everlasting hope of the righteous, must be interpreted, from the general thought of the book, to mean not the annihilation of the ungodly, but their endless misery. Possibly the author here has in mind the denial of future retribution in Ecclesiastes, more probably he is opposing a general Sadducean opinion of his time. He makes no reference to purgatorial future punishment or to a bodily resurrection, unless the latter be involved in the 'glorious kingdom' (5 16 6 20) and dominion over the nations (3 8) which the righteous are to receive, and this is not probable, since, if resurrection had been meant, there seems to be no reason

[1] In the Sibylline oracles (1 49) the tempter of Eve is the 'serpent,' and in the Enoch Similitudes (69 6) one of the evil 'angels' (see note of R. H. Charles in his ed. of *Enoch*).

[1] This possibility is assumed in a simple unreflective way in Ezek. 18.

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why it should not have been distinctly mentioned. The conditions of the future life are stated in the most general way—there are no details of happiness and torment, only vague mention of light and darkness, with no clear indication of place, no distinct heaven or hell. The author contents himself with emphasising the fundamental fact of moral retribution; his reticence as to details may be due to his philosophical dislike of the crude pictures in such books as Enoch (see ESCHATOLOGY, *index*, *s.vv.* 'Heaven,' 'Hell'). Man, he holds (here again following Gen. 3), was created to be immortal (in this world apparently), and would so have been, but for the entrance of death through the envy of the devil, and the folly of the first human pair. All good ethical human qualities, wisdom and righteousness, are, according to the author, the gift of God, or of God's minister, Wisdom (7 16 8 4 9 4 12).

12. Virtue.

Besides general rightness of conduct he particularises (8 7) the four virtues of Greek philosophy—moderation, practical sense, justice, and courage or fortitude (σωφροσύνη, φρόνησις, δικαιοσύνη, ἀνδρεία)—as things than which there is nothing more profitable in life, and these also he represents as the gift of Wisdom. His more general catalogue of virtues (7 22 *f.*) embraces the gentler quality of 'philanthropy,' and the Hebrew idea of 'holiness,' and, following the OT, he represents the combination of justice and philanthropy (12 19) as something which is taught us by the example of God himself. His ethical code thus offers a happy union of Jewish and Greek elements; of ethical philosophy proper (inquiry into the basis of moral beliefs and conduct) he has nothing. On the other hand, in his ethical attitude toward non-Israelitish peoples he is narrow; like the prophets, he sees nothing good in other civilisations (as, for example, the Egyptian), but, from his national religious point of view, involves them in one sweeping condemnation. He was a pupil of the Greeks; but he does not, by a single word, express sympathy with their thought and life, or betray any suspicion that they have played an important part in the divine education of humanity. He recognises only one true law of life, and this, he says (18 4), is to be given to the world by Israel; this is the view of the exilian and post-exilian prophets, but in our author we expect some modification of the old statement. There is no trace of asceticism in the book; the passage (3 13-4 6) which has been so interpreted is really a protest against what the author regarded as the undue importance attached by some to the possession of children, and a repetition of the OT declaration (Is. 56 4 *f.*) that bodily conditions shall not determine membership in the Israelitish community. It was an old complaint of the pious in Israel that the wicked were often well provided with children (Ps. 17 14), a gift which was supposed to be a special mark of divine favour (Ps. 127 3-5 128 3). Ben Sira had already (16 1-4) protested against the exaggerated form of this view, and our author makes a special application of the protest to the case of illicit unions; it is better, he says, to have no children than to obtain them by immoral unions; the virtuous woman, though barren, shall be blessed in the final divine visitation, and the eunuch, if he be righteous, shall have compensating part in the temple of the Lord (so Is. 56 5), that is, shall be deemed worthy of an honourable position in the public worship. Such an opinion cannot, therefore, be regarded as springing from Therapeutist hostility to marriage. The fine thought that honourable old age is not measured by number of years (4 8 *f.*) which is a correction or revision of Prov. 16 31 Ecclus. 25 4-6, though, according to Philo (*De Vit. contempl.* 8), it expresses a principle of the Therapeutæ, is of too general a nature to be regarded as borrowed from them; it is found in the Stoics (cp Cic. *De Fin.* 3), and looks not to contempt of life, but to emphasising the better side of life.

With all his strong national feeling, he, like the other Ḥokmāh writers (see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 6), lays no stress on the national ritual of worship; he mentions, as historical facts, the offering of sacrifice by the Israelites (18 9) and of incense by Aaron (18 21), puts into Solomon's mouth (9 8) the words 'temple, altar, tabernacle,' and quotes (3 14) a reference to the temple from the OT (Is. 56 5), but otherwise ignores the external cultus. He regards prayer and praise as the highest expression of religious feeling. He draws largely from the Pentateuch and somewhat from Isaiah and the Psalms, but, after the manner of the time, does not name them or other sacred books, or make allusion to the existence of a sacred canon.

13. Worship.

14. Literary form.

The book, in spite of some glaring faults, deserves to be ranked among the masterpieces of reflective verse. If it cannot be called poetry, it is an admirable example of elevated stichometric writing, with not a few really poetical passages.

The number of its *stichoi* is variously stated (in Swete's ed. of the Sept.) at 1124 [B], 1121 [א], and 1092 [A]; the Latin translation has a few lines not found in the Greek.[1] The author employs, not metre, but the Hebrew parallelism, and the Hebrew system of ictus, a certain succession of accented syllables, between which come varying numbers of unaccented syllables; in the passages (such as 10 3 9 21), in which there are suggestions of Greek iambic, dactylic, and asynartete metres, the combinations of syllables are probably either accidental (such as are sometimes found even in modern prose works), or the occasional imitations which a writer acquainted with Greek poetry might permit himself.[2]

15. Structure.

The construction of the book is skilful. After showing men's supreme need of righteousness, the author dramatically introduces the two classes into which mankind is divided, and describes their contrasted fates. On the basis of this picture he appeals to kings to embrace wisdom, as whose exponent and laudator Solomon appears, giving his own experience, and extolling wisdom as the source of all knowledge, physical, moral, and religious, as an effluence from God and his companion and co-worker, and as the teacher and saviour of men of ancient times. In illustration of this last point he gives a sketch of the history of the patriarchs and of the deliverance of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage and their conquest of Canaan. This plan of the work was well fitted to commend it to the author's contemporaries; the *philosophical praise of wisdom is justified by the exhibition* of its practical value, and the whole picture conveys encouragement to the suffering righteous, and a solemn warning to all the enemies, apostate and Gentile, of the chosen people, whose special possession and guardian wisdom is.

16. Style.

The style varies in the different parts. The first part (chaps. 1-9) approaches the evenly balanced aphoristic form of Proverbs, with the distinctive characteristics of the Hebrew parallelism; but it is made up of connected discourses, each of which aims at a definite demonstration or exposition, and the style is far more flowing than that of Proverbs and Ben Sira, in this respect rather resembling Ecclesiastes. In the second part (chaps. 10-19), whilst the stichometry is maintained, with a flavour of parallelism, the nature of the subject matter produces an approach to simple prose, with an inflation born of the desire to make the history impressive. In both parts power of imagination is conspicuous; the pictures of the final overthrow of the wicked (5 17-23) and the terrors of the Egyptians (17 *f.*) have the cumulation and rush in which Ezekiel is a master, and many of the epithets have an Æschylean force and majesty; it is perhaps this torrent-like movement that most impresses the reader in the author's descriptions. Nor is he lacking in something that resembles humour as, in the descrip-

1 See Berger, *Hist. d. l. Vulgate*, etc.

2 On apparent examples of Greek metrical lines see Farrar and Bois.

tion of the manufacture of an idol by the carpenter (13 11-19), which is, however, only a slight expansion of an OT passage (Is. 44 12-17). He is fond of assonance, alliteration, and paronomasia, as well as of comparison and metaphor, has many instances of chiasm (as 3 15 4 2), and in one case (6 17-20) employs the sorites. This last use is taken from Greek logic, of the others there are many examples both in the OT and in Greek writers. Throughout he shows fulness, richness, and vitality of conception, which is constantly in danger of running into exaggeration and bombast. The nature of his material does not call for direct descriptions of external nature; but in a number of passages he shows a fine feeling for colour, form, and movement (see 5 9-12 21-23 11 18 13 2 17 18-21). The author's noteworthy command of Greek suggests that he was well read in Greek poetical and philosophical literature.

His vocabulary is rich and picturesque; he uses a number of uncommon terms, is fond of compounds, and has himself originated compounds or given peculiar significations to existing forms, as *φιλόψυχε* (11 26), 'lover of souls' (so Damasc. 2 31), and perhaps *πρωτόπλαστος* (7 1 10 1). He has taken a number of expressions from the Septuagint, as *πέτρας ἀκροτόμου* (11 4, see Dt. 8 15); *τὸν ὄντα* (13 1, see Ex. 3 14); *φωστῆρας οὐρανοῦ* (13 2, see Gen. 1 14); *σποδὸς ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ* (15 10, see Is. 44 20). On the other hand, his frequent Hebraisms (most of which occur in chapters 1-9) show that he was deeply imbued with the style of the OT; thus words, as *σκολιοί* (1 3); *σώματι* (1 4); *ἅγιον πνεῦμα* (1 5 9 17); *ἔσχατα* (2 16); *ἐκστήσονται* (5 2); *ζῆλον* (5 17); *μάταιοι* (13 1); modes of expression, such as those in 4 17 16 8 13 (cp 1 S. 2 6); and the use of the connectives *καί, δέ, γάρ* and the like.[1]

The data for the determination of the origin of the book are found in its use of other books, the nature of its ideas, and the historical conditions which it implies.

17. Signs of date: ideas.

A comparison of 4 1 (on childless virtue) with Ecclus. 16 1-4 suggests that our author was acquainted with the latter work. It is generally admitted that he used the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch and Isaiah; whether he had the Septuagint Psalms is doubtful—in 3 1 he has an allusion to Ps. 31 5 [6], in 15 15 *f.* he gives rather a paraphrase than a citation of Ps. 115 4-7 (=135 15-17), in 16 20 (from Ps. 78 25) he has *ἀγγέλων τροφήν* where 𝔊 has *ἄρτον ἀ.*, and in 10 17 (from Ps. 105 39) he has *εἰς σκέπην ἡμέρας* where our Hebrew has simply 'covering' and the psalm in 𝔊 (Ps. 105 [104] 39) *εἰς σκ. αὐτοῖς*, from which, in view of his fondness for paraphrasing, it cannot be shown that he did or did not have the Psalms in Greek. There is uncertainty also about the relation of 2 24 ('the envy of the devil') to a similar statement in Secrets of Enoch 31 3 (and cp Jos. *Ant.* i. 1 4 *Sanhedrin*, 59). The conception may have been an old one, derived by Wisdom and Secrets of Enoch from a common source, though, as it is not found in Enoch, it probably arose not long before the beginning of our era. The picture of reward and punishment in the future life is similar to that given in the Enoch similitudes. There is no reason to suppose that our author quotes from Philo.

Legendary additions to the OT narrative, so frequent in Wisdom, do not appear in any other book earlier than 2 Macc. (1 19-36 2 1-8).[2] It is only necessary to compare our author's sketch of the early history (10-19) with that of Ecclus. (44-49) to see the great difference between the methods of the two writers; the latter keeps himself strictly to the OT text, the former revels in fanciful embellishments (11 15 16 1 *f.* 9 18 *f.* 21 *f.* 17 6 9 *f.* 15-19 18 12 *f.* 17-19 19 11 *f.* 17 21). This may be accounted for in part by the supposition that the Alexandrian Jews were very free in their dealing with the sacred books; but, as 2 Macc. shows that there was a similar tendency in Palestine, we are led to refer it rather to a natural growth of legend, of which there are many examples in later Apocryphal books and in the Talmud.[3] The allegorising method of interpretation, if found in Wisdom, would doubtless be Alexandrian, but would not give great aid in determining its date, since this method of interpretation was in use long before Philo's time. But it does not seem to be employed by our author.

18. Legendary additions.

[1] For full lexicographical lists see the commentaries of Grimm and Farrar.

[2] The treatment of Gen. 6 2 in Enoch is mythological expansion under Persian stimulus.

[3] Cp also Gal. 3 19 1 Cor. 10 4 2 Tim. 3 8.

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The cases cited (by Bois) are not properly allegorising; the pillar of salt (10 7) is a 'monument,' not a symbol, of an unbelieving soul; the pillar of cloud and fire (10 17) is not a 'manifestation' but a creation of Wisdom; the bronze serpent (16 5-7) is not a symbol, it is an instrument and assurance of salvation; the Egyptian darkness (17 21) is an 'image,' a faint physical suggestion, of the darkness of future punishment; on the high-priest's robe (18 24) was the whole cosmos, but only as the glory of the fathers was on the four rows of stones, and the divine majesty on the tiara ('holy to the Lord'). Reuss's remark, that the Egyptians are introduced throughout as a type of pagans in general, and that the history is regarded as a sort of theory, is correct; through the Egyptians the author aimed at his own contemporaries. This, however, is not allegorising; it may be called a first step toward the method so fully developed by Philo, but it has not reached the point of seeing in things and persons merely representations of religious truth.

The author's silence respecting Messianic hopes is a trait which he has in common with other sapiential writers (see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 5 *f.*), and is not an exact indication of date. His picture of the sufferings and future glory of the righteous (2-5), though it may be based on Is. 53 and has been regarded by some expositors as a prediction of the Messiah,[1] presents no individual human deliverer, but, after the manner of the prophets, simply represents pious Israel as destined to be glorified. In part of the late pre-Christian Palestinian literature also (as Dan., Sib.Or., 1 Macc., Pss. of Sol.) it is the nation that is the centre of hope; it is only in the later portions of Enoch (as chap. 46) that a personal Messiah plays a real rôle (see MESSIAH, § 7; ESCHATOLOGY, § 65 *f.*). That Wisdom has a well-developed doctrine of ethical immortality, and yet says nothing of resurrection, may be due to its Egyptian origin. The idea of resurrection was a Palestinian growth, based on Jewish convictions, but shaped under the stimulus of Zoroastrianism, and it may well have lagged behind in Egypt. On the other hand, Alexandria was the meeting-place of old Egyptian and Greek ideas out of which the monotheistic Jews could easily fashion an elevated moral conception of the world to come. Each Jewish centre would thus work out its own favourite idea of the future, and the fusion of the two ideas would take time. This fusion had certainly occurred before the composition of the earliest NT book, and apparently also before the time of the Enoch-section chaps. 91-104, a tract which in some respects resembles our book, the date of which is, however, uncertain, though it may probably be put in the first century B.C. (cp Charles, *Book of Enoch*). Wisdom appears to have been written before the fusion of the two ideas was accomplished in Egypt; but, on the other hand, the author's Hellenising tendency may have led him to discard the notion of a kingdom of the righteous on earth, though such a notion may have been known to him (cp 3 7 with Dan. 12 3). It is difficult to say when the Egyptian Jews began to formulate a doctrine of ethical immortality; it may, perhaps, be surmised that, since the editor of Ben Sira, writing 132 B.C., says nothing of it, it did not appear before the first century B.C.

19. Eschatology.

An indication of date might be obtained if we could determine with exactness the relative development of Greek conceptions in our author and in Philo. It is generally admitted that Wisdom is deeply imbued with Greek philosophical thought; the conceptions of a beautiful and logically arranged cosmos, and of a wisdom which is the divine agent in creation and in the control of the world (besides the minor points referred to above) betray the influence of the Platonists and the Stoics. The same general ideas are found in Philo, as whose contemporary, accordingly, our author is regarded by some expositors. On the other hand, the differences between the two writers are obvious;[2] besides many divergencies

20. Greek conception.

[1] So Tertullian, Cyprian, Hippolytus, Origen, and many interpreters of the Church of Rome; see Westcott's note in Smith, *DB*, art. 'Wisdom of Solomon.'

[2] The two are compared by Grimm, Drummond, Menzel, Farrar, Bois, and others. Siegfried, in Hastings' *DB*, notes differences between the two.

in explanation of particular points (which, however, would not necessarily prove them not contemporaries), there is, for example, the great difference in the employment of the allegorical method of interpretation, which probably, though not certainly, points to the precedence of Wisdom in time. The main point of comparison is the conception of the divine self-manifestation through intermediate agencies, and herein Philo and Wisdom differ in two respects: first, whilst Philo names as chief agent the Logos, and has comparatively little to say of Wisdom, Wisdom gives the first place to Wisdom (not going beyond the OT in his conception of the 'word'), and thus appears to range itself along with those earlier more Hebraistic books (Proverbs and Ben Sira) in which the divine attribute plays the most important rôle, Philo, on the other hand, advancing to the more definitely Stoic idea; and secondly, Philo treats the conception in a more scientific way, undertaking to state with philosophic precision the nature of the relation between God and his personified energy, whilst in Wisdom this relation is assumed without explanation. From this it may probably be inferred that our author had not grasped the Stoic doctrine of the Logos, which, seeing his fondness for Greek ideas, he would hardly have failed to do if he had lived as late as the first half of the first century of our era.

21. Outward conditions.

The historical conditions to be accounted for are: the persecution of faithful Israelites by Gentiles and apostate Jews, and the author's special grudge against the Egyptians. There was a class of apostate Jews from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, 187 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 5) down to the time of Philo (Philo, *Confus. Ling.* 2; *Pœnit.* 2). The account in 3 Macc. of an Egyptian persecution in the time of Ptolemy IV. (221-217 B.C.) being generally admitted to be legendary, the periods of persecution which may come into consideration (see Jos. *Cont. Ap.* 2 5) are the reigns of Ptolemy VII. (145-117 B.C.), Cleopatra (47-30 B.C.), Caligula (38-40 A.D.), and (Jos. *BJ*, ii. 18 7 *f.*) Nero (63 A.D.). There is not much ground for choice among these periods,[1] at most it may be said that the comparatively calm tone of our book (as in 14 16-20) does not favour the seasons of bitterer distress (under Caligula and Nero). But it is not necessary to suppose that the work was composed in the midst of one of the violently hostile movements. The author, even if he lived in a relatively quiet time, would know enough of the general fortunes of his people to paint his pictures of suffering (2-5 14). Nor is his reference to the worship of the statues of kings (14 16-20) chronologically decisive, for divine worship was paid to Ptolemy I., and probably to Antiochus II., as well as to Caligula and other Roman emperors. The author is, in fact, as Grimm remarks, giving a learned account of the origin of idolatry, and it is unnecessary to assume that the deified princes to whom he refers were his contemporaries. There appears to be nothing in the historical situation depicted to prevent our following the literary indications and assigning the work to some time before that of Philo, probably to the first pre-Christian century.

22. Author.

Of the author all that is clear is that he was an Egyptian Jew. His strong Jewish feeling appears on every page of his book, and his Greek training and his hearty dislike of the Egyptians point to Alexandria as his residence. The unsuccessful attempts to identify him with some known person are detailed at length by Grimm and Farrar.

The reference of the work to Solomon,[2] found in early versions (Sept., Syr.), and in a number of Patristic, Rabbinical, Roman Catholic, and Protestant writers (as late as 1858 by the Catholic J. A. Schmid), was rejected by Augustine and Jerome, and is no longer seriously considered. Very early critics thought of Ben Sira as the author (see Aug. *Doct. Chr.* 2, 8; *Retract.* 2, 4), or of the famous Philo (see Jer. *Præf. in Lib. Sal.*), and the latter view was adopted by Luther and a number of other theologians; but the differences between those two writers and our author are so glaring that they absolutely exclude such an identification. Other Jewish names which have been suggested are Zerubbabel (by J. M. Faber), Aristobulus, the friend of Ptolemy Philometor (by Lutterbeck), an older Philo (by Drusius and others) who is said to have written a poem on Jerusalem (cp Jos. *Cont. Ap.* 1 23 where a non-Jewish 'older Philo,' apparently an historian, is mentioned), and Apollos, before his conversion (by Plumptre), on the ground that he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, and that the similarity between the epistle and Wisdom is so great as to suggest a common origin. None of these suggestions except the last has any show of probability, and it can hardly be called probable, since the two books, though not without a certain resemblance in style, still have differences, both of style and of manner of thought, too great to be explained even by a writer's change of religion. The author has been held to be a Christian (by C. H. Weisse and others) on such grounds as his supposed reference (3) to the Messiah, his designation of God as 'father' (14 3), his doctrine of future ethical retribution (3-5), and the supposed mention of his book among Christian writings in the Muratorian Fragment (but the last supposition is probably erroneous—see above, § 6, n. 2), and the authorship has been assigned (by Noack) to Apollos, after his conversion to Christianity. But a Christian book without a single distinctively Christian idea (and none of those adduced by Weisse are distinctively Christian) would be an incomprehensible anomaly; the book is intelligible only on the supposition that it was written by a non-Christian Jew. Finally, as has been pointed out above (§ 12), there is no reason for supposing that the author belonged to the sect of the Therapeutæ; he has no trace of their teaching, and it does not seem probable that a member of that sect would have imbibed Greek learning as our author has done.

23. Greek text.

The *Greek* text is given entire in the uncials A (Lond. 1879-1883), B (Rome, 1871), ℵ (St. Petersburg, 1862), in part in C (Leipsic, 1845), entire in the cursives H. P. 23, 55, 68, 106 and 155 (not entire), 157, 248, 253, 254, 261 (not entire), 296; nine MSS collated by Thilo (but not published) are in some passages adduced by him (*Specimen exercc. critt. in Sapient. Sal.*, Halle, 1825) and by Grimm. Swete gives the various readings of ℵAC. The text is well preserved; A in a number of cases offers better readings than B. That the Greek is the original text is now generally believed. Faber's argument to prove a 'Chaldee' (that is Jewish Aramaic) original is successfully rebutted by Hasse; thus in 2 22 the Syr. for Greek γέρας is explained by Faber as coming from a confusion of Aramaic סיופין and סיבין, but it is rather, says Hasse, a misreading of the Greek (γῆρας for γέρας); in 18 16 Syriac 'command' for Greek 'death' comes, according to Faber, from a misunderstanding of דבר (which, however, is not Aramaic but Hebrew), but may be naturally regarded as a scribal erroneous repetition of the preceding 'command.' So also, recently, D. S. Margoliouth,[1] whose examples are not more convincing than those of Faber. In Wisd. 1 12 14 10 the Greek is satisfactory as it stands; and the identity of the expression in 2 12 with that in Is. 3 10 𝔊 (noted by Schleusner) may be understood as a borrowing on the part of the former, or as a very late insertion in the latter. Greek is too free and idiomatic to be taken as a translation; its Hebrew colouring belongs rather to the thought than to the style.[2]

24. Versions.

The Old Latin Version was adopted by Jerome with slight changes; the Clementine text of 1592, with corrections from Vercellone's edition of 1861, is given in the edition of Heyse and Tischendorf (Leipsic, 1873), with the readings of the Codex Amiatinus in the margin; the Cod. Amiat. has been edited by Lagarde (in *Mitteil.* i.). It is in general a literal, faithful, and intelligent translation of the Greek. It occasionally (as in 4 17) inserts an explicitum, and has a number of words and clauses not found in our Greek, as 1 15 (one word, and in some MSS one line) 2 8 (one line) 2 17 (one line) 3 1 (one word) 4 14 (one phrase) 6 1 (one couplet) 6 20 (one word) 8 11 (one line) 10 1 (two words in the Clem. text, but not in Amiat.) 11 5 (one and a half lines) 11 8 (one clause) 17 1 (several words). Some of these additions (as 3 1 4 14 17 1) are explanations of the translator, and none of them commend themselves as probably belonging to the original text; thus in 1 15 the *perpetua* weakens the ἀθάνατος; in 2 8 the line 'let there be no meadow which our jollity does not traverse,' though in itself appropriate and good, mars the couplet-arrangement (three couplets in *vv.* 7-9); the aphorism of 6 1, 'wisdom is better than strength, and a sage man than a strong,' interrupts the connection of thought and is obviously a gloss, as are the insertions in 8 11 10 1 11 5 (two glosses) and 11 8. A certain number of words also are omitted in the Latin, the translator allowing himself some freedom. On the history of the version see Berger, *Hist. d. l. Vulgate*, 1893, and on the MSS, Thielmann, *Bericht*, etc. 1900. On the vocabulary cp Grimm, *Comm. KGH*, pp. 5 *ff.*

[1] Grimm's remark that in the time of Nero the spirit of the Jews was too much broken to produce so talented a book as Wisdom is not convincing; we know too little of the times to make such a judgment.

[2] [Revived by D. S. Margoliouth who holds that there are references to this book in Isaiah.]

[1] In *JRAS*, 1890, and in 'Lines of defence of the biblical revelation,' 1900.

[2] Cp J. Freudenthal in *JQR*, 1891.

The Syriac is made directly from the Greek, following a MS resembling Codex Alex. Whilst in general it renders the ideas and expressions of the original with fidelity, it diverges therefrom far more than the Latin. It adds explicita and other explanatory words, inserts the proper names (Cain, etc.) in chap. 10, transfers a number of Greek words, gives free translations, mistranslates and omits. On the attempt to refer it to an Aramaic original see Hasse. For the Arabic version cp Hasse, for the Armenian cp Welte, and F. H. Reusch, *Liber Sapient. græce*, etc., 1858; these also both come from our Greek.

For general works on the Jewish conception of wisdom see WISDOM LITERATURE, § 15. For lists of critical and expository works up to 1860 see Bretschneider and Grimm. Among these the following may be mentioned: Rabanus Maurus, †856, the earliest extant commentator (in Migne); Grotius, *Annotationes*, 1664; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in libr. Sap.*, 1613; Cappellus, *Comment. . . . in VT*, 1689 (scattered observations); J. M. Faber, *Prolusiones*, 1776-77 and 1786-87; J. G. Hasse, *Salomo's Weisheit*, 1785; J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung i. d. Apocr. Schr. d. AT*, 1795; C. G. Bretschneider, *Lib. Sapient.*, 1804; C. L. W. Grimm (in *Kurzgef. exeget. Handbuch z. d. Apokr. d. AT*), 1860 (very full and judicious, supersedes his work of 1837). Since 1860 have appeared commentaries by E. C. Bissell, 1880 (in the volume on the Apocrypha added to the Lange series), F. W. Farrar, 1888 (in Wace's *Apocrypha*), and Siegfried (in Kautzsch's *Apokr.*); articles in Smith's *DB* (by B. F. Westcott); M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia*; Herzog-Hauck, *RE* (by E. Schürer, see also his *GJV*, etc. = *Hist. of the Jewish People*, etc.); Hastings' *DB* (by Siegfried); and annotated editions by W. J. Deane (*The Book of Wisdom*, 1881), W. R. Churton (in his *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884), and C. J. Ball (in his *Variorum Apocrypha*, 1892). On the ethical ideas see Kübel, 'Die Ethischen Anschauungen d. Weisheit Salomonis,' in *St. Kr.* (1865).

25. Bibliography.

C. H. T.

WISDOM OF JESUS. See ECCLESIASTICUS, SIRACH.

WISE MEN (חֲכָמִים), Gen. 41 8. See MAGIC, § 3, STARS, § 5, ZOROASTRIANISM; cp also WISDOM LITERATURE, § 2.

WITCH (מְכַשֵּׁף), Dt. 18 10, **WITCHCRAFT** (קֶסֶם), 1 S. 15 23. See MAGIC, §§ 2 *b* 3 1 *f.*

WITHES, GREEN, AVmg. 'green [moist] cords,' RVmg. 'new bowstrings' (יְתָרִים לַחִים, *yĕthārīm laḥim*), Judg. 16 7. On the meaning of לַח, *laḥ*, see COLOURS, § 17; for יֶתֶר, *yĕther*, see CORD. Bowstrings of 'green' gut, not yet dried, are probably meant.

WITNESS. The part played by witnesses in Jewish legal procedure has been dealt with in LAW AND JUSTICE, § 10 *ff.*

The Hebrew word is עֵד, *'ēd*, the Aramaic *sāhdā* (סהדא); and in two passages in OT these two terms are treated as synonymous (Gen. 31 47, שָׂהֲדוּתָא ‖ עֵד; Job 16 19, שָׂהֵד ‖ עֵד). The Arabic word is *āhid* or *šāhīd* (cp Palmyr. סהד; see Cook, *Aram. Gloss.*, *s.v.*). The root *šahida* (= Aram. *sehēd*; cp שָׂרִיד with Ar. *šarada*) seems to have meant originally 'to be present' (cp the use of *šuhūd* in Koran, *Sur.* 74 13), and then 'to bear (be present as) witness.' *Šāhid* is both a witness in general, and one who witnesses to the truth of his creed by dying (see *Sur.* 4 71 39 69). The original meaning of the Hebrew root was perhaps (as Gen. 31 47 Job 16 19 suggest) the same as in Arabic.

Gen. 31 44 48 52 describes how a heap of stones was witness (עֵד; was present to remind) of some transaction; Dt. 31 19 21 says that the song of Moses was witness to (עֵד; existed or was present to remind) the Israelites of a great achievement. For other instances of the use of עֵד in a similar sense see BDB, where, however, the idea of the root is taken to be that of 'reiterating, hence emphatically affirming.'

The word used in the NT is *μάρτυς* (*μάρτυρ-*). It was employed by Christians, as by Muhammedans, to describe (1) simply one who witnessed to the truth, and then (2) particularly one who gave evidence of the truth by dying, and so 'a martyr.'

For (1) see Acts 1 22. The word is already used in the second sense (2) in the NT. So in Acts 22 20 (AV; RV 'witness'), καὶ ὅτε ἐξεχεῖτο τὸ αἷμα Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου; Rev. 2 13 (AV, RV 'witness'), Ἀντίπας ὁ μάρτυς μου, ὁ πιστός [μου], ὃς ἀπεκτάνθη παρ' ὑμῖν; Rev. 17 6 (EV), καὶ εἶδον τὴν γυναῖκα μεθύσουσαν ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ αἵματος τῶν μαρτύρων Ἰησοῦ.

In ancient times the heroes of mankind were commonly represented as being distinguished from other men by (amongst other characteristics) the manner in which they entered and departed life. They were not born in the usual way, or, if so, out of due course; they disappeared from life in a mysterious way, or they showed themselves superior to death by dying cheerfully under painful circumstances. Thus both by their birth and by their death they witnessed to their superiority. This was specially the case with founders of religions. But 'the faithful' were also called upon to bear witness. While, however, the master gave evidence of the truth of his claims by the wonderful words and works of his whole life, 'the faithful' could in most cases only witness to the truth of them by following the master's teaching even unto death. Disciples, therefore, in some cases, sought and actually found martyrdom; in other cases they are represented by tradition as having so suffered, whether they did so or not. The idea of witness by miracle and martyrdom is confined to no single religion. Cp WONDERS. M. A. C.

WIZARD (יִדְּעֹנִי), Lev. 20 27. See MAGIC, § 4, iii.

WOLF (זְאֵב;[1] λυκος; *lupus*). This is the usual word for 'wolf,' though in Is. 13 22 RV renders אִיִּים, *'iyyīm*, and *SBOT* תַּנִּים, *tannīm*, by 'wolves'; see JACKAL, and, on the variety of terms for wild animals, CAT. In Is. 11 6 a notable reference is made to the wolf, which as a type of ferocity is brought into contrast with the lamb.[2] The full force of the phrase employed is that the wolf will, as it were, become a *gēr* or client of the lamb (cp STRANGER).

The wolf (*Canis lupus*) has a very wide range, extending practically throughout North America (N. of Mexico), Europe, and Asia. Many local varieties occur, which have been by various authorities raised to the rank of species. The wolf is still found in Palestine (and Arabia, cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 327). It is there somewhat lighter in colour and has a stronger and stouter build than in Europe, rarely moves in packs, and prowls, sometimes in pairs, round the sheepfolds at night. By day it frequents the rocky valleys. Naturally it plays a large part in the life of the Israelites, and the references to its boldness and ferocity are frequent (cp Gen. 49 27 Jer. 5 6 Ezek. 22 27 Hab. 1 8 Zeph. 3 3). However, if the cubs be removed at a very early age they are susceptible of training, though they can rarely be trusted with strangers.

The word for 'wolf' is frequently used as a personal and clan name (cp Cook, *Aram. Gloss. s.v.* דאבו, and see ZEEB),[3] and it has accordingly been held that it was a totem-animal among certain communities (at least) of the ancient Semites.[4] For the wolf in Semitic legend and folklore see WRS, *Kinship*, 198, *Rel. Sem.*(2) 88.

A. E. S.

WOMAN (אִשָּׁה), Gen. 2 22. See FAMILY, especially §§ 4-6; MARRIAGE, esp. §§ 4-7; LAW, § 14 *a*; SLAVERY; and cp ADAM, esp. § 3 *b*.

WONDERS. The EV shows some uncertainty as to the translation of the Hebrew and Greek synonyms.

(1) מוֹפֵת, *mōphēth*, is rendered by 'wonder' in Dt. 13 1 [2] 28 46 EV, but in Ex. 7 9 Dt. 29 3 EV by 'miracle.' The meaning of the root is uncertain, but see BDB and cp below under (5).

1 According to Hommel (*Säugethiere*, 303 *ff.*), זְאֵב is the jackal; see on the other hand *ZDMG*, 1880, p. 373, and cp JACKAL. The Ass. cognate *zību* appears to denote also a bird of prey.

2 Compare the contrast in Mt. 10 16, 'sheep in the midst of wolves,' and Acts 20 29, where Paul at Miletus warns the 'flock' against the λύκοι βαρεῖς.

3 The fact that the name 'wolf' is given to a sickly child, 'that their human fragility may take on as it were a temper of the kind of those animals' (cp Doughty, *Ar. Des.* 1 329) does not weaken the above argument, since, in some cases, this name is borne not by individuals but by whole clans (cp *Kin.* 197 *f.*).

4 See Robertson Smith, *J. Phil.* 9 75 *ff.* and cp Frazer, *Pausanias*, 2 195 *f.*

(2) פֶּלֶא, *pele'*; lit. 'wonder,' so EV Is. 29 14; cp Judg. 6 13, *niphlā'oth*, AV 'miracles,' RV 'wondrous works.'

(3) אוֹת, *'ōth*; lit. 'sign,' so commonly in EV, Dt. 13 1 [2] 28 46 etc. In Nu. 14 22 Dt. 11 3, RV 'signs,' AV 'miracles.'

(4) *δύναμις*, lit. 'power.' In Mk. 9 39, AV 'miracle,' RV 'mighty work.' Cp Acts 2 22 'a man, approved by God among you, by miracles (RV 'mighty works'), wonders, and signs,' . . . *δυνάμεσι καὶ τέρασι καὶ σημείοις*—a suggestive passage. In Acts 8 13 19 11 1 Cor. 12 10 28 Gal. 3 5, EV 'miracles'; but in Heb. 2 4, AV 'miracles,' RV 'powers.'

(5) *τέρας*, Acts 2 22 6 8 15 12 Heb. 2 4, EV 'wonders.' Two derivations are noted in Grimm-Thayer (*Lexicon, s.v.*), neither of which can be pronounced very satisfactory. They are: (1) 'apparently akin to the verb *τηρέω*; accordingly something so strange as to cause it to be "watched" or "observed"'; (2) connected 'with *ἀστήρ ἀστραπή*, etc., hence "a sign in the heavens."' If the Heb. *mōphēth* (1, above) be connected with Ar. *'ipha* 'to suffer evil' (see BDB, *s.v.* אפת), we might perhaps compare for *τέρας* the root *τείρω* 'to suffer distress'; the idea would then be 'a calamity or catastrophe = a portent.'

(6) *σημεῖον*, lit. 'sign,' like (3) above. So in Mk. 8 11 *f.* Lk. 11 16 29 *f.* Mt. 12 38 *f.* 16 14 Jn. 2 18 6 30 1 Cor. 1 22 Acts 2 22 Heb. 2 4. But AV 'wonder,' RV 'sign,' Rev. 12 1; EV 'miracle,' Lk. 23 8 Acts 4 16 22; AV 'miracle,' RV 'sign,' Jn. 4 54 10 41 2 11 23 3 2 6 2 26 7 31 9 16 11 47 12 37 Acts 6 8 8 6 15 12 Rev. 13 14 16 14 19 20.

The original idea in the word 'wonder' (Lat. 'miraculum,' Angl. 'miracle') seems to have been that of turning aside through a feeling of fear or awe (see Skeat, *Etymol. Dict., s.v.*). The savage 'ignorant of the very rudiments of science, and trying to get at the meaning of life by what the senses seem to tell' (to quote Tylor, *Anthrop.* 343) would often turn aside when he came face to face with something new, unexpected, or extraordinary.

'The emotion named Wonder is founded on relativity. It is more than simple novelty. One degree beyond novelty is *surprise*, or the shock of what is both novel and unexpected. . . Wonder contains surprise, attended with a new and distinct effect, the effect of contemplating something that rises far above common experience, which elevates us with a feeling of superiority' (Alexander Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, 85 *f.* [1899]).

'A wonder' then is something which cannot be explained from the ordinary experience of mankind in general at a given time, but, as Hobbes pointed out (*Leviathan*, chap. 27), 'seeing admiration and wonder are consequent to the knowledge wherewith men are endued, some more, some less, it followeth that the same thing may be a miracle to one and not to another.' As regards many of the wonders that surrounded them (the wonder of life, the wonder of creation) primitive men would be very much on a level and would all be satisfied with a fanciful explanation; but with regard to others (the wonder or effect of certain herbs, for instance) some men would soon, at first by chance, attain some measure of knowledge and thereby themselves become relatively wonderful and wonder-workers (medicine-men, obi-men). In the eyes of his admirers, however, the man who is relatively wonderful, soon grows to be very much more than this. Obviously, therefore, there is a very close connection between wonders or miracles and myths; the growth and development of both would go on almost, if not quite, simultaneously. Obviously, too, the wonder is closely connected with exorcism and sorcery.

'Exorcism and sorcery pass insensibly into miracle. . . If the marvellous results are ascribed to a supernatural being at enmity with the observers, the art is sorcery; but if ascribed to a friendly supernatural being, the marvellous results are classed as miracles' (Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*(3), 1 246).

The very word in English, as we have seen, indicates the way we must take if we wish to understand the meaning of wonders. It is clear that a thorough examination of the subject would involve an investigation into the evolution of ideas in general, into psychology, anthropology, comparative religion and mythology. If Dr. Bacon in his new definition of higher criticism is thinking of the comparative method, such an investigation would indeed come within the province of that science. 'If a new definition of the higher criticism may be permitted so late,' he says, 'we should call it *the study of the origin and development of ideas*' (*Triple Tradition of the Exodus*, xxxiii.).

In any case, in view of the results of the comparative method of study,[1] it is impossible to treat the subject of wonders or miracles on the old lines. Here, however, it need only be pointed out that it is now evident that no religion can be isolated and treated separately; that myths, and wonders, whether natural (cp below) or supernatural, are not peculiar to any one system; and that the ideas of primitive man, or the savage, have left their mark even on the most advanced religions.

Comparative mythology shows that man has given explanations of the universe which indicate that the mind moves everywhere along very similar lines. Comparative religion teaches that even when men had attained to no small degree of general culture they still demanded outward and visible signs of the efficacy of their faith. The sage, or the founder of a religion, who claimed to enlighten his fellows, was expected to produce evidence, apart from his teaching, that he was endowed in a peculiar and extraordinary way. As a witness to his superiority, he was expected to perform wonders (or give a sign, cp [3] and [6] above). And as such a one was in most cases, owing to his superior knowledge, on a higher level than his contemporaries, he was, no doubt, often as a matter of fact able to do things which to them appeared wonderful; he may often have been able to cure diseases, perhaps even to restore to life a body that was to all appearance lifeless; he was, no doubt, often able to exercise a remarkable influence over men's minds, and perhaps to cure certain mental diseases. It is difficult to calculate the effect that such a display of power would have on those who did not understand its nature. It is easy, on the other hand, to understand that such evidence of a power out of the common having been furnished, wonders of a different nature would also be ascribed to the master by his disciples, especially after his decease. His works and his teaching would seem to combine to suggest that he did not belong to the life of the earth; he must be a favourite of one of the deities, or of the Deity, or a son of one of the deities, or of the Deity, or even an actual deity come in the flesh. The wonders with which he would now be accredited would no longer be relative and natural, but absolute and supernatural (*i.e.*, miracles). It would be represented, especially after his decease, that the manner of his appearance in the world, and of his disappearance from it when his mission had been accomplished, were alike remarkable; that if his mother was human, his father was divine, that if he seemed to die like other men, it was not so in reality. He would no longer be described as merely healing diseases, physical and psychical, by natural, but little understood, means. He has become superior to the laws of nature. He walks upon the sea and stills its waves, commands the wind and the storm, cures instantaneously the deaf, the dumb, and the blind, brings to life those who have actually died.

This process went on even in the middle ages. 'Principles of myth-formation, belonging properly to the mental state of the savage, were by its aid [the doctrine of miracles] continued in strong action in the civilised world. Mythic episodes which Europeans would have rejected contemptuously if told of savage deities or heroes, only required to be adapted to appropriate local details, and to be set forth as miracles in the life of some superhuman personage to obtain as of old a place of credit and honour in history' (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,(3) 1 371 *f.*). Writings in which miracles figure are not historical in the modern and scientific sense of the word.

Many of the OT and NT narratives in which 'wonders' figure have been treated in special articles, and from various points of view. See, for instance, CREATION, DELUGE, DEMONS,

[1] Prof. Cheyne was one of the first critics to apply this method in the case of biblical study. See in *EB*(9), the articles 'Cosmogony' (6 446 *ff.*), 'Deluge' (7 54 *b ff.*), 'Jonah' (13 736 *f.*), also *Th. Rev.* 211-219 (1877). For more recent examples see CREATION, DELUGE, JONAH, PURIM, etc., and cp DEMONS, TEMPTATION. See also S. A. Cook, 'Israel and Totemism,' in *JQR*, April 1902; A. S. Peake, art. 'Unclean,' in Hastings' *DB*.

Divination, Magic, Plagues, Acts, Gospels (cp Jesus), John, Lazarus, Mary, Nativity, Resurrection, Simon Peter, Spiritual Gifts, Temptation. See further R. W. Mackay, *The Tübingen School and its Antecedents* (1863); Hugo Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 2 (1900); Th. Trede, *Wunderglaube in Heidentum und in der alten Kirche* (1901); *Supernatural Rel.* (new ed. 1902). Cp O. Holtzmann, *Leben Jesu*. The following works, amongst others, have to be taken account of: Grant Allen, *Evolution of the Idea of God*; Clodd, *Myths and Dreams*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*; Huxley, *Hume*, also *Science and Hebrew Tradition* and *Science and Christian Tradition*; Lang, *Custom and Myth*, and *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*; Lubbock (Avebury), *Origin of Civilisation* ([5] 1889); J. M. Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology* (1900); Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology* (*ISS*) and *Principles of Sociology*; Tylor, *Early Hist. of Mankind* ([3], 1878), *Anthropology* (1881), *Primitive Culture*, ([3], 1891). Cp also Darwin, *Descent of Man*; Quatrefages, *The Human Species* (*ISS*); Tolstoy, *What is Religion?* M. A. C.

WOOD (עֵץ), Gen. 6 14. See Forest, and the special articles.

WOOF (עֵרֶב), Lev. 13 48 RVmg. 'knitted stuff.' See Weaving, § 7.

WOOL (צֶמֶר, *ṣémer*; ερiον). The sources of wool available in ancient times to the inhabitants of Palestine were three in number—the sheep, the camel, and the goat;[1] but, except where another animal is distinctly mentioned (Mk. 1 6 Mt. 3 4 1 S. 19 13), we may assume that the wool of the sheep is meant. An Arabic saying (cp Bochart, *Hieroz.* 2 442) declares that the best wool is that of the *naḳad* (see Sheep); it was this wool which Mesha, king of Moab, sent as tribute to the king of Israel (2 K. 3 4 RV). Wool is probably the worst conductor of heat of all the materials used for clothing, and for this reason amongst others has from the earliest times been used as a covering. The finest wool is that cut from the young sheep of about eight months old, and is known as lamb's wool (Prov. 27 23 26); later shearings yield the wether wool, which is either unwashed or washed, the animal in the latter case being washed before submitting to the shears. As is still the case in pastoral countries, the annual sheep-shearing was in ancient times an occasion of great gatherings and rejoicings (1 S. 25 2 2 S. 13 23; see Feasts, § 2 *f.*). The wool is usually cut a few days after the washing, by which time it has dried. A skilful shearer will remove the whole of the fleece in a continuous sheet, which is then sorted according to its quality. The wool-stapler, whilst doing this, removes the larger and more conspicuous impurities, bits of straw, etc. The wool is then carefully washed with soft water and soap, and dried. At this stage it is still in the condition of matted locks as they come from the body of the animal, and before it can be woven it must be teazed, combed and spun into a thread (see Weaving). According to EV the wool of Damascus was especially prized at Tyre (Ezek. 27 18); 𝔊, however, substitutes 'wool from Miletus,' and Davidson says, 'possibly, wool of Zachar.' It is a matter for the textual critic (see Javan, § 1*g*). On the prohibition to wear 'a mingled stuff, wool and linen together' (Lev. 19 19 Dt. 22 11 †), see Linen, 7, n. 2, and *Crit. Bib. ad loc.* A. E. S.

WORD (ο λογος). On 'the Word' see Logos.

WORLD. The words are: (1) אֶרֶץ, *ĕreṣ*, Gen. 1 24; (2) תֵּבֵל, *tēbēl*, 1 S. 2 8; (3) עֹלָם, *'ōlām*, Ps. 73 12; (4) חֶלֶד, *ḥéled*, Ps. 17 14; (5) חֶדֶל, *ḥédel*, Is. 38 11; (6) αἰών, Heb. 1 2; (7) γῆ; (8) κόσμος, Jn. 18 36; (9) οἰκουμένη, Heb. 2 5. See Earth.

WORM. Worm is the rendering of the following Hebrew words:—

1. סָס, *sās* (σής) in Is. 51 8,† where obviously the larva or caterpillar of some clothes-moth is intended. See Moth.

2. תּוֹלָע, *tōlā'* (also תּוֹלֵעָה and תּוֹלַעַת, from a root meaning 'to gnaw' [Del. *Heb. Lang.* 66 *f.*; *Prol.* 115]; cp מְתַלְּעוֹת and מַלְתָּעוֹת as applied to the teeth), and

3. רִמָּה, *rimmāh* (cp Ar. *ramma* 'be rotten,' *rimmatun* 'rottenness'), are the words most commonly employed, and—as in vulgar speech—indicate not so much earth-worms (which indeed are found in Palestine, cp below), as any elongated crawling animal. 𝔊 renders generally by σκώληξ, and in Job σαπρία, and less often σῆψις, Vg. *vermis, putredo, tinea*. The *tōlā'* which was bred in the manna (Ex. 16 20, in *v.* 24 *rimmāh*) means obviously the larva of those flies which breed in organic matter. In hot countries flies breed with extraordinary rapidity, and maggots not uncommonly appear in sores, etc.; whence several allusions are made in the OT and Apocrypha to their parasitical tendencies and especially to their habit of preying upon the dead (Job 7 5 21 26 24 20 but cp 𝔊 Is. 14 11, cp also 1 Macc. 2 62 Ecclus. 10 11 19 3).[1] In this connection we find in pre-Christian times the first reference to the 'fire and worm' which afterwards became popularly connected with the notions of a future punishment (Is. 66 24; cp Ecclus. 7 17 Judith 16 17 and Mk. 9 44 *ff.*).

Death by worms, regarded with special horror by the ancients (Herod. 4 205), is said to have been the fate of Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. 9 5 *ff.*), and of Herod Agrippa (Acts 12 23); but it must not be forgotten that such statements about eminent but unpopular characters were frequently made by their political opponents in order to discredit their memory. Cp Diseases, *ad fin.*, and Herod, § 12, *ad fin.*

The reference to the destruction of vineyards (Dt. 28 39), or of gourds (Jon. 4 7), by a 'worm,' probably indicates some beetle—or rather insect-larva—which injures roots or other parts of plants; but it may refer to certain members of the *Myriapoda* (*Centipedes*), which have similar destructive habits and are very numerous in Palestine. With the former we may compare the Gk. ἴψ, ἴξ and Lat. *convolvulus*, a kind of vine-weevil (cp Pliny, *HN* 22 47).

Wood-worms, the larvæ of wood-boring beetles, though unmentioned in MT, are referred to in Bar. 6 19 [20], in Prov. 12 4 𝔊, where a bad woman is likened to ἐν ξύλῳ σκώληξ (כְּרָקָב בְּעַצְמוֹתָיו), also 25 20*a* 𝔊, ὥσπερ σὴς [ἐν] ἱματίῳ καὶ σκώληξ ξύλῳ οὕτως λύπη ἀνδρὸς βλάπτει καρδίαν, and the Vg. of 2 S. 23 8 (ipse est quasi tenerrimus ligni vermiculus, qui octingentos interfecit impetu uno).

Finally we may note the metaphorical use of 'worm' to denote a man of low estate or in a miserable position, Job 25 6 Ps. 22 6[7] Is. 41 14 [not 𝔊], cp *Il.* 13 654: ὥστε σκώληξ ἐπὶ γαίῃ κεῖτο ταθείς.

4. זֹחֲלֵי אֶרֶץ, *zōḥălē āreṣ*, AV 'worms of the earth' (Mi. 7 17), might possibly refer to true earth-worms (Oligochæta); but the literal meaning is 'crawling things (cp 𝔊 σύροντες γῆν) of the earth,' and it is more likely that serpents are intended (so RV, cp Dt. 32 24).

Of the Oligochæta a dozen species from Palestine have been described, all belonging to the genus *Allolobophora*, to which fourteen out of the nineteen British species belong. Five of the dozen—viz., *A. caliginosa*, *A. chlorotica*, *A. fœtida*, *A. veneta*, and *A. rosea*—are also British. They are not found in the arid and sandy regions, but are by no means uncommon in the more fertile districts. Cp Tola, Colours, § 14.

5. רָקָב, *rāḳāb*, Hos. 5 12 AVmg. (κέντρον [BAQ] = קֹטֶב?). The word properly means 'rottenness' (see BDB); in Prov. 12 4 14 30, however, 𝔊 gives σκώληξ, σής, just as in Job it renders סָס by σαπρία (see above). *rāḳāb* also occurs in the Hebrew of Ecclus. 43 20, where Taylor (*JQR* 10 471; *Wisdom of Ben Sira*, lxii *f.*) adopts the rendering 'skin-bottle,' and refers to Geiger's view of Job 13 28 (ἀσκός, 𝔊), which he apparently favours. The text, however, is most probably corrupt; for כרקב we should read בְּרֵכֹת, *bĕrēkōth*, rendering 'and he congeals ponds by his cold.'

A. E. S.–S. A. C., 1-4; T. K. C., 5.

WORMWOOD (לַעֲנָה Dt. 29 18 [17] Prov. 5 4 Jer. 9 15 [14] 23 15 Lam. 3 15 19 Am. 5 7 6 12;[2] and ἄψινθος Rev.

[1] 'Wool is a modified form of hair, distinguished by its slender, soft, and wavy or curly structure, and by the highly imbricated or serrated surface of its filaments' . . . 'At what point indeed it can be said that an animal fibre ceases to be hair and becomes wool it is impossible to determine, because in every characteristic the one class by imperceptible gradations merges into the other, so that a continuous chain can be formed from the finest and softest merino to the rigid bristles of the wild boar.'—*Ency. Brit.*[9], *s.v.* 'wool.'

[1] In the difficult passage Job 19 26, 'worms destroy this body,' no mention of worms is made by the MT; cp RV, and see Job, § 6, col. 2474.

[2] In this last verse AV has 'hemlock.'

8 11 †). The Hebrew word *la'ănāh* is in 𝔊 variously rendered πικρία Dt. 29 18 [17] Lam. 3 19 Am. 6 12, χολή Prov. 5 4 Lam. 3 15, ἀνάγκαι Jer. 9 15 [14], ὀδύνη Jer. 23 15, and ὕψος Am. 5 7.[1] The word ἄψινθος nowhere occurs in 𝔊; but Aq. had ἀψίνθιον for *la'ănāh* in Prov. 5 4 Jer. 23 15 Lam. 3 19 (?), for *rōš* in Jer. 9 15 [14]. Vg. has *amaritudo* in Dt. 29 18, but everywhere else *absinthium* —a rendering which is also supported by Pesh. and Tg.

The origin of the word *la'ănāh* is obscure, and the references to it in OT are so purely symbolical, that we learn nothing but that it was an edible substance of extreme bitterness; it is usually coupled with רֹאשׁ, *rōš*, or מֵי רֹאשׁ, *mē rōš* (see GALL), and once with מְרוֹרִים *mĕrōrīm* (Lam. 3 15, see BITTER HERBS). But a consensus of ancient tradition is in favour of the identification with wormwood, and it may well denote the product of one or more species of *Artemisia* (perhaps *Artemisia judaica*) of which as many as seven are enumerated by Tristram (*FFP* 331) as found in Palestine.

N. M.—W. T. T.-D.

WORSHIP. See TEMPLE, §§ 34 *ff.*; SACRIFICE; also SYNAGOGUE, PRAYER, and SALUTATIONS.

WORSHIPPER (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟϹ), RV TEMPLE-KEEPER. See NEOCOROS.

WREATH. 1. גְּדִיל, *gādīl*, 1 K. 7 17.† See FRINGES.

2. לֹיָה, *lōyāh*, 1 K. 7 29 30 36, RV 'wreaths of hanging work'; but the meaning is doubtful and even the reading uncertain. See under LAVER, § 1.

WREATHEN WORK. (1) עֲבֹת, *'ăbōth*, Ex. 28 14, etc. See CORD. (2) שְׂבָכָה, *śĕbākāh*, 1 K. 7 17, etc. See NET, 5.

WRESTLING. It is reasonable to assume that the early Hebrews had wrestling-matches. The story of Jacob wrestling with the *ĕlōhim* or divinity (Gen. 32 24-31) seems to presuppose this. If the cycle of Jacob-narratives were as near to the original folk-tales as the cycle of Samson-narratives, we should perhaps have found Jacob indulging like Samson in sportive exhibitions of his strength, for the ancestors of the Hebrews (not Samson alone) were imagined as endowed with Herculean strength (cp Gen. 29 10 31 45 *f.* 32 26). It is, however, no sport—this wrestling of Jacob with the divine being; it is the conquest of the god of an already conquered people which has to be effected. This is the historical meaning of the story. Penuel was possibly the citadel of SUCCOTH (*q.v.*), and within the precinct of the citadel was the sanctuary (see GIDEON, § 2). The Jacob-tribe had 'contended with men' and had 'prevailed'—*i.e.*, had conquered Succoth and Penuel externally (Judg. 8 16 *f.*); but its admission to full religious privileges had, according to the myth, to be obtained by force. Sargon carried away the deities of conquered places; but the Jacob-tribe meant to remain at Succoth and Penuel, and consequently had to convert a hostile divinity into a friend. Cyrus did the like at Babylon by geniality towards the priesthood (CYRUS, § 6); the Jacob-tribe chose to describe its victory in the symbolic language of mythology. The myth grew pale, and the later writers did not understand it. Hosea thought that Jacob's conduct was blameworthy; a later writer modified the story by the statement that Jacob 'wept and made supplication to him,' and it is this later writer whom modern preachers justifiably follow, for he has shown them how to 'turn dross into gold.'[2]

The word rendered 'wrestled' in Gen. 32 (וַיֵּאָבֵק *v.* 25 [24]; הֵאָבְקוֹ, *v.* 26 [25]) has been connected by some with אָבָק, *'ābāḳ*, 'dust, as if='to dust oneself'; others compare MH אֲבַק, *'ăbaḳ*, 'to entangle.' But probably the word is corrupt (see *Crit. Bib.*).

[1] The translator seems in this last case to have read לְמַעְלָה and in the two cases in Jer. to have wrongly connected the word with root ענה.

[2] Hos. 12 2 *f.* [3 *f.*] belongs to Hosea, who blames Jacob; the continuation is in *vv.* 7-9 [8-10]. *Vv.* 4-6 [5-7] are eulogistic of Jacob. The expression 'turn dross into gold' is from Gunkel, whose treatment of the story shows much insight, though he has missed the probable historical origin of the story.

In Gen. 30 8 the right word is used—viz., נִפְתַּל, prop. 'to be twisted together'; see NAPHTALI, § 3. Cp, further, MANASSEH, § 4.

In the NT πάλη 'wrestling' is used as a figure for a spiritual struggle (Eph. 6 12); we might have expected μάχη (Delitzsch, in his Heb. NT, renders מִלְחָמָה); the Christian's struggle not being against flesh and blood can hardly be called a 'wrestling.' But the word came naturally to his lips. The palæstra was not, it seems, forbidden to Christians; the writer of 2 Macc. 4 12 *ff.* (cp CAP) was naturally more sensitive, and denounces the priests of Jerusalem who, in the Hellenising movement under Antiochus Epiphanes, 'hastened to take part in the unlawful provision for the *palæstra.*' The word is happily adopted by RV, following the precedent of 'synagogue'; primarily it means a wrestling school.

Wrestling was a favourite exercise in ancient Egypt (Wilk. *Anc. Eg.* 2 437 5 292). It is said to have been introduced into the Olympic contests in the eighteenth Olympiad, from which date it continued to form one of the five games of the *pentathlon.* T. K. C.

WRITING. In the study of writing it is important to remember that the word has several meanings, which must be carefully distinguished. In its widest sense, it includes both *ideographic* and *phonetic* writing. Ideographic writing consists in the use of symbols to represent visible objects or the ideas which are associated with those objects; by phonetic writing is meant the use of symbols to represent the sounds or combinations of sounds, which constitute some particular language. When each symbol denotes a single sound, the writing is said to be *alphabetic;* when each symbol denotes a syllable, the writing is called *syllabic.* It is probable that writing was at first purely ideographic; but the oldest systems of writing known to us, namely, the hieroglyphic writing of Egypt and the cuneiform writing of Babylonia, consist of ideographic and phonetic symbols combined in various ways. Both in Egypt and in Babylonia the art of writing was practised considerably more than three thousand years before the Christian era. With these systems, however, we are not at present concerned, since there is no reason to believe that they were at any time in use among the ancient Hebrews, who, like their neighbours, the Moabites, the Phœnicians, and the Aramæans, employed a purely alphabetic system, consisting of twenty-two letters, usually known as the *Semitic alphabet.* From the Phœnicians this alphabet was borrowed, with certain important modifications, by the Greeks; from the Greeks it passed on to the other nations of Europe, so that in popular language the term 'writing' is confined to alphabetic writing. When we speak of the writing of Egypt and Babylonia, we are liable to forget that in this case 'writing' means something quite different from that which we ordinarily understand by it.

1. The alphabet.

The origin of the Semitic alphabet is extremely obscure. In the ancient world the invention was commonly ascribed to the Phœnicians,[1] sometimes to the Aramæans[2] or the Egyptians;[3] but these theories seem to have been based upon mere conjecture, as was the case with so many other beliefs current among the ancients respecting the origin of arts, institutions, and the like.[4] In modern times also the theory of the Phœnician origin of the alphabet has been frequently maintained, and many scholars have endeavoured to show that the Phœnicians simply adapted to their own use certain of the

2. Origin.

[1] Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 5 12 [13] (see also 7 57); Lucan, *Pharsal.* 3 220.

[2] Diod. Sic. 5 74, Clem. Alex. *Stromateis*, 1 16.

[3] Plato, *Phædrus*, 58, 274 D; Cicero, *De nat. deor.* 3 22.

[4] That any genuine tradition about the origin of the alphabet should have survived must appear highly improbable when we consider that the inventors of the vowel-points were completely forgotten, although they lived in a much later and a far more civilised age.

phonetic signs employed in Egyptian writing.[1] Others have supposed that the alphabet was developed out of the Babylonian cuneiform character.[2] But, as Winckler has recently observed, the arguments for attributing the invention of the alphabet to the Phœnicians are far from satisfactory.[3] We have, it is true, no right to maintain, with Winckler, that the hypothesis is improbable in itself, for mere generalisations, such as the statement that mercantile peoples are deficient in creative power, prove nothing at all. Nor is much to be said in favour of the rival theory put forward by him, namely, that the alphabet was invented in Babylonia, since the Babylonians, so far as we can ascertain at present, never made use of it for writing their own language. The inscriptions in the Semitic character which appear on some Babylonian and Assyrian weights and contract-tablets prove, indeed, that the alphabet was known in Babylonia; but as these inscriptions are in the Aramaic language it would seem that the Semitic character was introduced into Babylonia by Aramæans. The arguments which Winckler derives from the shapes of the letters are likewise very precarious. From the fact that *'Ayin* is represented by a circle he argues that this letter was not originally included in the alphabet and that the Semitic character must therefore have been invented by a people to whom the sound of *'Ayin* was unknown. But the circular form of *'Ayin* may be explained by the obvious supposition that it is meant to represent an 'eye' (Heb. *'áyin*), precisely as every other letter seems to have been originally a rude portrait of some well-known object, the name of which happened to begin with the sound intended. In some cases both the shape and the name of the letter clearly indicate the object chosen, and this serves to show that the inventors of the alphabet spoke a Semitic language. But whether they were Phœnicians, Aramæans, or members of some other Semitic people it is at present impossible to decide.[4]

We are not to suppose that the inventors of the alphabet endeavoured to distinguish the sounds of their language with scientific precision. It would appear that when two or more consonantal sounds bore a certain resemblance to one another they were sometimes represented by a single letter; thus the ancient Semitic alphabet had only one sign for the two sibilants which were afterwards known as *Sīn* and *Shīn* and distinguished by a diacritical point (שׂ, שׁ). In this case the distinction of sound must have existed from the beginning (as is proved by comparative philology), and became even more marked in later times; we may therefore assume that it existed likewise in the intermediate period, when the alphabet was invented. Since the inventors of the alphabet ignored this distinction, they may have ignored others also, and accordingly the fact that the ancient Semitic character does not discriminate between certain sounds which are expressed by different letters in Arabic (*e.g.*, ح and خ, ع and غ) is no proof that the alphabet originated among a people who in pronunciation assimilated these sounds to one another.

3. Antiquity. Of all known inscriptions in the Semitic character the oldest which can be dated with certainty, namely the inscription of Mesha' king of Moab, belongs to the earlier half of the ninth century B.C. See MESHA. The inscription of Panammū, king of Ya'dī, in the extreme N. of Syria, appears to have been set up about the beginning of the eighth century; it is written in a peculiar Aramaic dialect.[5]

[1] De Rougé, *Mémoire sur l'origine égyptienne de l'alphabet phénicien* (Paris, 1874); Maspero, *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*(5) 745 (Paris, 1893).

[2] Deecke in *ZDMG* 31 [1877] 102-116.

[3] Wi. *Gesch. Isr.* 1 (1895) 125 *f.*

[4] The reasons which make it necessary to suspend our judgment on this question are well pointed out by Lidzbarski in his *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik* [1898], 1 173 *f.*

[5] See DHM *Die altsemitischen Inschriften von Sendschirli* (Vienna, 1893), and cp ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, § 2.

WRITING

Some Phœnician and Aramaic inscriptions are perhaps rather older than these two; but there is no clear evidence to show how long before the ninth century the Semitic alphabet was invented. Nöldeke has observed that the style of the inscription of Mesha' seems to imply the existence of a historical literature among the Moabites of the period, and what we know of the Moabites would lead us to suppose that their civilisation was decidedly less advanced than that of their neighbours to the W. Thus we may conclude with certainty that at the time of Mesha' the Semitic alphabet was not a very recent invention. On the other hand, the fact that in the ninth century B.C. the shapes of the letters were almost identical in regions so far apart as Moab and Ya'dī does not favour the view that the alphabet had been for many centuries in common use, for in that case local types would have tended to diverge more widely, as is shown by the later history of Semitic writing. Moreover, the tablets discovered at Tell-el-Amarna in 1887 prove that about 1400 B.C. the Canaanite princes conducted their official correspondence with the Egyptian court in the Babylonian language and character. It would be very rash to conclude from this that the cuneiform character was then commonly employed by the natives of Canaan, for documents written in a foreign language and in an extremely difficult character can have been intelligible only to a small class of professional scribes, most of them, perhaps, slaves imported from other countries.[1] But it is evident that if the Canaanite princes employed, in their correspondence with Egypt, a language which was neither that of Canaan nor that of Egypt, we may with some plausibility conjecture that the Canaanites at that period had no writing of their own.

The OT does not supply us with the means of discovering how or when the alphabet became known to the Israelites. In Genesis, as has often been remarked, there is no allusion to writing of any kind, whereas Moses is represented, even in the older parts of Exodus (JE), as practising the art (Ex. 24 4). But from this we cannot safely conclude more than that writing had been in use among the Israelites for some time before the period of the narrator, who probably lived in the ninth century B.C. Nor does Judg. 5 14 throw any light on the question; whatever the phrase שֵׁבֶט סֹפֵר may mean, it cannot be explained as 'the pen of the scribe,' since שֵׁבֶט never has this sense either in Hebrew or Aramaic. It is remarkable that the ordinary Hebrew noun for 'writing,' namely סֵפֶר, from which סֹפֵר 'a scribe' is derived, has no etymological connection with any of the verbs which signify 'to write' (כתב, חקק, רשם), and this fact tends to support the theory that סֵפֶר is a foreign word; whether it was borrowed from the Assyrian, as some scholars suppose, is uncertain.

The name of the old Canaanite city קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר (Josh. 15 15 *f.* Judg. 1 11 *f.*) might suggest that the word סֵפֶר, in the sense of 'writing,' was known already to the Canaanites before the Israelite invasion; but since the root ספר[2] has a variety of meanings (in Hebrew 'to count,' 'to relate,' in Aramaic 'to shave the hair'), it is altogether illegitimate to found any argument upon the name in question. Cp KIRJATH-SEPHER.

4. Types. In the days of the later kings of Judah, the art of writing must have been very extensively employed, to judge by the frequent allusions to it in the Prophets, especially Isaiah. The oldest extant specimens of Israelite writing, namely the Siloam inscription[3] and a number of engraved seals and gems,

[1] Even in Babylonia itself, where the language of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets was actually spoken, the knowledge of the cuneiform character was, in all probability, confined to a small proportion of the inhabitants.

[2] It is possible that סֵפֶר in קִרְיַת־סֵפֶר has no connection with the Heb. root ספר, since Phœn. ס may correspond to Heb. ז, *e.g.*, Phœn. סכר = Heb. זכר. The existence of a root זפר may be inferred from the name of the place זפרן (זִפְרֹנָה, 'to Ziphron,' Nu. 34 9).

[3] See Dr. *TBS* pp. xiv-xvii.

seem to belong to this period. Here the shapes of the letters closely resemble those in the inscription of king Mesha'. One of the oldest Phœnician inscriptions, that which is found on the fragments of a bronze bowl dedicated to the Baal of Lebanon (*CIS* i. no. 5, see PHŒNICIA, § 18), exhibits much the same type. But the ordinary Phœnician writing has a decidedly more modern appearance; the down-strokes become elongated, so as to present to the eye a series of parallel lines, and the letters thus acquire an air of uniformity which is lacking in the older style. Another type is offered by the Aramaic inscriptions and papyri of the Persian and Macedonian period. The distinctive feature of these is that certain letters (ב, ד, ע, ר) have open tops, as though their upper portion had been cut off. A further development of this Aramaic writing appears in the Nabatæan and Palmyrene inscriptions, of the first century B.C. and onwards, which are specially remarkable for their frequent ligatures or joining of the letters, a feature common to all the later styles of Aramaic writing in use among Christians. As the Aramaic language gradually superseded Hebrew and the kindred dialects spoken in Palestine, the Aramaic letters became more and more familiar to the Jews. The coins of the Hasmonæan dynasty and those struck during the two Jewish revolts (66-70 and 132-135 A.D.) bear legends in the old Hebrew character; but some Jewish inscriptions of about the time of Christ are in the Aramaic writing, though the language is Hebrew. The particular variety of the Aramaic character which came into use at this period was called by the Jews *kěthāb měrubbā'* (כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע), 'square writing,' or *kěthāb aššūrī* (כְּתָב אַשּׁוּרִי), 'Assyrian writing,' a name probably due to the fact that it was employed by the peoples of NE. Syria. One of the most ancient specimens of the square writing is the inscription over the sepulchre of the *Běnē Ḥēzīr* (בְּנֵי חֵזִיר), a Jewish family, near Jerusalem;[1] the character bears much resemblance to the Nabatæan, but the lines are straighter and the ligatures less frequent. In the fully developed form of the square character the ligatures disappear altogether. There is reason to believe that at the time when the text of the OT was definitely fixed—*i.e.*, about the beginning of the second century after Christ—the square character was generally, if not invariably, employed in MSS of the OT.[2] Since that period it has continued in use among the Jews with very little modification. Strangely enough, the Samaritans alone remained faithful to the old Hebrew writing, though in their attempt to adorn it they gave it a somewhat fantastic appearance.[3]

At a period which it is impossible to determine accurately, but in any case several centuries before the Christian era, the Semitic alphabet was introduced into Arabia and employed for writing various Arabian dialects, as is proved by many inscriptions which have been discovered in that country. Some of these were, until lately, known by the incorrect name Himyaritic. The alphabet in which they are written is evidently derived from that of the northern Semites; but it contains several additional consonants, invented for the purpose of expressing certain Arabic sounds which were not represented in the older Semitic writing. The so-called Himyaritic inscriptions fall into two classes, according to dialect—those in Sabæan and those in Minæan. Both dialects seem to have been spoken in S. Arabia at about the same period, and to have been carried northwards by mercantile colonists. Among these inscriptions there are very few of which the date can be ascertained even approximately. The theory of Glaser, Hommel, Sayce, and others, that the Minæan inscriptions are of enormous antiquity and that the latest of them were set up about 1000 B.C., has been completely overthrown by the discovery of a Minæan inscription which is dated from 'the twenty-second year of king Ptolemy,' so that it cannot be older than the third century B.C.[1] The dialect of the so-called Thamūdæan[2] inscriptions, recently discovered at Al-Ulā, about 150 m. NNW. of Medina, differs greatly both from the Sabæan and the Minæan; but the writing is nearly the same. Whether D. H. Müller be right in considering the Thamūdæan character an earlier form of the Sabæan is uncertain. By the beginning of the seventh century of our era both the Thamūdæan and the Sabæan writing had become obsolete in Arabia, for the alphabet employed by the Arabs at that time—the parent of the Arabic character now in use—was derived from the Nabatæan. In Eastern Africa, however, the Sabæan alphabet left a descendant, namely the very peculiar character known as the Æthiopic.

5. Names of the letters.

The names by which the letters of the alphabet were known among the Jews appear for the first time in the LXX text of Lam. 1-4. Here the MSS, it is true, vary to a considerable extent; but there can be no doubt that the names are substantially identical with those which were used by the Jews in the Middle Ages. It would seem, however, that in very early times certain of these names were pronounced otherwise, since the names of the Greek letters, which were borrowed from the Phœnicians, sometimes diverge notably from the ordinary Jewish forms; thus Γάμμα (for Γαμλα) and Ῥῶ (cp Heb. ראשׁ, 'head') appear to have a more primitive vocalisation than גִּימֶל (𝔊 γιμελ or γιμλ) and רֵישׁ (𝔊 ρηχς or ρης). Accordingly the fact that רֵישׁ is not a Hebrew but an Aramaic form cannot be regarded as proving anything with respect to the ultimate origin of the names. That the names were liable to undergo great change in various times and places is shown, moreover, by the Æthiopic alphabet, in which several of the names are quite different. We must not therefore be surprised to find that among the Jewish names of the letters there are some of which the meaning is altogether obscure, namely, הֵא, זַיִן, חֵית, טֵית, צָדֵי, קוֹף, and תָּו.

6. Order of the alphabet.

The order in which the letters were arranged is shown by the acrostich poems in the OT (Pss. 25 34 37 111 *f.* 119 145 Prov. 31 10-31 Lam. 1). In Lam. 2-4 the order is slightly different, since פ precedes ע.[3] Among the Phœnicians the arrangement of the letters seems to have been the same as among the Jews, for the Greek alphabet in its primitive form corresponded to the Hebrew. By what principle the order was originally fixed it is impossible to discover.

7. Direction of the writing, punctuation, etc.

Ancient inscriptions in the Semitic alphabet, like the oldest inscriptions in Greek, are written from right to left. The sole exceptions to this rule are found among the Sabæan inscriptions, a few of which are written βουστροφηδόν—*i.e.*, in

[1] See Chwolson, *Corpus Inscr. Heb.* no. 6 (St. Petersburg, 1882).

[2] In the recently discovered fragments of Aquila's Greek translation of the OT (ed. F. C. Burkitt, Cambridge, 1897) the Divine name *y-h-w-h* is written in a corrupt form of the *old* Hebrew alphabet, not, as we might have expected, in the square character. But it does not necessarily follow that the Hebrew MSS used by Aquila were written in the old alphabet *throughout*; the Divine Name, which, it must be remembered, was not pronounced by the reader, may still have been written in the ancient style after the rest of the text had been modernised.

[3] Tables showing the forms of the letters used by the N. Semitic nations at different periods are found in Stade's *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Grammatik* (1879) and Nöldeke's *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (1880, (2)1898), but far fuller information may be obtained from the magnificent table by Euting in Chwolson's *Corpus Inscr. Heb.* See also P. Berger, *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1891).

[1] See the papers by DHM in the Vienna Oriental Journ. (*Die Wiener Zeitschr. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*) 8 1-19 161-166 (1894).

[2] Named after the *Thamūd* (Gk. οἱ Θαμουδηνοί), an Arabian tribe who inhabited those parts about the fourth century after Christ. The authors of these inscriptions, however, call themselves not *Thamūd*, but *Liḥyān* (לחין); see DHM *Epig. Denk. aus Arabien* (Vienna, 1889).

[3] See LAMENTATIONS.

lines running alternately from right to left and from left to right, a fashion common among the Greeks in the sixth century B.C.[1] In the inscription of King Mesha' a dot is placed after each word and a vertical stroke at the end of each sentence. Similar dots are found in the Siloam inscription and in some others; but whether they were used by ordinary Hebrew writers may be doubted. In any case the OT contains very many textual corruptions which are due simply to wrong divisions of words.[2] Such mistakes were greatly facilitated by the absence of special forms for final letters, like those used in the writing of the later Jews, Syrians, and Arabs. In Hebrew, Phœnician, and Aramaic inscriptions a line frequently ends in the middle of a word; but in the later Jewish style this is not allowed, and in order to fill up a line the scribes are accustomed to 'expand' certain letters, especially א, ה, ל, ת, and ם.

The letters of the Semitic alphabet were originally used as consonants only, the vowels being unexpressed.

8. Orthography. Such a system must, of course, give rise to endless ambiguities, for in the Semitic languages some of the most important grammatical distinctions (*e.g.*, the difference between an active and a passive verb) often depend solely on the vowels. The reason which led the Semites to content themselves with this imperfect method seems to have been that writing was at first employed only for short and well-known formulæ, such as votive inscriptions, funereal inscriptions, and the like, not for literary works properly so-called. At length certain of the consonants (א, ה, ו, and י) came to be used also as vowels; but this modification was introduced very slowly. In Phœnician inscriptions the vowels are never expressed save in a few cases at the end of a word. In the inscription of King Mesha' and the Siloam inscription the vowel-letters are inserted somewhat more freely, but very much less freely than in the present text of the OT.[3] Among the Israelites, before the exile, the general rule seems to have been that no vowels were expressed in writing except the diphthongs *au* and *ai* (which were represented by ו and י respectively), and most of the long vowels at the end of words. The use of vowel letters for *ū*, *ō*, and *ī* in the middle of words—which is frequent in the MT—apparently came into fashion at a very late period, as a careful examination of 𝔊 shows.[4] The orthography of the present Jewish OT is probably the result of a revision (or of several revisions) by the scribes, for in all parts of the OT the use of the vowel-letters (or, as they are often called, *matres lectionis*) is approximately the same, that is to say, the oldest books do not, in this respect, differ materially from the latest. But though we find a general uniformity of spelling throughout the whole of the OT, there are numberless inconsistencies in matters of detail, and it often happens that within the space of a few verses the same word is spelt in two or more different ways. In no case, therefore, have we any guarantee that the vowel-letters in our text go back to the time of the author, and to base historical arguments on the spelling is quite illegitimate.[5] Even

[1] The Æthiopic writing, as is well known, always runs from left to right; the oldest extant specimens of this writing, namely, two inscriptions at Aksūm in Abyssinia, probably belong to the sixth century after Christ.

[2] See Dr. *TBS* xxx-xxxii.

[3] Thus the Siloam inscription has אש (thrice) for אִישׁ, and החצבם (twice) for החצבים.

[4] Dr. *TBS* p. xxxiii *f.* It must be remembered that many words which the later Jews pronounced with *ō* or *ū* originally had the diphthong *au*. Thus when we find עוד and מוצא in the Siloam inscription, we are not to reckon these as cases in which *ō* was expressed by ו.

[5] Thus the well-known fact that the form הוא is sometimes employed in MT instead of the fem. היא proves nothing as to the usage of the ancient Hebrew, since the ו in this case was probably inserted by late scribes (cp Dr. *Deut.* Introd. p. lxxxviii). In Moabite the masc. form is written הא, and in Phœnician inscriptions we find הא for masc. and fem. alike, the pronunciation of course varying according to the gender.

in the Middle Ages, long after the text had been fixed, there was still a considerable amount of divergence between the MSS as to the insertion of the vowel-letters in particular passages.[1] In MSS of the Mishnah and other post-biblical Jewish writings, the vowel-letters are employed much more frequently than in the OT; thus ו and י often stand for the short vowels *ŭ* and *ĭ*, which is very rarely the case in copies of the OT.

Though the insertion of vowel-letters doubtless excluded certain ambiguities, the writing was still very far

9. Vowel-points, etc. from being an adequate representation of the language. Not only many of the vowels but also the doubling of consonants and other important phonetic distinctions remained unexpressed. At length, several centuries after the Christian era, systematic efforts were made by the Jews, the Syrians, and the Arabs to remove this practical inconvenience. It cannot be a mere accident that among all three nations the introduction of the so-called vowel-points took place about the same period; but how and where the idea originated is quite uncertain. As early as the fifth century after Christ Syrian scribes had adopted the practice of distinguishing certain words, which, though spelt alike, were pronounced differently, by means of a dot placed above or below; and it has been conjectured by Ewald and others that this was the origin both of the Syrian and of the Jewish systems of vocalisation. In any case, it would seem that at the beginning of the fifth century the vowel-points were unknown to the Jews, and that by the end of the eighth century they had been in use for some time. The Jewish scholars who introduced these signs into the text of the OT are commonly known as the *Massoretes*—*i.e.*, traditionalists, from the late Heb. word *massōreth* (מַסֹּרֶת), 'tradition.' Respecting their names and dates history is altogether silent. Though their work was of enormous importance, it must be remembered that among the Jews, as among the Syrians and Arabs, the vowel-points have never been regarded as an essential part of the writing; in particular the MSS of the Law and the Prophets, from which lessons were read in the synagogues, appear to have been generally, if not always, written without points, down to the present day. Those MSS of the Hebrew OT which are 'pointed' fall into two principal classes, according to the method of vocalisation employed. The great majority exhibit the so-called Palestinian[2] system, whilst others, of which the best-known example is the St. Petersburg Codex of the Prophets written in 916 A.D. (published in facsimile by Strack in 1876), have the Babylonian (or superlinear) vowel-points. These two systems possess so much in common that they must necessarily be derived from the same original; but the precise relationship between them is still disputed. Both represent a very late stage in the pronunciation of the Hebrew language, or rather they express the language, not as it was actually spoken, but as it was chanted in the synagogues of the period.[3] The most important difference between the Palestinian and the Babylonian systems is, that the Palestinian alone has a special sign for the short vowel *e* (Sĕghōl). The Babylonian system underwent considerable change in course of time, as is shown by the different forms which it assumes in our MSS; but it was ignored altogether by the great Jewish commentators and grammarians of the Middle Ages, and at length sank into oblivion, until it

[1] See, *e.g.*, Co. *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, 1886, p. 7.

[2] Also called 'Tiberian,' from the fact that the city of Tiberias was one of the principal seats of Jewish learning from the second century onwards.

[3] The pronunciation of Hebrew words given in the NT and other Greek sources is often more primitive than the pronunciation expressed by the vowel-points. It should also be noticed that the consonant text and the vocalisation are frequently at variance with one another, since the former presupposes a more ancient pronunciation than the latter. Thus in the very first word of the Hebrew OT, בְּרֵאשִׁית, the א must originally have been pronounced as a consonant, but is treated by the Massoretes as mute.

became known to European Hebraists in the nineteenth century.

Both the Palestinian and the Babylonian systems of vocalisation are combined with an extremely elaborate system of *accents*, which were intended to indicate not only the place of the accent in individual words, but also the musical intonation adopted in chanting, and hence the greater or less degree of connection between the different parts of sentences.[1] A special method of accentuation is employed in the poetical books of the OT—*i.e.*, Psalms, Proverbs, and Job.[2] It is scarcely necessary to observe that for us the value of the accents consists in the light which they throw, not upon the real meaning of the text, but upon the manner in which the text was understood by the Massoretes. A. A. B.

X

XANTHICUS (ξανθικος [AV]), 2 Macc. 11 30 33 38. See MONTH.

XERXES (אֲחַשְׁוֵרוֹשׁ), Esth. 1 1 RVmg., EV AHASUERUS (*q.v.*)

Y

YARN. See LINEN, 1, WEAVING, and on 2 S. 17 27 *f.* [ROGELIM] see BED, § 3.

1. אֵטוּן, *'ēṭūn*, Prov. 7 16 RV. See LINEN, § 1*a*. 2. Ezek. 27 19 RV (מְאוּזָּל). See UZAL. 3. מִקְוֵה, *miḳweh*, 1 K. 10 28 AV. See CHARIOT, § 5, n. 3, WEAVING, § 2.

YEAR (שָׁנָה, *šānāh*). Day, month, and year are all indicated by nature itself as means for the measurement of time. These three units are quite independent, however, and stand in no direct or simple relationship to each other, and wherever an artificial reduction of the larger unit to terms of either of the two smaller is attempted in the absence of exact astronomical knowledge, inaccuracies and dislocations become inevitable. These are not so great when the largest of the three units—the year—is measured in terms of the smallest—the day; but they become serious when the middle unit—the month—is taken as the basis for establishing a ratio.

1. In Egypt. The former course (making the day the unit) was taken by the Egyptians; they had observed that after about 365 days the sun returns to the same position in the celestial sphere, and accordingly fixed their year as being 365 days. They altogether left out of account any reference to the course of the moon, although some reminiscence of it may be preserved in their division of the year into twelve equal parts of thirty days each, to which were added the five remaining days as supernumerary (the so-called *epagomenai*). Even thus, however, it was an artificial product that had been manufactured from the natural year which contains 5 hours 48 minutes and 48 seconds more than 365 complete days; and the Egyptian year, which on every fourth anniversary began a day too soon, was still a vague year, although it was only after the lapse of 1461 Egyptian years—a so-called Sothis period (see CHRONOLOGY, § 19)—that the difference amounted to a year too many.

2. In Islam. The second course (making the month the unit) was chosen by Mohammed, whose intention in prohibiting the occasional insertion of an intercalary month was to frame a rational calendar, but who thereby only succeeded in creating another artificial product completely differing from the natural year, namely the so-called purely lunar year which with its twelve lunar months (354 to 355 days) annually begins the new year some ten or eleven days too soon.

3. In Israel. The calendar of Israel and the Jews avoided both the extremes just indicated, which are the necessary consequences of a too exclusive regard either to the day or to the month in determining the length of the year. With the Israelites the method to be followed was decided by practice, unhampered by any dominating theory about the natural year. This of course did not exclude modifications as time advanced, and ultimately the modifications led in the case of the Jewish calendar to a product much more complicated than is exhibited either in the Egyptian or in the Mohammedan; it has, however, this advantage over both, that the Hebrews, at least in their reckoning of the years, though not always in their delimitation of them, remained in agreement with the number of the natural years.

4. A solar year. With the ancient Israelites, as probably at the outset with all peoples, the year was a solar one, that is to say, a natural year which was sufficiently defined for practical purposes by the regular recurrence of the seasons. To this also the Hebrew word for year seems to have reference; for in שָׁנָה, *šānāh*, at least, as in ἐνιαυτός [ἔνος, ἕνος], *annus* [annulus], *jahr*, *year* (cp Gk. γυροῦν), it seems permissible to conjecture some sort of reference to a return to a starting-point, a repetition of the same circular course. The solar character of the Hebrew year, however, is demonstrated beyond all doubt by the ancient determinations of time according to the seasons of the year and the agricultural operations dependent on these. Thus, for example, the annually recurring harvest festival or feast of weeks, dated by the harvest (Ex. 23 16*a* 34 22 Dt. 16 9), the feast of tabernacles, dated by the ingathering (Dt. 16 13). It is proved also by indications which clearly show that stated religious or political actions—dependent in fact on the period of the year—always occurred at the same time of the year. Thus for example the autumn festival falls at the end of the year (Ex. 23 16*b* 34 22); the going forth of the king to battle at the return of the year (2 S. 11 1 1 K. 20 22 26 1 Ch. 20 1 2 Ch. 36 10). Lastly it is shown by the ancient names of months which are unmistakably connected with the regular recurrence of phenomena of the seasons (see MONTH, § 2).

5. Its length. The length of the year was hardly so accurately determined as to render impossible all uncertainty in its measurement. Probably its limits to some extent depended on weather-conditions and the labours necessitated by these. At least, we have no indication from the earlier times which would point to any exact definition of the year by any precise number of days. Not till post-exilic time does P seem to betray acquaintance with the fact that the year consists of 365 days, when he so states the number of the years of Enoch's life (Gen. 5 23; see ENOCH, § 6) or when he represents the Flood, which began on the seventeenth day of the second month, as coming to an end on the twenty-seventh day of the second month of the following year (Gen. 7 11 8 14). This last procedure is certainly to be taken as showing

[1] As to the points in which the Babylonian accentuation differs from the Palestinian, see Wickes' *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the OT*, Oxford, 1887, pp. 142-150. It should be mentioned that Dr. Wickes regards the term 'Babylonian' as a misnomer.

[2] See Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Three so-called Poetical Books*, Oxford, 1881.

that, assuming as he did for primitive times an accurate dating according to lunar months of which twelve made an ordinary year of 355 days, he wished by adding on ten days more to bring the year, thus reckoned, up to the full length of a natural year of 365 days. Whether also the feast of the New Year (for which we have evidence from the exilic period; Ezek. 40 1, cp Lev. 25 9), which was observed, not on the first but on the tenth day of the seventh month, is based on a similar reckoning, can hardly be made out. At all events, whatever may have been the freedom allowed in the measurement of any particular year, there are certain facts which show that the real length of the actual year was by no means altogether obscure even in the pre-exilic period.

According to the reckoning in use then (in the pre-exilic period) the change of the year took place in

6. Beginning.

autumn, when all the fruits of the earth had been gathered in and the former rain (מוֹרֶה, *mōreh*) was preparing the fields for fresh tillage and a renewal of the yearly cycle. The autumn festival, or feast of the ingathering (חַג הָאָסִיף, *ḥag hā'āsīph*), with which the yearly round of feasts was closed, was observed 'at the outgoing of the year' (בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה, *bĕṣēth haššānāh*—Ex. 23 16) or 'at the year's revolution' (תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה, *tĕḳūphath haššānāh*—Ex. 34 22). These definitions of the oldest legislation are so clear and distinct as to make further proof unnecessary.

If any further proof were requisite, it might be urged that the passover could not have been observed in accordance with the precept of the newly-found law unless the new year was in autumn in the eighteenth year of Josiah (2 K. 23 23; cp 22 3), and that on no other assumption can the fourth year of Jehoiakim be made to synchronise with the first year of Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. 25 1) and with the year of the battle of Carchemish (Jer. 46 2). Such inferential arguments are needless. Besides, the text of these passages (cp 𝔊) is not in a satisfactory condition.

It is wholly unwarranted, however, to regard the autumn as marking the change of the economic year, and to set over against this, as the ordinary calendar year, a civil year that had its commencement in spring. There is absolutely no evidence for any such system of double accounts before the exile.

The expression 'at the return of the year' (לִתְשׁוּבַת הַשָּׁנָה; 2 S. 11 1 1 K. 20 22 26), which is used more than once with reference to campaigns beginning in spring, does not speak of a beginning of the year, but is couched in such general terms as to contain a definite date only when one knows that the spring is the time for campaigns to begin, and in itself means nothing more than 'in the following year.'

There is all the less reason for this postulating of a beginning of the year in spring—in the interests of the late P (Ex. 12 2), and in contradiction to the terms of the oldest legislation (Ex. 23 16 34 22)—inasmuch as the period of the exile itself bears witness to the observance of the New Year festival in autumn, and in the end the old custom once more triumphed over the later innovation which for a time had held the year to begin in spring. See NEW YEAR, § 1.

The question as to the relation of the months to the year is more difficult. For the earlier ages it is im-

7. Relation of year to months.

possible to say anything with certainty. Probably the months and the years simply ran a parallel course, without any attempt being made to fix a point of coincidence at which the year and the monthly cycle might take a common beginning. The fact that in the exile the New Year festival was held on the tenth day of a month without any sense of strangeness (Ezek. 40 1, cp Lev. 25 9) seems to point to this. When necessity arose, doubtless no difficulty was felt in making a thirteenth month follow upon the ordinary twelve within the same year; but there was not as yet any definite rule, and the text of 1 K. 4 7-20, which speaks of the division of Solomon's kingdom into twelve districts, each of which was called upon to maintain the expenses of the royal household for a month, has unfortunately reached us in such an imperfect state of preservation that we are unable to see in it clear evidence of a year of twelve months; it is possible even that Judah may have been thought of as the thirteenth district, with this as its special privilege that it became liable to the tax only in intercalary months. In substance, then, what we are able to say is this: In the pre-exilic period it was natural years that regulated the chronology, the change of the year fell in autumn, and the months, which followed the moon, were allowed to take their own way, without concerning themselves much about the year.

As in so many other things, the exile brought profound changes into the Jewish Calendar. Away

8. Exilic changes.

from their native soil, with which their worship had stood in such intimate connection—a connection which Deuteronomy indeed had already been recently seeking to sever—they were now all the readier to take over the Babylonian calendar, which they had learned to recognise as the more scientifically regulated one. This change announces itself in a new terminology for the months and in a transference of the beginning of the year. Down to the exile the months had been designated by their ancient names (so even in Deuteronomy); in the exile comes in the custom of distinguishing the months from each other by numbers, and also of placing the first month in spring (cp, to begin with, the exilic redactors of Jeremiah and Kings, Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, then P and the final redactor of the Hexateuch [*e.g.*, Dt. 1 3], and also Chronicles). In course of time even the foreign Babylonian names for the months began to come in; but except in Ezra 6 15 (in an Aramaic passage) and in Neh. (1 1 2 1 6 15) their ordinal numbers are also at the same time given (so in Esther and in Macc.).[1] The transference of the beginning of the year to the spring is already witnessed to by the numbering of the months beginning, as in the Babylonian Calendar, with the spring month; but we have, besides, express evidence in the ordinance of P in Ex. 12 2 'This [the current, Passover] month shall be unto you the beginning of months: it shall be the first month of the year to you.' The evidence here supplied does not lose in weight even if the verse should prove to be due to a later editor. For in any case the change of the era is carried back to a divine command, given of old to Moses and Aaron while still in the land of Egypt. But this of itself proves that the Israelites had once made use of another era (that beginning in autumn), and that its place was taken by the spring era only at a later date.

In P's account of the deluge a further proof of this author's knowledge of the earlier employment of an autumn era is obtained, only if we hold ourselves shut up to the conclusion that he considered the flood to have begun in autumn. But in that case P has not only carried back the later designations of the months to that patriarchal period, but has also adapted these in academic fashion to the autumn era by designating, in accordance with this latter era, as the second month, that which by the spring era was the eighth (cp Gen. 7 11 8 4 *f.* 13 *f.*).

At what date this change came in cannot be gathered from the passage before us; but the whole manner of P, which is to carry back all the ordinances of the post-exilic community to Moses, renders it probable that in this ordinance also we see the sanctioning of an innovation that had been introduced at the time of the exile, and the date of which admits of being definitely fixed by means of the new designations the months then received.

The memory of the older custom of beginning the year in autumn was still vivid during the exile and took concrete shape in an ecclesiastical New Year's festival (Ezek. 40 1 Lev. 25 9 Nu. 29 1; cp Lev. 23 24). In this way from henceforward there was observed, alongside of the official civil New Year in spring, an ecclesiastical New Year in autumn, which was held by the ancient pre-exilic custom. The beginning of the civil year fell thus on the first day of the first month (or Nisan, corresponding to what had formerly been known as Abib).

[1] In Zech. 1 7 7 1 the names of the months are a later insertion.

The ecclesiastical New Year on the other hand did not remain unaltered. At first it was, as already stated, observed according to Ezek. 40 1 (cp Lev. 25 9) on the tenth of the seventh month (Tishri); but afterwards it was transferred to the 1st of Tishri (Lev. 23 24 Nu. 29 1 [P]).

The day, in the passages last cited, indeed is called no longer רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה, *rōš haššānāh*, as is the day of the new year in Ezek. 40 1, but יוֹם תְּרוּעָה, *yōm tĕrū'āh*, 'day of blowing of trumpets' (Nu. 29 1; cp זִכְרוֹן תְּרוּעָה, *zikrōn tĕrū'āh*, 'a memorial of blowing of trumpets,' Lev. 23 24); but Lev. 25 8 *ff.* leaves no room for doubt that the 'trumpet-blowing' must be taken as the characteristic feature of the New Year's day, and that the exilic New Year festival had to give up its place to the day of atonement (יוֹם כִּפֻּרִים, *yōm kippūrīm*, Lev. 23 27 *f.*; cp NEW YEAR) now transferred to 10th of Tishri.

How the insertion of a thirteenth month which from time to time was necessary was arranged, we have no means of knowing, the OT being silent on the subject. The fact, however, that such insertion was actually made in order to keep the beginning of the year in approximate coincidence with the vernal equinox, does not admit of doubt; it was the practice of the Babylonians from whom the entire new calendar was borrowed.

The arrangement thus made was not disturbed till long afterwards, and even then probably only on account of the Seleucidan calendar which made the beginning of the year in autumn. At the same time it remains a question whether any such alteration in the manner of reckoning time can be proved from 1 Macc., for there are two opposing views as to the interpretation of the dates there given. Wellhausen (*IJG* 208) maintains that in 1 Macc. also the Seleucidan autumnal era is followed. On the other side range themselves, amongst others, Cornill (*Die siebzig Jahrwochen Daniels*, 20 *f.*, 1889) and Schürer with convincing reasons for concluding that 1 Macc. in its dates follows the Babylonian vernal era taken over by the Jews during the exile.

9. Seleucidan calendar.

They urge: (1) the dates would not fit the events to which they are assigned, if the Seleucidan era be assumed. To take a simple example, the events related in 1 Macc. 10 1-21 imperatively demand a longer space than the fourteen days which are all that can be given them on the view adopted by Wellhausen. (2) The designation of the months by ordinal numbers, of which the first is given to the month that occurs in spring, would be very strange if the year were held to begin in autumn, for in that case the seventh to the twelfth month of a given year would fall in point of time before the first to the sixth of the same year (cp 1 Macc. 4 52 where the ninth month is Chislev, 10 21 where the seventh is the month of the feast of tabernacles [Tishri], and 16 14 where the eleventh month is Shebat).[1] (3) Similar modifications of the Seleucidan era in accordance with the requirements of local calendars can be shown to have occurred elsewhere. In fact for the city of Damascus the use of exactly the same era can be proved (Schürer).

We may conclude that in the first century B.C. (as is to be inferred for the second at any rate from Est. 3 7) the official era began the year in the spring (on the 1st of Nisan); for it, accordingly, the spring of 312 B.C. marked the beginning of the first year of the Seleucidan era. Nor is it necessary to assume any other mode of reckoning in 1 Macc., as a mere discrepancy about a single date is not reason enough for postulating a special era for the book.

When we come to the first century of our own era, however, the case is different. For Josephus confines the year that has its beginning in spring to religious affairs only; for buying and selling and all manner of secular business, on the other hand, the beginning of the year is in autumn (*Ant.* i. 3 3).[2] In full agreement with this are the regulations of the Mishnah which (*Rōsh hashshānā*, 1 1) distinguishes four commencements of the year, of which the 1st of Elul, the new year for the tithing of cattle, and the 1st of Shebat, the new year for the fruit of fruit-trees, may be left out of account, as being merely the terms with reference to which accurate reckoning of sacred dues was fixed. What is important to notice here is that the 1st of Nisan is there given as the new year for kings and for the sacred feasts (that is, as in Josephus, for religious affairs), whilst the 1st of Tishri is the new year for the years, for the Sabbatical years, for the years of Jubilee, for tree-plantings and vegetables (and so for the enumeration of the years). Hence the rabbinical formula explains itself: "Nisan is the first of the months of the year, but Tishri is the beginning of the year."[1] From that day to the present the 1st of Tishri has continued to be New Year's Day, and thus it is correct to say that the reckoning of the year according to the vernal era, which was adopted by the Jews in the exile from the Babylonians and afterwards received the sanction of P, was only an episode—a large one it is true, from the sixth to the last century B.C.—in the history of the Hebrew and Jewish Calendar.

Throughout all these changes the year had remained solar. Owing to the very absence of any definite inflexible rule,[2]—which, had it existed in the early times, must necessarily have been incomplete and inaccurate—for the insertion of the intercalary months, the year was saved from becoming a vague year. This great advantage was purchased, it is true, at some cost; it made the year of variable length, according as a month had been inserted or not, and according to the number of months of twenty-nine days and thirty days respectively contained in it;[3] and the 1st of Nisan, like New Year's Day, the 1st of Tishri, did not always occur at precisely the same point of time but varied within a limited period, just as the yearly Christian festivals now (Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday) are not fixed but movable feasts.

The same peculiarities are still displayed by the Jewish year even after the adoption of a special rule for intercalation. Even at as late a date as the beginning of the Christian era it was the part of the Sanhedrin in each individual case to decide on the ground of direct observation whether the insertion of a thirteenth month was required or not, just as also the visibility of the crescent moon decided whether or not the month had ended on the twenty-ninth day. The intercalary month was introduced after Adar and before Nisan, and the decision as to the insertion (עִבּוּר) of a month and the conversion of the year into an intercalary year (שָׁנָה מְעֻבֶּרֶת),[4] was effected in the course of the year itself, often not till the month Adar, and even then sometimes not till after the feast of Purim,—in other words hardly fourteen days before the beginning of the intercalary month, which also bore the name of Adar (אֲדָר הַשֵּׁנִי, וַאֲדָר, or אֲדָר בַּתְרָאָה).

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1 If in the present text of Neh. 1 1 2 1, Chislev precedes Nisan of the same year (the year that is described as the twentieth) the case is somewhat different from that referred to in the text, their respective designations as 'the ninth' and 'the first' month being avoided. But too much stress ought not to be laid upon these passages, inasmuch as in Neh. 1 1 the name of the king is not given where certainly it might have been expected, and thus the accuracy of the tradition as a whole becomes open to question.

2 The passage runs: 'But Moses appointed Nisan which is Xanthicus as the first month for their festivals, leading forth the Hebrews from Egypt in this month; he also made the year to begin from it as regards all the solemnities of divine worship, though as to buying and selling and all other affairs he preserved the ancient order' (Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν, ὅς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑορταῖς ὥρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών. Οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἦρχεν, ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράσεις καὶ ὠνὰς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε).

1 ניסן הוא ראשון לחרשי השנה ותשרי הוא ראשית השנה.

2 No such rule can be found, as Klostermann has supposed, in the institution of the year of jubilee. As any evidence that the precepts regarding it were ever observed is wholly wanting, the best theory—supposing, what is not very probable, that *yōbēl* means intercalation—is that the idea was, by means of an artificial expedient, introduced as an afterthought, to bring into conformity with the solar year the old year which was erroneously assumed to have been lunar. What P has to tell about the year of jubilee is learned theory merely, that was never realised in practice.

3 The rule, naturally, was that each year ought to have six months of twenty-nine days and six months of thirty days (cp Bk. of Enoch 78 15 *f.*); it is, however, assumed to be possible, in the Mishnah (*'Arākhin* 2 2) that a year may have as few as four months, or on the other hand as many as eight months, of thirty days each. The length of the year thus varied from 352 to 356 days, an intercalary year from 382 to 386 days.

4 An ordinary year was called שָׁנָה פְּשׁוּטָה.

Jewish tradition hands down a number of criteria whereby to decide whether a month requires to be inserted or not; but in all cases the decisive consideration is this, that the passover, which has to be celebrated at full moon in Nisan (14th Nisan), must not come before the vernal equinox, but must be celebrated when the sun is in Aries (ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος; Jos. *Ant.* iii. 10 5). Of course the Jews of that period had arrived by practice, if they had not already learned it from the Greeks who had long been acquainted with the eight-years' cycle (the ὀκταετηρίς), at the generalisation that, broadly speaking, an intercalary month became necessary thrice every eight years. But ultimately, when regulating their calendar in the fourth century, they adopted from the Greeks the nineteen-years' cycle (ἐννεακαιδεκαετηρίς), dating from the Athenian astronomer Meton in the fifth century B.C., in accordance with which seven out of every nineteen years (the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th) require an intercalary month. When this rule is followed, the difference in nineteen years amounts only to a little over two hours. The Jews of the present day still adhere to this Metonic calendar.

Alongside of the division of the year into months, immemorial usage sanctioned a division by the seasons also, and events were dated in accordance with the characteristic occupations of the successive periods of the year (thus, barley harvest in 2 S. 21 9 Ruth 1 22 Judith 8 2; wheat harvest Gen. 30 14 Judg. 15 1 Ruth 2 23; the ingathering of green crops, Am. 7 1 [see Wellh. *ad loc.*]; the ripening of the earliest clusters of grapes, Nu. 13 20).

Usually only two seasons of the year were formally distinguished—'summer and winter' [autumn] (קַיִץ וָחֹרֶף, Gen. 8 22 Ps. 74 17 Zech. 14 8, cp Is. 18 6) or 'winter and harvest time' (חֹרֶף וְקָצִיר, Am. 3 15 Prov. 20 4), or 'cold and heat' (קֹר וָחֹם, Gen. 8 22), or 'sowing and reaping' (זֶרַע וְקָצִיר, Gen. 8 22), or 'ploughing and reaping' (חָרִישׁ וְקָצִיר, Gen. 45 6 Ex. 34 21). Winter also (סְתָו, Cant. 2 11) is specially mentioned.

10. Bibliography. Cp especially Dillmann's dissertation on the calendar (see MONTH, § end), We. *Prol.* 112-114, *Reste*, 90 *f.*, *IJG*, *passim*; Klo. *Pentateuch*, 419-447 ('Ueber die kalendarische Bedeutung des Jobeljahres'); Schürer, *GJV* 1 26-33 ((3) 32-40), and 623-634 ((3) 745-760); *KAT* (3), 325-326, and the chronological treatises, especially that of Ideler, referred to under CHRONOLOGY, § 85. K. M.

YELLOW. For (1) צָהֹב, *ṣāhōb*, Lev. 13 30 32, see COLOURS, § 7; and for (2) יְרַקְרַק, *yĕraḳraḳ*, Ps. 68 13, see § 11 and cp § 5.

YOKE (עֹל), 1 S. 6 7. See AGRICULTURE, § 4.

Z

ZAANAIM, THE PLAIN OF, AV, with **Zaanannim** in mg. and RV text—mg. BEZAANANNIM [*q.v.*]—(אֵלוֹן בצענים [Kt.], א׳ בְּצַעֲנַנִּים [Ḳr.], translated πλεονεκτούντων [B], ἀναπαυομένων [AL], ܐܝܟ ܒܟܠܡ [Pesh.], *Sennim* [Vg.]).

The nomadic journeys of Heber the Kenite extended to 'the plain of Zaanaim,' or—the only correct rendering so far as אלון is concerned—'the oak (or, sacred tree?) of Bezaanannim,' Judg. 4 11 (cp MOREH, THE PLAIN OF). It is against AV's interpretation that according to rule אלון ('oak') would require the article; on the other hand, such a name as BEZAANANNIM (*q.v.*) is against all analogy. See *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

ZAANAN (צַאֲנָן), Mi. 1 11 †; see ZENAN.

ZAANANNIM, THE OAK IN ([מֵ]אֵלוֹן בְּצַעֲנַנִּים; μωλα καὶ βεσεμιειν [B], μηλων κ. βεσενανιμ [A], but ωλαμ σεενανειμ [L], Pesh. *vemen ṣan'am* [Pesh.]; *Saananim* [Vg.]), RV Josh. 19 33 (also in Judg. 4 11); AV (Josh. *l.c.*), arbitrarily, '[from] Allon to Zaanannim,' RVmg. (*ll.cc.*) 'the oak (or terebinth) of Bezaanannim'; mentioned in the definition of the W. boundary of Naphtali, Josh. 19 33 (cp ADAMI-NEKEB). See BEZAANANNIM.

ZAAVAN (זַעֲוָן, in Sam. זועז; ΖΟΥΚΑΜ [BADEL]), b. Ezer, b. Seir the Horite, Gen. 36 27; 1 Ch. 1 42 (AV ZAVAN; ΑΖΟΥΚΑΝ [A], ΖΑΥΑΝ [L]).

ZABAD (זָבָד, abbrev. for זְבַדְיָהוּ; see NAMES, § 50, ZEBADIAH; ΖΑΒΑΔ [ℵAL]). 1. A Judahite, descended from the Egyptian or Miṣrite JARHA (*q.v.*), 1 Ch. 2 36 *f.* (ζαβεδ [BA]). Under the designation 'Zabad ben Ahlai' he appears in 1 Ch. 11 41 as the first of the sixteen additional names in the Chronicler's list of David's heroes, as compared with 2 S. 23 8-39 (ζαβετ [Bℵ], ζαβατ [A]). See AHLAI, and note that אהלי, like ירח, occurs as a corruption of ירחמאל (Che.). Perhaps ברד in *v.* 20 should be זבד. A southern clan-name is expected (see SHUTHELAH).

2. Mentioned among the b'nē EPHRAIM (§ 12) 1 Ch. 7 21 (ζαβεδ [BA], om. L?).

3. One of the assassins who slew Joash (2 Ch. 24 26; ζαβελ [B], ζαβεθ [A], ζαβαθ [L]); see JOZACHAR and JEHOZABAD.

4-6. In list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i. § 5 end), viz.—4. One of the b'nē ZATTU (*q.v.*), Ezra 10 27 (ζαβαδαβ [B]) = 1 Esd. 9 28 SABATUS, RV SABATHUS (σαβαθος [BA]). 5. One of the b'nē HASHUM, Ezra 10 33 (ζαβελ [Bℵ], ζαβδαι [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 33 BANNAIA, RV SABANNEUS (σαβανναιους [B], βαν. [A], ζαβδια [L]). 6. One of the b'nē NEBO (*q.v.*) Ezra 10 43 (σεδεμ [Bℵ] om. A) = 1 Esd. 9 35, **Zabadaias**, RV **Zabadeas** (ζαβαδαιας [BA]).

ZABADEANS, RV **Zabadæans,** an Arabian tribe, living near Damascus, which was attacked and spoiled by Jonathan (1 Macc. 12 31; ΖΑΒΑΔΑΙΟΥϹ [VA], -ΕΟΥϹ [ℵ]; *zĕbīdāyē* [Pesh.]). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5 10), by a very natural confusion, calls them Nabatæans. In the *Mĕgillath Ta'ănīth*, § 33, it is said that 'on the seventeenth day of Adār the heathen rose up against the remnant of the scribes, in the city of Chalchis and בית זבראי (in J. *Ta'ănīth*, 2 13, זבדין); but there was deliverance to the house of Israel.'[1] This is referred to the incident in 1 Macc. by Derenbourg (*Hist. Pal.* 99 *f.*) and Wellhausen (*Phar. u. Sad.* 58); but not by Schürer (*GJV* 1 187). Chalchis (כלקים, etc.) is the modern '*Anjara*; about 7 m. due E. of it is ez-Zebedāni, a town and district 6¾ hrs. NW. of Damascus on the way to Ba'albek, and on the W. slope of the Anti-libanus (cp ABANA). It is therefore extremely probable that in the modern ez-Zebedāni we have a trace of the former existence of an Arabian tribe of Zabadeans in that district. The name occurs not unfrequently in this region, for there is a Kefr Zebād a short distance NW. of ez-Zebedāni, and forms of the same name are often met with on inscriptions from Tadmor and its environs.[2] S. A. C.

ZABBAI (זַבַּי, either miswritten for ZACCAI, or from Zabdai or ZEBADIAH; see § 52, and cp perhaps זבי in Palm. [de Vogüé, *Syr. Centr.* 28]; ΖΑΒΟΥ [BℵA]).

1. One of the b'nē BEBAI [*q.v.*], Ezra 10 28 (ζαβουθ [L]) = 1 Esd. 9 29 JOSABAD, RV JOZABDUS (ζαβδος [B], ωζαβαδος [A], ζαβουθ [L]).

2. Father of Baruch, who helped to repair the city wall (Neh. 3 20, ζαβρου [ℵ], ραββαι [L]). The reading of the Ḳr. is ZACCAI (זכי), which is supported by Pesh. and Vg. (ZACHAI).

ZABBUD (זבוד, Kt.), Ezra 8 14, EV. See ZABUD, 2.

ZABDEUS (ΖΑΒΔΑΙΟϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 21 = Ezra 10 20, ZEBADIAH, 9.

ZABDI (זַבְדִּי, either a gentilic, of which there are two expanded forms ZABDIEL and ZEBADIAH, or, if these names have a religious reference, a shortened form, produced by omitting אל or יה; note that Zabdi, 1, is

[1] See Dalman, *Aram. Dialektproben*, 334 (Leipsic, 1896).

[2] On a Greek inscription (Waddington, 2597) mention is made of οἱ ἐκ γενοῦς ζαβδιβωλεων, a family whose name was a compound of Zabdi and the Palmyrene deity Bōl.

a Zarhite (Che.). Cp the Syr. *Zabdai* in NT for Zebedee; ζαβδ[ε]ι [BAL]).

1. b. Zerah of Judah, an ancestor of ACHAN (Josh. 7 1 17 *f.*, ζαμβρ[ε]ι[1] [BF], ζαβρι [A]); in 1 Ch. 2 6 his name appears as ZIMRI (*q.v.*).

2. Of BENJAMIN (§ 9), assigned to the b'nē SHIMEI (*q.v.*); 1 Ch. 8 19 (ζεβδι [L]).

3. The SHIPHMITE (1 Ch. 27 27; הַשִּׁפְמִי, ζαχρει ὁ τοῦ σεφνει [B], ζαβδι . . . σεφνι [A], ζαβδι . . . σαφαμι [L]), who was over the vineyard produce in David's time, perhaps a native of SHEPHAM (*q.v.*).

4. b. Asaph, an ancestor of MATTANIAH (Neh. 11 17, om. BN*A, ζεχρ[ε]ι [N c.a mg. sup. L]) see ZICHRI (no. 11).

ZABDIEL (זַבְדִּיאֵל, either an expansion of the gentilic ZABDI [*q.v.*], or a religious name = 'gift of God,' §§ 21, 27; the attribution of Jashobeam [see 1] to the b'nē Perez—*i.e.*, probably [see PEREZ] to the Zarephathites—and the designation of Zabdiel, 2, as 'son of the [southern] Gileadites' [see below], and of Zabdiel, 3, as an Arabian, together with many plausible parallels, favour the former view [Che.]; ζαβδ[ε]ιηλ [BAL]).

1. Father of JASHOBEAM (1 Ch. 27 2).

2. 'Overseer' of the priests, temp. Nehemiah (Neh. 11 14). He is designated (at first sight very strangely) בֶּן־הַגְּדוֹלִים (RV 'the son of HAGGEDOLIM,' RVmg. 'one of the great men'; AV 'the son of [one of] the great men'; βαδιηλ [B], βαζιηλ [N*], ζεχριηλ υἱὸς τῶν μεγάλων [N c.a mg. L], ζοχριηλ [A]).

It can, however, be shown (cp SHAPHAT, 3) that there was a Gilead in the Negeb, and the case of גדליה ('Gedaliah'), from גלדיה—*i.e.*, גלדי, 'the Gileadite'—justifies us in reading בן־הגלעדים, 'son of the Gileadites' (for parallels in Neh. 3 8, see PERFUMER). See *Crit. Bib.* (Che.).

3. 'The Arabian,' who took off the head of Alexander Balas and sent it to Ptolemy (1 Macc. 11 17: ζαβδιηλ ὁ αραψ [ANV], זיבאיל [Pesh.];[2] Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 4 8; ζαβειλος). Possibly the Diocles of Diod. (Fr. xxxii. 10 1), see IMALCUE.

ZABUD (זָבוּד, a name belonging to the same group as Zabdi, Zabdiel, Zebadiah, and in its origin therefore most probably a clan-name [Che.], but probably understood in later times as meaning 'given [by God]'; cp § 56; the fem. form is ZEBUDAH. The correct reading, however, both of 1 and of 2 may be ZACCUR).[3]

1. b. Nathan, priest (AV 'principal officer'; cp 2 S. 8 18, AV 'chief rulers') and 'friend' (*i.e.*, 'chief courtier'), of king Solomon, 1 K. 4 5† (ζαβουθ [B], ζαββ. [A], ζαχουρ [L]—*i.e.*, זַכּוּר which is the reading of some MSS; cp ܙܟܘܪ). 𝔊, however (except A, which adds ἱερεύς), omits 'priest.' Probably 'friend' (רֵעֶה; on the pointing see HUSHAI, n. 1) is a gloss on כֹּהֵן, or, as we should rather read, סֹכֵן (see MINISTER [CHIEF]); cp the paraphrastic substitute for כהנים (rather סכנים) as applied to sons of David, in 1 Ch. 18 17. The whole passage (1 K. 4 5*b* 6*a*) is thus read by Klostermann, 'And Zabud, son of Nathan, the king's friend [רעה; or "adjutant" = סֹכֵן?], his (*i.e.*, Azariah's) brother, was chief of the palace'; see AHISHAR, but cp *Crit. Bib.* for another explanation of אחישחר (אשחור). T. K. C.

2. A Jew belonging to the b'nē Bigvai, who came with Ezra from Babylon, Ezra 8 14 (EV ZABBUD, following the consonants of the Kt. זָבוּד [Bä. Ginsb.] and the vowels of the Kr. זכור; ζαβουδ [A]; om. B; ζακχουρ [L]; cp L in no. 1) = 1 Esd. 8 40†, where for 'and Zabud' we read 'the [son] of ISTALCURUS' [EV] (ισтακαλκου [B], ὁ τοῦ ισταλκουρου [A], but καὶ ζακχουρ [L]), a monstrous name made up of 'Iztal' (a misreading of וזכר, 'and Zabud') and 'ZACCUR' (זכור), the reading of the Kr. and EVmg. in Ezra.

[1] The β is to be explained in the same way as in JAMBRI, μεσημβρία, etc., the confusion of ב and מ is phonetic, of ר and ד graphic (cp *SBOT*, 'Chron.' *ad loc.*, and see Dr. *TBS* p. lxviii).

[2] Cp perhaps with this the Palm. name זיבל (Mordt. *Beitr. z. Kund. Palm.* no. 69).

[3] Zabud, 1, is the 'καχουρ son of Nathan ὁ σύμβουλος' mentioned in 1 K. 2 46 *h* (B) where 82, 93, 108 etc. read ζακχουρ, 52, 55, etc., ζάχουρ. Note that in 4 5 *f.* ζαχουρ is read by 82, 108, and ζακχουρ by 93. See COUNSELLOR.

ZABULON (ζαβουλων [Ti. WH]), Mt. 4 13 15 AV, RV ZEBULON.

ZACCAI (זַכַּי written זַכָּי; abbrev. from ZACHARIAH, § 52, cp HAGGAI), the name of a post-exilic family; Ezra 2 9 (ζακχου [B], -χαν [Avid.], -χαιου [L]), Neh. 7 14 (ζαθου [BN], ζακχουρ [A], ζακχαιου [L]). In 1 Esd. 5 12 it is [AV] CORBE, or [RV] CHORBE (χορβε [BA], ζακχαι [L]). Zaccai is the Ḳr. also in Neh. 3 20, where Ktb. has ZABBAI (*q.v.*).

ZACCHÆUS (ζακχαιος [AV; Ti. WH], see ZACCAI).

1. AV **Zaccheus**, an officer belonging to Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 10 19), identified by some with the Zacharias of 1 Macc. 5 56.

2. A chief publican (ἀρχιτελώνης) who received Jesus on his entry into Jericho (Lk. 19 1-10). There is much picturesqueness in the narrative; even if only a reflection of the more historical story in Lk. 5 27-32, no one would wish to lose the beautiful picture of the care of Jesus for the meanest and most despised. The improbabilities can hardly be denied. The only complete parallel to Lk. 19 5 is in Jn. 1 47,[1] which occurs in the ill-attested narrative of Nathanael. Nor is the crowd of curious followers (*v.* 3) natural; it was the object of Jesus on this journey to avoid observation. Zacchæus's solemn act of atonement for injustice is also very abruptly introduced, nor can one easily believe that Jesus, in his present circumstances, would have openly announced his intention of lodging with a publican (see PUBLICAN). Zacchæus's name, too (= pure, innocent), as Keim (*Jesu von Naz.* 3 49) points out, is suspiciously prophetic of his act of repentance. To identify him either with NATHANAEL (*q.v.*) or with Paul (the little) does not help us at all. On Lk. 19 4, see SYCOMORE.

A late tradition (*Clem. Rec.*) makes Zacchæus a comrade of Peter. T. K. C.

ZACCUR (זַכּוּר, see NAMES, §§ 32, 52; but, the names with which Zaccur and ZICHRI [*q.v.*] are grouped being originally ethnics, it is plain that Zaccur and Zichri, too, are ethnics which have been converted into personal names; cp ZACHER, ZECHARIAH, and see below; ζακχουρ [BNAL]).

1. Father of SHAMMUA (= Shimei), of REUBEN (§ 11 *f.*); Nu. 13 4 [P] (ζακχυρ [B], ζαχρου [A], ζα. χουρ [F], ζαγχουρ [L]).

2. AV **Zacchur**, a Simeonite, brother of Hammuel = Jeraḥmeel, and Shimei = Shimeoni; 1 Ch. 4 26 (om. B, ζαχουρ [L]).

3. A Merarite Levite, brother of SHOHAM = Mōšē, and 'Ibri = 'Arābī—*i.e.*, N. Arabian (1 Ch. 24 27).

4. An Asaphite Levite, brother of Nethaniah = Ethani, and Asharelah = Jizreeli or 'Jezreelite' (1 Ch. 25 2 10; σακχους, ζαχχουθ [B]); see ZICHRI, 11.

5. Ezra 8 14 EVmg. (ζακχουρ [L]). See ZABUD, 2.

6. b. Imri (= Amariah = Jerahmeel) in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*; EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1], 15 *d*), Neh. 3 2 (ζαβαουρ [B], ζαχχουρ [N]).

7. Levite signatory to the covenant, grouped with SHEREBIAH and SHEBANIAH, both ethnics (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 12 [13] (ζαχωρ [B], ζακχωρ [A], ζαχχωρ [N?]).

8. b. Mattaniah (*i.e.*, Ethani or Temani), and father of HANAN (*q.v.*); Neh. 13 13 (σακχουρ [L]).

A writer in *PSBA* has suggested that Zechariah and the related names may be connected with Zakkara, the name (of uncertain pronunciation) of allies of the Purusati (= Pelištim?—see PHILISTINES, § 3). But if so, why do we not find any of these names given to Israelites of central Palestine (see DOR, § 2)? It is more probable that Zacher (Zecher), Zaccur, and Zichri with Zechariah were originally the clan-names Zeraḥ and Zarḥi respectively. Cp ZERAH. T. K. C.

ZACHARIAH (זְכַרְיָה). 1. 2 K. 14 29 15 8-12 (זְכַרְיָהוּ), and (2) 2 K. 18 2; see ZECHARIAH, 2, 3.

3. (ζαχαριας) Mt. 23 35 Lk. 11 51 in RV, AV ZACHARIAS, 9.

ZACHARIAS, in NT RV **Zachariah** (ζαχαριας [BAL; Ti. WH]).

1. A priest (1 Esd. 1 8). See ZECHARIAH, 19.

2. The name in 1 Esd. 1 15 corresponding to HEMAN in the ∥ passage 2 Ch. 35 15 (𝔊L αιμαν = Heman).

3. RV ZARAIAS (*q.v.*) in 1 Esd. 5 8 (ζαραιου [B], ζαρεου [A],

[1] Plummer, indeed (*St. Luke*, 434), thinks that 'there is no need to suppose that Jesus had supernatural knowledge of the name. . . . Jesus might hear the people calling to Zacchæus, or might inquire.' So Weiss (*Leben Jesu*, 2 437), 'Jesus easily learned the name and character of the notorious man.' But this is hardly in accordance with the intention of the evangelist, or with the natural impression of readers.

σαραιου [L]). AV, following the Geneva Bible, gives ZACHARIAS. See SERAIAH, 8.

4. 1 Esd. 6 1 7 3, see ZECHARIAH, 1.

5. 1 Esd. 8 30 44. 6. *ib. v.* 37 (ζαχαριαι [B]). 7. 1 Esd. 9 27; see ZECHARIAH, 20, 21, 22.

8. Father of JOSEPH (temp. Judas Maccabæus), 1 Macc. 5 18 56-62.

9. Son of Barachias; according to Mt. 23 35, the last Jewish martyr of the pre-Christian period. All the innocent blood shed on the land (ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς) from that of Abel to that of Zacharias, son of Barachias ('whom ye slew between the sanctuary and the altar,' see RV) is to be visited, says Jesus, 'on this generation.' Lk., however (11 51), is without 'son of Barachias,' and Jerome says that 'in the Gospel used by the Nazarenes [the Gospel according to the Hebrews], instead of *son of Barachias* we find written *son of Joiada*' (in *l.c.* Mt.). We may, therefore, disregard the artificial Gnostic and patristic legends, which state (see *Protevang. Jac.* 23 *f.*, and cp Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, 2 209) that Herod, who supposed John to be the Messiah, murdered Zacharias the father of John the Baptist in the temple by the altar of sacrifice (see 10); and not less the hypothesis that Jesus refers prophetically to Zacharias the son of Baruch (but Niese has Βαρεις), who was killed 'in the middle of the temple' in the first Roman war (Jos. *BJ* iv. 5 4). It is possible, however, that 'Barachias' means the father of Zechariah the well-known prophet, and that it is a mere clerical error for 'Joiada';[1] possible, too, that the whole passage has been filled out by a later writer who knew of the horrible murder mentioned by Josephus. This assumes that Jesus really meant Zechariah b. Jehoiada (ZECHARIAH, 15). But the reason given for the phrase 'from Abel to Zechariah b. Jehoiada' (that Chronicles is the last book in the Jewish Canon) seems very inadequate (see GOSPELS, § 150). According to N. Schmidt (*JBL* 19 22, n. 1), Mt. 23 35 once formed part of an 'Apocalypse of Jesus' (cp Mt. 24) which cannot have been written long before the end of the first century (cp We. *IJG*(3) 366; *Skizzen*, 6 [1899] 20 *ff.*). If so, the reference to Zechariah b. Baruch was full of significance to the original readers.

10. The father of JOHN THE BAPTIST (*q.v.*), mentioned only in Lk. 1 5 8-23 39-79 3 2. He was of the course of Abijah (see Schür., *Hist.* ii. 1 216 *ff.*), and his home was in an unnamed 'city of Judah.' According to a comparatively early tradition the 'city' is 'Ain Kārim (see BETH-HACCEREM), and *Mar Zakaryā* is the precise spot where Zacharias dwelt; even recently Schick has spoken a word for this tradition (*ZDPV* 22 [1899] 90 *ff.*). But the fact that no name is given most probably indicates that the narrative in Lk. 1 had but recently arisen when it was admitted by Lk. into his Gospel; the narrator hoped to be able to supply the name later (cp an analogous case in 1 S. 13 1, if H. P. Smith's view is correct). Though JUTTAH (*q.v.*) is philologically and otherwise improbable, 'Ain Kārim (Schick) and Hebron (Ew., Keim) are also baseless fancies. From Lk. 1 80 we should expect some city near the desert to be meant. It was in the temple, however, that Zacharias is said to have received a divine announcement of the birth of a son; the announcement is made in terms partly resembling those used to Manoah's wife in Judg. 13 5 *f.* Zacharias craved a sign, and is punished by dumbness until the fulfilment of the promise. When the child is born, the father names him John (cp Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 1 3). The *Protev. Jac.* seeks to improve upon this by making Zacharias the high priest: he enters the Holy of Holies in his sacred attire. We are not told that it was merely 'a voice' (*Bath ḳōl;* cp Mt. 3 17) that Zacharias heard; the parallel of the oracle given to John Hyrcanus, the high priest, as he was offering incense alone in the temple (Jos. *Ant.* xiii. 10 3), is therefore imperfect. The long stay of Zacharias in the temple, and the surprise which it produced (Lk. 1 21), may, however, be paralleled by the long stay of Simon the Righteous in the temple on the Day of Atonement, when he prayed that the sanctuary might not be destroyed (Talm. Jer. *Yoma*, 5 2). Cp INCENSE, § 7, n. On the legendary death of Zacharias, see above, 9. Cp JOHN THE BAPTIST. T. K. C.

1 Cp the inaccuracy of the Tg. on Lam. 2 20 (ZECHARIAH, 15)

ZACHER, or, as RV, ZECHER (זֶכֶר; ΖΑΧΟΥΡ [B], ζακχ. [A], ζεχρι [L]), 1 Ch. 8 31†, called, in 1 Ch. 9 37 ZECHARIAH (*q.v.*, 6). On the possible ethnic character of Zecher see ZACCUR.

ZADOK (צָדוֹק, once צָדֹק, 1 K. 1 26; 'just,' § 56 *f.*; cp JEHOZADAK, and see SADDUCEES.[1] Similar in meaning is the form Zadduk [צַדּוּק], which is not unfrequent in post-biblical times, cp *Āböth*, 4 56; Strack, *ad loc.*; Lag. *Nom.* 225 *ff.* Ṣaddūḳ is the form generally presupposed by 𝔊BNAL [σαδδουκ]; σαδωκ, 𝔊BℵA in nos. 2-5 [and BA in 2 S. with exception of 2 S. 8 17 B 1 Ch. 29 22 A], is somewhat less common. Other variations are σααδουκ, Ezra 7 2 [A]; σαδδουχ, Ezek. 40 46 [A]; σαδδοκ, Neh. 11 11 [L], and σαδδωκ, 2 S. 15 24-27 [L]; σαδουκ, 2 S. 8 17 1 Ch. 6 38 [53] 15 11 [L], Neh. 11 11 [ℵ], 1 K. 4 4 [B], -χ, 2 S. 8 17 [A]; ιαβοκ, 2 S. 15 27 [A]. SADDUC, RV SADDUK (1 Esd. 8 2; σαδδουκου [A]); SADOC (4 Esd. 1 1).

1. The Zadok of David.

1. Zadok the son of Ahitub, a priest who held a prominent place at David's court and played a great part in securing the throne for David's successor. We know nothing of his real origin, nor can we say when or how he became priest in the royal sanctuary at Jerusalem. We learn, however, from 2 S. 8 17 *ff.* (cp 20 23-26, and see Bu. *Ri. Sa.* 247, 254) that he was associated with Abiathar (for the correct reading see Driver, *TBS ad loc.*) and with some of David's own sons in the priestly office at Jerusalem. Like Abiathar he was true to his sovereign during Absalom's revolt; like him he bore the ark of Yahwè when David was fleeing eastward from the royal city; at David's request he with Abiathar bore the palladium of Israel back to the capital, and there with Abiathar did the work of a spy and supplied the king with information about the designs of Absalom and the other rebels. So far Zadok had been closely associated with that older and greater priest who represented the ancient family of the b'nē Eli and that sanctuary at Shiloh in which they had ministered. In the end he supplanted Abiathar altogether. For Zadok joined Nathan the prophet, and Benaiah, captain of the foreign guards, in the harem intrigue which set aside Adonijah the legitimate heir, and placed Solomon the son of Bath-sheba on the throne. Abiathar, on the contrary, stood by Joab, the royal princes, except of course Solomon, and the rest of the more conservative party. Naturally, therefore, when Solomon became king, it was Zadok who anointed him; Abiathar, on the other hand, was banished to Anathoth; the family of Eli forfeited the priesthood, and the chief care of the royal chapel or temple at Jerusalem was entrusted to Zadok and his descendants.

2. Zadok and Eli.

In their hands it remained down to the time of the exile; but we have in 1 S. 2 35 *f.* interesting evidence that the prior claims of the b'nē Eli and their eminence long before Zadok had been heard of, were not forgotten. The author of the passage in question probably belonged to the period of the Deuteronomic reform. Like Jeremiah (7 12 26 6) he regarded the temple at Shiloh as the precursor of the temple at Jerusalem. He felt, therefore, that some reason must be given for the fact that the family of Eli which had officiated so long in Shiloh did not continue to do so in Jerusalem. Political grounds and the authority of the king to regulate the service in his own

1 [There is another view as to the origin of Zadok—viz., that it is a modification of a gentilic name. This seems to be favoured by an examination of the names with which this name is associated in Chron. and Neh. It will, however, be permissible to hold that the Zidḳites (originally, it would appear, settled in the Negeb) may have derived their name from צדק, a secondary title of the god worshipped in primitive times by this clan; also that cultivated Israelites in later times interpreted 'Zadok' as meaning 'just, righteous' (cp ZEDEKIAH, § 1).—T. K. C.]

chapel had satisfied the religious ideas of a simpler age, but did not by any means appear sufficient to one who had imbibed the ideas of Deuteronomy and regarded the priesthood as directly subject to divine regulation. Accordingly he puts into the mouth of an anonymous prophet the prediction that Eli's indulgence of his depraved sons was to be visited upon his descendants by the loss of the priesthood. Instead of the b'nē Eli Yahwè was to raise up a new priestly race, and they were to perform priestly functions before the anointed king of Judah. The new family of priests was to share in the perpetual endurance of the royal house. In contrast with the Zadokites, the b'nē Eli were to sink into obscurity and want. They were to petition their rivals for the most subordinate offices of the priesthood. Here perhaps the writer is thinking of the priests at the high places who had been driven by Josiah from their occupation, and had to depend for the future on the grace of the priests at Jerusalem. True, the Deuteronomical code had given the country Levites right to sacrifice at Jerusalem (Dt. 18 7 *f.*); but though some provision was made for them, the generous rate of D proved impracticable. See ELI.

It is in any case certain that Ezekiel during the exile, in a prophecy which was written about 573 B.C., vindicated the sole right of the Zadokites to the priesthood. He draws the sharpest line of demarcation between the sons of Zadok and other Levites. In D all Levites form an ideal unity, all have in theory equal rights. Ezekiel, on the contrary, passes sentence on the mere Levites, holding them responsible for that worship on the high places which was to him no better than idolatrous. In time to come they are, he says, to be debarred from 'approaching' Yahwè in priestly service. They are to be content with menial work, such as the slaughter of victims and cooking their flesh, keeping guard over the temple doors, etc.; only such Levites as were sons of Zadok might presume to lay the fat and blood on the altar (Ezek. 44 15 *f.*).

3. Zadok and Ezekiel.

Two changes were yet to be made in the position of the sons of Zadok, one enhancing their prestige, the other modifying the exclusiveness of their claims. First, whereas Ezekiel frankly took for granted the novelty of those unique rights which he claimed for the Zadokites, the 'Priestly Code' somewhat later put the divine election of the priestly house back to the very dawn of Israel's history, back to the time when Yahwè chose Aaron as his priest. Hence the Chronicler (1 Ch. 6 53) was obliged to trace the genealogy of Zadok to Eleazar the son of Aaron. In the next place the ideal of Ezekiel was not perfectly realised. No doubt few Levites of inferior family, in proportion to the Zadokite priests, returned under Zerubbabel and later under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh. 7 39 *f.* Ezra 8 2 *f.*). Thus the Zadokites cannot have had serious difficulty in securing that pre-eminence which Ezekiel claimed for them. Nevertheless it seems that a certain Daniel of the sons of Ithamar (Ezra 8 2; see DANIEL, 3) accompanied Ezra and, owing perhaps to the wealth and consideration which his family enjoyed, contrived to share in those priestly privileges which D had assigned to all the Levites. Such, at least, is the ingenious theory of Kautzsch (*St. Kr.*, 1890, p. 778 *f.*), and we may in any case be sure that some Levites who did not claim origin from Zadok were priests in the second temple. In their favour, then, the theory of descent was modified. It was said that Aaron had two sons who left issue: Eleazar, father of that line to which legitimate high priests belonged, and Ithamar, the ancestor of legitimate priests but not of legitimate high priests (so P in Ex. 6 23 Lev. 10 6 Nu. 4 28, so also 1 Ch. 24 6). The Chronicler assigns sixteen classes to the sons of Eleazar—*i.e.*, the Zadokites—and half that number to the descendants of Ithamar (1 Ch. 24 4). In this way also he is able partially to reconcile the double priesthood of Zadok and Abiathar with the notions of his own time, since, as descendants of Ithamar, the b'nē Eli were often lawful priests, though not high priests. See ELEAZAR, ELI, ITHAMAR, and cp, further, SADDUCEES.

4. Zadok in P.

2. Father of JERUSHA [*q.v.*] (2 K. 15 33 2 Ch. 27 1, *σαδωρ* [B]).

3. b. Baana, in list of wall-builders (see NEHEMIAH, § 1 *f.*, EZRA ii., §§ 16 [1] 15 *d*), Neh. 3 4 (*σαδουκ* [א]); he is doubtless the signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7) mentioned in Neh. 10 21 [22] (*σαδουκ* [A], *σαδδουκ* [Bא], *εδδωκ* [L]). In both cases the name occurs together with Meshezabeel.

4. b. IMMER [*q.v.*] (Neh. 3 29, *σαδουχ* [א]).

5. A scribe, temp. Ezra (Neh. 13 13, *σαδδουκ* [B]).

W. E. A.

ZAHAM (זָהַם; ροολλαμ [B], ζαλαμ [A], ζααμ [L]), a son of Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 19). Perhaps from רחם=ירחמאל; note 𝔊^{BA} and cp RAHAM (Che.).

ZAIR (in locative צָעִירָה; εις σειωρ [B]; om. A; εκ σιωρ [L]), a place on the way to Edom, where Jehoram, king of Judah, 'rose up by night and smote the Edomites who had surrounded him' (2 K. 8 21). See JEHORAM, 2. It is strange to find that he also smote 'the captains of the chariots,' and we are in doubt as to the true reference of the following clause, 'and the people fled to their tents.' According to Benzinger and Kittel, after *v.* 21*a*, the original narrative must have stated how Jehoram was surrounded in Zair (?) by the Edomites; *v.* 21*b* (beginning וַיְהִי־הוּא קָם לַיְלָה, EV 'and he rose [up] by night') must relate a defeat of Jehoram which nearly issued in the death or captivity of the king. The people who fled can only be the men of Judah. Stade, in *ZATW* 21 337-340 (1901), once more examines the passage, 2 K. 8 21-24, reaffirming his conclusion in *GVI* 1 537, n. 1, so far as regards taking אֱרוֹם as the subject of קָם, and הוּא as an intentional alteration or correction.

Instead of ואת שרי הרכב, Benzinger and Kittel would read something like (or אִתּוֹ) וּשׂרי הר' עִמּוֹ. Both, however, hesitate to identify Zair. Ewald thought of Zoar (צֹעַר); it is objected that this place-name in 𝔊 is *σηγωρ* or *σιγωρ* (implying צ=غ), whereas Zair is *σειωρ*, *σιωρ* (*i.e.*, צ=ع); see Buhl, *Edomiter*, 65. The case, however, becomes entirely altered, if אר[ו]ם has been miswritten (as in other passages) for אֲרָם. It is a plausible theory that the passages relative to Edom in 2 Samuel and Kings (most, if not all of them) in their original form referred to 'Aram'—*i.e.*, Jerahmeel, rather than to Edom (cp SAUL, § 3; JOKTHEEL, 2; REZIN; SALT, VALLEY OF; ZOBAH). 2 K. 8 21 now becomes plain. Emending the text in accordance with numerous analogies we get, 'And Joram passed over to Miṣṣur, and all the chariots with him, and [Aram] the Jerahmeelites smote him and the captains of the chariots; and the people fled to their tents.' Miṣṣur was presumably a N. Arabian town, so called from the region of Miṣṣur or Miṣrim (see MIZRAIM). It may have been originally intended in the list given in Josh. 15 52-54 by ZIOR (*q.v.*).

Mühlau (Riehm, *HWB*, 1813) thinks Conder's identification of Zair with the pass ez-Zuwêret, in the SW. of the Dead Sea, worth consideration; Buhl, however (*Edomiter*, 65, n. 2), finds it inconsistent with ויעבר (but 𝔊 has *ἀνέβη*, וַיַּעַל, which may be right).

T. K. C.

ZALAPH (צָלָף; σελε [B], σαλεφ [א], -σελ [AL]), father of Hanun (Neh. 3 30).

ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן, see § 4). The name occurs twice in the OT, more frequently in the Talmud, but without topographical data (Neub. *Géog.* 275).

1. (*ερμων* [BAL], *αερμων* [𝔊^M in Moore], *σελμων* [Eus. *OS* 295 73, without indication of site]). The name given in MT to a mountain near Shechem[1] (Judg. 9 48†).

In the underlying story, however, the scene of the doings of Abimelech seems to have been placed in the Negeb, in and near a place called Cusham; Jerahmeel-Cusham may also (but cp SHECHEM, TOWER OF) be referred to. It is probably, therefore, some mountain of a Jerahmeelite range, and 𝔊^M's reading may

[1] One might naturally think of Gerizim; the argument offered for connecting the name with the southern peak of Hermon is perfectly absurd (see Moore, *Judges*, 265).

be taken to confirm this. For חרמון (αερμων) is probably a popular corruption of ירחמאל,[1] and we shall see (see ZALMON, ii.) that צלמון is not improbably a popular corruption of ישמעאל; now 'Jerahmeel' and 'Ishmael' are repeatedly used as synonyms so that in one form of the original story Mt. Jerahmeel may have been spoken of, and in another Mt. Ishmael. The corruptions 'Hermon' and 'Zalmon' may of course have been made very early. The equation, Hermon = Jerahmeel, illustrates Enoch 6 6 where the fallen angels are said to have descended on Mt. Hermon. Probably Mt. Jerahmeel was meant in the original story; six of the names of the fallen angels are clearly corrupt forms of Jerahmeel. The early legends may all have a Jerahmeelite or N. Arabian setting. Cp ZALMONAH.

2. AV SALMON (σελμων [Bℵ]; σελμω [R[a]]), according to most, a mountain or mountain-range (Ps. 68 14 [15]†), the dark rocks of which (as if צלמון meant 'dark-coloured,' from √צלם; cp צלמות) set off the brilliance of the snow, when, as in the depth of winter, snow-falls occurred. The psalmist is thought to compare the dead bodies, or perhaps the glistening arms or ornaments, of slain warriors to snow on Zalmon. Wetzstein (*Abh.* appended to Del. *Hiob*, and elsewhere) compares the ασαλμανος of Ptol. 5 15 (*var. lect.* αλσαλαμος, αλσαδαμος) which is a name for the Ḥaurān mountain range (alluding to the dark volcanic rocks). This is thought to be confirmed by reference to the *Jebel Ḥaurān* in *v.* 15 [16], where Wetzstein regards the phrase הר גבננים as a picturesque description of the crater-formation of this highly-volcanic region (so Che. *Ps.*[(1)]; Guthe, *ZDPV*, 1889, p. 231; Buhl, cautiously, *Pal.* 118; but not GASm. *HG* 550).

The whole passage, however, seems to be corrupt, and an adequate restoration can only be hoped for by a searching re-examination of the whole passage (see Che. *Ps.*[(2)]). Among the current emendations of צלמון, Krochmal's צַלְמוּת (derived from Tg.) is the most plausible. Duhm's בְּשֶׁלֶג and Lagarde's בָּהָר הַשֶּׁלֶג leave צלמון in all its unexpected and unlikely prominence.
T. K. C.

ZALMON (צַלְמוֹן), the Ahohite, one of David's heroes; 2 S. 23 28† (ελλων—*i.e.*, עלון [B], σελλωμ [A], ελιμαν [L]; Pesh. *ṣalmun*, Vg. *selmon*) = 1 Ch. 11 29† (ILAI, עִילַי; ηλει [Bℵ], ηλι [sup ras A[a]], ηλα [L]; Pesh. *'alī; 'ilai*). See NAMES, § 4.

Inferring from the reading of 𝔊BL in 2 S. that the form in 𝔐 is original, Kittel ('Chron.' in *SBOT*) would read עַלְיָמָן, 'Alīmān, and Marquart compares ALEMETH (*q.v.*) = ALMON (but both these names are probably corruptions of 'Jerahmeel'). The name צלמון, however, is in itself highly probable. The three names צלמון, צלמנע, and צלמנה all point to the Negeb—all are N. Arabian, and all are (or spring from) popular corruptions of ישמעאל—a synonym, be it observed, of ירחמאל. Cp Nu. 14 9, if the view (*Crit. Bib.*) is correct which makes לחמנו הם סר צלם מעליהם, an editorial attempt to make sense of the badly-written words of a gloss on 'the people of the land,' viz., ירחמאלים ישמעאלים ירחמאלים ('Jerahmeelites, Ishmaelites, Jerahmeelites'), for which numerous parallels can be offered (see *Crit. Bib*). 'They are our bread' and 'their shadow has departed from them' are clearly impossible. There is indeed another theory, which would be tempting, if we were to look at these names by themselves, and not in the light of convergent text-critical arguments—viz., to find in צלמון a trace of the god צלם (ṢLM) worshipped at Teima (see ZALMUNNA). But in similar cases a better solution is generally forthcoming. Certainly one of David's heroes might well have a name corrupted from 'Ishmael' or 'Jerahmeel.'
T. K. C.

ZALMONAH (צַלְמֹנָה; σελμωνα [BAL]), a stage in the wandering in the wilderness (Nu. 33 41 *f.*).

The preceding station is Mt. Hor—*i.e.*, according to the theory which best accounts for a multitude of facts, Mt. Jerahmeel (see MOSES, §§ 14-18, with n. 2, col. 3217). Another name of some part of the chief Jerahmeelite mountain-range was probably Zalmon—*i.e.*, Ishmael (a synonym of Jerahmeel).

It is reasonable to think that the name 'Zalmonah' is only a doublet of 'Hor,' and that in reality the same mountain district is meant by both names. See, however, WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF.
T. K. C.

ZALMUNNA (צַלְמֻנָּע; σαλμανα [ℵAR[a]TL], σαλμαν [R*], but σελμανα [B]), a Midianite prince always mentioned with ZEBAH [*q.v.*] (Judg. 8 4 *ff.*, Ps. 83 11). His name (the pointing of which seems designed to suggest the interpretation 'protection refused') is very probably compounded with that of the old deity צלם[1] (see TEMA). For the second part of the name we may compare the OT יִמְנָע, חִמְנָע, and perhaps also מנעת on a Nabatæan inscription from Hegra (cp Moore, *Judges*, 220), or the first part of the place-name נעיאל (Josh. 19 27; cp הַנֵּעָה, *v.* 13, and see Neubauer, *Athenæum*, 28th Feb. 1885; Baethg. *Beitr.* 80 *f*).
S. A. C.

ZAMBRI, 1. (ζαμβρει [B], -ρις [A]) 1 Esd. 9 34 RV (AV **Zambis**) = Ezra 10 42 AMARIAH, 3.

2. (ζαμβρ[ε]ι [AℵV]) 1 Macc. 2 26, RV ZIMRI, *q.v.*

ZAMOTH (ζαμοθ [BA]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27, ZATTU.

ZAMZUMMIM (זַמְזֻמִּים; ζοχομειν [B], -μμειν [B[a.b]], ζομζομμειν [A], ζομμειν [FL]), a branch of the REPHAIM (*q.v.*), so called by the Ammonites (Dt. 2 20)†. Some compare Ar. *zamzama*, 'a distant rustling sound,' and *zīzīm*, 'the hissing, whistling sound made by the *jinn* of the desert in the night' (so Schwally, *ZATW*, 1898, p. 138, and W. R. Smith, *ap.* Dr. *Deut.* 40).

But these early names are so liable to corruption that the view given elsewhere of the probable variant ZUZIM (*q.v.*) is perhaps more probable.
T. K. C.

ZANOAH (זָנוֹחַ), probably an expanded Jerahmeelite clan-name [cp Shelaḥ and Sha'ul], and, if so, presumably to be added to the group[2] containing Jaazaniah, Jezaniah, Aznoth-tabor, Uzzen-sheerah; the superficially obvious meaning 'stench,' though defensible [NAMES, § 106], is hardly plausible, and the parallels for such a name are all textually suspicious—see, *e.g.*, MADMEN, OPHNI, ZIPHRON; ζανω [BℵAL]).

1. The name of a personified clan together with its chief centre, 1 Ch. 4 18 (ζαμων [BA], ζανωε [L]).

The reputed father is Jekuthiel, a name which, like Joktheel and Eltekeh, is most probably one of the many current corruptions of Jerahmeel.[3] The clan referred to was therefore of the Negeb (see closing paragraph).

2. A city in the SHEPHELAH (*q.v.*), Josh. 15 34 (τανω [B]). Also (Ges.-Bu.) mentioned in Neh. 3 13 (ζανων [L]) and 11 30 (om. BℵA, ζανωε [ℵ[c.a mg. inf.]]). Robinson (*BR* 2 343) identifies with *Zānū'*, a ruin 2½ m. S. from 'Ain Shems (see BETH-SHEMESH). In the preceding and following groups of names in Josh. 15 34 occur Zorah and Soco, which apparently suits the proposed identification. In *OS* 258 38 159 12 Zanoah is stated to be in the district of Eleutheropolis.

3. A city in the hill-country of Judah, Josh. 15 56 (ζακαναειμ, taking in הקין from *v.* 57 [B], ζανου [L]). Van de Velde and Robinson identify with *Za'nūṭa*, a ruin SW. of Yuṭṭā (Jutta, mentioned in the preceding group in Josh.), though, being nearly as far S. as esh-Shuweike (Socoh), it might seem more plausible to connect the name with 2.

There is, however, an element of uncertainty in these identifications, owing to the transference of names, and to the geographical mistakes of redactors (see SOCOH). The original Zanoah, like the original Socoh, was most probably in the Negeb. In *Neh.* 11 30 'Adullam,' which follows 'Zanoah,' was very probably a Jerahmeelite city in the Negeb, and 'Lachish' has arisen out of 'Eshcol' (see NEGEB, § 7).
T. K. C.

ZAPHNATH-PAANEAH, RV **Zaphenath-paneah**

[1] Note that in the MT of Ps. 42 7 [6] ירחמאלים (Jeraḥmeelim) has become חרמונים. See MIZAR, THE HILL OF.

[1] So Nöldeke and Clermont-Ganneau, Neubauer (*Athenæum*, *l.c.*) suggests that the same divine name should be read in Nu. 14 9; צֶלֶם (not צִלָּם, 'their shadow'!) has departed from them, but Yahwè is with us.' 𝔊BAFL's ὁ καιρός must have arisen out of ὁ κύριος which a few MSS and the Arm. actually have (cp Neub. *l.c.*). The MT, however, makes a very satisfactory sense. In folk-lore the shadow is often identified with the object itself (cp Frazer, *Golden Bough*,[(2)] 1 287), and the loss of the shadow is regarded as the loss of life itself. [Note, however, the solution of the text-critical problem given elsewhere (ZALMON, 2).]

[2] See SHAPHAN, UZZEN-SHEERAH.

[3] See NEGEB, § 7, and cp JOKTHEEL.

(צָפְנַת פַּעְנֵחַ; ψονθομφανηχ [AE], ψομθ. [L]; ζαμφανη, ασαμφανη, σαφαμφανη [Aq.], σαφαθφανη [Sym.]), the Egyptian name reported to have been given to Joseph by the Pharaoh (Gen. 41 45). For the older explanations see below. It has now become customary to seek explanations of the name from ancient Egyptian. Lenormant compares the title of *Ka-mose*, a king of the seventeenth dynasty, '*zaf-n-to*,' 'nourisher of the world' (*Hist. anc. de l'Or.*, 1869, 1 363); this, he holds, explains Zaphnath. Since the time of Lepsius (*Einl. in d. Chronologie der Ägypten*, 1 382) most scholars have explained פענח by the Egyptian *pa-'anḫ* (*das Leben, la vie*, life). Brugsch (*Gesch. Äg.*, 1877, p. 248) formerly interpreted the whole name, 'governor of the district of the place of life' (*i.e.*, of the Sethroitic nome); but in 1891 (*Die Aegyptologie*, 240) he adopted Steindorff's explanation (see *ZA* 27 42), which is also given by Crum in Hastings' *DB* 1 665*b*, as the only admissible one, under the form *jephnoute fônch* (*ze*[*d*]-*p-nûte*[*r*]-[*e*]*f-'onḫ*), 'God speaks (and) he lives,' Lieblein, however ('Mots Égyptiens dans la Bible,' *PSBA*, May 1898, pp. 202 *ff.*), criticises this, and proposes the form *cfnti pa-anḫ*, 'he who gives the nourishment of life.' Finally, Marquart ('Chronol. Untersuch.,' *Philologus*, 7 676 *f.*) thinks that נת (=תן) indicates that Joseph was a worshipper of Iten, the solar disk, the god honoured by Amenhotep IV.; [פ]ענח is misplaced, and belongs to the name of Joseph's wife (אנתם). The present writer held out as long as he could for an Egyptian explanation, regarding צפנת as a corruption of פענח, and explaining the latter in Lepsius' way; he inclined to read Joseph's Egyptian name as *Pa-'anḫ*, or rather Pianḫi, which is the name of a famous king of the twenty-fifth dynasty; this might mark the date of the Joseph narrative in its present form; see EGYPT, § 65 *f.*, JOSEPH ii., §§ 4, 11. It is of course possible that the redactor of the beautiful Joseph-story may have had such a name as Pianḫi in his mind. But it can be made highly probable that underneath our Joseph-story there was another, the scene of which was laid in the Negeb and in the land of Miṣrim. If we accept this, we may reasonably suppose that צפנת is a corruption or alteration of צרפת, and פענח of פנחס. The marriages of Joseph and of Eleazar b. Aharon are plainly parallel. Eleazar (Ex. 6 25) marries a daughter of PUTIEL (=Zarephathi), and has a son named PHINEHAS (=Jerahmeel); Joseph marries a daughter of Potiphera (=Zarephathi), and his own name is called Zarephath-jerahmeel. The marriage of Moses will also be remembered; his wife's name was Zipporah, which (see MOSES, §§ 2, 4) is most probably a modification or distortion of the place-name Zarephath.

The plausibility of Egyptological explanations must be admitted, even if we hold that the original narrators had a N. Arabian, not an Egyptian horizon. Already Jerome says, 'Interpretatur sermone Ægyptio . . . salvator mundi, eo quod orbem terræ ab imminente famis excidio liberavit.' Onk. gives, 'The man to whom mysteries are revealed'; ps.-Jon., 'the man who reveals mysteries.' Similarly Jos. *Ant.* ii.6 1, Pesh., Saad. See also Harkavy, *Journ. As.* 15 (1870) 178 *ff.*; Wiedemann, *Sammlung altäg. Wörter*, 21; Levesque, *Rev. Bibl.*, 1899, pp. 412 *ff.* T. K. C.

ZAPHON (צָפוֹן, cp Ṣapuna in the Amarna Tablets 174 16, a S. Pal. city [see *KAT*(3) 479], and BAAL-ZEPHON), a Gadite city—cp the Gadite names צפון and צִפְיוֹן—lying 'in the valley'—*i.e.*, of the Jordan (Josh. 13 27 σαφαν [B], -ων [AL]), and again, according to RVmg., in the account of the quarrel of the Ephraimites with Jephthah (Judg. 12 1 צָפוֹנָה RVmg. 'to ZAPHON'; κεφεινα [A], σεφηνα [L]; 'northwards' EV and 𝔊B); but others question the text (see JEPHTHAH, § 3, n. 1). It is mentioned after Beth-nimrah and Succoth. The Jer. Talm. (*Sheb.* 9 2 fol. 38 *d*) identifies it with עמתו, the later 'Amathō, Amathus, and mod. *'Amateh*, a little to the N. of the Zerḳā (Jabbok) on the E. bank of the Jordan, and at the mouth of the Wādy er-Rugeib;[1] but Buhl considers this doubtful (*Pal.* 259; Ges.-Bu. *s.v.*). Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 12 5) mentions Ἀσωφων (Schlatter, *ZDPV* 19 224, Ασαφων) 'not far from the river Jordan' (οὐ πόρρωθεν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ).

1. The traditional facts.

The occurrence of Ṣapuna as a S. Palestinian place-name and of Baal-zephon in the account of the Exodus may well make us somewhat critical towards the statements of the traditional text respecting a trans-Jordanic Zaphon. There is also strong reason to think that when Jeremiah gives prophetic warning of an invasion of Jewish territory *from the north* (*e.g.*, Jer. 1 14 *f.* 46 6 1) it is not of the Scythians nor of any modern people that he is thinking, but of a people inhabiting a land called Zaphon or Zaphan (cp ZEPHANIAH). So in Joel 2 20 'the northern [army],' as EV renders, should rather be 'the Zephonite,' and in Ezek. 38 6 it is from the land of Zaphon, *in N. Arabia*, that the terrible hordes of Gog are to appear. In Jer. 15 12 too, 'iron from the north' should not improbably be 'iron from Zaphon'; the following words 'and brass' remind us that TUBAL-CAIN—*i.e.*, the Kenite Tubal according to the general view—was, '[the father of] every artificer of brass and iron'; and that Rehoboth was in David's time richly supplied with brass (see TEBAH).

2. Later researches.

It would take too much space to show what a bright light this theory (in connection with the larger historical theory of the relations between Israel-Judah and Jerahmeel) throws on many passages. But it may be well to point out (referring for details to *Crit. Bib.*) that underlying the story of the Gileadite Jephthah there is an earlier story of a Jephthah in the Negeb, and that the troublesome word צָפוֹנָה (EV northward) in Judg. 12 1 should probably be rendered 'to Zaphon'; the original narrative meant a locality in the Jerahmeelite Negeb. Also that in Josh. 13 27 the mention of Succoth and Zaphon is followed by 'the rest of the kingdom of Sihon king of Heshbon.' It appears as if P had access to early lists of names, the geographical reference of which he did not always understand. T. K. C.

ZARA (ζαρα [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 3 AV, RV ZERAH, 1.

ZARACES, RV **Zarakes** (ζαριον [B], ζαρακην [AL]), in 1 Esd. 1 38 represents the JEHOAHAZ (*q.v.*) of the corresponding passage 2 Ch. 36 4. According to 2 Ch. Jehoahaz was taken by Necho to Egypt; but in the 1 Esd. passage he is brought by Joakim out of Egypt. This and other differences seem to be due to the fact that the author of 1 Esd. was copying from a corrupt or illegible *Hebrew* MS.

ZARAH (זֶרַח), Gen. 38 30 AV, RV ZERAH, 1.

ZARAIAS (ζαραιου [B]). (1) 1 Esd. 5 8 = Ezra 2 2 SERAIAH, 7. (2) 1 Esd. 8 2 (ζαραιου [A]); see ZERAHIAH (1). (3) 1 Esd. 8 31 (ζαραιου [BAL]); see ZERAHIAH (2). (4) 1 Esd. 8 34 (ζαραιας [BA]); see ZEBADIAH (3).

ZARDEUS (ζαρδαιας [A]), 1 Esd. 9 28 = Ezra 10 27 AZIZA.

ZAREAH (צָרְעָה), Neh. 11 29 AV, **Zareathites** (הַצָּרְעָתִי), 1 Ch. 2 53 AV. See ZORAH.

ZAREPHATH (צָרְפַת;[2] σαρεπτα [BAL]), a place on the high-road between Tyre and Sidon (cp Jer. *OS* 154 4), where, according to the traditional text, Elijah resided with a widow after leaving the brook Cherith (1 K. 17 9 *f.* σεφθα [A in *v.* 9]; cp Lk. 4 26 σαρεπτα της σιδωνιας; RV 'Zarephath, in the land of Sidon').

But the difficulty of supposing that this Phœnician woman was a worshipper of Yahwè is very great, and since (1) CHERITH (*q.v.*) must certainly be Rehoboth, and (2) even the traditional text elsewhere makes Elijah seek out a refuge in N. Arabia (1 K. 19; see MIZRAIM), we are compelled to suppose corruption of the text, and to read in 1 K. 17 9, 'Arise, get thee to Zarephath,

[1] For Amathus, cp Burckh. *Syr.* 346, Buhl, *Pal.* 259, and Schür. *GJV* 1 221 *f.* It is often mentioned by Jos. (cp *Ant.* xiii. 8 3 xiv. 5 4 *BJ* i. 8 5), and is placed by him on the Jordan. Eus., on the contrary, makes it 21 R. m. from Pella (*OS* 219 76).

[2] Lagarde (*Übers.* 84, note *) finds the vocalisation strange; in Palestine we should expect צְרָפַת.

which belongeth to Muṣur' (אֲשֶׁר לְמִצּוֹר). Zarephath is also mentioned as a border-city of Canaan in Obad. 20 (*σαρεφθων* [Qa]), not, however, on the north, but on the south (see NEGEB, § 3; SEPHARAD). A district of the Negeb, in the far S. of Palestine, was called after the Zarephathites[1] (1 S. 30 16), and David's bodyguard was partly composed of Zarephathites. It is true, 'Pelethites,' not 'Zarephathites,' is the traditional reading in 2 S. 8 18 etc.; but *pĕlēthī* and also *peleth* in 1 Ch. 2 33 (Nu. 16 1) are corrupt, and ought probably to be read *ṣārĕphāthī* and *ṣārĕphath* respectively (see PELETH, PELETHITES, and cp PALTI, 1).

It is also highly probable that the Zarephathites are the foes referred to in 2 S. 21 15-22. The nature of the war with the Philistines here referred to has surprised many readers; it contrasts strongly with the warfare described in 1 S. 31. If, however, *Pĕlištīm* should rather be *Ṣārephāthīm* (as certainly in 1 S. 30 16), we can much more easily understand the narrative. That 'Gath' and 'Gob' should rather be 'Rehoboth' is pointed out elsewhere (REHOBOTH). It was the warriors of Muṣri (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), famous in later tradition for their unusual stature, who at the time referred to gave David so much trouble. Muṣri may originally have included Zarephath and Rehoboth (see below, on Gen. 10 13 *f.*). Not improbably 2 S. 21 15 *ff.* is properly the sequel of 2 S. 5 17-25. There is considerable reason to suppose that David conquered Rehoboth (miswritten in 2 S. 21 18 *ff.* Gob and Gath)—one of the chief cities of his foes—and fetched the ark of Yahwè from the house of OBED-EDOM the Rehobothite (not 'the Gittite'). A series of important corrections also becomes highly probable in 2 S. 5 17-25. 'Philistines' should probably be 'Zarephathites' (צרפתים); 'the valley of Rephaim' should be 'the valley of the Jerahmeelites'; 'over against the mulberry trees' should be 'over against [Perez of] the Jerahmeelites'; 'in the tops of the mulberry trees' should be 'in Perez of the Jerahmeelites.' Perez, be it noted here again, is surely a corruption of Ṣarefath (Zarephath); see PEREZ. Consequently 'Baal-perazim' may well come from 'Baal-ṣarefath (or -ṣārĕfāthīm).' Lastly, in the descriptive phrase 'from Geba as far as the approach to Gezer' (*v.* 25) the proper names should be 'Rehoboth' and 'Gadesh' = 'Kadesh' respectively. It also becomes probable that 'Perez-uzzah' in 2 S. 6 8 has arisen out of 'Ṣarefath-azzah' (strong-Zarephath). Cp PERAZIM, PEREZ-UZZA. This involves parallel corrections in 2 S. 23 8-23. The 'Philistines' should very probably be 'the Zarephathites,' just as in *v.* 21 'Egyptian' should doubtless be 'Miṣrite' (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). David and his *gibbōrīm* are fighting in the region which adjoins their own homes (cp HARARITE, JEKABZEEL, ZIKLAG), to maintain their hold on the 'cities of the Jerahmeelites' (see 1 S. 30 29). The 'Valley of Rephaim' should again be the 'Valley of the Jerahmeelites,' and 'Bethlehem' (*vv.* 14-16) is an early corruption (like Ir hammelah) of Beth-jerahmeel. It may be added that it is probably the 'Zarephathites,' not the 'Philistines,' who fight against Keilah in the true text of 1 S. 23 1-5. Thus in the story of David, not less than in that of Jacob, there are traces of a more ancient and in some respects very different underlying narrative. Cp also SAUL.

It is moreover in a high degree probable that the 'En-mishpat' of Gen. 14 7, which is loosely identified in an inserted gloss with 'Kadesh,' should be corrected into 'En- (or rather 'Ir-) Zarephath'—*i.e.* 'fountain (rather, city) of Zarephath.' Certainly this helps to produce a consistent story; Kadesh and Zarephath will be found (see SODOM) to be both mentioned in the more ancient narrative which underlies our Gen. 14, as, according to the view proposed above, both names occur in the story which underlies 2 S. 5 17-25. And the only plausible explanation of 'Hassophereth' or 'Sophereth' in Ezra 2 55 Neh. 7 57 is that it is a corruption of the same ancient place-name Zarephath.

This latter correction points the way to another of much greater importance—viz. צרפתים (Ṣārĕfāthīm) for פַּתְרֻסִים in Gen. 10 14 (see PATHRUSIM). That Miṣrim, not Mizraim, was the son of Ham (Jeraḥmeel), is a view which sheds a bright light on a series of obscure names (cp *Crit. Bib.*). And no one can fail to see at once how easily Zarephath might be miswritten as PUT (Gen 10 6) and as ZEPHATH (*qq.v.*). The difficulties of the narrative in Judg. 1 17 are considered elsewhere (HORMAH). It may, however, be pointed out again that the starting-point of the Judahites was Kadesh-'barnea' (see JERICHO, § 2). There is a place on the way to Hormah, or rather Raḥamah (see HORMAH), which they would naturally attack in passing; it is *Ṣebaita*[2] (24 m. NNE. of 'Ain Ḳadis). The ruins (of the Byzantine period) are imposing; doubtless they stand on the site of much older cities. At the entrance of the only pass by which Ṣebaita can be approached is a ruined fort on the top of a hill; this was probably an appendage of the ancient Zephath, which in spite of the imperfect phonetic correspondence of the names must be the Zephath or Zarephath of the OT.[3] We can now fully understand the journey of Elijah related in 1 K. 17 9.

[1] See NEGEB, § 2. 1. The commentators treat the difficulty of 'the land of the Philistines' too lightly. The view here adopted is that by an error of the scribe צרפ has become פלש.

[2] We might also think of Mesraifeh, N. of Ṣebaita, but this is geographically less plausible. Least probable of all sites is the Naḳb eṣ-Ṣafā, SE. of Kurnub, though this commended itself to Robinson (*BR*(2) 2 181). See Trumbull, *Kadesh-Barnea*.

[3] See Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, 371 *ff.*; Rowlands, the discoverer of the site, took the same view (G. Williams, *Holy City*, 1 464); also Furrer (Riehm, *HWB*(2) 654 *f.*).

It is an easy day's journey from Ruḥeibeh (REHOBOTH, MT's 'Cherith') to Ṣebaita, though Palmer was accidentally delayed.

Possibly the name Zarephath, as applied to a Phœnician town, appears under the disguise of MISREPHOTH-MAIM in Josh. 11 8 13 6.

The Phœnician Zarephath is the Zarputa of the Egyptian Pap. Anast. 1 (*RP*(1) 2 110), and the Sariptu of the Taylor inscription of Sennacherib (*KB* 2 90). Mühlau (*HWB*(2), 1814) supposes glass-manufacture to have flourished at Zarephath; Masius (in Poole's *Syn.*) thought of the smelting of metals. The modern name of Zarephath is *Ṣarafend*, which is now about a mile from the coast, but was on the shore in the time of the Crusaders. See Rob. *BR* 2 475; Thomson, *L. and B.* 160 *ff.* Cp PHŒNICIA, §§ 4, 6.

In 2 S. 8 3 12 10 6 8 we hear of a 'Hadad-ezer, . . . king of Zobah,' whose realm we must suppose to have been either in Syria or in N. Palestine (see ZOBAH). It is however, somewhat more probable that צובה (Zobah) is a mutilated and corrupt form of צָרְפַת, Ṣārefath. The name Hadad-ezer for a N. Arabian king is perfectly credible. The 'images' of the Zarephathites (not 'Philistines') are spoken of in 2 S. 5 21 (an old narrative).

An obscure passage in Judg. 17 7 becomes more significant if we suppose a reference to Zarephath. The young Levite there spoken of is described as 'out of Bethlehem-judah, of the family of Judah.' As Budde rightly sees, there is something wrong here; he would correct 'Judah' into 'Moses' (cp 18 30). More plausibly we may read 'from Beth-jerahmeel, from Zarephath of Judah' (ירחמאל for לחם יהודה, and מצרפת for כמשפחת; cp משרפות for צרפית in Josh.). Tradition seems to connect the Levites with Kadesh, which was not far from Zarephath. For other supposed disguises of Zephath or Zarephath, see SHAPHAT, TISHBEH; cp also MICAH, BOOK OF, § 4 (*f.*); MEARAH; MISREPHOTH-MAIM, TIRZAH, ZARETHAN. T. K. C.

ZARETHAN, RV of (*a*) Josh. 3 16 (*b*) 1 K. 4 12 (*c*) 7 46. The same name is clearly represented by ZEREDAH (*d*) 2 Ch. 4 17 and (*e*) 1 K. 11 26, probably also by ZERERAH (*f*) Judg. 7 22. In (*a*) and (*c*) MT has צָרְתָן; in (*b*) צָרְתָנָה (locative), AV ZARTHANAH; in (*d*) צְרֵדָתָה (locative); in (*e*) הַצְּרֵדָה. 𝔊 in (*a*) gives *καθιαιρειν* [B], *καριαθιαρ*[ε]*ιμ* [AFL], which Hollenberg[1] takes to be a development of *σαρθαν*; (*b*) *σεσαθαν* [B], *εσλιανθαν* [A], *σαρθαν* [L]; in (*c*) *σειρα* [B], *σιαραμ* [A], *σαρθαν* [L]; in (*d*) *σιρδαθαι* [B], *σαδαθα* [A], *σαριδαθα* [L]; in (*e*) *ἡ σαρειρα* [BL], *ἡ σαριδα* [A], and in the long additional passage 𝔊BL twice has *σαρειρα*.

Let us assume provisionally the correctness of the textual readings, and consider the geographical bearings of (*a*) (*d*) and (*f*). From (*d*), which corresponds with (*c*), it is plain that the Chronicler, or the compiler from whom he drew, identified Zarethan and Zeredah. From (*f*) we may at least infer that Zererah (?) lay to the S. of Abel-meholah. A more definite result is gained from (*c*), where (if the text is in the main correct) it is stated that Zarethan was situated near Succoth in the Jordan valley. From (*b*) no inference is possible in the present state of the text.

1. Josh. 3 16 etc.

A still more important passage is Josh. 3 16 (*a*). We learn from it that Zarethan lay beside the city called Adam or Adamah (see ADAM, i.). Between Adam or Adamah and Succoth this passage (see JERICHO, § 4), together with 1 K. 7 46, suggests that there was a ford by which the main road crossed the Jordan, and such a ford there is near the Jisr ed-Dāmieh, at the confluence of the Jabbok and the JORDAN (*q.v.*, § 7). We must therefore at any rate reject all forms of the theory that Zarethan, which lay 'beside' that city, was in the vicinity of Beth-shean.[2] More acceptable geographically is the view of Van de Velde, who connects Zarethan with the lofty Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh (the סרטבא of the Mishna),[3] the great landmark of the Jordan valley, W. of Jisr ed-Dāmieh. To this we shall return presently.

We pass on to the difficult passage marked above as

[1] *Der Char. der Alex. Uebers. des B. Jos.*, 17.

[2] In *PEFQ*, 1874, p. 182, Conder finds a trace of the name in the 'Ain Zahrah and the Tulūl Zahrah, 3 m. W. of Beisān. At this point the opposite cliffs approach so closely that a blockage of the river (such as a shock of earthquake might occasion) would leave its bed temporarily dry. Tyrwhitt Drake (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 31) thought of Tell Sarēm, 3 m. S. of Beisān; but he relied on 𝔊A's corrupt reading *σιαραμ* in 1 K. 7 46.

[3] *Rōsh ha-Shānah*, 2 3; cp Neubauer, *Géog. du Talm.* p. 42

(*e*). It is plausible to infer from the fact that 𝔊^L places Jeroboam's residence at the time of his son's illness at σαρειρα, whilst MT gives the name as Tirzah (1 K. 14 17), that the true name of Jeroboam's city was Tirzah. It is very possible, however, that both Zererah and TIRZAH (*q.v.*) conceal some other name, and if our view of Solomon's reign and of the extraction of Jeroboam is correct (see SOLOMON), the name underlying them is ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*). This would not, however, justify us in substituting at once Zarephath for Zarethan in (*a*), (*b*), (*c*), (*d*), and (*f*.). The text of these passages urgently needs to be examined with a more searching criticism. The claims of the Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh deserve at least a hearing (cp JERICHO, § 2), and if this site be adopted Abel-meholah will probably be the oasis of Ḳarāwa, N. of Ṣarṭabeh. See JERICHO, § 2. It is not necessary to assume that Ṣarṭabeh and Ṣarethan are connected as names. The question is purely geographical.

2. 1 K. 11 26 etc.

Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh is thus described,

3. Ḳarn Ṣarṭabeh.

'The top of the mountain is a cone, artificially shaped, and some 270 ft. high. On all sides but the west this is practically unapproachable; on the west a trench has been cut, and the saddle thus made lower.' 'The ruins on the summit consist of a central structure with a surrounding wall, and of an aqueduct with cisterns. An old road leads up from the south, with rock-cut steps in one place.' 'The general appearance of the place is that of a fortress.' (*PEFM* 3 396 *f.*)

We must not, however, treat this as more than a provisional and (in spirit) conservative conjecture, and it may be permissible to refer in advance to the treatment of passages containing Zererah in *Crit. Bib.* See also SUCCOTH, and cp Buhl, *Pal.* 181.

T. K. C.

ZARETH-SHAHAR (צֶרֶת הַשַּׁחַר), Josh. 13 19 AV, RV ZERETH-SHAHAR (*q.v.*).

ZARHITES (הַזַּרְחִי), Nu. 26 13 AV. See ZERAH, 1.

ZARTANAH (צָרְתָנָה), 1 K. 4 12 AV, RV ZARETHAN (*q.v.*).

ZARTHAN (צָרְתָן), 1 K. 7 46 AV, RV ZARETHAN (*q.v.*).

ZATHOE, RV **Zathoes** (ΖΑΘΟΗϹ [BA]), 1 Esd. 8 32 = Ezra 8 5. See JAHAZIEL, 5; SHECHANIAH, 3; ZATTU.

ZATTU (זַתּוּא; ΖΑΘΘΟΥΑ [AL], ΖΑΘΟΥΙΑ [Bℵ]).

The b'nē Zattu, a family in great post-exilic list (see EZRA ii. § 9, § 8 *c*), Ezra 2 8 (reckoned at 945; ζαθουα [B]) = Neh. 7 13 (reckoned at 845 [840 B]; ζαθθουεια [ℵ]) = 1 Esd. 5 12, **Zathui** (ζατου [B], ζαθθουι [A]); represented among the signatories to the covenant (see EZRA i. § 7), Neh. 10 14 [15], AV **Zatthu** (ζαθθουια [A], -θθαιας [L]), and in the list of those with foreign wives (see EZRA i. § 5 end), Ezra 10 27 (ζαθουα [A]) = 1 Esd. 9 28, ZAMOTH (ζαμοθ [BA]). The name is to be restored in the list of families in Ezra's caravan; see JAHAZIEL, 5.

ZAVAN (זַעֲוָן), 1 Ch. 1 42 AV = Gen. 36 27, ZAAVAN.

ZAZA (זָזָא, § 58; abbrev., cp ZIZA; ΟΖΑΜ [B], οζαζα, ? ὁ ζαζα [A], ζηιζα [L]), b. Jonathan, a Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 33†). See JERAHMEEL, § 2 (*c*).

ZEALOT (Ο ΖΗΛΩΤΗϹ), the Greek equivalent of the Semitic Ο ΚΑΝΑΝΑΙΟϹ (see CANANÆAN). Apart from the use of the word in a theological sense (cp *e.g.* 1 Cor. 14 12, ζηλωταὶ πνευμάτων [= πνευματικῶν], zealous, or emulous, of spirits [= spiritual gifts]; and the OT use of קַנָּא, *kannā*, of God's zeal for the keeping of the law, etc., Ex. 20 5 34 14), it is applied distinctively to a sect whose tenets are virtually identical with those of the ASSASSINS (*q.v.*), of whom they are indeed the forerunners. As such it occurs only twice in the NT (Lk. 6 15 Acts 1 13, AV ZELOTES) with reference to SIMON (*q.v.* no. 5]). For Καναναῖος see Mt. 10 4 Mk. 3 18.

Of this sect JUDAS of Galilee was at one time a leader. Against the view that the author of the *Assumptio Mosis* was a zealot (Schür. *GVI* 2635), see APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE, § 65.

ZEBADIAH (זְבַדְיָה, זְבַדְיָהוּ), properly an expanded N. Arabian clan-name [Che., see ZABDI, and cp ZABDIEL], though susceptible of the religious explanation, 'Yahwè has bestowed,' cp Jehozabad, § 27; ζαβαδια [BℵAL])

1, 2. Assigned to the Benjamite (see BENJAMIN, § 9) clan BERIAH (1 Ch. 8 15, αζαβαβια [B], . . . δια [A]), but in *v.* 17 to ELPAAL. The context probably refers to the Negeb. The names are very nearly all unmistakably Jerahmeelite; 'Gath,' as often, may have grown out of a mutilation of 'Rehoboth' (Che.).

3. b. Jeroham of Gedor, one of David's warriors (1 Ch. 12 7, ζαβιδια [B]). See DAVID, § 11 (*a*) iii.

4. b. Asahel, one of David's captains (1 Ch. 27 7, αβδειας [B], ζαβδιας [A], -δαιας [L]). See DAVID, § 11 (*c*) i.

5. b. Ishmael, ruler of house of Judah (2 Ch. 19 11, ζαβδ[ε]ιας [BA], ζαβαδιας [L]). Possibly originally the same as

6. The Levite who with others was sent to the cities of Judah with the book of the תורת יהוה (2 Ch. 17 8, ζαβδ[ε]ιας [BAL]). The neighbouring names suggest connection with the Negeb (Che.).

7. b. Meshelemiah, a Korhite (1 Ch. 26 2, ζαβαδιας [AL], ζαχαριας [B]).

8. b. Michael, one of the b'nē Shephatiah, a post-exilic family, Ezra 8 8 (ζαβδεια [B], -διας [A], -διου [L]); in 1 Esd. 8 34 ZARAIAS (ζαραιας [B] om. A, ζαβδιας [L]).

9. b. IMMER [*q.v.*] (Ezra 10 20, ζαβδ[ε]ια [BℵA], -διας [L], in 1 Esd. 9 21 ZABDEUS (ζαβδαιος [BA], αβασιας [L]).

ZEBAH (זֶבַח, ΖΕΒΕΕ [BℵARTL]; 'victima, sive hostia,' Jer. *OS* 49 9) a Midianite king or chieftain, mentioned with Zalmunna in the story of Gideon (Judg. 8 5-21; cp Ps. 83 11 [12]). Just as Zalmunna corresponds to Oreb (the vowels in both names are unoriginal) in the parallel narrative, so Zebah corresponds to Zeeb.

The originals of the two former names are probably Ishmael and 'Arāb; the common original of the two latter may be Zebīb 'the long-haired.' See GIDEON, OREB, ZALMON, 2, ZALMUNNA.

T. K. C.

ZEBAIM (הַצְּבָיִים), for 'Pochereth of Zebaim,' Ezra 2 57 AV. RV has POCHERETH-HAZZEBAIM (*q.v.*).

ZEBEDEE (ΖΕΒΕΔΑΙΟϹ [Ti. WH], § 52;—*i.e.* זבדי, see ZEBADIAH), of Galilee, the father of James and John (Mt. 4 21 etc.).

ZEBIDAH (זְבִידָה, Kt.), 2 K. 23 36 RV, AV ZEBUDAH (*q.v.*).

ZEBINA (זְבִינָא, as if 'bought,' from Aram. זבן, § 83, cp Palm. מזבנא,[1] but perhaps really a popular corruption of ישמעאל [the ל in which name is often corrupted in the mouth of the people into ן (Che.)]; cp also Ass.-Aram. זבנא; Hilprecht gives the Jewish name Zabīnā from Nippur, fifth century; ζαυβινα [B], ζαμβεινα [ℵ], om. A, ζεβεννει [L]), one of the b'ne Nebo (*i.e.* Nadabu?—see NEBO iii. 2) who joined in the league against alien marriages; Ezra 10 43.†

ZEBOIIM or **Zeboim** (צבאים, צביים, צבים, Kt.; צְבוֹיִם Kr. always) Gen. 10 14 Dt. 29 Hos. 11.† See ADMAH AND ZEBOIM.

ZEBOIM. 1. The valley of Zeboim (גֵּי הַצְּבֹעִים; ΓΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΜΕΙΝ [B]; om. A; ΓΑΙΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΒΑΙΝ [L]), a locality, apparently E. of Michmash, mentioned in the description of the path taken by one of the plundering bands of the Philistines (1 S. 13 18). The passage should perhaps read thus, 'another band took the direction of the Gilgal[2] which looks down upon the valley of Zeboim toward the wilderness.' The 'wilderness' is thought to consist of the summits and precipitous sides of the mountains between the central district of Benjamin and the Jordan valley. There Grove, in 1858, found a wild gorge bearing the name of *Shaḳḳ-ed-Ḍabā'*—*i.e.*, 'ravine of hyænas,' which exactly corresponds to the Hebrew name. Up this gorge, which is N. of the point at which the *Wādy el-Ḳelt* enters the Jordan valley, runs the path by which Grove was conducted from Jericho to *Mukhmās* (Smith's *DB*(1) iii. 1819). Marti however (*ZDPV* 7 125 *ff.*), thinks of the *Wādy Abu Ḍabā'*, a lateral valley which joins the *Wādy el-Ḳelt*

[1] See Cook, *Aram. Gloss.* 71, who also quotes the Gk. form μεζαββανας. The initial מ may remind us of the initial מ in משלם and משלמיה (see MESHULLAM, MESHELEMIAH).

[2] MT has הַגְּבוּל 'the border,' but this does not suit the following participle. Hence some (We., Dr., Ki., Bu.) read הַגֶּבַע, rendering 'the hill,' and with doubtful justice claiming to follow 𝔊. But can גבע be so rendered? H. P. Sm. reads הגבעה (γαβεε [B], την γαβαα [L]), but הנשקף is masc. הגבול probably comes from הגלגל (1 S. 13 4 15), which is itself most probably a corruption of ירחמאל. See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

from the S., and makes the plausible suggestion that in ancient times the present *Wâdy el-Kelt* bore the appellation 'Valley of hyænas,' which now survives only in smaller gorges. Cp G. A. Smith, *HG*, 291; Buhl, *Pal.* 98.

2. A Benjamite town or village, Neh. 11 34† (צְבֹעִים; om. BℵA; σεβοειμ [ℵca. mg. inf.]; σεβωειν [L]), mentioned between Hadid and Neballat. T. K. C.

ZEBUDAH (זְבוּדָּה, Kr.; 'given [by God],' § 56), as AV, or ZEBIDAH (זְבִידָּה, Kt. which Vg. and Pesh. follow), as RV, mother of Jehoiakim, 2 K. 23 36† (ιελλα [B]; ειελλαδαφ [A]—*i.e.*, JIDLAPH [*q.v.*]; αμιταλ [L]—*i.e.*, HAMUTAL [*q.v.*]; in 2 Ch. 36 5, however, 𝔊BA gives the name as זְכוּרָה = Zaccurah ζε[κ]χωρα; αμιταλ [L]).

Hilprecht quotes a Jewish name Zabūda on a tablet from Nippur (5th cent. B.C.). It is tempting to explain the name 'one given [by God].'

Some, however, of the names of this form (§ 56) clearly have a gentilic meaning, and Jehoiakim's mother (like several other queen-mothers) came from the Negeb (see RUMAH). T. K. C.

ZEBUL (זְבֻל, ζεβουλ [BAL]), a Shechemite, the 'ruler' (שַׂר) of the city in the time of Abimelech, represented in the artful speech of Gaal as a mere officer (פָּקִיד) of the king, Judg. 9 28 *ff.* See ABIMELECH, GAAL, and cp We. *IJG*, 27.

See also SHECHEM, § 2; 'Zebul' is a possible corruption of 'Ishmael.'

ZEBULUN, but ZABULON in AV of Mt. 4 13 15 and Rev. 7 8 (זְבֻלוּן, Zĕbūlûn, eighteen times, especially in

1. Name: application.

Ch. Is. Ps.; זְבוּלֻן, Zĕbûlūn, twenty-six times; זְבוּלוּן, Zĕbûlûn, Judg. 1 30†; ζαβουλων [BAL]; Josephus also της ζαβουλης [*Ant.* v. 7 14, § 272], ζαβουλου [gen., ix. 13 2, § 267]; gentilic זְבוּלֹנִי, ζαβουλων[ε]ιτης [BAL Jos.], **Zebulunite**, Nu. 26 27, but **Zebulonite**, Judg. 12 11 *f.*). A late writer adds the name of Zebulun in his reference (Is. 8 23 *b*) to the deportation of Tiglath-pileser described in 2 K. 15 29 (see NAPHTALI, § 3). The 'land of Zebulun,' he says, had shared the dark fate of the 'land of Naphtali.' Only in one other place, however, do we hear of a land of Zebulun (see § 7). The real territorial name may have been Naphtali (see NAPHTALI, §§ 2, end, 4). One of the sources of Josh., indeed, seems to have known of twelve towns (Josh. 19 15 *b*)[1] which were regarded as Zebulunite. Whether, purposely, however, or accidentally, only five of the names have been preserved (see § 9 i.).

Even the form of the name is rather uncertain. In the Hebrew consonantal text it is spelled in three ways

2. Form.

(traditionally vocalised Zĕbūlûn, Zĕbûlūn and Zĕbûlûn: see above, § 1, begin.), the first of which would suggest a form Ziblôn like Shim'ôn, SIMEON (*q.v.* § 8). MT, however, vocalises them alike, with a full vowel between the last two radicals: zĕbūl.

i. The word *zebul* (Ba. *NB* 129) without the nominal termination, is always written זְבֻל, zĕbul (without ו), like יְסַר נְאֻם, whereas גְּבוּל as constantly has the ו. The *scriptio defectiva* may, however, be simply because zebul was an archaic word. Even if the old pronunciation was zĕbul (not zĕbūl), which would according to traditional pronunciation have given zĕbōl (like סְגֹר etc.), the addition of the termination to zĕbōl would give zĕbūl-, just as mānōs becomes mĕnūsāh. On the other hand, if the second vowel was *o*, the name might be from zubāl; cp Zubāla, a place in lat. 29½, 18 *mils* from el-Ḳā' in the Jauf (D. H. Müller, *Hamdâni's Geog. Südarabiens*, 183 24 *f.*).

ii. Names ending in *-ōn* are common (see SIMEON, § 8, and cp ZION). Not so names in *-ūn*. Jĕshūrūn and Jĕdūthūn are no doubt exactly parallel; but till the literary history of those words is more firmly established they afford no sure basis for comparison.[2]

Unless the -ōn of the Greek Zaboulōn is due to assimilation to the Greek termination of that form, which is unlikely, since the *o* is preserved in the Greek form of the gentilics (see § 1, begin.), the name must in the second century B.C. have been pronounced Zabūlōn. It should be noted, however, that Josephus twice gives the name without the termination *-on* (see above, § 1, begin.). Moreover, would not an original ôn have become ēn (cp REUBEN, § 9 i.)?

If the name was pronounced at all like Zĕbūlōn it is difficult not to connect it with the divine name Baal-

3. Meaning.

zebul (see Skipwith, *JQR* 11 242 [1899], and cp BAALZEBUB, § 3); cp the Punic name (fem.) בעלאזבל (*CIS* i. 158 1 *f.*, from Tharrus), and שמזבל (inscription from Citium, l. 4: Nöld. *ZA* 9 400-405), and see below, § 6. If the noun ZBL designates a lofty mansion, especially for a god (see § 4), it is difficult not to think of the mountain referred to in Dt. 33 19 (see § 6), especially as the mountain names Lebanon, Sirion, Hermon all end in -ōn (cp Jebel Ḥaurān and Zion). Zebulun would then be, in a modified sense, a geographical name, like Ephraim and, perhaps, Naphtali.[1] Of course there is no suggestion of that kind in Gen. There we seem to have, as often,

4. OT explanations.

two 'explanations' of the name (Gen. 30 20). Yahwè had presented Leah (29 *a* α) with a noble gift (*zĕbed*, as if the name were Zĕbūdōn [E?]); or her husband (*bá'al*), in consideration of Leah's having presented him with a sixth son, would act (29 *a* β) in a certain way: MT יזבלני (transliterated by Jerome *iezbuleni*), the meaning of which is uncertain, as the verb occurs nowhere else.

𝔊 gives αἱρετιεῖ (which usually renders בחר, 'choose,' but sometimes חמל, 'spare,' חפץ, 'delight in'), of which Jerome says: LXX interpretati sunt *diliget me*; cp Eth. *yāfaḳerani*, 'will love me'; Josephus, 'one born as a pledge of benevolence to me' (ἠνεχυρασμένον εὐνοίᾳ τῇ πρὸς αὐτήν: *Ant.* i. 19 7, § 308). Aquila, however, has συνοικήσει μοι, which is followed by Jerome himself, 'habitabit mecum'; cp Pesh. *nethnakkeph lī*. 'will adhere to me.'

EV, following Vg., renders 'will dwell with me'; and this rendering is retained silently by Gunkel (*Gen.*(2) [1902] *ad loc.*), also by Ball (*SBOT ad loc.* [1896]). Other recent writers,[2] however, have adopted the suggestion of Guyard (*J. As.* 1878, *b*, pp. 220-5), that יזבלני is to be explained by Ass. *zabâlu*, which usually means 'carry,' 'bring' (cp Ar. *zabala*, Syr. *sĕbal*), but sometimes apparently lift up.[3]

If *zabal* meant 'lift up' in Hebrew, יזבלני in Gen. 30 20 would mean 'will honour me.' The person indeed, writer or copyist, to whom we owe the present text of Gen. 49 13 seems to have given ZBL its now traditional meaning of 'dwell' (cp ישכן); on the other hand לסבל in *v.* 15 (Issachar) suggests the Assyr. zabâlu (see next §, mid.).

The history of the district inhabited by Zebulun was eventful enough (cp NAPHTALI, § 3, ISSACHAR, §§ 4-6,

5. References.

GALILEE, § 2, JIPHTAH-EL). It felt the heavy tread of Thothmes III. (see the list of places, above, col. 3546), and became a part of the Egyptian empire. Burna-Buryaš, the Babylonian king (about 1400), regarded the district as in the Pharaoh's (Amenhotep IV.) land, and complained to him that his agents had been maltreated at Ḫi-in-na-tu-ni (see HANNATHON); and letter 196 tells that its governor had rescued Lapaya and sent him home (31 *f.*).

1 So MT and 𝔊L; 𝔊BA avoids the resulting discrepancy by omitting the clause.

2 Hommel finds names in *-ūn*, apart from such names as Haldūn, in S. Arabia: Ḳaidūn, Saywūn (Glaser: Hommel, *Auf. u. Abhandl.* 99), but only from √y roots.

1 For Land's explanation of a confessedly difficult name see below.

2 For example Cheyne (*Isa.* 2 160 *f.* [1882]), Delitzsch (*Heb. Lang.* 38 *f.* [1883] = *Prol.* 62 *f.* [1886]), Schrader (*KAT*(2) *ad loc.* [1882]).

3 Delitzsch cites 5 R 42 *a-b* 43 *zubbulu ša* GAB (= *irtu*), 'the lifting up of the breast.' Moreover the 'lofty temple' of Marduk at BABYLON (*q.v.*, § 5) was called E-sag-ila, of which SAG-IL is equated on the one hand to the Assyrian phrases *ri-ša-an e-la-tum* (2 R 30 14 *gh* [cp Br. 6146]), 'high points'; *na-šû-ú ša ri-e-ši* (2 R 26 59 *c* [cp Br. 6148]), 'lifting up the head,' *ša-ḳu-u ša ri-ši* (2 R 30 3 *a* [cp Br. 3614]), and on the other hand to *zabal* in the phrase *i-na za-bal ra-ma-ni-šu* (2 R 15 45 *e* [Brün. 3415]). Muss-Arnolt compares 2 R 47 *a-b* 13 where *ma-ḫir da-'-tu*, 'receiver of a bribe,' is equated with *šarru za-ab-bi-lu*: see *Beitr. z. Ass.* 2 280. Guyard's suggestion was contested by Halévy (*REJ*, 1885, *a*, p. 299, 1887, *a*, p. 148); cp also Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 40 729.

What elements were united in the population of the district in the times referred to in the earliest notices in the OT we cannot say. On a famous occasion they are said to have manifested a noble valour (Judg. 5 20) led by their leaders (*v.* 14*b*).[1] Cp also 46 10, and see NAPHTALI, § 3. According to J (Judg. 1 30) Zebulun was not able to expel the Canaanites from Kitron and Nahalol (§ 9 i.); but they had to join the labour gangs.[2] It should be noted, however, that whilst a similar statement is made about the Naphtalite Canaanites in *v.* 33, in Gen. 49 15 the subject of the sentence is an Israelite tribe (cp below, n. 3): it is the Issacharites themselves that join the gangs. Or should the last couplet of *v.* 15 (Issachar) belong to *v.* 14 (Zebulun)? לסבל 'to bear' (or should we read לזבל) would then be a play on the name Zebulun, if זבל in Hebrew really meant 'to carry' (cp above, § 4, end). Moreover it is not at all certain that the subjects to the various verbs in Judg. 1 27-36 are original; they may in some cases be incorrectly supplied.[3] We cannot tell how the newcomers came to terms with those who were already in possession. According to the 'Blessing of Jacob' indeed Zebulun plants himself on the sea coast (Gen. 49 13). At a much later time, too, 'the way of the sea' (דרך הים) is a synonym for Zebulun or Naphtali. In Judg. 5 17 the saying is transferred to Asher (cp Gunkel, *Gen.*(2) 425). The ideas which underlay these statements are lost to us.[4] The transit traffic was no doubt important. On the *via maris* from Damascus across the upper Jordan at Jisr el-banāt and down through Galilee to the coast see Schumacher, *Jaulan*, 55, and *PEFQ*, Ap. 1889, p. 78 *f.*, GASm. *HG* 425-30. This same overland traffic may be what is referred to in the grandiloquent terms of the saying in the 'Blessing of Moses' (Dt. 33 18 *f.*):

'The abundance of the seas do they suck
And the hidden things of the sand. . . .'[5]

No doubt the *Testament* of Zebulun has much to tell about successful fishing, and Targ. Onk. speaks even of subduing provinces with ships,[6] whilst Talm. *Shabb.* 26, refers to the wealth derived from traffic in purple dyes (cp the Issacharite TOLA and PUAH: see ISSACHAR § 7), to which Targ. pseudo-Jon. adds the making of glass. The view suggested above, however, is perhaps more historical. Stucken, accepting the references to maritime life, connects Zebulun with the sign Capricornus (*MVG*, 1902, p. 189).

Dt. 33 19*a*, on the other hand, contains a couplet (see next §) which suggests that the population was mixed. The Aramæan element must have become strong. There would no doubt, however, be a strong Israelite party. It seems to have been able to make its voice heard (see JONAH, GATH-HEPHER). On the possibility that 'a greater than Jonah' also came from a Zebulunite town see NARARETH. The connection of Galilee with Judæa in later times (see GALILEE, § 3, NAPHTALI, § 3) seems to be reflected in Ps. 68 27 [28] (chiefs of Zebulun, chiefs of Naphtali).[7] On Zebulunite 'judges' see below, § 7.

How Dt. 33 19*a* was meant to be read is uncertain; but it appears to tell of comings of many to some mountain[1] where sacrifices were offered. If there was a religious fair, not at all an unlikely thing,[2] it would explain the inflow of wealth. What the mountain referred to is it is impossible to guess (cp ISSACHAR, § 2):[3] we may only be sure that it was not, as the Targum imagined, Zion. It must have been some mountain not far from Esdraelon. Was it perhaps the mountain where in the Elijah story the sacrifices were offered? Was the Baal whose defeat was witnessed by Ahab known as Baal-zebul? Ahab's wife is said to have been called Jezebel. His son, too, when ill sent to inquire of Baal-zebul. No doubt, as the story now reads, Baal-zebul was the god (𝔊L + προσόχθισμα = שִׁקּוּץ) of Ekron. That, however, may be a gloss (or does Ekron come from Jokneam, on the edge of Carmel?): we have no knowledge anywhere else of such a god at Ekron. The embellished tale of Elijah calling down fire on the messengers may be a very late accretion (Be. Ki.); but the mountain on which the prophet (originally Elisha?) was said to have been found sitting by the messengers of the oracle-seeking king must surely have been some well-known sacred eminence. May it not have been the height of Baal-zebul? And may that not have been the mountain of Zebulun of Dt. 33 19*a*?

6. Cults.

Baal-zebul would then naturally suggest the Baal-lebanon of *CIS* 1 5, which Jensen identifies with the god Amurru, 'lord of the mountain' (*bêl Šadi*: *ZA* 11 305)—the Aramæans expressly say that Ahab's god is a 'god of the mountains' (אלהי הרים)—a west-Semitic form of the storm-god Rammân. Rammân, in fact, shares with Šamaš the title of *bel-biri* (5 R 63 2, 35*b*), 'oracle-god,' and as 'god of the storm-flood' (*bêl abûbi*) he wields both the lightning (1 K. 18 38) and the axe (cp 2 K. 6 4-7 ?) (Zimmern, *KAT*(3) 433 447 *f.*). When Elisha is hard pressed by the Aramæans it is 'the mountain'[4] that is seen to be full of chariots of fire (2 K. 6 17). Was it, in the original form of the story, earth from that sacred mountain that the Rimmon-worshipper wanted (2 K. 5 17) to insure his success (2 K. 5 1 αβ)? That the holy mountain was identified locally need not prevent the prevalence of a less concrete, more mythological, idea (SINAI, CONGREGATION [MOUNT OF], BAAL-ZEBUB).

Of the place-names connected with Zebulun Rimmon is not the only one to suggest a religious cult. On a possible connection of Bethlehem[5] with Laḫamu, see ELHANAN (§ 2, end). On suggested traces of 'Athè and Ḳaṣin see ETH-KAZIN. Cp von Gall, *Altisrael. Kultstätten*, 124-126.

How much significance, if any, is to be attached to the fact that Zebulun is classed with Issachar as a Leah tribe whilst Naphtali goes with Dan as a Bilhah-Rachel tribe, is disputed (see RACHEL, § 1, ZILPAH, § 2 *f.*, and cp TRIBES, §§ 11 *ff.*). The Bilhites, Naphtali and Dan, may have been regarded as farther from the centre; they were not in historical times of any importance. Zebulun, indeed, is not much more prominent. None of the great actors in the Palestinian drama is assigned to the tribe (see, however, § 5 end). Its brother tribe, however, may have played some part in the history of Israel (see ISSACHAR, § 4): it is mentioned before Zebulun not only in the story of Jacob's family but also in most of the lists of the tribes. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that the order is reversed in five more important passages: the three poetical pieces (Judg. 5 Gen. 49 Dt. 33), and the two places dealing with the partition of Canaan (Nu. 34 19-29

7. A Leah-tribe.

1 Credit is given them for a share in another struggle (Gideon-Jerubbaal) in the present text of Judg. 6 35*b*, but not in 7 23.

2 מס is the gang of the corvée, not the labour. Cp conversely the Assyr. idiom *amêl za-bi-il ku-du-ri* used of the corvée, not the gang.

3 Cp for example how Targ. Jer. has inverted the saying in Gen. 49 15*b* referred to above.

4 Gen. 49 13 has been emended and will be emended again and again. It seems to contain doublets. וְהוּא is hardly possible.

5 Bertholet suggests that וּשְׂפֻנֵי represents a verb, preserved in 𝔊's κατοικούντων = שֹׁכְנֵי, viz., the verb כנש = כנס, 'gather.' Ball had suggested ושפכו ('pour out') or וימצו ('drain'). What 𝔊's ἐμπόρια (for טְמוּנֵי) represents is not clear; Cheyne (*Exp. T* 10 238 *f.*) suggested רְכֻלַּת (wrongly for רכל, whence MT חול). He restored: 'And the treasures of merchants shall they suck.'

6 Pesh. finds ships mentioned in Gen. 49, and Ball there (*PSBA* 17 167 *f.* [1895]) and in Dt. 33 (*PSBA* 18 129 *f.* [1896]).

7 The flattering account of the tribal eponym in Test. 12 Patr. (Zebulun) is remarkable.

1 For הר 𝔊 reads ἐξολοθρεύσουσιν—*i.e.*, either הדף (Josh. 23 5 †) or החרם (often), or (Ball) הריש—but the Greek text is not to be preferred.

2 Cp C. H. Graf, *Der Segen Moses*, 46; on religious fairs cp Sprenger, *Alte Geog. Arab.* 223 *f.* Unfortunately we have little direct information about the visitations of sanctuaries at a distance. There was probably a good deal of it. Cp 'Dan to Beersheba,' *Expositor*, 5th ser., 8 411-421 (1898).

3 It may be noted, however, that the boundaries of Zebulun, Naphtali, and Issachar are represented as having met at Tabor (cp TABOR, § 2). Cp Hos. 5 1, and see v. Gall, *Altisraelitische Kultstätten*, 124 *f.*

4 The scene seems in the present text to be laid at Dothan.

5 Dodo the Bethlehemite can hardly be supposed to belong to N. Palestine; otherwise the Zebulunite Bethlehem might be referred to in connection with the suggestion in ISSACHAR, § 2.

Josh. 19).[1] Cp ISSACHAR, § 1, end; TRIBES, § 10, iii.

On the assumption of the early arrival of Issachar and Zebulun, their being nevertheless 'younger' than the more southern tribes has been explained by Steuernagel as due to their arriving later at their final seat (*Einwanderung*, 33, *c*).[2] In fact he thinks he has found evidence that the Zebulunites settled in mid-Palestine for a time before moving northwards. The 'judge' Elon (Judg. 12 11 *f.*) is obviously the eponym of a city or clan (or both) Elon. In any case he is said to have been buried in a city the name of which is vocalised in MT as AIJALON (*q.v.*, 2), but should perhaps be ELON (*q.v.*, 2). No such town being assigned to Zebulun in Josh. 19 10-16, Steuernagel supposes that the Elon meant is the Elon assigned in 19 43 to Dan, and that the words 'in the land of Zebulun' were added to 'Elon' in Judg. 12 12 by a copyist who wished to exclude this very identification, which seemed to him obviously incorrect. Steuernagel, on the contrary, thinks that the excluded interpretation is correct, and therefore holds that Zebulun, like NAPHTALI (*q.v.*, § 1), halted in central Palestine for a time. He admits, however, that the identification he assumes is precarious. It is; moreover, the assertion that no town Elon is assigned to Zebulun in Josh. must be qualified by reference to the incompleteness of the list of towns (see below, § 9 *i*).

It has been customary to assign to Zebulun the 'judge' Ibzan on the ground of his being called a Bethlehemite. Winckler, however, holds that the Bethlehem intended is the southern town, which at that time would be a part of 'Benjamin' (see above, col. 2583 n. 1). On the other hand it is difficult to dissociate Ibzan (אבצן) from Ebez (אבץ : Josh. 19 20), a town assigned to Issachar (cp ABEZ),[3] between which and Zebulun there was probably no clear demarcation.

8. Genealogical.

P's genealogy of Zebulun is slight:[4] it contains three names[5]—Sered (or Seded?) and Jahleel, which we can hardly venture to distinguish from the towns Sarid and Nahalal of Josh. 19 10 15, in spite of the differences in the spelling,[6] and Elon, on which see above (preceding §). Gaddiel, too, the Zebulunite 'spy,' was perhaps assigned to one of these three (Sodi, סודי = סר(י)ד : Nu. 13 10).

Is Parnach, פרנך, the 'father' of Elizur the Zebulunite delegate to survey W. Palestine (Nu 34 25), a corruption of the same name? Helon (חלן) the 'father' of the Zebulunite census-delegate (Nu. 1 9 2 7 7 24 29 10 16) may come from Elon.

9. Geographical.

i. *Towns.*—Of the five towns remaining out of the list of twelve originally given as we have seen (§ 1) in Josh. 19 (*v.* 15), the only one that can be identified with certainty is BETHLEHEM (*q.v.*: *Bēt-Laḥm*, 7 m. NW of Nazareth). On the other four, of which Nahalal has been referred to (§ 8), and Shimron is of interest in connection with the Sa-me-na of Esarhaddon (see SIMEON, § 6 iii.), see KATTATH, NAHALAL, SHIMRON, and IDALAH. As often, two of the five (Kattath and Nahalal, called Nahalol) are probably the towns which J tells us Zebulun did *not* secure (Judg. 1 30). P adds the information that of forty-eight cities assigned to the Levites four were Zebulunite (Josh. 21 35): the Nahalal just mentioned, two of the towns to be referred to immediately (Jokneam, which, according to Josh. 19 11, did *not* belong to Zebulun, and Dimnah = Rimmonah) and KARTAH (Kartan in Josh. 21 32 is Naphtalite).

ii. *Boundary.*—According to Josephus (*Ant.* v. 1 22, § 84) the Zebulunites were settled as far as Gennesaret (μέχρι Γεννησαρίδος) and about Carmel and the sea. The delimitation of territory in Josh. 19 10-14 cannot be really made out. The line is given first westwards (*v.* 10 *f.*), and then eastwards (12 *f.*), of a place already referred to (§ 8) called Sarid in MT, which may be *Tell Shadūd* (see SARID). Westward the line is drawn past 'Dabbesheth' (see MARALAH, DABBESHETH) to the wādy that is before Jokneam (*Tell Kaimūn*). Eastward it is drawn to CHISLOTH-TABOR (*Iksāl*) and on to DABERATH (*Debūriyeh*), which belonged, according to 21 28, to Issachar, thence, if the text is sound and we do not suppose a fusion of two accounts, turning sharp W. to JAPHIA (*Yāfā*), only to recover a position N. of Iksāl but W. of Debūriyeh at GATH-HEPHER (*el-Meshhed*), and continue a course due N. (see ETH-KAZIN) to RIMMON [RV; 𝔊L om.] (Rummāneh) on the S. margin of the plain of Buṭṭauf, across which it continues (see NEAH, HANNATHON) to the 'valley of JIPHTAH-EL' (*q.v.*), somewhere near Tell Jafāt, due E. of Ḥaifa. The intention appears to be to give the southern and eastern boundary.[1] Real definite frontiers there cannot have been, as the discrepant data show (cp also ISSACHAR, NAPHTALI, ASHER). Generally, Zebulun must have lain NW. of Issachar, W. of the southern part of Naphtali, and S(E). of Asher. On the exuberant fertility and busy life of the country, see GASm. *HG* chap. 20, and cp GALILEE, § 4.

H. W. H.

[1] The accidental omission of Zebulun in 1 Ch. 2-9 and of Issachar in Judg. 1 27-36 may be in some way connected with this change of order.

[2] Land, on the other hand, speaking of the name Zebulun, 'the most difficult to explain,' says (assuming that *zābal* means 'dwell'), 'Can the tribe at some time or other have been so named by its neighbours or kindred because it had a fixed abode earlier than they?' (*De Gids*, Oct. 1871, p. 21, n. 1).

[3] Similarly Kartan is assigned in Josh. 21 32 to Naphtali, Kartah in *v.* 34 to Zebulun.

[4] On its omission in 1 Ch. 2-9 see above, n. 1.

[5] In Jubilees 34 20 Zebulun's wife is Nī'īmân [Eth.], Adni [Syr.]; the Bk. of Jashar gives Marusa (cp Charles, *Jub.* 206).

[6] For Nahalal = Jahleel cp Jemuel = Nemuel in REUBEN (§ 12).

[1] Is the omission of a western boundary to be connected in some way with the references to the sea in Gen. 49 14 Dt. 33 18 *f.*?

ZECHARIAH (זְכַרְיָהוּ, more often זְכַרְיָה, as if 'Yahwè remembers' [§§ 32, 52]; but the original form of Zechariah was probably Zichri, which (see ZICHRI) is a clan-name. A study of the names with which 'Zechariah' is grouped (*e.g.*, Meshelemiah, from Ishme'eli) strongly confirms this [Che.]; ζαχαρια[ς] [BℵAQL], whence the Græcised form ZACHARIAS [*q.v.*]).

1. b. Berechiah, b. Iddo (also loosely, b. Iddo), a prophet who, together with Haggai, is our best authority for the religious state of the early post-exilic community at Jerusalem, and is the author of Zech. 1-8. To these prophets the rebuilding of the temple is largely due (Ezra 5 1 6 14). It is probably this Zechariah who is mentioned as a *priest* in Neh. 12 16 (cp no. 11).

2. Son of Jeroboam II., king of Israel, and the fifth and last king of the house of JEHU (2 K. 14 29 15 8-12; AV ZACHARIAH, αζαριας [B in 14 29, A]). He reigned but six months, and was then slain by Shallum b. Jabesh in IBLEAM (*q.v.*). On the date of his accession, see CHRONOLOGY, § 34.

3. The father of Abi or Abijah, the mother of Hezekiah (2 K. 18 2, AV ZACHARIAH, ζαχχαιου [A]; 2 Ch. 29 1).

4. A chief of REUBEN (§ 13), 1 Ch. 5 7.

5. b. Meshelemiah a Korhite Levite, praised for his 'discreet counsel' (1 Ch. 9 21 26 2 14).

6. b. JEHIEL, of BENJAMIN (§ 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 9 37, (ζαχχουρ [A], ζεχρει [L]), who in 1 Ch. 8 31 is called ZACHER, RV **Zecher** (זָכֶר in pause, ζαχουρ [B], ζακχουρ [A], ζεχρι [L]).

7. A Levite, a temple musician (1 Ch. 15 18 20 16 5), perhaps the same as (5).

8. A priest (1 Ch. 15 24).

9. b. Isshiah, a Levite (1 Ch. 24 25).

10. b. Hosah, a Merarite Levite (1 Ch. 26 11).

11. Father of Iddo, a Manassite (1 Ch. 27 21, ζαβδ[ε]ιου [BA]).

12. One of Jehoshaphat's commissioners for teaching the Law (2 Ch. 17 7). See BEN-HAIL.

13. An Asaphite Levite (2 Ch. 20 14). [=26, see MATTHANIAH.]

14. A son of Jehoshaphat (2 Ch. 21 2).

15. b. Jehoiada, a reforming chief priest in the reign

of Joash, who was stoned to death in the temple court, at the king's command (2 Ch. 24 20 *ff.*, αζαριας [BA] Jos. *Ant.* ix. 8 6; cp references in Jer. Talm. *Taanith*, 69 1 2, Bab. Talm. *Sanhedrīn*, 96 2, Lightfoot, *Temple-Service*, 36). It was a Jewish saying that the blood-stains were never washed away until the temple was burnt at the captivity. The Targ. on Lam. 2 20 ('Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of Yahwè?') refers this especially to Zechariah, but through a confusion calls him the son of Iddo. On the possible reference to Zechariah's death in Mt. 23 35 Lk. 11 51, see ZACHARIAS (9).

16. A prophet who, according to the Chronicler, was as influential with Uzziah as the priest Jehoiada had been with Joash (2 Ch. 26 5). Probably 'in the vision of God' (*l.c.*) should rather be 'in the fear of God' (see RV$^{mg.}$)—*i.e.* for בִּרְאוֹת we should read בְּיִרְאַת (𝔊, Tg., Pesh., Ar., and some MSS). According to Hitzig the author of Zech. 9-11.

17. An Asaphite Levite (2 Ch. 29 13, αζαριας [B]).
18. A Kohathite Levite (2 Ch. 34 12).
19. A 'ruler of the temple' in the time of Josiah (2 Ch. 35 8); according to Bertheau, 'priest of the second order,' cp 2 K. 25 18 Jer. 52 24. In 1 Esd. 1 8, ZACHARIAS.

Among the lists of the exiles who returned in Ezra-Neh. we find seven men of this name:
20. One of the b'nē Parosh (Ezra 8 3 16 Neh. 8 4, cp 1 Esd. 8 30 44).
21. One of the b'nē Bebai (Ezra 8 11, αζαριας [B], cp 1 Esd. 8 37, ζαχαριαι [B]).
22. One of the b'nē Elam (Ezra 10 26, cp 1 Esd. 9 27).
23. A Judahite, ancestor of Athaiah (Neh. 11 4).
24. A Shilonite (Neh. 11 5, θηζεια [B], θηδεια [א]).
25. One of the b'nē Pashhur (Neh. 11 12, ζαχαρεια [B]).
26. An Asaphite (Neh. 12 35 41 [om. BN*A) [=13].

27. b. Jeberechiah, a contemporary of Isaiah (8 2), who served with Uriah the priest, as a 'trustworthy witness' in connection with the sign Mahēr-shālāl-hashbaz. Some identify him with the father of Abijah, 3; others, with the Levite, 17. Hitzig makes him the author of the anonymous chaps. 12-14 of Zechariah, Bertholdt, the author of chaps. 9-11. Observe that the name of his father is essentially the same as that of the father of the well-known prophet [1].

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF. Zechariah, son of Berechiah, son of Iddo, or by contraction son of Iddo (see ZECHARIAH, 1), appeared as a prophet in Jerusalem along with HAGGAI (*q.v.*), in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (520 B.C.), to warn and encourage the Jews to address themselves at length to the restoration of the temple, which then still lay in ruins. Supported by the prophets, Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah, and Joshua, the high priest, set about the work, and the elders of Judah built and the work went forward (Ezra 5 1 *f.* 6 14). The first eight chapters of the book of Zechariah exactly fit into this historical setting. They are divided by precise chronological headings into three sections—(*a*) 1 1-6, in the eighth month of the second year of Darius; (*b*) 1 7-6 15, on the twenty-fourth day of the eleventh month of the same year; (*c*) 7-8, on the fourth day of the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius. The first section is a preface containing exhortation in general terms.

1. Chaps. 1-8: contents.

The main section is the second (*b*), containing a series of night visions, the significant features of which are pointed out by an angel who stands by the prophet and answers his questions:

1 7-17. The divine chariots and horses that make the round of the world by Yahwè's orders return to the heavenly palace and report that there is still no movement among the nations, no sign of the Messianic crisis. Seventy years have passed, and Zion and the cities of Judah still mourn. Sad news! but Yahwè gives a comfortable assurance of his gracious return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of his temple.

1 18-21 [2 1-4]. Four horns, representing the hostile world-power that oppresses Israel and Jerusalem, are routed by four smiths.

2 1-13 [5-17]. The new Jerusalem is laid out with the measuring line. It is to have no walls, that its population may not be limited, and it needs none, for Yahwè is its protection. The catastrophe of Babel (the land of the north) is near to come; then the exiles of Zion shall stream back from all quarters, the converted heathen shall join them, Yahwè himself will dwell in the midst of them; even now he stirs himself from his holy habitation.

3 1-10. The high priest Joshua is accused before Yahwè by Satan, but is acquitted and given rule in Yahwè's house and courts, with the right of access to Yahwè in priestly intercession. The restoration of the temple and its service is a pledge of still higher things. The promised 'branch' (or 'shoot,' צמח), the Messiah, will come; the national kingdom is to be restored; and a time of general felicity dawns, when every man shall sit happy under his vine and under his fig tree. As by rights the Messianic kingdom should follow immediately on the exile, it is probable that the prophet designs to hint in a guarded way that Zerubbabel, who in all other places is mentioned along with Joshua, is on the point of ascending the throne of his ancestor David. The jewel with seven facets is already there, only the inscription has still to be engraved on it (3 9). The charges brought against the high priest consist simply in the obstacles that have hitherto hindered the restoration of the temple and its service; and in like manner the guilt of the land (3 9) is simply the still continuing domination of foreigners.

4 1-14. Beside a lighted golden candlestick of seven branches stand two olive trees—Zerubbabel and Joshua, the two anointed ones—specially watched over by him whose seven eyes run through the whole earth. This explanation of the vision is separated from the description by an animated dialogue, not quite clear in its expression, in which it is said that the mountain of obstacles shall disappear before Zerubbabel, and that, having begun the building of the temple, he shall also bring it to an end in spite of those who now mock at the day of small beginnings.

5 1-4. A written roll flies over the Holy Land; this is a concrete representation of the curse which in future will fall of itself on all crime, so that, *e.g.*, no man who has suffered theft will have occasion himself to pronounce a curse against the thief (cp Judg. 17 2).

5 5-11. Guilt, personified as a woman, is cast into an ephah-measure with a heavy lid and carried from Judah to Chaldæa, where it is to have its home for the future.

6 1-8. The divine teams, four in number, again traverse the world toward the four winds, to execute Yahwè's commands. That which goes northward is charged to wreak his anger on the N. country. The series of visions has now reached its close, returning to its starting-point in 1 7 *ff.* [On the 'mountains of brass' see BRASS; and on the colour of the horses see COLOURS.]

An appendix follows (6 9-15). Jews from Babylon have brought gold and silver to Jerusalem; of these the prophet must make a crown designed for the 'branch' who is to build Yahwè's house and sit king on the throne, but retain a good understanding with the high priest. Zerubbabel is certainly meant here, and, if the received text names Joshua instead of him (6 11), this is only a correction, made for reasons easy to understand, which breaks the context and destroys the sense and the reference of 'them both' in *v.* 13.

The third section (7 *f.*), dated from the fourth year of Darius, contains an inquiry whether the fast days that arose in the captivity are still to be observed, with a comforting and encouraging reply of the prophet.

Kosters (*Herstel van Israel*, 1894) laid stress upon the fact that neither in Haggai nor in Zechariah do we find the Jews in Jerusalem represented as consisting of returned exiles. The fact is as stated; but it does not preclude us from supposing that the return of a band of exiles may have marked the starting-point of a new era of Jewish history. Few in number they indeed were, and they did not assume an exclusive attitude towards the vastly more numerous class of Jews who had remained behind in Judæa, whom, rather, on the contrary, they sought to win over to their own view, and urged to congregate in and around Jerusalem, so as to make the desolate ruins once more the focus of a new theocracy. Stade thinks that the buoyancy and joyous hopefulness which we perceive in Haggai and Zechariah may have been due to the revolt of Smerdis.[1] But such a shaking of the Persian empire after the death of Cambyses could not possibly have been predicted as still future (Hag. 2 6) two years after its occurrence, and at a time when it had already been almost recovered from, and, moreover, the Jews could hardly have rejoiced so heartily over it, their feelings towards the Persians being friendly. It seems more likely that the Jews heard with gladness of the conquest of Babylon—that is to say, the second—under Darius Hystaspis. The vengeance on Babylon, which Cyrus had not fully

2. Their historical background.

1 [*GVI* 2 113. The revolt of Nidintu-Bel in 521 has also been suggested (Che. *Jew. Rel. Life*, 14).]

carried out, now at last seemed to be accomplished and the wrath of Yahwè against the land of the North to fulfil itself (Zech. 6 8 26 [10] *f.*). Thereby also was quickened the more general Messianic expectation that all nations would at last acknowledge the supremacy of Yahwè.

Throughout the first eight chapters the scene is Jerusalem in the early part of the reign of Darius. Zerubbabel and Joshua, the prince and the priest, are the leaders of the community. The great concern of the time and the chief practical theme of these chapters is the building of the temple; but its restoration is only the earnest of greater things to follow—viz., the glorious restoration of David's kingdom. The horizon of these prophecies is everywhere limited by the narrow conditions of the time, and their aim is clearly seen. The visions hardly veil the thought, and the mode of expression is usually simple, except in the Messianic passages, where the tortuousness and obscurity are perhaps intentional. Noteworthy is the affinity between some notions evidently not framed by the prophet himself and the prologue to Job,—the heavenly hosts that wander through the earth and bring back their report to Yahwè's throne, the figure of Satan, the idea that suffering and calamity are evidences of guilt and of accusations presented before God.

Passing from chaps. 1-3 to chaps. 9 *ff.*, we at once feel ourselves transported into a different world.

3. Chaps. 9-14: contents.

Yahwè's word is accomplished on Syria-Phœnicia and Philistia (HADRACH [*q.v.*] and Damascus are first mentioned); and then the Messianic kingdom begins in Zion, and the Israelites detained among the heathen, Judah and Ephraim combined, receive a part in it. The might of the sons of Javan is broken in battle against this kingdom (chap. 9). After an intermezzo of three verses (10 1-3: 'Ask rain of Yahwè, not of the diviners') a second and quite analogous Messianic prophecy follows. The foreign tyrants fall; the lordship of Assyria and Egypt has an end; the autonomy and martial power of the nation are restored. The scattered exiles return as citizens of the new theocracy, all obstacles in their way parting asunder as when the waves of the Red Sea gave passage to Israel at the founding of the old theocracy (10 3-12). Again there is an interlude of three verses (11 1-3): fire seizes the cedars of Lebanon and the oaks of Bashan. This is followed by the difficult passage about the shepherds. The shepherds (rulers) of the nation make their flock an article of trade and treat the sheep as sheep for the shambles. Therefore, the inhabited world shall fall a sacrifice to the tyranny of its kings, whilst Israel is delivered to a shepherd who feeds the sheep for those who make a trade of the flock (כְּנַעֲנֵי הַצֹּאן, 11 7 11 = 'they that sell them,' *v.* 5) and enters on his office with two staves, 'Favour' and 'Union.' He destroys 'the three shepherds' in one month, but is soon weary of his flock and the flock of him. He breaks the staff 'Favour'—*i.e.*, the covenant of peace with the nations—and asks the traders for his hire. Receiving thirty pieces of silver, he casts it into the temple treasury and breaks the staff 'Union'—*i.e.*, the brotherhood between Judah and Israel. He is succeeded by a foolish shepherd, who neglects his flock and lets it go to ruin. At length Yahwè intervenes; the foolish shepherd falls by the sword; two-thirds of the people perish with him in the Messianic crisis, but the remnant of one-third forms the seed of the new theocracy (11 4-17 taken with 13 7-9, according to the necessary transposition proposed by Ewald). All this must be an allegory of past events, the time present to the author and his hopes for the future beginning only at 11 17 13 7-9.

Chap. 12 presents a third variation on the Messianic promise. All heathendom is gathered together against Jerusalem and perishes there. Yahwè first gives victory to the countryfolk of Judah and then they rescue the capital. After this triumph the noblest houses of Jerusalem hold, each by itself, a great lamentation over a martyr 'whom they have pierced' (or 'whom men have pierced'). It is taken for granted that the readers will know who the martyr is, and the exegesis of the church applies the passage to Christ [cp HADAD-RIMMON]. Chap. 13 1-6 is a continuation of chap. 12; the dawn of the day of salvation is accompanied by a general purging away of idolatry and the enthusiasm of false prophets. Yet a fourth variation of the picture of the incoming of the Messianic deliverance is given in chap. 14. The heathen gather against Jerusalem and take the city, but do not utterly destroy the inhabitants. Then Yahwè, at a time known only to himself, shall appear with all his saints on Mount Olivet and destroy the heathen in battle, while the men of Jerusalem take refuge in their terror in the great cleft that opens where Yahwè sets his foot. Now the new era begins, and even the heathen do homage to Yahwè by bringing due tribute to the annual feast of tabernacles. All in Jerusalem is holy down to the bells on the horses and the cooking-pots [cp *Crit. Bib.*].

ZECHARIAH, BOOK OF

4. Character.

There is a striking contrast between chaps. 1-8 and chaps. 9-14. The prophecy 1-8 is closely tied to the situation and the wants of the community of Jerusalem in the second year of Darius I., and all that it aims at is the restoration of the temple and perhaps the elevation of Zerubbabel to the throne of David. Chapters 9 *ff.* contain no trace of this historical situation and deal with quite other matters. They are more obscure and more fantastic. There are corresponding differences in style and speech; and it is particularly to be noted that, whilst the superscriptions in chaps. 1-8 name the author and give the date of each oracle with precision, those in the second part (9 1 12 1) are without name or date. That both parts do not belong to the same author must be admitted.

Most recent critics make the second part the older. Chaps. 9-11 are ascribed to a contemporary of Amos and Hosea, about the middle of the eighth century B.C., because Ephraim is mentioned as well as Judah, and Assyria along with Egypt (10 10), whilst the neighbours of Israel appear in 9 1 *f.* in the same way as in Amos 1-2. That chaps. 12-14 are also pre-exilic is held to appear especially in the attack on idolatry and lying prophecy (13 1-6); but, as this prophecy speaks only of Judah and Jerusalem, it is dated after the fall of Samaria, and is assigned to the last days of the Judæan kingdom on the strength of 12 11, where an allusion is seen to the mourning for King Josiah, slain in battle at Megiddo.

5. Probably later.

It is more likely that chaps. 9-14 all together are of much later date. These predictions have no affinity either with the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, or with that of Jeremiah. The kind of eschatology which we find in Zech. 9-14 was introduced by Ezekiel, who in particular is the author of the conception that the time of deliverance is to be preceded by a joint attack of all nations on Jerusalem, in which they come to final overthrow. The importance attached to the temple service, even in Messianic times (Zech. 14), implies an author who lived in the ideas of the religious commonwealth of post-exilic times. So also the use of 'Zion' as a name for the theocracy. The diaspora and the cessation of prophecy (13 1-6) are presupposed. A future king is hoped for; but in the present there is no Davidic king, only a Davidic family standing on the same level with other noble families in Jerusalem (12 7 12). The 'bastard' (mixed race) of Ashdod reminds us of Neh. 13 23 *ff.*; and the words of 9 12 ('to-day, also, do I declare that I will render double unto thee') have no sense unless they refer back to the deliverance from Babylonian exile.

Whilst chaps. 9-14, are thus all later than chaps. 1-8, they are not themselves homogeneous; they fall into two well-marked divisions—9-11 and 12-14.

6. Composite.

The latter division [12-14] contains two prophecies which are little more than a standing dogmatic formula of eschatology filled up with concrete details, and can be understood well enough (if need be) without our knowing the historical setting. The actual situation at the time of composition discloses itself only in one or two features, as, for example, when the country of Judah is contrasted with the city of Jerusalem, and the deliverance of the city comes from the country—a feature which seems to indicate the Maccabæan period.

The former division (9-11), on the other hand—which again falls into two sections, 9 1-11 3 and 11 4-17 + 13 7-9—is much more concrete and cannot be understood at all if the date of its composition is not known. In 9 1-11 3 we find that it is the Greeks (9 13; cp JAVAN) who are the heathen power, the enemy of God, which must be overthrown before the Messiah's kingdom can come. Assyria and Egypt, which take the place of Javan in chap. 10, are the kingdom of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies. The region of HADRACH (*q.v.*), Damascus, and Hamath, against which the wrath of Yahwè is, in the first instance, directed (9 1 *f.*), is the seat, not of the old Assyrians, but of the Seleucidæ.

And inasmuch as Assyria here takes precedence of Egypt we are able to fix the date of the present section more precisely as falling somewhere within the first third of the second century B.C., for it was not till the beginning of that century that the Seleucidæ became masters of Judæa (SELEUCIDÆ, § 7 *f.*). The second section (11 4-17 + 13 7-9) will also be of this date; for a right understanding of it a correct apprehension of the historical situation is still more indispensable, though, indeed, rendered very difficult not only by the bad state of the text, but also by our defective knowledge of this period of Jewish history. By the owners of the sheep who traffic in them we are to understand the Seleucid sovereigns who carried on a remunerative business in farming out their flocks to the shepherds. The shepherds are the high priests and ethnarchs of the Jews; by the rapid and violent changes of the shepherds the events which preceded and led up to the Maccabæan revolt are denoted. They were all of them worthless whether they traced their descent from Zadok or from Tobias. At last the measure of iniquity was filled up by Menelaus, who may very well be meant by the last cruel shepherd who is to bring on the catastrophe and the judgment (11 15 *ff.*). The prominent man, who is an exception to the rest, and does not come into the series, who takes upon him the office of shepherd in the interests of the flock, but gives it up when he sees that the flock is unworthy of his care, might be Hyrcanus the son of Tobias. According to the (legendary) accounts we have of him he was a man of proud disposition and lofty plans who lived in undisguised enmity with his brethren the Tobiadæ, overcame them and put two of them to death, and yet was unable to hold his own in Jerusalem (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 4 9 [§ 222], ed. Niese). In any case he was a person of quite a different sort from the ordinary Jewish aristocrat. It is natural to ask how we are to suppose that at his departure he obtained his reward for having been shepherd. For, as a rule, the order was reversed and shepherds paid for the right of feeding the sheep. But this trait in the picture is more easily understood in the case of Hyrcanus, whose position was quite exceptional, than in that of the other shepherds. Perhaps his adherents may in the end have given him money to leave Jerusalem when the good understanding between them had come to an end and various external dangers were threatening. It is worth noticing that the reward received by the shepherd is cast by him into the temple-treasury (11 13); according to 2 Macc. 3 11, Hyrcanus, the son of Tobias, had a deposit there.

7. Date.

Literature.—The literature of the book is cited by C. H. H. Wright, *Zechariah and his Prophecies*,(2) 1879. See also Stade, 'Deuterozacharia' (*ZATW*, 1881-2); and Wellhausen and Nowack's editions of the Minor Prophets. [Cp also G. A. Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii., and PROPHECY, § 47.]

J. W.

ZECHER (זֶכֶר), 1 Ch. 8 31, RV. See ZECHARIAH, i. 6.

ZECHRIAS (ζεχριου [B] εζεριου [A]), 1 Esd. 8 1, RV = Ezra 7 1, AZARIAH, 3.

ZEDAD (צְדָד; only in acc. צְדָדָה; צרדה [Sam.]; σαραδακ [BL], σαδαλδακ [A], σαδδακ [F], *Aradath* [It.]), one of the points in the ideal northern frontier of Canaan according to P or the later redactor (Nu. 34 8), and also mentioned in the ‖ passage of Ezekiel (47 15; for 𝔊 see later). Robinson (*BR* 3 461 n.), Wetzstein (*Reisebericht*, 88), Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 27), Mühlau, and Socin, identify it with the the large village *Ṣadad*, between Riblah and Palmyra (long. 37° E.); but this is too far E. if it is considered that both Hamath and Damascus are meant to be excluded. It is also an objection, that the implied view of the northern frontier assumes a large part of the Lebanon district to be included within the Israelitish border. Many besides Buhl (*Pal.* 66) will think that this carries idealisation beyond what is probable (cp HOR, MOUNT).

Van Kasteren (*Rev. bibl.*, 1895, p. 30) adopts the reading Zerad, and plausibly identifies with *Khirbet Serādā*, between Merj 'Ayūn (where he places 'the entrance of Hamath') and Hermon, to the S. of Kh. Sanbarīyeh (see SIBRAIM).

With regard to the second passage: Cornill thinks that the original reading (see 𝔊) must have been simply 'to the entrance of Hamath' and that 'Zedadah' (*i.e.*, 'to Zedad') was interpolated after 'Hamath' from Nu. 34 8. '(To) Hamath' before 'Zedadah' was thus rendered useless, and so the two names changed places (see MT). The original 𝔊 of Ezek. did not, it is assumed, contain the interpolation. The scribe who altered it simply made an insertion; hence the existing MSS of 𝔊 represent 'Hamath' not only after but also before 'Zedadah' (*ημασελδαμμα* [B], *ημαθ'ελ.* [A], *ημασαιλααμ'μα* [Q], *αδαλααιμαθ'* [Qmg.]).

According to the view of the geographical definitions in Nu. 34 and Ezek. 47 13 *ff.* advocated elsewhere (see RIBLAH, SIBRAIM) the region referred to in the original text may have been, not the land of Canaan, but the Negeb. In that case, Mt. Hor = Mt. Jerahmeel, Hamath = Maacath, Zedad or Zerad probably = Miṣṣur, and Ziphron or Sibraim (to be identified) = Zarephath. Cp ZEROR.

T. K. C.

ZEDECHIAS, RV **Sedekias** (σεδεκιας [BA]) 1 Esd. 1 46. See ZEDEKIAH i.

ZEDEKIAH (צִדְקִיָּהוּ, also צִדְקִיָּה, see 1, 2, 5, σεδεκια[c]; cp Ṣidḳâ, the name of a king of Ashkelon, temp. Sennacherib [*KAT*(2) 165]).

1. The last king of Judah (597-586), a son of JOSIAH (2 K. 24 *f.* 2 Ch. 36 10 *ff.*; in 1 Ch. 3 15[1] Jer. 27 12 28 1 29 3 49 34 צדקיה). According to 2 K. 24 17, his original name was Mattaniah; the king of 'Babel' (בבל) 'changed his name' to Zedekiah (Ṣidḳiyah) when he raised this uncle of the deposed king to the throne of Judah. This act of sovereignty is in itself probable; cp the new name imposed by Ašur-bani-pal on Necho I.[2] (Limir-išakku-Ašur, 'let Ašur's viceroy see.')

1. Name.

The special appropriateness of the name selected is not obvious. Parallel names suggest that 'Zedekiah' (Ṣidḳiyah) means properly 'Zidkite,' and even if we suppose (rationally enough) that, when borne by the king, it acquired the new meaning 'righteousness of Yahwè,'[3] that is by no means a clear expression of Zedekiah's relation to his suzerain. No fully satisfactory explanation of this has been offered; and yet Hebrew onomatology cannot afford to confess itself baffled. The theory that in many passages 'Babel' (בבל) = ירחמאל suggests an explanation. Since יהוה is in some OT passages probably miswritten for 'ירח, it follows that this great race-name may possibly be represented by 'יהו.[4] Now *Ṣidḳiyāhu*, 'righteousness of Jerahmeel,' is a name that might conceivably be given to a royal vassal of Jerahmeel, after he had sworn fidelity (Ezek. 17 13) to his suzerain.

Zedekiah was only twenty-one at his accession and it is probable that the queen-mother Hamutal made up by her own energy for the weakness of her son. This certainly seems to be implied by what Ezekiel says of her in one of his striking similitudes[5] (Ezek. 19 5). Whether it was so or not, there was on the part of the rulers no just political insight. Fidelity to the suzerain, and a strict maintenance of the old moral traditions of Israel, would have insured a peaceful though inglorious existence for king and people (cp Ezek. 17 6 14). But the deportation of a large part of the upper class brought wealth and political power to those who had had none of the necessary training. These 'new men' soon displayed in an intensified degree the vices of the worst of their predecessors (Ezek. 22 25 27 24 6), and, with an obstinacy which it is difficult for us moderns to understand, cherished the hope of quickly throwing off the foreign yoke. Meantime those who had gone into exile with

2. Dangers.

1 On the strange insertion of Zedekiah in *v.* 16 among the sons of Jehoiakim, see Benzinger, who thinks that the author of the text may really have supposed Zedekiah to have been the son of Jehoiakim, but does not mention the possibility that the scribe may have misread the text before him. זכריה (Zechariah) would be a very possible name.

2 Tiele, *BAG* 356.

3 Cp NAMES, § 36, and note also Ṣidḳi-ilu, the name of an Ass. eponym (Del. *Ass. HWB* 564 *a*).

4 Cp TEBALIAH. The same explanation applies to all the names ending in or beginning with 'יהו.

5 See Kraetzschmar, *ad loc.*

ZEDEKIAH

Jehoiachin looked on at a distance with mingled contempt and indignation (Ezek. 11 15 14 22 *f.*), and Jeremiah, not less than Ezekiel, recognised the moral incapacity of the new lords of Jerusalem.

Whether, or how far, Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, interfered in the affairs of Judah, remains obscure. The redactors of the narrative and prophetical writings certainly believed that the power which broke up the national existence was the Babylonian.

When we look beneath the surface, however, we suspect that there has been a great misunderstanding, and that, according to the extant fragments of the old Hebrew records, when restored to something not unlike their original purity, it was the king of Jerahmeel in N. Arabia who invaded Jewish territory, who besieged and took Jerusalem, and once and again carried away its inhabitants. We do not know enough of the political condition of N. Arabia to say what nation is represented by the archaising name Jerahmeel, but assume that there must have been some power capable of enforcing his will on S. Palestine. It is possible, of course, that the rôle of the N. Arabians was subordinate to that of the Babylonians (cp OBADIAH [BOOK], § 7); but this is only a hypothesis. All that we know is that N. Arabia was for a long time regarded as the great oppressor of Israel. There is to some extent a similar problem with regard to the captivity of the northern Israelites and the subsequent invasion (or invasions) of Judah in the time of Hezekiah. We are, however, in a worse position with regard to the captivities of Judah, for we have as yet no cuneiform records of Babylonian interference with Judah at the reported times of those captivities.

Another troublesome N. Arabian potentate was the king of Miṣrim; here again the name is an archaism.[1] According to our revised text of 2 K. 24 2 'bands' of Miṣrites had already brought Judah very low in the reign of Jehoiakim; it is to such incursions, we believe, that the so-called Scythian prophecies of Jeremiah really refer (see PROPHET, § 26, end). But, according to Jer. 27 1 *ff.* (substituting for the introductory verse the passage which now appears as 28 1),[2] the king of Aram (*i.e.*, not the great king of Jerahmeel, but some inferior king on the border of Jewish territory) and the king of Miṣṣur[3] sent ambassadors to Zedekiah, to concert a revolt. Evidently a change of circumstances had occurred, and the Miṣrites were now no longer anxious for the destruction or weakening of Judah. This king of Miṣṣur is no doubt the personage miscalled Pharaoh Hophra in the common text of Jer. 44 30.[4] For a time the siege of Jerusalem by the Jerahmeelites (which we refer to by anticipation) was interrupted by a friendly diversion on the part of a Miṣrite army.

3. The Miṣrites.

It appears to be a trustworthy tradition that the prophet Jeremiah exhorted the rulers and people of Judah to abstain from any act of rebellion, and that in doing so he was diametrically opposed to prophets of an inferior order (see JEREMIAH, § 2; PROPHET, §§ 24-26). We have also records of embassies of Zedekiah to the great king of בבל.[5]

4. Jeremiah, Zedekiah, and the war-party.

What messages were carried by these embassies, we cannot of course say; the embassies had for their primary object the conveyance of the annual tribute of Judah,[6] until the fatal year when Zedekiah rebelled.

According to Winckler (*KAT*(3), 278 *ff.*), who holds that Zedekiah's suzerain was the king of Babylon,[7] the embassies had another most important object, viz., the bringing about of the restoration of the cultus of Yahwè in the temple, which, he thinks, was in abeyance throughout the reign of Zedekiah owing to the destruction, or at any rate the removal, of the sacred vessels. He does not, however, say that the official worship of

1 Cp Winckler, *KAT*(3) 141.

2 See Duhm's commentary.

3 Only two kings are meant. 'Edom' and 'Moab' should be 'Aram' (Jerahmeel) and Miṣṣur. 'B'ne Ammon,' 'Tyre,' 'Zidon' are also wrong; read 'B'ne Jerahmeel' and 'Miṣṣur' (see *Crit. Bib.*).

4 חפרע is a dittographed פרעה, and this springs out of פראו Pir'u.

5 *I.e.*, Jerahmeel (Jer. 29 3 51 59, where, following 𝔊, we read מאת instead of את—*i.e.*, 'from' instead of 'with' Zedekiah). Guthe, however (*GVI*, 223), thinks that Zedekiah went in person on the occasion referred to. Certainly Manasseh, when summoned by Esar-haddon to his durbar, was careful to obey. But the theory adopted in the text is safer.

6 In 51 59 read שַׂר מִנְחָה (𝔊 ἄρχων δώρων; see SERAIAH).

7 Winckler's theory, however, could of course be accommodated to the view that the real suzerain of Judah at this time was the king of Jerahmeel.

Marduk and Nabû was introduced into the temple, or that Zedekiah's accession to the throne was without the sanctions of Yahwism. He thinks that it was only the 'orthodox, monotheistic Yahwè-cultus' which was abolished; the 'ordinary Canaanitish forms of cultus' ('no doubt partly identical with those of Zedekiah') were either allowed to remain, or, as the case might be, set up anew. And when Jeremiah (27 17) urges the people to 'serve the king of בבל' that they might 'live,' he means, 'give up the hope of the restoration of the cultus in the sense of Josiah and of orthodoxy, and be content with what is left.' 'This,' Winckler adds, 'is the precise opposite of the demands of the Yahwè-party, to which Jeremiah, as a pro-Babylonian, is absolutely opposed.' This scholar's view of Jeremiah's attitude is altogether original, and the hypothesis of the abolition of Yahwè-worship is difficult to work out. For instance, why should Zedekiah have given his support (as Winckler's interpretation of Jer. 29 3 implies that he did) to a request for milder treatment by the Babylonians, when one of the chief objects of the party in favour of this request was the restoration of Jeconiah or Jehoiachin? And is there any trace in Jeremiah or in Ezekiel of the supposed fact that the Yahwè-cult in the temple had been violently closed, or in the records of the life of Jeremiah that this enthusiast for Yahwè was 'content with what was left' after this catastrophe had occurred? Cp SHESHBAZZAR.

It is true, the popular cults, chief among which was the imported Jerahmeelite cult of Baal (*i.e.*, the sun-god), and the great 'Cushite' or 'Ishmaelitish' goddess (*i.e.*, either the moon, or less probably the planet Venus),[1] attracted the majority more than that of Yahwè (as exhibited in Deuteronomy). Not only Jeremiah but also Ezekiel[2] expresses the utmost horror at this apostasy, as they regard it. Both prophets are fully conscious of the connection between a low type of religion and immorality. It also appears that even those who professed fidelity to Yahwism had extremely callous consciences. Of this we have a striking evidence in Jer. 34 8-22. Certain rich citizens of Jerusalem, we are told, emancipated their Hebrew slaves at the beginning of the siege (according to the prescriptions of Ex. 21 1-4 Dt. 15 12), but after the temporary raising of the siege resumed possession of them. The motive which induced the masters temporarily to liberate their slaves was probably, not humanity, but the desire to increase the number of the available defenders of the walls of Jerusalem.

5. Religion and morality.

It was in the ninth year of his reign that Zedekiah finally gave way to the war-party and rebelled against his suzerain, first, however, taking the precaution of 'sending his ambassadors to מִצְרַיִם (*i.e.*, Miṣrim, not Miṣraim), that they might give him horses and many warriors'[3] (Ezek. 17 15). A striking picture is drawn by Ezekiel (21 21 [26] *f.*) of the king of בבל (Jerahmeel) standing where the ways divide, and shuffling the arrows before the teraphim, and then inspecting the liver of a sacrificed animal—two forms of divination, the first of which is specially characteristic of Arabia, not of Babylonia.[4] There was a chance that he might have led his army against Rabbath-bnê-ammon, or, as we should most probably read, Rehoboth-bne-jerahmeel, by which is meant the capital of Miṣrim. But the oracle decided him on going to Jerusalem. So the Jerahmeelite army encamped against that strongly fortified city. On his side, the king of Miṣrim was not idle. In the spring of 587 a Miṣrite army advanced towards Judah, or perhaps towards Riblah—*i.e.*, not the northern Riblah, on the E. bank of the Orontes, but a southern Riblah, or rather Jerahmeel, in the

6. Rebellion.

1 Read הכשת for the improbable הבשת in Jer. 3 24; ישמעאלית for מולת in 2 K. 23 5; and מלכת ישמעאל ('Ishmael's Queen') for מלכת השמים in Jer. 7 18 44 17 *ff.* (but cp QUEEN OF HEAVEN). So too אלהים אחרים in Jer. 1 16 7 18 19 4 44 3 8 probably comes from אלהי ירחמאל, 'the gods of Jerahmeel.' Cp also *Crit. Bib.* on Zeph. 1 5.

2 Ezek. 8 seems to have been much misunderstood by commentators. See *Crit. Bib.*, and cp TAMMUZ.

3 Winckler, it is true, supposes this to refer to Sheshbazzar.

4 See DIVINATION, § 2, and cp Lyall, ***Ancient Arabic Poetry***, 106.

southern Hamath or Maacath (see RIBLAH). It was a futile attempt; flushed by victory the Cushite invaders returned, and on the ninth day of the fourth month of Zedekiah's eleventh year, the city was taken. Zedekiah and his most faithful warriors took to flight. He was caught, however, and brought to Riblah. There his sons were put to death before his eyes; he himself was blinded (cp Ezek. 12 13), and carried in chains to the city of his foes.[1] How Ezekiel regarded his fate, we know from a fiery denunciation (Ezek. 21 25 [30] *f.*). Cp ISRAEL, §§ 41 *f.*, JEREMIAH, § 2.

2. b. Chenaanah, a leading prophet among those consulted by Ahab as to the success of his proposed expedition against Ramoth-gilead. By means of iron horns the prophet symbolically announced that Yahwè would grant Ahab successive victories over Aram. The dispute with MICAIAH (*q.v.*) is told in 1 K. 22 11 *ff.* (צדקיה), 2 Ch. 18 10 *ff.* The passage not only throws light on the differences among the prophets, but also is important for the question of the origin of the prophethood.

See PROPHET, § 7, where it is maintained that the original *nĕbī'īm* came from N. Arabia, and that the Aramæans with whom Israel contended were, mainly at any rate, those of the southern Aram—*i.e.*, the Jeraḥmeelite border-land. For 'Ben Chenaanah' we should probably read 'Ben Kenizzi'; cp 'Elisha, ben Shaphat'—*i.e.*, 'Elisha, ben Ṣephāthī.' Elisha was known as a Zarephathite, Zedekiah as a Kenizzite (or Kenite?).

3. b. Maaseiah, one who 'prophesied a lie' in the time of Jeremiah, Jer. 29 21 *ff.* See SEDECIAS, 1.

The passage has been much misunderstood. For 'roasted in the fire' (קלם באש) we should read קְטָלָם בְּאַשּׁוּר 'killed in Asshur,' Asshur is a synonym for Jerahmeel—the name of the N. Arabian land whither (see ZEDEKIAH, 1) the Jews were carried into exile. What follows יען אשר is an interpolation (down to רעיהם), on which see AHAB, 2.

4. b. Hananiah, a high officer, temp. Jehoiakim, Jer. 36 12.

5. AV ZIDKIJAH. Signatory to the covenant (see EZRA i., § 7); Neh. 10 1 [2] (צִדְקִיָּה; *σεδεκιας* [BℵA], *υιος σαραια*). He is placed together with Nehemiah, the Tirshatha, before the list of priestly families. Was he Nehemiah's secretary (Ryssel)? or president of the council of the elders (E. Meyer, *Entst.* 136)? See TIRSHATHA.

L's reading is שכניה (*σεχενιας*), Shecheniah; in *v.* 4 we find שבניה, Shebaniah. T. K. C.

ZEEB (זְאֵב), Judg. 7 25. See OREB.

ZELAH (צֵלַע *Ṣēla'*), a city of Benjamin, grouped by P (see TARALAH, KIRJATH-JEARIM) with 'the Jebusite, the same is Jerusalem,' and Gibeah or Kirjath (Josh. 18 28; om. B, σηλα [A], σελα [L]), also referred to as containing the sepulchre of Kish (2 S. 21 14; ΕΝ ΤΗ πλευρα [BAL], RV here **Zela**).

We cannot avoid utilising the results of our criticism of the text. In the list of cities of Benjamin (as well as in some of the accompanying tribal lists) there seems to have been serious geographical confusion. The Gibeonite cities, for instance—Gibeon, Beeroth (from Rehoboth), Chephirah (a doublet to Beeroth), and Kirjath-jearim (as later inquiry suggests, Kirjath-jeraḥmeel)—were originally represented as in the Negeb. So too the Zela of Josh. 18 28 was probably in the Negeb. It is, however, hardly possible to transfer the family of Saul from the territory usually known as Benjamite to the Negeb; the relations between Saul and David forbid this. Some of the names of the Negeb, however, appear to have been carried northward by the clans when they left the Negeb. This may well have been the case with Zela, or rather—the name, like so many other names in Josh. 18 and in the story of Saul's personal history, being evidently corrupt—Shalisha. See LAISHAH, and SAUL, § 4, where it is pointed out that, according to what is supposed to be the true text of 1 S. 31 11-13, the bones of Saul and Jonathan were brought by the men of Beth-gilgal (in Benjamin) to the sacred tree at Beth-gilgal, and there buried. From 1 S. 25 44 it appears that Laish, or rather Shalishah, was either identical with, or near, Beth-gilgal (see GALLIM, LAISHAH, PALTI). The same name seems to underlie '[Bar-]zillai' in 2 S. 17 27 (see MEPHIBOSHETH, § 2), 21 8 (see MERAB), and should be restored in Josh. 18 28, 2 S. 21 14. Cp ZELEK.

Some (*e.g.*, Petrie) identify the Zelah (Sela') of Josh. with the Zilu of the Amarna Tablets (181 41 45), a place which, like Lachish, threw off the Egyptian authority. T. K. C.

ZELEK (צֶלֶק), an Ammonite, one of David's heroes (2 S. 23 37 [36], *ελειε* [B], *σβλεγι* [A], *ὁ α[μ]μαν[ε]ίτη* [BA], *σαλααδ ὁ αναμι* [L]; 1 Ch. 11 39, *σελη* [Bℵ], *σελληκ* [AL], *ὁ αμμων[ε]ι* [BA], . . . *-ειμ* [ℵ], *ὁ αμμανι* [L]).

[1] Josephus cleverly works out the narrative (*Ant.* x. 8 2).

עַמּוֹנִי (Ammonite) is probably here, as in some other passages (*e.g.*, 1 S. 11 2 S. 10 *f.*, see REHOBOTH, SAUL, § 1 *f.*), a corruption of ירחמאלי (Jerahmeelite)—*i.e.*, 'Zelek' came from the Jeraḥmeelite Negeb. There are two place-names with which צלק may be compared: (1) סלכה (SALECAH), the name of one of the 'cities of the kingdom of Og in Cushan' (כֻּשָׁן, not, as MT and 𝔊, בָּשָׁן; see OG, and (2) צקלג (ZIKLAG), for a time David's city, a name which may be a corruption of חֲלֻצָה (Ḥalūṣah). It is safest to choose the latter. צלק may be miswritten for חלץ (Ḥillez) which we know to be a Paltite[1]—*i.e.*, Zarephathite—(2 S. 23 26 *f.*) and Jerahmeelite (1 Ch. 2 39) name, and may indicate a connection with the city of Ḥaluṣah. Marquart (*Fund.* 22), it is true, connects צלק (cp 𝔊B and 𝔊L) with צֶלַע, but we do not expect David to have a connection with the centre of Saul's clan (see ZELA). T. K. C.

ZELOPHEHAD (צְלָפְחָד; σαλπααδ [BAL, but σαλφ. A, in Josh., σαπφ. B, in Ch.], which suggests צַלְפַּחַד, Ṣalpaḥad—*i.e.*, perhaps 'protection [צֵל, "shadow"] from terror,' § 43, or [Paterson, *SBOT*, on Nu. 27], 'the Dread One is shadowed';[2] see, however, below). Zelopheḥad (Zalpaḥad?) is variously represented as the second son of Manasseh (1 Ch. 7 15; see ASRIEL), and as b. Hepher, b. Gilead, b. Machir, b. Manasseh (Josh. 17 3).[3] He is said to have had no sons, but five daughters—viz., Mahlah, Noah, Hoglah, Milcah, Tirzah (Nu. 26 33 27 1 36 11 Josh. 17 3). These daughters are said (Nu. 27 1-4) to have approached Moses, Eleazar, the princes, and all the congregation with a petition to be allowed to receive an inheritance as representing their father,[4] who died in the wilderness, and had no sons. A favourable answer was given (*vv.* 7-11); but the decision was supplemented later (Nu. 36) by an order that heiresses should marry within their own tribe. Accordingly Zelophehad's daughters are said to have married their father's brothers' sons.

That P had access to old lists, is undeniable; but he not unfrequently represents corrupt forms of the same name as independent members of genealogies. It is therefore not impossible that in the list of six, formed by Zelophehad and his daughters, the same name in different forms may occur several times. There is plausibility in the view that the name which underlies Zelopheḥad, Maḥlah, and Milcah is Ṣalḥad, which, as has been shown elsewhere (GALEED, § 1), may underlie Sahadutha in Gen. 31 47, and appears in Dt. 3 10 and elsewhere as SALECAH (*q.v.*). It is indeed probable that in one form of the patriarchal story Ḥaurān was much referred to (cp HARAN). The objection that Ṣalḥad was on the E. side of the Jordan, whereas it appears that P did not recognise Manasseh as having inheritances in Gilead,[5] is not as important as it seems, for the tradition that Zelophehad was 'son of Hepher, son of Gilead,' cannot be annulled by bracketing 'son of Gilead,' etc., in Josh. 17 3. In determining the sense of Zelophehad and the other names, we cannot ignore the asserted connection of Zelophehad with Gilead.[6] But further inquiry seems to be bringing out these results—that the school of writers represented by P had access to lists in which several tribes, including Manasseh, were located in the Negeb, that Og's traditional kingdom was, not in Bashan, but in Cushan, and hence that Salecah is not the original name in Dt. 3 10, etc., but some Negeb name such as Ḥaluṣah.

This being the case, the name of Machir's sister הַמֹּלֶכֶת (HAMMOLECHETH) will be miswritten, not for Salecah, but for Jerahmeel[ith], and those of her sons Ishhod (cp HODESH), and Mahlah will stand for Ashḥur and Jeraḥmeel respectively. So, too, of the five daughters of Zelopheḥad, the first, the fourth,

[1] PELETH (*q.v.*) in 1 Ch. 2 33 is a 'son' of Jeraḥmeel—*i.e.*, Zarephath was the centre of a subdivision of the Jeraḥmeelites.

[2] For another suggestion see MANASSEH i., § 9 [i.].

[3] On the analysis of Josh. 17 1-6 see *Oxf. Hex.* 2 17; Steuernagel, *HK Josh.* 217; Kuenen, *Th. T* 11 487

[4] This passage is inconsistent with Josh. 17 6, which implies that each of Zelophehad's daughters received a 'part.'

[5] This is Steuernagel's view (*HK Josh.* 215, foot).

[6] Cp MANASSEH i., §§ 5, 9.

and possibly the third will represent Jerahmeel, the fifth (Tirzah) will come from Zarephath, the second (Noah) from some form of Manahath (b. Shobal), and Zelophehad will presumably be a compound of two ethnic or tribal names, and since these names have to be Negeb names, the most probable explanation of the name is Ishmael-ḥadad (cp צלף with שלף [SHELEPH], and זלפה [ZILPAH], which almost certainly come from ישמעאל). Hadad appears in Gen. 25 15 as the eighth son of Ishmael. Ḥepher and Gilead, with which Zelophehad is also genealogically connected, are Negeb names.[1]

The meaning of the statement that Zelophehad had five daughters, of course is that there were five minor clans dependent on the great central clan called Zalp-ḥad, or Ishmael-ḥadad. T. K. C.

ZELOTES (ζηλωτης), Lk. 6 15 AV, RV ZEALOT (*q.v.*).

ZELZAH (צֶלְצַח), 1 S. 10 2. See RACHEL'S SEPULCHRE.

ZEMARAIM (צְמָרַיִם; see Kittel, *SBOT*, Heb., on 2 Ch. 13 4, and on termination see NAMES, § 107). 1. The name of a city of Benjamin, grouped with Beth-arabah and Bethel (Josh. 18 22; *σαρα* [B], *σεμριμ* [A], *σαμαρειμ* [L]).

2. The name of a mountain 'in the hill-country of Ephraim,' from the top of which ABIJAH delivered an address to Jeroboam and the Israelitish army (2 Ch. 13 4; *σομορων* [BAL], *σαμαρων* [Niese], or *σεμαρων* [Naber], Jos. *Ant.* viii. 11 2 = § 274). See Bertheau. Both 1 and 2 suggest most interesting problems.

Conder (*PEF*, 1877, p. 26), following Van de Velde and Robinson, identifies 1. with the ruin es-Samra, 2-3 m. W. from the Jordan and 15-16 m. in a direct line E. from Bethel, and points out that there are two ruins close together bearing the same name (Samra). Buhl (*Pal.* 180) inclines to accept this combination. Those, however, who take this line must, at any rate, separate the city from the mountain called Zemaraim, for a situation overlooking the Jordan valley will hardly suit the Chronicler's narrative; *v.* 19 suggests that the spot was not far from Bethel. The matter needs reconsideration.

We have now to indicate the new position of the questions resulting from our criticism of the text, and first of that relating to 2. We have seen (JEROBOAM, 1; REHOBOAM; SHECHEM; SHILOH) that the scene of the narratives respecting Jeroboam and Rehoboam (and of course Abijah) was placed by the original writers in the Negeb, the possession of which was coveted both by Jeroboam and by Rehoboam, as well as by the Jerahmeelites, because it was the 'Holy Land' of Israel and of Jerahmeel, containing the most ancient sacred spots of both sections of Israel and of the closely related people of Jerahmeel. 'Ephraim' is as much a southern as a northern name, and, whatever be its origin (cp REPHAIM), is a synonym of 'Jeraḥmeel.' At the present time, Bethel (perhaps = Dan—*i.e.*, Ḥaluṣah, see LUZ; PROPHET, § 10; SHECHEM), Jeshanah (perhaps misread for שׁוּנֵם, the southern Shunem, cp SHEN, SHUNEM), and Ephron (probably near the place miscalled Shechem, but really named Cusham-jerahmeel, see SHECHEM, 2; MACHPELAH), were in the hands of Jeroboam. According to the Chronicler (2 Ch. 13 19), Rehoboam took these cities from Jeroboam.

Turning now to 1, we have seen that P, as a geographer, often works on lists which properly belong to an ancient geographical survey of the Negeb. This is the case, not only with the name-lists of Judah, Issachar, Asher, and Naphtali, but also with that of Benjamin (cp ZELA). The names Jericho, Beth-hoglah, and Emek-keziz in Josh. 18 21 probably come from Jeraḥmeel, Beth-meholah (= Beth-jeraḥmeel), and Maacath-cush, places in the Negeb; whilst the Beth-arabah and Zemaraim in *v.* 22 probably come from Beth-'arab and Ṣimrīm or Ṣimrām. To say where these places stood, except that one of them is presumably REHOBOTH (*q.v.*), is beyond our power. It is possible (though Gen. 10 18 confirms *ṣm*) that har-ṣimrim is the same as har-šimron in Am. 3 9 (?) 4 1 6 1 (see PROPHET, § 35; SHIMRON). Perhaps Šimron was in the hands of Abijah (according to the Chronicler's authority), and Jeroboam had come with the object of besieging it. There is, at any rate, no reason why 1. and 2. should not be identified. Cp ZEMARITE. T. K. C.

ZEMARITE (צְמָרִי), Gen. 10 18 1 Ch. 1 16. See GEOGRAPHY, § 16, 4.

ZEMIRA, RV **Zemirah** (זְמִירָה, αμαριας [B], ζαμ. [A], ζαμαρια [L]), b. Becher in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *a*), 1 Ch. 7 8, cp ZIMRI (8 36).

[1] For the southern Gilead cp RAMOTH-GILEAD, and *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 8 22.

ZENAN (צְנָן), a place (as the text stands) in the SHEPHELAH, mentioned with Hadashah and Migdal-gad (σεννα [B], -μ [A], σεναμ [L]), Josh. 15 37†; presumably identical with the ZAANAN (צַאֲנָן) of Mic. 1 11 (σαιναν [Ald. and some MSS], σενναν [some MSS, Syro-Hex.], σενναaρ [B$^{a.b}$AQ*], —aaν [Q^{a}]).

The probability is, however, that there is a mistake, and that neither the Zenan of Joshua nor the Zaanan of Micah was in the Shĕphēlah. As in the case of other lists of tribal place-names, P seems to have been indebted in Josh. 15 33 *ff.* to lists of place-names belonging to different parts of the Negeb (see WARS OF THE LORD [BOOK OF]). Among the names which, critically considered, are specially favourable to this view, are Eshtaol, Zorah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Mizpeh, Joktheel, Lachish, and we may now add Zenan, Hadashah, and Migdal-gad, which are grouped together in *v.* 37. That Zenan may be presumed to be identical with the Zaanan of Micah, is obvious. Now, if Mic. 1 be criticised in combination with other prophecies relative to an invasion of Judah, it will appear that the invaders are more probably Jerahmeelites from the S. than Assyrians from the N., and, if we grant this, it will at once appear doubly probable that the place which has a melancholy precedence in Mic. 1 among those which suffer from the invasion is, not שֹׁמְרוֹן (Samaria), but שִׁמְרוֹן (SHIMRON) in the Negeb. See PROPHET, § 38. צאנן will therefore presumably be = צֹעַן (Zoan), and צִן (Zin), both of which forms appear to have been connected geographically with the famous Kadesh (cp PARADISE, § 6; SODOM). The original form, therefore, of the names in Josh. 15 37 was not improbably 'Zoan, Kadesh, Jerahmeel-gad [or simply Jerahmeel],' and in Mic. 1 11, besides Shaphir (Shamir?), and Beth-ezel—the latter of which is clearly a Negeb name—we may recognise Jerahmeel (ישבת ירחמאל=עריה-בשת לא) and Zoan. It is probable, however, that Zoan or Zaanan (Zenan), like ZIN (*q.v.*), comes from the widely-spread race-name Ishmael through the intermediate form Zibeon (צבעון). See ZIBEON, and cp *Crit. Bib.* T. K. C.

ZENAS (ζηνας [Ti. WH], abbrev. from Zenodorus; cp ARTEMAS, OLYMPAS, and NAMES, § 86, end), a lawyer (*νομικος*), is thus alluded to in Tit. 3 13: 'Be zealous in helping Zenas the lawyer and Apollos on their way, that they want for nothing.' Whether he was a Jewish lawyer or a Roman jurisconsult is uncertain; but the non-Hebrew name and the short criticism of *νομικοί* in Tit. 3 9 (cp Zahn, *Einl.* 1 435) make for the latter, and the association with Apollos suggests that he was possibly of Alexandrian origin.

In the lists of the 'seventy' compiled by the Pseudo-Dorotheus and Pseudo-Hippolytus he is made bishop of Diospolis, and he is mentioned in *Menæa* of the Greek church as author of the (no longer extant) *Acts of Titus*.

ZEPHANIAH (צְפַנְיָה, 'whom Yahwè hides,' or 'defends,' § 30, to which add the references *CIS* i. 1 207, etc.; Lidzbarski, *Handb.* 359 [cp also below, 2-4]; σοφονιας). 1. Son of Cushi, the ninth, according to the order of his book, among the twelve minor prophets, flourished in the reign of Josiah of Judah, and apparently before the great reformation in the eighteenth year of that king (621 B.C.).

1. Name and date.

For various forms of idolatry put down in that year (2 K. 23 4 *f.* 12) are spoken of by Zephaniah as still prevalent in Judah (1 4 *f.*), and are specified in such a connection as to imply that they were not the secret sins of individuals, but held the first place among the national backslidings that could, as the prophet teaches, be removed only by a sweeping judgment on the state. Of the person of Zephaniah nothing is known; but inasmuch as his genealogy, contrary to the usual practice in the case of the prophets (see Is. 1 1 Jer. 1 1 Ezek. 1 3 Hos. 1 1 Joel 1 1) is carried back four generations, it has been conjectured that his great-great-grandfather Hezekiah (1 1) is the king of that name, and if so he will have belonged to the highest class of Judæan society.

2. Genuineness and integrity.

The genuineness and integrity of the short prophecy ascribed to Zephaniah do not seem to be open to reasonable doubt. Stade (*GI* 1 644) suspects (on account of the ideas expressed in them) 2 1-3 11 and 3; and it is true, if 3 were a distinct oracle, there would be

no cogent reason to ascribe it to the author of the two chapters that precede; for the book of the minor prophets is made up of short pieces, some bearing a name and some anonymous, and it is only old usage that ascribes the anonymous pieces to the last preceding prophet whose name is prefixed to his prophecy. But, though the sequence of thought in the book of Zephaniah is not so smooth as a western reader may desire, a single leading motive runs through the whole, and the first two chapters would be incomplete without the third, which, moreover, is certainly pre-exilic (*vv.* 1-4) and presents specific points of contact with what precedes as well as a general agreement in style and idea [see further § 6].

The prophecy may be divided into three parts: (i.) the menace (1); (ii.) the admonition (2 1-3 7); (iii.) the promise (3 8-20).

3. Outline of contents.

The dominating motive of the whole is the approach of a sweeping and world-wide judgment, which the prophet announces as near at hand, and interprets, on the lines laid down by Isaiah in his prophecies about Israel and Assyria, as designed to destroy the wicked and prepare the way for the visible sovereignty of the righteous God of Israel (1 2 *f.* 7 14-18). As regards Judah, which forms the subject of the first and third chapters, the effect of the judgment will be to sift out the idolaters, the men of violence and wrong, the false prophets and profane priests, the hardened men of the world to whom all religion is alike ('the men that are thickened on their lees,' 1 12), and who deem that Yahwè will do neither good nor evil (1 4 6 8 *f.* 12 3 3 *f.*). The men who seek meekness and righteousness will be left, a poor and lowly people, trusting in Yahwè's name and eschewing falsehood (2 3 3 12). To them a future of gladness is reserved, a peaceful life under Yahwè's immediate kingship and loving protection (3 13-17). Such an ideal necessarily implies that they shall no longer be threatened by hostility from without, and this condition is satisfied by the prophet's view of the effect of the impending judgment on the ancient enemies of his nation. The destruction of the Philistines on the W. and of Moab and Ammon on the E. (2 4-10) will enable the Hebrews to extend their settlements from the Mediterranean to the Syrian desert; and their remoter oppressors, the Ethiopians and the Assyrians, shall also perish (2 12-15). That Ethiopia appears instead of Egypt is in accordance with the conditions of the time. It was with Ethiopic dynasts holding sway in Egypt that Assyria had to contend during the seventh century B.C., when the petty kingdoms of Palestine were so often crushed between the collision of the two great powers, and even Psammetichus, the contemporary of Josiah, and the restorer of a truly Egyptian kingdom, was nominally the heir of the great Ethiopian sovereigns.

Zephaniah's conceptions are closely modelled on the scheme of Yahwè's righteous purpose worked out by Isaiah a century before, when Judah first felt the weight of the Assyrian rod; and they afford the most conclusive evidence of the depth and permanence of that great prophet's influence. But in one point there is an important divergence. In Isaiah's view, Assyria is the rod of God's anger; and, when the work of judgment is complete, and Yahwè returns to the remnant of his people, the theodicea is completed by the fall of the unconscious instrument of the divine decrees before the inviolable walls of the holy mountain. Zephaniah, in like manner, looks to an all-conquering nation as the instrument of divine judgment on Judah and the rest of the known world. He represents the day of Yahwè, according to the old meaning of that phrase (WRS, *Proph.*(2) 397 *f.*), as a day of battle (not an assize day); he speaks of the guests invited to Yahwè's sacrifice (*i.e.*, to a great slaughter), of alarm against fenced cities, of blood poured out as dust, of pillage and desolation at the hand of an enemy (1 7 13 16-18). Beyond this, however, all is vague; we hear neither who the sword of Yahwè (2 12) is, nor what is to become of him when his work is completed. Isaiah's construction has in all its parts a definite reference to present political facts, and is worked out to a complete conclusion; Zephaniah borrows the ideas of his predecessor without attaining to his clearness of political conception, and so his picture is incomplete. The foreign conqueror, by whom Judah is to be chastised and Nineveh and Ethiopia destroyed, is brought on to the stage, but never taken off it. It is safe to conclude that the principal actor in the prophetic

4. World-judgment.

ZEPHANIAH

drama, who is thus strangely forgotten at the last, was not as real and prominent a figure in Zephaniah's political horizon as Assyria was in the horizon of Isaiah. At the same time, it is reasonable to think that so complete a reproduction of Isaiah's ideas in the picture of a new world-judgment was not formed without some stimulus from without; and this stimulus has been found, with much plausibility, in the Scythian invasion of western Asia, to which some of Jeremiah's earlier prophecies (as 5 15-17 6 1-6 22-25) also appear to refer (see ISRAEL, § 39, col. 2246).

Be that as it may, the comparison between Isaiah and Zephaniah affords an instructive example of the difference between original and reproductive prophecy. All the prophets have certain fundamental ideas in common, and each has learned something from his predecessors. If Zephaniah draws from Isaiah, Isaiah himself drew from Amos and Hosea. Isaiah, however, goes to his predecessors for general principles, and shapes the application of these principles to the conditions of his own time in a manner altogether fresh and independent. Zephaniah, on the other hand, goes to his predecessor for details; he does not clearly distinguish between the form and the substance of the prophetic ideas, and looks for a final consummation of the divine purpose, not only in accordance with the principles of Isaiah, but on the very lines which that prophet had laid down. These lines, however, were drawn on the assumption that the Assyrian judgment was final and would be directly followed by the reign of righteousness. The assumption was not justified by the event; the deliverance and reformation were incomplete, and the inbringing of the reign of righteousness was again deferred. Zephaniah sees this, but fails to draw the true inference. He postulates a new crisis in history similar to the Assyrian crisis of which Isaiah wrote, and assumes that it will run such a course as to fulfil Isaiah's unfulfilled predictions. But the movements of history do not repeat themselves; and the workings of God's righteous providence take fresh shape in each new scene of the world's life, so that a prediction not fulfilled under the conditions for which it was given can never again be fulfilled in *detail*. As it is an essential feature of prophecy that all ideas are not only presented but thought out in concrete form, and with reference to present historical conditions, the distinction between the temporary form and the permanent religious truth embodied in that form is also essential. The tendency to confound the two—to ascribe absolute truth to what is mere embodiment, and therefore to regard unfulfilled predictions as simply deferred, even where the form of the prediction is obviously dependent on mere temporary conditions of the prophet's own time—gained ground from the time of Zephaniah onwards, and culminated in the Apocalyptic literature. As it grew, the eternal ideas of the great prophets fell into the background, and were at length entirely lost in the crass Jewish conception of a Messianic age, which is little more than an apotheosis of national particularism and self-righteousness.

5. Contrast with Isaiah.

Zephaniah's eschatology is not open to this charge: with him, as with Isaiah, the doctrine of the salvation of the remnant of Israel is inspired by spiritual convictions and instinct with ethical force. The emphasis still lies (3 11-13) on the moral idea of the remnant, not on the physical conception Israel. He does not yield to Amos or Isaiah in the courage with which he denounces sin in high places, and he is akin to Hosea in his firm hold of the principle that the divine governance is rooted not only in righteousness but in love, and that the triumph of love is the end of Yahwè's working (3 17). Yet even here we see the difference between the first and the second generation of prophecy. The persuasion to which Hosea attains only through an intense inward struggle, which lends a peculiar pathos to his book, appears in

Zephaniah, as it were, ready made. There is no mental conflict before he can pass through the anticipation of devastating judgment to the assurance of the victory of divine love; and the sharp transitions that characterise the book are not, as with Hosea, due to sudden revulsion of feeling, but only mark the passage to some new topic in the circle of received prophetic truth.

The finest thing in the book—in spite of certain obscurities, which may be partly due to corruptions of the text—is the closing passage; but the description of the day of Yahwè, the *dies iræ dies illa* of 1 15, which furnishes the text of the most striking of mediæval hymns, has perhaps taken firmer hold of the religious imagination. Least satisfactory is the treatment of the judgment on heathen nations, and of their subsequent conversion to Yahwè (3 8-10). In the scheme of Isaiah it is made clear that the fall of the power that shatters the nations cannot fail to be recognised as Yahwè's work, for Assyria falls *before Jerusalem* as soon as it seeks to go beyond the limits of the divine commission, and thus the doctrine 'With *us* is God' is openly vindicated before the nations. Zephaniah, on the other hand, assumes that the convulsions of history are Yahwè's work, and specially designed for the instruction and amendment of Israel (3 6 *f.*), and neglects to show how this conviction, which he himself derives from Isaiah, is to be brought home by the coming judgment to the heart of heathen nations. Their own gods, indeed, will prove helpless (2 11); but that is not enough to turn their eyes toward Yahwè. Here, therefore, there is in his eschatology a sensible lacuna, from which Isaiah's construction is free, and a commencement of the tendency to look at things from a merely Israelite standpoint, which is so notable a feature of the later Apocalyptic. W. R. S.

It has seemed best to the present writer to leave the preceding interesting and suggestive article substantially as it stood in 1888; and to append in a supplement such additions as seem to be now required.

The integrity of the prophecy has been much more seriously questioned than it was in 1888.

6. Recent criticism. Kuenen (§ 78, 5-8) in 1889, whilst defending 2 1-3 11 against Stade, allowed—on account, chiefly, of the great contrast between the denunciation of 1 2 1 3 1-7 and the promises of 3 14-20—that 3 14-20 was a supplement, dating probably from shortly after the restoration in B.C. 536. Schwally (*ZATW*, 1890, 218 *ff.*, 238 240) ascribes to Zephaniah only 1 2 13-15, and possibly 2 1-4 (doubting this passage on account of ענו and ענוה 2 3); 2 5-12 he treats as exilic (chiefly on account of the 'remnant' 2 7 9), and 3 as post-exilic: the 'single leading motive' appealed to above by Robertson Smith, he considers to be evidence only of unity of *redaction*, not of unity of *author*. Wellhausen (1892, (3)1898) is suspicious of 2 3, and rejects 2 7*a*,*c*, 8-11; he treats 3 as an appendix, added subsequently in two stages, first 3 1-7 (cp Mic. 7 1-6), and then 3 8-20 (cp Mic. 7 7-20)—3 8-20 being separated from 3 1-7 on account of the sudden change of tone and subject, consolations and promises following immediately upon censure and rebuke, and the heathen, not the Jews, being threatened with punishment. Budde (*St. Kr.*, 1893, pp. 393 *ff.*) would admit 2 1-3 3 1-5 7 8 6 [in this order] 11-13 as in harmony with the pre-exilic period, and a suitable sequel to 1; 2 4-15 he rejects, as inconsistent with 1 (Israel no longer, as in 1, the perpetrator of wrong, but the victim of wrong, which is now [*v.* 9 end] to be avenged); 3 9 *f.* is excluded as breaking the connection betwen 3 8 and 3 11; and 3 14-20 is a later lyrical epilogue to 3 11-13. Cornill (*Einl.*, (3)1896, § 35, 3) agrees with Budde. Davidson (1896) defends (99 *ff.*) 2 as a whole, admitting only that 2 4-15 may in parts have been expanded (the *ķīnā*-rhythm seems intended to predominate in these verses; but in some places, especially 2 5 7, it can be restored only by considerable textual alterations, and 2 8-11 do not conform to it at all); in 3 he feels doubtful only about 3 10 (which is textually obscure and uncertain) and about the 'extremely beautiful passage' 3 14-20, which seems to him to spring from a time when the judgments have already fallen upon Israel (*v.* 15), and by its jubilant tone contrasts strangely with the dark picture of guilt 3 1-3 7, and even with the more sombre hopes of 3 11-13. Nowack (1897) in 2 agrees closely with Wellhausen, only rejecting 2 15 as well as 2 7 *a*,*c* 8-11; in 3, however, he rejects only (like Budde) 3 9 *f.* in addition to 3 14-20. G. A. Smith (1898) accepts (2 42-45) the whole of 2 except 2 8-11; in 3 he regards 3 9 *f.* as 'obviously a later insertion,' and 3 14-20 as clearly an epilogue of peace and hope added at the close of the exile or after the return (44 *f.*). Baudissin (*Einl.* 1901, p. 553 *ff.*) denies to Zephaniah only 2 7*a*, *c*, 8-11 and 3 14-20; he thinks 3 1-13 also to be an addition to the original prophecy (which will have ended with 2 12-15), but not necessarily by another hand than that of Zephaniah himself.

Of the passages which have been thus questioned, 2 1-3 may be accepted as Zephaniah's without any scruple: it forms for a prophet the almost necessary counterpart to 1. In 2 4-7 the only suspicious part is the clause 2 7 *c* (cp the remarks below on 3 18-20), which may be a gloss (Wellhausen, Nowack); and 2 13-15 is far more likely to have been written before the destruction of Nineveh in 607 than after it (cp also § 3). Against 3 1-8 11-13 no reasonable objection can be urged: as Budde (396) says, we are here in the pre-exilic Jerusalem, without any trace of the exile and its experiences. Davidson remarks in particular that 3 1-7 is characterised generally by the same moral earnestness as 1 2-2 3, and that the terms of 3 1-4 are such as are not likely to have been applied to Jerusalem, except in the pre-exilic period: 3 11-13 describes the Jerusalem of the future, purified by judgment, and naturally therefore differs in tone from 3 1-7. Schwally's main argument (231 *ff.*) for rejecting 3 8 cannot be sustained: there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the nations are there gathered together *against* Israel (as in Ez. 38 *f.* and post-exilic passages); they are assembled for punishment, and Israel is included among them. There is, however, a greater consensus against Zephaniah's authorship of 2 8-11 3 9 *f.* and 3 14-20. It is objected to 2 8-10 (the oracle of Moab and Ammon) that there is no sufficient motive for the mention of these countries about 625 B.C. (the Philistines, 2 5-7, would be on the line of march of the Scythians towards Egypt; indeed, Herodotus expressly says that they passed by Ashkelon, 1 105), that the reproaches of 2 8 10 presuppose the destruction of Jerusalem, which gave occasion for them (Ezek. 25 3 6 8), that (see Budde above) the attitude of the prophet towards Judah is here the exact opposite of that taken by him in 1, and that the elegiac measure, which at least predominates in 2 4-7 12-15, does not appear in 2 8-10. It may, however, be doubted whether the terms of 2 8 10 necessarily refer to the events of B.C. 586, and also whether our knowledge of the times is sufficient to justify us in declaring that no adequate motive then existed for the unfavourable mention of these arrogant and encroaching (Is. 16 6 Am. 1 13) nations (Davidson compares Dt. 23 3 6); if Ezekiel, in spite of his uncompromising sense of Judah's sin (1-24), nevertheless resents strongly (25 1-11) the unfriendly attitude of Moab and Ammon, why may not Zephaniah have done the same? The argument derived from the change of rhythm possesses weight; but it implies that we are right in emending the context (2 5 7 12) so as to restore the *ķīnā*-rhythm, and also that we have valid grounds for supposing that Zephaniah would desire to preserve rhythmical uniformity throughout the entire passage (2 8 'I have heard' is an evident reminiscence of Is. 16 6). 2 11, however, connects imperfectly both with 2 10 and with 2 12 (observe 'ye *also*'); and may therefore be the addition of a reader, who desiderated here the two thoughts which the verse contains; and 3 9 *f.* (the *conversion* of the nations)[1] connects extremely badly (notice *v.* 9 'for then') with 3 8 (the *judgment* on the nations—if not, indeed, their *destruction*, 1 2 *f.*). As regards 3 14-20, it is, no doubt, possible that it is, in G. A. Smith's words (73), a 'new song from God,' which came to some prophet, shortly after the return, and expressed for the remnant that survived, the 'afflicted and poor' people of *v.* 12, the brighter hopes which the restoration fostered. The picture which the verses delineate is, however, upon any view of their origin, an ideal one; and the question remains whether it is more than a lyrical development of the thought of *vv.* 11-13, such as Zephaniah, realising vividly in spirit the blissful future, might have con-

[1] There is manifestly some corruption in 3 10; but the homage of the nations is more consonant with the context than the homage of the exiled Jews.

structed himself. Undoubtedly the terms of *vv.* 18-20 presuppose exile, whilst *vv.* 11-13 suggest nothing more than the purification of Judah in its own home; but both exile, and restoration from exile, are contemplated by Jeremiah, and Zephaniah might have added the closing verses of his book many years after 3 11-13 was written, at a time when exile was seen more clearly to be looming in the future. It is, however, true that 3 18-20 is more open to suspicion than 3 14-17. A final decision on the entire question will hardly be arrived at on the basis of Zephaniah alone: it will depend on the conclusion formed by the critic on passages of similar import found in many of the other prophets (cp *Introd.*(7) 229 *f.* 273 306 *f.* 318 330 334; and Cheyne, Pref. to WRS, *Proph.*(2) xv *ff.*).

7. Text. The text of Zephaniah, while on the whole well preserved, is in several passages open to grave suspicion, and in some unquestionably corrupt. Many of these have, however, been corrected, especially by Wellhausen, chiefly on the basis of 𝔊.

A full discussion of the text belongs to a commentary (see esp. We., Now., and GASm.); but a few of the more notable passages may be briefly noticed here: 1 3, 'and the stumbling blocks with the wicked,' is incongruous with the context, and prob. (We. Now.) a late gloss; 1 5*b* omit prob. הַנִּשְׁבָּעִים and the ו after לַיהוה (reading then, 'and the worshippers of Yahwè, who swear by their king' ['Molech']); 2 1 הִתְבּוֹשְׁשׁוּ וָבֹשׁוּ (Che. Bu.) 'get you shame, and be ye ashamed, O nation unabashed,' is on the whole most prob. (קוֹשֵׁשׁ means 'to gather stubble'); 2 2 for the first two clauses (to *chaff*) read with Wellhausen (nearly as 𝔊) 'before *ye become as chaff that passeth away*' (בְּטֶרֶם לֹא־תִהְיוּ כְּמֹץ עֹבֵר); 2 6*a* read probably (𝔊 We.) 'and Chĕrēth shall be an habitation for shepherds' (וְהָיְתָה כְּרֵת נְוֵה רֹעִים: 'with cottages'—or even 'with caves'—'for' is an impossible rendering of the existing Heb.); 2 7 read (𝔊 We.) 'and the coast *of the sea* (חֶבֶל הַיָּם), and (We.) 'by the sea' for 'thereupon' (עַל הַיָּם for עֲלֵיהֶם); 2 11 at least רִזָּה, 'make lean' (cp Is 10 16 17 4, though the word is here strange) for רָזָה; 2 14 כָּל־חַיְתוֹ־גוֹי cannot be right ('all the beasts of the nations' is no translation of it); then for קוֹל '(their) voice' read probably (We.) כּוֹס, 'the owl' (Ps. 102 7), and for חֹרֶב, 'desolation,' עֹרֵב, 'the raven' (𝔊 Ew. We.: cp Is. 34 11); 3 3 גָּרְמוּ ('leave,' lit. *cut off*, hence *reserve* (?); or 'gnaw the bones,' denom. from גֶּרֶם) is very suspicious; 3 7 read with 𝔊 We., for 'so . . . concerning her,' 'and all that I have commanded her shall never be cut off from her eyes' (only מֵעֵינֶיהָ for מְעוֹנָהּ); 3 8 for לְעַד, 'to the prey' read prob., with 𝔊 Pesh., Hitz., Bu., We., Now., GASm., לְעֵד, 'for a witness'; 3 10 עֲתָרַי בַּת פּוּצַי ('my suppliants, the daughter of my dispersed'?) is extremely suspicious; 3 15 read, with 𝔊 Pesh. and nearly all moderns, תִּרְאִי, 'see,' for תִּירְאִי, 'fear'; 3 17 Buhl (*ZATW*, 1885, p. 183) for יַחֲרִישׁ proposes plausibly יְחַדֵּשׁ, 'will *renew* (Ew. § 282 *d*) his love'; 3 18*a* 'for' (RV) is less probable than 'away from'; 3 18*b* is suspicious, though the clause might be rendered (better than in RV), 'upon whom [referring to 'thee'] reproach is a burden'; 3 20 'and at that time I will gather thee' yields an excellent sense, but it cannot be extracted from the existing text.

8. Religious teaching. As has been remarked already (§§ 3-5), Zephaniah, in his prophetic ideals, follows largely in the steps of Isaiah. With Zephaniah as with Isaiah, the central idea is that of a *judgment*, to be executed by Yahwè upon Judah, which will sweep away from it the proud, the religiously indifferent, the scoffers, the men who abuse their privileges and their position (3 3 *f.*), and the impenitent, who will not listen to 'correction' (3 2 7), but which will leave behind a meek and pious 'remnant,' who trust simply in their God (2 3 3 12 *f.*; cp Is. 14 32, and contrast Is. 2 11 12 17: Zephaniah, it is to be noted, emphasises more strongly than Isaiah does the particular virtues of 'meekness' and 'humility'). With Zephaniah, however, the judgment, more distinctly than in Isaiah (3 13), is a *world*-judgment: it embraces *all* nations (1 2 *f.* 3 8), not only Israel (1 4 *ff.*). The figure of Yahwè's 'Day' is doubtless suggested by Is. 2 12 *ff.*; but the imagery of war and invasion, under which its approach is pictured (1 14-18), is Zephaniah's own, though found in Isaiah in other connections (*e.g.* 5 26-30). The great and abiding religious value of the book consists in the profoundly earnest moral tone which pervades it, and in the prophet's deep sense of the sin of his people, and of the stern need which impels Yahwè, who would only too gladly rejoice over his people, if it would permit him to do so (3 17), to visit it with a discipline such as will purge away its unworthy members. Zephaniah's gospel has been described as 'simple and austere.' It is true, he goes back to and insists with pathetic eloquence on the most primary and rudimentary of religious duties, earnestness and sincerity of life, justice and integrity, humility and a simple trust in God. 'A thorough purgation, the removal of the wicked, the sparing of the honest and the meek; insistence only upon the rudiments of morality and religion; faith in its simplest form of trust in a righteous God, and character in its basal elements of meekness and truth—these alone survive the judgment' (GASm., 71). He does not, as other prophets commonly do, call the wicked to repent, or dwell upon the divine grace which is ever ready to forgive the penitent: it may be that the doom seemed to him to be too imminent; the time for pleading was past; there remained only the separation of the evil from the good. But he recognises and teaches clearly the moral qualities which have a value in Yahwè's eyes, and will not be swept away when the judgment comes (cp Is. 33 14-16). Another point which is worthy of notice is Zephaniah's comprehensive view of history. Yahwè's hand guides the movement of the nations; and by them he accomplishes his purposes of discipline, purgation, and salvation (cp Is. 10 5 *ff.*). His ultimate purpose is that not only Israel (3 11-13), but also the nations (2 11*b* 3 9 *f.*, —whether these verses be Zephaniah's or not), shall become the loyal and faithful servants of God.

9. Literature. Ewald, *Prophets*, 3 14 *ff.*; the Commentaries on the Minor Prophets in general (Hitz., Keil, Pusey, Wellh., Nowack, GASm.); A. B. Davidson in the *Camb. Bible* (1896); Duhm, *Theol. der Proph.* (1875), pp. 222-5; Kirkpatrick, *Doctr. of the Prophets*, 253 *ff.*; J. A. Selbie's art. in Hastings' *DB*; and the discussions of Kuenen, Schwally, etc., which have been already mentioned. An apocryphal prophecy ascribed to Zephaniah ('And the spirit took me, and carried me up into the fifth heaven, and I saw angels called lords,' etc.) is quoted by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 5 11, § 77; some other fragments, preserved in a Coptic version, have also been discovered and published lately: see APOCRYPHA, § 21, Schürer, *TLZ*, 1899, col. 8 (who agrees that Steindorff's 'unknown' Apoc. is probably that of Zeph.), *GJV*(3) 3 271 *f.* [See also PROPHETIC LITERATURE, § 40, and SCYTHIANS, § 6, on Zephaniah and Jeremiah, with reference to the prophecies on 'the Scythians.']

W. R. S., §§ 1-5, 9 (partly);
S. R. D., §§ 6-8, 9 (partly).

2. A Kohathite (1 Ch. 6 21 [36], σαφανια [BL], -ιου [A]).

3. *b.* MAASEIAH (1), a priest temp. Zedekiah; Jer. 21 1 29 25 29 37 3 52 24 (B𝔑A om.) 2 K. 25 18 (σαφονιαν [L]).

4. Father of JOSIAH (2); Zech. 6 10 14.

[All these 'Zephaniahs' have directly or indirectly a historical interest, and even if it be contended that the prophet Zephaniah must have given his name a religious interpretation (cp the statement in Is. 8 18), and have considered himself a guardian of the truth (cp 2 3, though to be sure Schwally and Wellhausen question Zephaniah's authorship of this passage) that the faithful will be protected in the day of Yahwè's anger, yet it is at any rate conceivable, and, if we consider the mass of evidence arising from parallel names, even probable, that the 'Zephaniahs' in general belonged to families of near or remote Jerahmeelite—*i.e.*, N. Arabian—affinities,[1] and the view is capable of being defended that all the names with which 'Zephaniah' is combined in the OT (passing over Zeph. 1 1, in spite of the suggestion 'Cushi') are most easily and naturally explained as names of the Negeb. From this point of view, 'Zephaniah' (cp Elizaphan and SHAPHAN; also *Crit. Bib.* on Jer. 20 1) is an expansion of Ṣaphan or Ṣaphon, the name of a N. Arabian district—cp ZAPHON; and a parallel to the confusion which may seem to have arisen can be found in the name Eliahba (אליחבא), if this

[1] It is worth noticing that there is a well-known Israelite gem (Brit. Mus., No. 1032), with this legend, לשחרחר בן צפניהו, where, even if שחרחר be rendered 'blackish' or 'brownish' (so Clermont-Ganneau, *PEFQ*, 1902, p. 267), we must at any rate suppose that it is a fantastic variation of אשחור=שַׁחֹר, so that both father and son have names which originally belonged to districts of N. Arabia.

is really a modification of ירחמאל[ר]י, as maintained in *Crit. Bib.* on 2 S. 13 32. This has a distinct bearing on the history of Israelite religion. The third Zephaniah held a high office in the temple. In Jer. 29 26 he appears as the successor of 'the priest Jehoiada,' and as having the right of granting or refusing access to the temple. It was held to be his duty to expel prophetic enthusiasts; nevertheless he abstained from hindering Jeremiah. In 2 K. 25 18 (and Jer. 52 24?) he is represented as second priest (see PRIEST, § 5, end). The fourth Zephaniah was father of a certain Josiah, into whose house the bearers of rich offerings from בבל entered (temp. Zerubbabel). See ZERUBBABEL, and cp HEN. T. K. C.]

ZEPHATH (צְפַת; § 20; сєфєк[1] [BL], сєфєр [A]), a Canaanite city taken by the men of SIMEON (§ 4) and Judah (Judg. 1 17). Probably a corruption of ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*) [Che.]. For a northern Zephath see PALESTINE, § 15, col. 3546, no. 116.

ZEPHATHAH (צְפָתָה, Jos. *Ant.* viii. 12 1, сαβαθα), a valley 'by MARESHAH' (*q.v.*), where Asa defeated Zerah the Cushite, 2 Ch. 14 10. If the Mareshah referred to is the Mer'aš S. of Bēt-jibrīn, it is simplest to read צפונה, Ṣāphōnāh, with Hitzig, Grätz, Köhler, Buhl, Benzinger, following 𝔊[BAL], κατὰ βορρᾶν (Pesh. omits).

It is possible, however, that there was a Mareshah in the Negeb, near Zephath or Zarephath, and that Asa's fight with Zerah was to defend Judahite possessions in the Negeb. The mention of Gerar (*v.* 14) somewhat favours this view (see GERAR). This affects the question as to the birthplace of Micah, and the geography of Mic. 1 10 *ff.* T. K. C.

ZEPHO (צְפוֹ; сωφαρ [ADEL]), b. Eliphaz, an Edomite chieftain or rather, reading אַלֻּף, clan (Gen. 36 11 15). In 1 Ch. 1 36 his name appears as **Zephi** (צְפִי, σωφαρ [BA], σεπφουη [L], a secondary form from σεπφουρ]). After 𝔊 (except L in 1 Ch.) we may read צוֹפַר. See ZOPHAR.

ZEPHON (צְפוֹן), b. Gad, whence the family of the ZEPHONITES (הַצְּפוֹנִי): Nu. 26 15 (𝔊, *v.* 24, сαφωɴ [BL], om. A; сαφωɴ[є]ι [BAL]). In Gen. 46 16 the name appears as ZIPHION (צִפְיוֹן, σαφων [ADL]).

Cp ZAPHON, which may with much plausibility be taken as the name of a district in N. Arabia (see *Crit. Bib.* on Is. 14 13 Jer. 1 13 *ff.* 6 1 Ezek. 32 30 38 6 etc.).

The Gadite clans had Jerahmeelite names (*e.g.*, Shuni, Areli), perhaps recording a sojourn in the Negeb. But cp GAD, § 11.

ZER (צֵר; τγροс [BAL]) an unknown 'fenced city' of Naphtali mentioned between ZIDDIM and HAMMATH (Josh. 19 35). It is probable that the text has become confused and amplified through the recurrence of צר(מב) and (צד)ים, and that צר should be omitted.

ZERAH (זֶרַח, if primarily a personal name [cp § 11] may be equivalent to אזרח [§ 50], or to the Sab. n. pr. דרחן דרח 'magnificent'; cp ZERAHIAH, also JACOB, col. 2311; ζαρα [BADEFL]).

1. Twin-brother of Perez (Gen. 38 30 [J], 46 12 [P] AV in both ZARAH, Nu. 26 20 [P], Mt. 1 3, AV ZARA); see JUDAH, § 2 *f.*, PEREZ. In the only other passage prior to P, he appears as the ancestor of ACHAN (Josh. 7 18 24 [JE], cp 7 1 22 20 [P]). According to 1 Ch. 2 6 his sons were Zimri, Ethan, Heman, Calcol, and Dara (see ETHAN). The B'ne Zerah were a family[2] living in Jerusalem in post-exilic times (1 Ch. 9 6 ζηρα [L]), a member of which was the royal commissary for Jewish affairs, Pethahiah (Neh. 11 24; om. BN*A, ζαρε [N^c.a]).

The patronymic, ZARHITE, RV **Zerahite** (Nu. 26 20 הַזַּרְחִי; ὁ ζαρα[ε]ι [BAFL]) is used of Achan (Josh. 7 17 [ὁ] ζαρα[ε]ι [BAFL]), Sibbecai (1 Ch. 27 11 τῷ ζαρια [B], τῷ ζαραιτη [L], om. A), and of Maharai (*ib. v.* 13 τῳ ζαρει [B], τῷ -ραι [AL]); and occurs also in EV under the form IZRAHITE (הַיִּזְרָח, rather הַזַּרְחִי) applied to Shamhuth, 1 Ch. 27 8. Here Marquart, *Fund.* 19, would read ש הַ(חֲרוֹרִי לְ) זַרְחִי, see SHAMMAH, § 5.

2. A Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 6 21 [6] 41 [26], ιααρα, ζααραι [B], αζαριου [A in *v.* 41]), whose son is named Ethni (*v.* 41)—a combination which resembles Ethan b. Zerah (*v. sup.*); see ETHAN, 3.

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[1] For the final κ, cp σαφεκ, 1 S. 30 29 (B); σαραδακ Nu. 34 8. In each case κ (of και) follows.

[2] See Bertheau's commentary, but note the (less probable) alternative view offered in Ryle, *Ezra-Neh.* 283.

3. b. Reuel [from Jerahmeel?], an Edomite clan (pointing אַלֻּף for אַלּוּף, EV's 'duke'), Gen. 36 13 17 [P], (ζαρε [ADEL], ζερε [D *v.* 17]), 1 Ch. 1 37 (ζαρες [B], ζαρε [B^a.b AL]), represented as the father of JOBAB [*q.v.*] (Gen. 36 33 [om. E] 1 Ch. 1 44).

4. b. SIMEON (§ 9), Nu. 26 13 [P]; 1 Ch. 4 24 (ζαρες [B], ζαραε [A]), also called ZOHAR (צֹחַר; σααρ; Gen. 46 10 [σααλ D], Ex. 6 15). From him is derived the patronymic ZARHITE, RV ZERAHITE; cp 1 *supra.*

5. Zerah the Cushite, (הַכּוּשִׁי; ζαρε ὁ Αἰθιοψ; Jos. *Ant.* 8 12 1 ζαραιος), defeated by Asa, king of Judah (2 Ch. 14 9-15 [8-14]). The overwhelming defeat which Asa is said to have inflicted upon Zerah, in spite of his relatively small force, is a detail peculiar to the Chronicler. To take the story as it stands is impossible (see CHRONICLES, § 8 *f.*). What Asa's power really amounted to we know from 1 K. 15 16-22; of Zerah the Cushite nothing is reported elsewhere. It is true, many OT critics (incl. Ewald and Graf) have adopted Champollion's view that Osorkon I. (22nd dyn.) is intended; others (incl. Sayce, *Crit. Mon.* 363 *ff.*) have preferred Osorkon II. But why either king should be called a Cushite has not been explained[1] (see the suggestions described in Kohler, *Bibl. Gesch.* 3 321 *ff.*), and without this it is useless to show that Osorkon II. made a campaign against Syria and Palestine (Naville, Bubastis [*EEF*], 1891, p. 51). Other scholars (incl. Kuenen, Stade, Wellh.) have therefore rejected the narrative altogether. Winckler, however, has pointed out that, as probably in the case of the captivity of MANASSEH [*q.v.*], there may be a historical element in the statements of the Chronicler, and suggested that כושי should perhaps be כַּשִּׁי Kaššite (= Chaldæan), and that the invasion came from Babylonia (*AT Unters.* 160 *ff.*). More satisfactory is his later view (*KAT*(3) 144) that Zerah was a 'Cushite,' in the sense that he was a ruler of S. Arabia (Ma'in). Hommel, on the other hand, points out that several of the oldest princes of Saba bore the title דרח (= זרח; see *ad init.*), and thinks that a Sabæan invasion is intended.[2] The evidence of the Hebrew texts, however, points rather to N. than to S. Arabia as indicated by Cush, and in the Ass. texts 'Kuši and Meluḫḫa' is the ordinary designation of N. Arabia.

That Zerah is a 'Jerahmeelite' name is beyond question, and 'Cushite' and 'Miṣrite' are so nearly equivalent that 'Zerah the Cushite' may have meant much the same as Zerah the Miṣrite. Cp 'Cushi, king of Miṣrim,' if we may so read in 2 Ch. 12 2.[3] This view seems to be confirmed by the description of Asa's success in 2 Ch. 14 13-15. The 'cities about Gerar' are surely the cities of the Cushites. Now the 'Gerar' referred to is not Umm el-Jerār, 5 m. S. of Gaza, but in the Wādy Jerūr, SW of 'Ain Gadīs (see GERAR). In *v.* 15 moreover, underlying the present corrupt text, is the statement that Asa and his men smote and carried captive the Jerahmeelites.[4] Clearly 'Jerahmeelites' and 'Cushites' are synonymous terms. Add to this that in 16 8 the allies of the Cushites are called the Lubim. 'Lubim' is miswritten for 'Ludim'—*i.e.*, not the Lydian mercenaries of Egypt, but 'the Gil'adim'—*i.e.*, the men of the southern Gilead (in the Negeb), the same people who are mentioned in 2 Ch. 12 3 as the allies of 'Cushi, king of Miṣrim.'

It may be objected (cp GASm. *Twelve Prophets*, 2 153, n. 6) that the mention of Mareshah (2 Ch. 14 9 *f.*) favours the theory of an Egyptian invasion, and at any rate is adverse to the view that the southern Gerar is referred to. But the mention of the valley of Zephathah (*v.* 10) suggests that a Mareshah in the Negeb is intended, and this suggestion accords with the other phenomena pointing to a Cushite—*i.e.*, N. Arabian, invader. See ZEPHATHAH. It is probable that the feud between the Israelites and the Jerahmeelites, Cushites, and Miṣrites was long anterior to the fall of the kingdom of Judah. T. K. C.

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[1] Sayce, 364, frankly calls it a mistake of the Chronicler. In fact, the kings of the twenty-second dynasty bear for the most part Libyan names (see EGYPT, § 64).

[2] *Exp.T* 8 378, cp 431 *f.*; *AHT* 315, note 1.

[3] We assume that שישק is miswritten for כושי. See SHISHAK, § 2.

[4] Read וגם ירחמאלים הִכּוּ וַיִּשְׁבּוּ ישמעאלים וירחמאלים. Hommel, it is true, emends differently (*Exp.T*, as above). 𝔊 has σκηνὰς κτήσεων [κτηνῶν], τοὺς ἀμαζον[ι]εῖς (cp 22 1 αλ[ε]ιμαζονεῖς [BA], αμαζονιειμ [L], where MT has לַמַּחֲנֶה) ἐξέκοψαν; Pesh. 'tents of the Arabs.' But אהלי and מקנה are both corrupt fragments of ירחמאל.

ZERAHIAH (זְרַחְיָה 'Yahwè has dawned,' § 35, cp IZRAHIAH, unless both these names are modifications of ethnics, see ZERAH, and note that the whole body of names in the genealogical scheme connecting Eleazar b. Aaron with Ezra, etc., and the names of Izrahiah's five sons in 1 Ch. 7 3, and that of Zerahiah's son in Ezra 8 4, admit of being regarded as modified ethnics [so Che.]; *ζαραια* [BAL]).

1. b. Uzzi, father of Meraioth (1 Ch. 6 6 [5 32] [*ζαραιᾱ, ζαριας* A] 51 [36], Ezra 7 4 = 4 Esd. 1 2 ARNA). In 1 Esd. 8 2 he is called ZARAIAS (*ζαραιου* [AL], om. B).

2. Father of ELIEHOENAI (= Ishmael?), of the b'ne Pahath-moab—*i.e.*, (most probably) Nephtoah-miṣṣur—a district in the Negeb, Ezra 8 4 (*ζαρεια* [B]) = 1 Esd. 8 31 ZARAIAS (*ζαραιου* [BAL]). See *Crit. Bib.*

ZERED, THE VALLEY OF, or **BROOK OF** (נַחַל זֶרֶד; Nu. φαραγγα ζαρετ [B], ζαρε [A], ζαρεθ [L]; Dt. φ. ζαρετ [BAL, but ζαρε A^a? once], ζαρεθ [F]; *torrentem Zared*), named in E's itinerary in Nu. 21 12, also in Dt. 2 13 *f.*† The prevailing tendency is to identify it with the Wādy Kerak (Dillmann, Driver, Steuernagel, A. T. Chapman), a deep and narrow gorge running past Kerak in a NW. direction to the Dead Sea. In the upper part of its course it is called the Wādy 'Ain el-Franji.

There is, however, reason to think that the document in Nu. 21 has come down to us, especially so far as relates to geography, in a very distorted form. See NAHALIEL, WARS OF THE LORD, BOOK OF. Upon this theory, which demands close examination, 'Zered' should be some place-name in the E. of the Negeb, and the name 'Zered' is most easily accounted for as a corruption of Jizreel (JEZREEL, 2). T. K. C.

ZEREDA, RV **Zeredah** (צְרֵדָה), 1 Ki. 11 26 and **Zeredathah** (צְרֵדָתָה) AV, 2 Ch. 4 17. See ZARETHAN.

ZERERATH, RV **Zererah** (צְרֵרָה; γαραγαθα [B], *καὶ* [*ἦν*] *συνηγμένη* [AL]), a place towards which the Midianites fled, in the story of Gideon (Judg. 7 22). See GIDEON, ZARETHAN.

ZERESH (זֶרֶשׁ; ζωσαρα [BℵL*αβ*], σ. [A]), wife of Haman the Agagite, Esth. 5 10 14 6 13.†

The importance attached by Haman to her counsel favours the view that she was originally a representative of some place or clan. Comparing ZETHAR (*q.v.*), and assuming that the scene of the story of Esther was originally laid in the Negeb, we may perhaps see in Zeresh (Zereth?) a mutilated form of Zarephath. Earlier critics explained it as 'golden' (Pers. *ser*, 'gold'). For another view see Jensen, *WZKM*, 1892, p. 64. Cp also PURIM, § 7, ESTHER, § 3. T. K. C.

ZERETH (צֶרֶת), b. Helah, a Judahite name, 1 Ch. 4 7 (*αρεθ* [B], *σαρεθ* [A], *σαρηθ* [L]). Perhaps a corrupt form of צָרְפַת (Che.).

ZERETH-SHAHAR, or (AV), **Zareth-shahar** (צֶרֶת־הַשַּׁחַר; σεραδα και σ[ε]ιων εν τω ορει εναβ [B], σαρθ και σιωρ ε. τ. ο. ενακ [A], σαρθ ε. τ. ο. εμακ [L]), a Reubenite city of doubtful name (see below), situated 'on a mountain of the valley' (Josh. 13 19)—*i.e.*, on one of the mountains E. of the Jordan valley (cp *v.* 27), and not impossibly on that described at length in Jos. *BJ* vii. 6 1-3 (see MACHÆRUS). To the NW. of this mountain is the *Wādy eṣ-Ṣara*, with a hot spring called '*Ain eṣ-Ṣara* (*ZDPV* 2 221 244; cp Tristram, *Land of Moab*, 257 *ff.*), in which name Buhl (*Pal.* 268) finds an echo of צרת, Ṣereth.

The name Zereth-hašsahar, however, seems to become clearer from the point of view adopted in the article SIHON. השחר should represent אשחור 'Ashḥur' (cp 1 Ch. 4 5), and צרת should come from צרפת, 'Zarephath.' Josh. 13 16-20, as it now stands, may not correctly represent the original document. T. K. C.

ZERI (צְרִי), 1 Ch. 25 3. In 1 Ch. 25 11 IZRI.

ZEROR (צְרוֹר; αρεδ [BA], σαρα [L]), a Benjamite, ancestor of Kish (1 S. 9 1†); in 1 Ch. 8 30 ZUR. Marquart (*Fund.* 15) prefers צרד. מצור might be possible (cp ZEDAD).

ZERUAH (צְרוּעָה; σαρουα [A], on BL see col. 2404, n. 2), mother of Jeroboam I. (1 K. 11 26). The name is probably a corruption of מִצְרִיָּה, 'a Miṣrite (N. Arabian) woman.' See JEROBOAM, 1, and cp ZERUIAH. T. K. C.

ZERUBBABEL (זְרֻבָּבֶל, ζοροβαβελ, commonly explained as = זְרֻעַ בָּבֶל [cp Kön. 2 481, *l.* 2], 'begotten in Babylon.' The name may plausibly be brought into connection with a name found on two Babylonian contract tablets (marked V. A. Th. 81 and V. A. Th. 143 respectively, in Peiser's *Bab. Verträge* [1890]), ZER-TIN-TIR-KI, which is usually read Zêr- or Zîr-Babili, though as a matter of fact the phonetic reading Zârubabil is found. The meaning of this name, in its full form, according to C. H. W. Johns, is probably 'Marduk preserves the rightful seed [heir] to Babylon.' This assumes that the name is a contraction from Marduk-zâru-Babili-lišir; see, however, below).

1. Data.

The facts of the history of Zerubbabel are much disputed, and the OT references still appear to await some fresh illumination. These references (excluding the manifest interpolations[1] in 1 Esd. 4 13 5 6) are: Hag. 1 1 12 14 2 2 4 21 23 Zech. 4 6 1 Ch. 3 19 Ezra 2 2 3 2 5 2 Neh. 7 7 1 Esd. 5 8 56 70 6 2 18 27 29†. Authorities agree in stating that he was son of Shealtiel (or, as thrice in Haggai, Shaltiel), except Zechariah, who is silent as to his parentage, and the Chronicler, who makes him the son of Pedaiah, and the nephew of Shealtiel. The Chronicler represents him as a descendant of David. In the other passages this is not stated. Haggai four times appends to his name the title '*peḥah* (see GOVERNOR, 1) of Judah,' and Zechariah implies that he occupies the highest position among the Jews at home. In Ezra 2 2 = Neh. 7 7 he is represented as the leader of a band of captives who returned to Judah. Haggai, by the title 'my (= Yahwè's) servant' (Hag. 2 23; cp Zech. 3 8), indicates that Zerubbabel has received a special mission from God, and both Haggai and Zechariah (cp also Ezra 5 1 *f.*) represent Zerubbabel and Jeshua or Joshua, the high priest, as having been instigated by them to rebuild the temple. The most remarkable reference of all remains. It is in the same passage of Haggai which contains the address to Zerubbabel as 'my servant,' and consists of an emphatic statement that when the great overthrow of the powers (or power?) hostile to Israel occurs, Zerubbabel will receive the highest proofs of the divine favour and protection. These are the few dry, bare facts which find expression in the MT. The earlier tradition, however, was certainly not so meagre, and traces of the fuller record can, in all probability, yet be discerned. It is only because the points to be examined are so new that there is still considerable divergence of opinion.

A provisional view, which probably contains some historical truth, is as follows. The family of David was not altogether ruined by the catastrophe of the exile. There is a tradition that even Jehoiachin benefited by a change of feeling towards him on the part of Nebuchadrezzar's son and successor, EVIL-MERODACH (*q.v.*). It is also stated that SHESHBAZZAR (*q.v.*), the 'prince' (נשיא) or 'governor' (פֶּחָה), received the sacred vessels from Nebuchadrezzar, and went with a royal commission to rebuild the temple, that he did actually lay the foundation-stone, but that the building was soon afterwards interrupted. This Sheshbazzar has been identified with the Shenazzar of 1 Ch. 3 18, who is represented as a son of Jeconiah. It is supposed that Zerubbabel had succeeded his uncle in the governorship by the year 520 B.C., when Haggai and Zechariah stirred up the people to resume the building of the temple, and that the breaking out of revolts in different parts of the Persian empire may have stimulated hopes of the revival of an independent

2. Provisional view.

[1] On these see EZRA (THE GREEK), § 6, and cp Guthe's notes in Kau. *Apokr.* (1898). That the *νεάνισκος* of 1 Esd. 4 58 was originally Zerubbabel (cp Jos. *Ant.* xi. 3 1) is plainly impossible, even if Zerubbabel was not the same person as Sheshbazzar or Sanabassar, and was not the leader of the first migration of the Jews to Palestine. According to Howorth, however, the theory respecting Zerubbabel here referred to was 'a sufficient reason, and the only one, for the erasion of this particularly edifying passage from the canonical Ezra, and in consequence its exclusion from the canon' ('Some Unconventional Views on the Text of the Bible,' *PSBA* 23 316).

kingdom under the Davidic prince Zerubbabel. It is also held by some that there is evidence of this in the OT itself. Zechariah (6 10) mentions the arrival at Jerusalem of four Jews from Babylon, who brought gifts of silver and gold. Wellhausen thinks that in Zech. 6 11 the text has been deliberately tampered with. The crown referred to must surely have been for Zerubbabel. This must either have been expressly stated or implied. Wellhausen himself is content with omitting the words relative to the high priest, Joshua, as inserted at a time when the high priest was virtually a crowned king; but it may also be held that the name Joshua has displaced the name Zerubbabel.[1] However this may be, the sudden disappearance of Zerubbabel from the theatre of political history is remarkable.[2] It has been suggested that he may have been recalled or even put to death by the Persians, and that the attempt of Tattenai (see TATNAI) the satrap of Syria to stop the building of the temple may have some connection with this, or may at any rate imply a suspicion of the disloyalty of the Jews. Later, we find Sanballat professing that there is a report that Nehemiah aims at the crown (Neh. 6 7). This report was doubtless erroneous; but it may plausibly be supposed to be based on the fact that a Jewish pretender had really come forward in the past.[3]

For the further development of similar ideas see Sellin, *Serubbabel* (1898), where it is supposed that Zerubbabel is the martyr referred to (many think) in Is. 53, and the same writer's *Studien zur Entstehungsgesch. der jüd. Gemeinde nach dem bab. Exil*, 2 (1901), where some retractations are made, and the theory is placed on what appears to the writer a more secure basis. Sellin still holds that Zerubbabel came to a violent end, but no longer rests this on Is. 53 or on any other passage of the OT. Winckler, however, is bolder. He thinks that both Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel were set aside by acts of the Persian authorities, and that, whilst Sheshbazzar was treated gently, Zerubbabel suffered the punishment of impalement; the eulogium of Zerubbabel is to be found in Is. 53.[4]

Stade (*GVI* 2 127 [1888]) speaks more vaguely. 'If the supreme Persian power heard of the hopes attaching to the Persian governor Zerubbabel, we cannot wonder that it did not accommodate itself to the rôle of a tree undergoing the embrace of ivy.'

It is possible, however, that these theories need to be revised in the light of a more thorough criticism of the text of the OT narratives.

3. A new suggested theory.

The story underlying Ezra, Nehemiah, and the early part of Daniel refers, it may be held, to a N. Arabian captivity of the Jews and to a subsequent change in their relations to their captors. It is unsafe to place any reliance on the proper names in their present form. זרבבל (for the common explanations of which little can be said[5]) may, like איזבל and זבול, be a corruption (manipulated by the redactor) of ישמעאל (Ishmael). This has the advantage of according with the theory, which appears to be well supported, that the names given in 1 Ch. 3 19 to the sons of 'Zerubbabel,' beginning with Meshullam (=Ishmael), are all corruptions of gentilics or ethnics belonging to the Negeb. That 'Zerubbabel' was really a descendant of David is possible, but by no means certain,[1] and the same may of course be said of Sheshbazzar.[2] Even that they were returned exiles is doubtful.[3] This is not the place to rewrite the history of this period—or rather to collect the fragments of its history—from the new point of view. But we may at any rate suggest that critics of Zechariah may have erred in supposing that the donors of the silver and gold mentioned in Zech. 6 9 *ff.* were 'Babylonian Jews.' These persons appear rather to have been foreigners such as are referred to in Is. 60 13, and their gifts are such מנחות ('offerings') as Haggai most probably refers to in the famous prophecy in Hag. 2 7. It may still, however, be held that the name of 'Joshua ben Jehozadak' has been substituted for that of 'Zerubbabel' (Ishmael?), and the view that a movement arose among the Jews in favour of 'Zerubbabel' as Messianic king still appears to have a considerable degree of probability.

Rothstein (*Die Genealogie des Königs Jojachin u. seiner nachkommen in geschichtl. Beleuchtung*, 1902) assumes the present form of the names in 1 Ch. 3 17-24 to be fairly correct. Such an emendation as that of 'Ohel' into 'Jehaiel' (85) is at any rate exceptional, and even here the author assumes a view of the formation of the name 'Jehaiel' such as the latest editor of Chronicles might not have disowned. The theory that 'Zerubbabel' was the son of Pedaiah is supported by some new historical hypotheses, the basis of which, however, needs careful testing. T. K. C.

ZERUIAH (צְרוּיָה ; צְרֻיָה, 'one who is perfumed with storax'? § 71; ϲαρογια [BAL]), sister of David (1 Ch. 2 16), and mother of JOAB, ABISHAI, and ASAHEL.

So at least the Chronicler represents; 2 S. 17 25 will be considered presently. It would be strange, however, that in the list of David's high officers in 2 S. 8 16-18 Joab should be the only one whose mother's name was substituted for his father's. We have met with many cases in which the ethnic origin of a name has been disguised by the addition of ה to the gentilic ending י. It is therefore not improbable that Zeruiah is an expansion of an ethnic name, and if so we cannot for a moment doubt what that name is—it is מִצְרִי. צור and צר are several times given by an error for מָצוֹר—*i.e.*, Muṣri in N. Arabia (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), and Jeroboam's mother is, by a similar error, called ZERUAH (*q.v.*), instead of Miṣriyah. In 2 S. 2 32 the sepulchre of Asahel's father is said to have been in Bethlehem. Bethlehem probably comes from Beth-jerahmeel, and there was doubtless a Beth-jerahmeel in the Jerahmeelite Negeb; cp MICAH, 1. It was from this Beth-jerahmeel that Joab probably came, and if so we can easily believe that his father might be called (especially by those who dwelt outside the Negeb) Miṣri, or 'Miṣrite,' 'Jerahmeelite' and 'Miṣrite' being almost, though not quite, synonymous. In 1 Ch. 2 54 (RV) we meet with a place Atroth(ephrath)-beth-joab, whose people were 'sons of Salma' (*i.e.*, connected with the Salmæans—see SALMAH). This indirectly confirms the view here taken. It would be a serious objection to this if the text of 2 S. 17 25 were correct. The obscurity of the passage, however (see NAHASH), suggests a doubt. Elsewhere (see *Crit. Bib.*) it is proposed to read, 'Now Amasa was the son of Ithra an Ishmaelite, who went in unto Abigail, the daughter of Achish, a Miṣrite.'

We can now understand better the exclamation ascribed to David in 2 S. 3 39, 'these men the sons of Miṣri—*i.e.*, fierce Miṣrites by extraction (MT Zeruiah)—are harsher than I.' The alternative is to connect צריה with צֳרִי MASTIC (*q.v.*), comparing זִלְפָּה, Zilpah, 'dropping'; see NAMES, § 71. It is true, Zilpah too admits of another explanation (cp ZILPAH). What can have led Josephus to say (*Ant.* vii. 1 3) that Joab's father was named σουρι, Suri, it is difficult to say, unless it be that in 1 Ch. 4 14 Joab, 'the father of Geharashim' (a corruption of Geshurim), is called Seraiah (see SERAIAH, beg.). T. K. C.

ZETHAM (זֵתָם, explain as ZETHAN, ζεθομ [B], ζαιθ., ζοθ. [A], ζηθαν [L]), a Gershonite Levite; 1 Ch. 23 8 26 22.

[1] So *Jew. Rel. Life*, 15, n. Hitzig supposes a mere ordinary accident. He would insert the words 'of Zerubbabel and of,' thus accounting for the plural 'crowns.' So also Marti (in Kau. *HS*).

[2] For another view see Guthe, *GVI* 248 (Darius's division of the empire into twenty satrapies, making the post at Jerusalem superfluous).

[3] So *Jew. Rel. Life*, 13-16, which was written independently of Sellin's *Serubbabel* (published in the same year 1898).

[4] See SERVANT OF THE LORD. Winckler's theories, as given in *AOF* and *KAT*(3), have passed through several phases. There is a convenient summary of his present conclusions in the latter work, pp. 291 *ff.*

[5] 'Sown in Babylon' surely cannot mean 'begotten in Babylon.' Rothstein (*Genealogie*, 65) thinks that the name was given to his son by Pedaiah (=Sheshbazzar) to commemorate the happy turn in the fortunes of Israel, and that the return of Jewish exiles was already as good as certain when the child called Zerubbabel was born. Marquart (*Fund.* 55), however, supports the view that Zerubbabel (Zarubabili?) is a Babylonian name. But the name, as explained above by Johns, does not seem at all a likely one to have been selected for a Jewish governor.

[1] Cp Kosters, *Herstel*, 47 *f.*

[2] According to the theory here advocated, 'Sheshbazzar' is an alteration of a name with N. Arabian affinities. The first part may, in accordance with sound method, be identified with כוש. Again and again in the MT we find שוש and סוס written in error for כּוּשׁ. The second part may perhaps be a corruption of מָצוֹר.

[3] Cp EZRA-NEHEMIAH, § 8; ISRAEL, § 51; and cp *Intr. Is.* Prologue, p. xxxviii; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 6; Kent, *Hist. of the Jewish People* (Babylonian Period, etc.), 132 *f.*

ZETHAN (זֵיתָן, as if 'olive' [§ 69], but the neighbourhood of Bilhan [if it be ultimately from 'Jerahmeel'], and of Tarshish and Aḥishaḥar, both probably from Ashḥur, suggests צרפת as the original of [זיתן] or Zethan, ΖΑΙΘΑΝ [B], ΗΘΑΝ [A], ΖΗΘΑ [L]). b. BILHAN in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, §§ 3, 9 ii. *α*), 1 Ch. 7 10†.

How deceptive apparent tree-names may be, appears from Birzaith (ברזית, Ges. 'well of an olive'), the name of a son of Malchiel (from 'Jerahmeel'). Malchiel's brother is Heber (cp Judg. 4 11), among whose sons (all probably bearing Negeb names) is Japhlet (cp Peleth, b. Jerahmeel, 1 Ch. 2 33), which may ultimately come from ZAREPHATH (*q.v.*). T. K. C.

ZETHAR (זֵתַר, ΑΒΑΤΑΖΑ [BℵAL^B]), a chamberlain of Ahasuerus, Esth. 1 10†.

Gesenius, 'perhaps "star" Pers. *sitar*.' But if Mehuman = Heman, Harbona = Hebron (Rehoboth), and Carcar = Jerahmeel, Zethar as probably = Zarephath. Cp VASHTI, ZERESH, and see otherwise Marq. *Fund.* 71. T. K. C.

ZIA (זִיעַ; ΖΟΥΕ [BA], ΖΕΑ [L]), 1 Ch. 5 13, a name in the genealogy of GAD (*q.v.*, i., § 13)

ZIBA (צִיבָא, and צִבָא; on origin, see below; 2 S. 16 4, Σ[Ε]ΙΒΑ [BAL], ΣΙΒΒΑ [A sometimes], ΣΙΒΑΣ [Josh. *Ant.* vii. 5 5]). 'Servant of the house of Saul,' and, after Saul's death, of Mephibosheth or Meribaal. On the obscure story of his treatment of Saul's son see MEPHIBOSHETH, § 2. Ziba seems to have founded an important family; he had 'fifteen sons and twenty servants.' He himself had no recorded father or tribe.

Although other views have been suggested [cp NAMES, §§ 51 68], we can hardly doubt that ציבא or צבא is a worn down form of צִבְעֹנִי (Ṣib'ōnī) or שִׁמְעֹנִי (Šim'ōnī) = ישמעאלי (Ishme'eli). Ziba, like Doeg (see SAUL, § 2 *a*), was apparently a N. Arabian (2 S. 9 2-12 16 1-4 19 17 29). T. K. C.

ZIBEON (צִבְעוֹן, 'hyæna'? § 68; see below; ΣΕΒΕΓΩΝ[1]), a Hivite (*v.* 2) or rather (see *v.* 20) Horite, in the genealogy of the Esau-tribe (Gen. 36 2 20, ΣΕΓΕΓΩΝ [E], 24 29; 1 Ch. 1 38, ΣΕΒΕΤΩΝ [A], 40). In *v.* 29 he is a clan-chieftain (אַלּוּף) or clan (אֶלֶף, see SS, *s.v.* אלוף).

In *v.* 24, underneath the strange, Midrash-like text of the redactor, lie, apparently, the words, 'it is the Anah who went out from the Jerahmeelites in the desert'; 'as he fed the asses' is woven out of a marginal gloss חמומים, which is one of the current distortions of ירחמאלים (cp SHECHEM, 2). Another popular corruption of the same word is probably חרי (Ḥorite). In *v.* 20 Zibeon is reckoned among the sons of 'the Ḥorite,' and as a comment on חרי (Ḥorite), there still lies, under the superfluous phrase ישבי הארץ (RV, 'the inhabitants of the land'), the gloss[2] ישמעאלי (Ishmaelite); ישבי (like יבוסי) being one of the corruptions of 'ישמ. We are now prepared to consider the origin of the name Zibeon, which is scarcely = 'hyæna,' as WRS (*J. Phil.* 9 90), Gray (*HPN* 95), and other scholars have supposed, but is rather a corruption of שמעון (Sime'on), used as an equivalent of 'ישמ (Išmael), unless indeed it comes directly from ישמעין, a corruption of 'ישמ, for which parallels can be adduced. Cp ZIBA, ZIN. T. K. C.

ZIBIA (צִבְיָא, 'gazelle,' cp ΤΑΒΙΘΑ [Acts 9 36]; ΙΕΒΙΑ [B], ΣΕΒ· [A], ΣΑΒ· [L]), in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8 9.

ZIBIAH (צִבְיָה, § 68) of Beer-sheba, the mother of King Joash (2 K. 12 1 2 Ch. 24 1: ΑΒΙΑ [L, in Ch. ΣΑΒΙΑ], ܨܒܝܐ [Pesh.], *sebia* [Vg]).

The usual explanation 'gazelle' (cp צְבִיָּה) for Zibiah and Zibia is in itself plausible, in spite of the pointing. But though such an interpretation may possibly be ancient, the theory that early Hebrew personal names were derived from animals has become so questionable that we must look in each case for some other more probable explanation.

[1] The representation of ע (=Ar. غ) by γ is not uncommon; cp Wr. *Comp. Sem. Gr.* 42 *f.*, and see BERIAH, n. 1.

[2] חרי is probably a fragment of ירחמאל, of which tribal name ישמעאל is used as a synonym.

Now Zibia (צביא) in 1 Ch. 8 9 is grouped with Jobab, Mesha, and Malcam. Judging from numerous analogies it can hardly be doubted that of these three names (*a*) and (*c*) come from 'Jeraḥmeel' and (*b*) from 'Ishmael,' while the names of the father and mother (Shaharaim and Hodesh) are both distortions of 'Ashḥur' (a synonym of Jeraḥmeel); naturally enough they dwell in the 'field (highland) of Miṣṣur,' מואב, as often, being altered from Miṣṣur (see MOAB, §§ 1, n. 1, 14)—*i.e.*, in the N. Arabian border-land. It now becomes probable that both צביא and צביה, together with ציבא (ZIBA) and צבעים (ZEBOIM), are popular corruptions of ישמעאל (Ishmael). T. K. C.

ZICHRI (זִכְרִי, see NAMES, §§ 32, 52, but cp ZACCUR, where it is suggested that this must be a clan-name; note the ethnic affinities of the related names; ΖΕΧΡ[Ε]Ι [BℵAFL]).

1-3. in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.* § 9 ii. *β*), 1 Ch. 8, where observe that SHIMEI, SHASHAK (probably), and JEROHAM are ethnics.

1. b. Shimei (*v.* 19: ζαχρει [B]).
2. b. Shashak (*v.* 23; ζοχρι [A]).
3. b. Jeroham (*v.* 27: ζαχρει [B]).
4. 'Father' of Joel (one of the developments of 'Jeraḥmeel'?), in list of Benjamite inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*): Neh. 11 9.
5. Of REUBEN (§ 13, end), 1 Ch. 27 16. The name stands close to the 'Jerahmeelite' names, Shephatiah, Maacah, Kemuel, Elihu, etc.
6. A Judahite, father of AMASIAH (2 Ch. 17 16: ζαρει [B], ζαχρι [A]). Amasiah, like Amasa and Amasai, comes ultimately from 'Ishme'eli.
7. An Ephraimite warrior (2 Ch. 28 7: εζεκρ[ε]ι [BA], ζαχαριας [L]).
8. Father of ELISHAPHAT, 2 Ch. 23 1 (ζαχαρια [B], -ιου [A]). Elishaphat is a variant to SHEPHATIAH (*q.v.*).
9. b. Izhar, a Kohathite Levite (Ex. 6 21 [P]). Izhar, evidently a clan-name, may come from Mizri (Miṣri).
10. A Levite overseer, b. Eliezer, b. Mošè—*i.e.*, of N. Arabian origin (1 Ch. 26 25).
11. An Asaphite Levite in list of inhabitants of Jerusalem (EZRA ii., § 5 [*b*], § 15 [1] *a*), 1 Ch. 9 15, in ‖ Neh. 11 17 called ZABDI; see ZACCUR (4). Brother of Micha (from Jerahmeel), and son of Asaph (perhaps from Ṣarephath).
12. A priest of the course of Abijah, temp. Joiakim (EZRA ii., § 6 *b*, § 11) Neh. 12 17 Bℵ*A, (om. ζαχαριας [L]). The predominant type of these priestly names is probably ethnic; MESHULLAM (*q.v.*) precedes Zichri, PILTAI (*q.v.*) follows. Zichri must surely be a clan-name from the Negeb. T. K. C.

ZIDDIM (הַצִּדִּים as if 'the sides'), more correctly HAZZIDDIM, a fortified city of Naphtali (Josh. 19 35; *assedim* [Vg.]; ΑΣΕΔΔΕΙΜ [Eus. *OS*(2) 224 95]). The Jer. Talm. (*Meg.* 1 1) represents Hazziddim to be Kephar Ḥitja, which perhaps = Ḥaṭṭīn, NW. of Tiberias (Neub. *Géogr.* 207; Buhl, *Pal.* 219). Some MSS read הצרים (so 𝔊^BAL τῶν Τυρίων). See ZER.

[It is very possible that P's work is based here upon a geographical survey of the Negeb, which included the cities of the Naphṭuhim (see *Crit. Bib.* on Gen. 10 13). Several of the names in *vv.* 35-38 have the appearance of being names of the Negeb. הַצִּדִּים might be explained in the same way as הַשִּׂדִּים (see SIDDIM).—T. K. C.]

ZIDKIJAH (צִדְקִיָּה), Neh. 10 1 AV, RV ZEDEKIAH (*q.v.*, 5).

ZIDON (צִידוֹן), Gen. 10 15, etc. **Zidonians** (צִידֹנִים), Ezek. 32 30. See SIDON, PHŒNICIA, §§ 4 [7], 12, 21 *f.*

ZIF, RV ZIV (זִו), 1 K. 6 1 37. See MONTH, § 2.

ZIHA (צִיחָא, § 51). The family name of some post-exilic NETHINIM; Ezra 2 43 (σουθια [B], σουαα [A], σουδδαει [L]) = Neh. 7 46 (σηα [Bℵ], σιαα [A^vid.] σουλαι [L] = 1 Esd. 5 29 (ησαυ [BA], σουδαει [L], ESAU [EV]); Neh. 11 21 (σιαλ [ℵ^c.a mg. inf.] om. Bℵ*A, σιααν [L]).

ZIIM (צִיִּים), Is. 13 21, etc. AV^mg.. See CAT.

ZIKLAG (צִקְלַג; in pause and in 2 S. 1 צִקְלָג; in 1 Ch. 12 1 20 [21 Bä., Ginsb.] צִיקְלַג; usually σεκελακ [B], σικελαγ [A], σεκ. [L]; but with the following variants σικελακ [B], σικελεγ, σεκελα[και], σικελα [A], σικελετ' [ℵ^c.a mg. inf.], σικελεθ [L]; while in Ch. B has ωκλα, σωκλα, σωγλαμ; and ℵ σωκλα, σωκαγ; and in 1 S. 30 1 [first time] B and L read κεειλα; Jos. *Ant.* vi. 13 10 σικελλα; *Siceleg*; *zenaḳlag*, *zenḳalag*).

We first hear of Ziklag as in the possession of Achish, king of Gath, by whom it was given as a residence to

his vassal David (1 S. 27 6 *f.*; cp 30 14 26 2 S. 1 1 4 10 1 Ch. 12 1 20). Ziklag also appears with other places in the far S. in Neh. 11 28. In Josh. 15 31 (P) it is enumerated among the more remote towns of Judah, but in Josh. 19 5 (P) is assigned to Simeon. Conder's identification of Ziklag with *Zuḥeilīḳa* a site 11 m. E. by S. of Gaza, and 19 m. SW. from Beit-Jibrīn or Eleutheropolis (*PEFQ*, 1878, pp. 12 *ff.*), has been generally but too hastily accepted.

The name is certainly corrupt, but not so far as entirely to obscure the true name. The two names identified by Conder begin with a different sibilant, and zuḥeilīḳa reminds us of Ar. *zaḥālīku*, 'declivities,' a name which applies well to the three small hills, nearly a mile apart, on which (see Conder) the ruins called Zuḥeilika stand. Ziklag is as corrupt as Abishag or the צקלון (see SACK) of 2 K. 4 42. It is best to read חֲלֻצָה or חֲלָצָה (cp Ass. *ḫalsu*, 'fortress'), an ancient and famous city (see BERED), represented by the mod. *Ḥalaṣa*, in the Wādy 'Aslūj, about 12 m. S. of Beersheba, on the way to Ruḥeibeh or Rehoboth (see map of NEGEB, A 2, after col. 3376). In Josh. 19 56 Ziklag is grouped with Beth-marcaboth which should be read Beth-rehoboth (see MARCABOTH). This fits in perfectly with the story of David's raids while at Ziklag. The name Ḥalūsah or Ḥalāṣah is also not impossibly concealed under Jekabzeel or KABZEEL (*q.v.*); the lists of P and of the Chronicler often contain corrupt variants of the same name, given as names of distinct places or persons. This accords with the view that 2 S. 21 15-22 23 8-23 relates to a war of David with the Rehobothites and the Zarephathites (see REHOBOTH, ZAREPHATH); the original text was misunderstood and wrongly edited. Very possibly the 'hold' (מְצוּדָה) to which David 'fled' (read וַיִּבְרַח for וַיֵּרֶד in 2 S. 5 17) and where he was when he longed for water from the cistern of Bethlehem—*i.e.*, probably a 'Bethlehem' in the Negeb—was that of Ḥalūṣah, which was not far from the valley of Ṣarephath (text, 'Rephaim'), where the Zarephathites (text, Pelištīm) were arrayed against *him*. Ḥalūṣah may likewise be the original of HAZZELEL[PONI] in 1 Ch. 4 3 (unless Hazzelel presupposes Ḥalaṣ'el; see BEZALEEL), of Ahuzzath in Gen. 26 26, and (of course) of Chellus in Judith 1 9. Possibly Ḥalūṣah was originally the centre of the cult of the hero ISAAC (*q.v.*, § 1).

The above view was formed long before the appearance of Winckler's *Gesch.* 2, where (185) it is held that Ziklag is the capital of the Krethi or Cherethites; cp 1 S. 30 14.

Perhaps 'Ziklaggim' (or Ḥaluṣathim) may underlie the difficult 'Casluhim' in Gen. 10 14. See MIZRAIM, col. 3164, n. 1.

T. K. C.

ZILLAH (צִלָּה; ζελλα [AEL]; *SELLA*), Gen. 4 19-23†. See CAINITES, § 9.

ZILPAH (זִלְפָּה, ζελφα [ADEL]), the mother of the tribes GAD and ASHER (Gen. 30 10-13, J; 35 26 P); also represented as the maid of Leah (29 24 35 26 P) and the concubine of Jacob (30 9 J; 37 2 46 18 P).

1. Name. If any explanations of the name Zilpah were current in early Israel, the editors of the Genesis narratives have not preserved them. It is hardly possible, as it perhaps is in the case of Bilhah (see *SBOT* on Gen. 30 3), to guess what they might have said.[1] The nearest approach to a narrative bearing on Zilpah is Gen. 37 2. That verse seems to represent a version of the Joseph-story in which the enmity against Joseph was confined to the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah.[2] Such a story may be a late invention to remove the reproach from the sons of Leah (Gunkel, *ad loc.*), in particular from Judah; but P may have found it in sources which had more to say on the subject. The name Zilpah cannot be explained from the vocabulary of the remains of Hebrew literature. We cannot be sure, however, that Genesis as we now read it regards Zilpah as Hebrew. Her mistress is a daughter of Laban (cp RACHEL, § 1 *b*).

According to *Test. XII. Patr.*, Naph. 1, indeed, Zilpah and Bilhah, who are sisters (cp Jubilees, 28 9), are daughters of a *maid* (παιδίσκη) of Laban (Αινα) and of Rotheos 'of the stock of Abraham,' who was carried captive from a place called Zelpha (whence the name of his first-born). Elsewhere, however, the sisters are daughters of Laban himself by a concubine (Ps.-Jon. on Gen. 29 24 29, *Gen. rabba* 74, *Pirḳê Rab. El.* 36; cp Charles, *Bk. of Jub.* 170).

The name Zilpah has accordingly been explained from the Aramæan (Holzinger, *KHC* on Gen. 30 9; Baethgen, *Beitr.* 160).

In Aram. √ *zlp* means 'to drip, trickle,'[1] in Syriac 'to defile'; in Assyrian, where, however, there is the natural uncertainty as to whether the first radical is *z* or *ṣ*, it occurs as *za-lip-ti*—*e.g.*, in the recurring phrase [*da-bi-ib*] *za-lip-ti*, '[planning] hostility.'

If the theory of Aramæan extraction was a modification of an older story (cp below), the name may have been earlier Dilpah (cp Jidlaph, the 'uncle' of Rebekah; Gen. 22 22), the root of which does occur in Hebrew. On the assumption that the name has been modified, C. Niebuhr (*Gesch.* 1 253) connected it with Zelophehad (צלפחד; for a suggestion as to the real origin of which strange name, however, see MANASSEH, § 9 *i*), whilst Cheyne formerly connected both Zilpah and Zelophehad with 'Ṣalḥad' (above, col. 2309 near foot). This suggestion he regards as still tenable; but his present view is different.[2]

2. Zilpah tribes. It has always seemed strange that such widely separated communities as Gad and Asher should be grouped as Zilpah tribes. Their agreement in bearing names of deities apparently distinct from Yahwè has been noted elsewhere (ASHER, § 1 n.; GAD, § 2), as also their Aramæan elements (ASHER, § 3, GAD, § 2). Whether they once lived together is uncertain. It has been thought that traces of an early stay of Asher can be detected S. of the plain of Megiddo (cp ASHER, §§ 1 3). The presence of Beria and of Heber and Malchiel as father and sons in the Asher list (Nu. 26 44 *ff.*) and the same three names (if Michael is for Malchiel) in nearly the same relation in Benjamin lists (1 Ch. 8 13 *ff.* 16 *f.*) and of a clan Beria in an Ephraim list would be a not unnatural result if Ephraim and Benjamin's territory had been earlier occupied by Asherites (so Steuernagel, *Einwand.* 30 *f.*). If the sons of Zilpah are meant in Genesis to be regarded as older than Joseph the seniority would be a natural way of representing an earlier occupation of the Ephraim highlands which must be assumed if we suppose that Asher really entered Palestine from the E. We might suppose that a Zilpah tribe was settled in E. Palestine, that part of it crossed the Jordan, and after staying a while in Ephraim moved northwards and took the name of Asher (from the older inhabitants in the N.? see ASHER, §§ 1 3), whilst the portion of the Zilpah tribe which remained came to be known as Gad. On the other hand it is uncertain when we are meant to place the birth of the sons of Zilpah. Even the editor need not have intended to suggest that both Gad and Asher fall between Naphtali and Issachar and between Naphtali and Joseph (cp RACHEL, § 1 *c*). The sons' births may have been grouped artificially to facilitate the narrative (cp TRIBES, § 9 *f.*). Steuernagel, indeed, pleads strongly for the historical trustworthiness of the

[1] For a late example see *Test. XII. Patr.*, Naph. 1, quoted below.

[2] It is against the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah that Joseph speaks to Jacob in *Test. XII. Patr.*, Gad, 1.

[1] In Arabic 'to draw near,' but *zilf* a garden; in Ethiopic *zelfat*=reproof. Yāḳūt gives a water on the way to Mekka, *Zulfatu*, ii. 939 10 *f.* (cp ii. 955 19 *f.*).

[2] [When Steuernagel (*Einwand.* 47) concludes that the clans derived from Zilpah, like those derived from Bilhah, were regarded as not so fully Israelitish as the Leah and Rachel tribes because they were of heathen origin, he does not allow for the possibility that Leah and her maid Zilpah are only doubles of Rachel and her maid Bilhah—or, etymologically, that Leah, Rachel, and Bilhah are all corrupt fragments of Jeraḥmeel (JACOB, § 3), and that Zilpah (with which Mr. Hogg compares Jidlaph, most appropriately from the present point of view, for among his brothers are Kemuel = Jeraḥmeel, and Chesed = Cush) is an equally corrupt fragment of a name virtually synonymous with Jeraḥmeel—viz., Ishmael. Nor can the possibility be denied that 'Asher' may be connected with 'Asshur' or 'Ashḥur,' one of the ethnic names of the Negeb, and Dan with Adan or Adon—another of these names (cp PARADISE, § 7, end, and see *Crit. Bib.*). And only a very close examination of the texts can assure us that Gad and Asher were not originally located in the Negeb. That the tradition made some of the clans which were fused with the Jacob or Israel tribe heathenish (*i.e.*, worshippers of gods other than Yahwè), will, however, be universally admitted. The most important passages for the textual critic are perhaps Gen. 29 1 (on which see JACOB, § 3) and 31 23 *ff.* 46 *ff.* (on which see GALEED, GILEAD, but note that there seems to have been a southern Gilead, referred to, *e.g.*, in Jer. 8 22 [see *Crit. Bib.*], and the probable original of the much-disputed Lud, Ludim).—T.K.C.]

Hebrew traditions, and the case can be made very plausible. Who are the 'brothers' whom Jacob finds in E. Palestine when he comes with Rachel (and Bilhah) from Laban (Gen. 31 32 37 46 54)? Must they not be brother tribes who had remained there when Jacob moved off? And, since Gad is the tribe most firmly settled there, may not these 'brothers' be represented by the name Zilpah? Steuernagel supposes that several tribes (Zilpah, etc.) accompanied Jacob on its journey up from its settlement S. of Palestine. The representation of the Zilpah tribes as younger than the four Leah tribes, but older than Issachar and Zebulun, may represent a theory as to the time of their reaching their several seats; and the theory may be correct. There are great difficulties, however. The effect of system may indeed be far-reaching. If Asher arrived somewhat early W. of Jordan, and Gad somewhat late E. of Jordan (GAD, § 8), it is difficult to see how the grouping of them as Zilpah tribes can be anything but artificial. See, further, TRIBES.

3. Zilpah and Leah. Nor is it easy to see why Zilpah is connected with Leah. There is no obvious link between Gad or Asher and Judah or the other Leah tribes. Nor is the relation of Zilpah to Leah even in the story parallel with that of Bilhah to Rachel, or Hagar to Sarah. In the cases of Bilhah and Hagar the maid's children are born before her mistress's and because the mistress has no children (cp RACHEL, § 1 *b*). In the case of Zilpah, on the contrary, Leah has no less than four children before the maid is called in. Is it possible that Leah represents two figures, the second being the mother of Zebulun and Issachar? These two sons were born after Zilpah's, and a connection among the four is more easily thinkable than in the case of the other Leah tribes. Issachar may have possessed part of the highlands of Ephraim at one time (cp ISSACHAR, § 4, n. 2, and Steuernagel, *Einwand.* 12 *f.*), and the same may have been true at an early date even of ZEBULUN (*q.v.*, § 7).

On the other hand, the same possibilities are not excluded in the case of the other four Leah tribes (see SIMEON, § 4). It is conceivable that Asher crossed the Jordan into Ephraim before Jacob-Rachel came to occupy the place of the older Leah tribes (so Steuernagel). H. W. H.

ZILTHAI, RV **Zillethai** (צִלְּתַי).

1. b. SHIMEI (*q.v.*) in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, 9 ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 20 (σαλθει [B], σαλει [A], σελαθι [L]).

2. One of David's warriors, 1 Ch. 12 20 (σεμαθει [BN], γαλαθι [A], σιλαθα [L]). See DAVID, § 11 n. *c*.

ZIMMAH (זִמָּה; ζεμμα [BL]), a Gershonite (Levitical) name; 1 Ch. 6 20 [5] (ζαμμα [A]), 42 [27] (ζαμμαμ [B], -μα [A]), 2 Ch. 29 12 (ζεμμαθ [BA]).

ZIMRAN (זִמְרָן; Sam. זמרון; plausibly connected with זֶמֶר, 'antelope' [see WRS, *J. Phil.* 9 92], but cp ZIMRI), the eldest of Abraham's 'sons' by Keturah (Gen. 25 2 1 Ch. 1 32; ζεβραν [A*E], ζεμρ. [A], ζεμβρ. [A^a B], ζομβρ. [D^sil.] ζεμβρ., ζεμραμ [L]). The Zamareni, a tribe of the interior of Arabia (Plin. *NH* 6 32, Grotius), and Zabram, the royal town of the κιναιδοκολπῖται, W. of Mecca, on the Red Sea (Ptol. vi. 7 5, Knobel) have been supposed to represent Zimran. But whether we ought to go so far from the Keturite centre—*i.e.*, the ארץ קדם (see EAST, CHILDREN OF; REKEM)—is very doubtful.

In Jer. 25 25 we find a people called 'Zimri' (Pesh. 'Zimran') mentioned with Arabia (*i.e.*, N. Arabia), Elam and Madai (read 'Jerahmeel'), and SAPHON (on the N. Arabian border). Tuch disputes the connection between 'Zimran' and 'Zimri,' but, from our present point of view, wrongly. Both in Gen. 25 2 and in Jer. 25 25 a N. Arabian people is required. See ZIMRI.

T. K. C.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי, a shortened form?—cp the name Zimrida in Am. Tab. [of governors of Sidon and of Lachish], also in an early Bab. text, *BM Cuneif. Texts*, Pt. iv., which also mentions Zimri-ḫanımu, Zimri-ḫanata the Amorite [Pinches]; Hommel, comparing Old Arab. compound names, interprets 'protection' [*AHT* 85, cp 88, 230]; but cp ZIMRI, 2; ζαμβρ[ε]ι [BNAFL]).

1. One of the sons of Zerah b. Judah (1 Ch. 2 6), in Josh. 7 1 called ZABDI.

2. A descendant of Saul mentioned in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9, ii. β), 1 Ch. 8 36 (ζαμρι [A]= 9 42). Cp ZEMIRA.

3. 'Captain of the chariots,' who conspired against Elah king of Israel and killed him, and to secure his own position on the throne exterminated all the remnant of the family of Baasha. After a seven days' reign in Tirzah he was besieged by Omri the general, whereupon like Sardanapalus he burnt the palace over his head and perished in the ruins (1 K. 16 9-20). In 𝔊 the names Zambri and Omri are much confused.

4. b. SALU (*q.v.*), a Simeonite chief, the name given to the central figure in P's narrative of the sin of the b'ne Israel with Midian (Nu. 25 6-18 P). Zimri had brought a Midianitess named COZBI to the camp, and Phinehas, moved to indignation, slew them both, in the 'tent' (קֻבָּה);[1] see We. *Prol.*(4) 363, ET 356. See PHINEHAS, and cp DIBRI. S. A. C.

ZIMRI (זִמְרִי; om. 𝔊; Pesh. *'Amran;* Vg. *Zambri*), one of the tribes or peoples threatened with judgment by Jeremiah (or by a supplementer who assumes Jeremiah's mantle), Jer. 25 25.

A revision of the text of *vv.* 19-26 places it beyond all reasonable doubt that a N. Arabian people is meant. See ZIMRAN, SHESHACH.

A land called Zimri, whose king was allied to the kings of Babylon and Elam (Sir H. Rawlinson, G. Smith, etc.), does not exist; the right reading of the text is 'Namri' (see *KB* 1 140 186; Schr. *KGF* 170). But to emend Jeremiah's 'Zimri' into 'Namri' with Winckler (*AOF* 1 292), or 'Gomeri' or 'Gimirri' (see GOMER) with Rost (*Untersuch.* 103 [1897]) and Peiser (*ZATW* 17 350 [1897]), is hardly possible if we duly criticise the text of MT. T. K. C.

ZIN (צִן, σ[ε]ιν, σινα, σενα; in Nu. 34 4 εννακ [B; και follows], σεεννακ [AF], ενακ [L], in Josh. 15 3, εννακ [B], σεννακ [B^a.b], σενα [A], σινα [L]; Eus. *Jer.* εννα *enna* [*OS*, 253 37 118 10]; see below). The wilderness N. of that of PARAN (*q.v.*); the most important place in it was Kadesh-barnea in its oasis (Nu. 13 21 20 1 27 14 33 36 34 3 *f.* Dt. 32 51 Josh. 15 1 [σεμ A] 3). More precisely, it was the wild mountain-region (Jos. *Ant.* iv. 4 6, speaks of a *mountain* called Sin) rising in successive slopes from the 'Arābah in one direction and et-Tih in another, which now bears the name of the 'Azāzimeh Arabs who inhabit it. See WANDERINGS, WILDERNESS OF. It has been suggested[2] that Ṣīn may mean the 'wall' of rock within which the wilderness of Zin lies (cp ZION).

The existence of √צון 'to protect' however, is very questionable, and the name looks as if it had been worn down in course of ages. Analogy favours the view that צן (Zin), צען (ZOAN), צנן (ZENAN), and צאנן (ZAANAN), have all come, through צבעון (ZIBEON), from ישמעאל (Ishmael).

Lagarde, however, with much learning and plausibility, suggests a derivation from חצין, which in Aram. and Ass. means 'axe,' in Ethiopic 'iron' (*Mittheil.* 2 361 *ff.*; cp G. Hoffm. *ZDMG* 32 753). Tg. Jer. gives in Nu. 34 4 (for צין) טור ברולא, 'the iron mountain,' presupposing חצין, and 𝔊's form εννα[κ] may ultimately come from the same reading.

This reading, if correct, might illustrate a number of references to iron in narratives or prophecies which, as the criticism of the text seems to show, relate to the Negeb. See Dt. 3 11 (cp OG); 4 20 ('an iron furnace' ‖ 'Miṣrim'); 8 9 ('whose stones are iron'); Josh. 17 16 18 Judg. 1 19 4 3 13 (Kenizzites, chariots of iron); 1 K. 22 11 (Zedekiah the Kenizzite [see ZEDEKIAH, 2], 'horns of iron'); 2 K. 6 6 (swimming iron; see PROPHET, § 7); Jer. 15 12 ('iron of ZAPHON); Ezek. 27 12 19 (Tarshish [Asshur?] and Javan [Jerahmeel?] trafficking with iron); Am. 1 3 (the

[1] On קֻבָּה (whence 'alcove'), which is used to denote a princely tent, as well as the bridal pavilion, see WRS, *Kinship*, 171, 292; PAVILION, 2; TENT, § 4 n.

[2] Wetzstein, in Del. *Gen.*,(4) 578.

[southern] Arammites thresh [the southern] Gilead with instruments of iron). Still the method of grouping names before seeking to account for them seems to favour the preceding explanation. The *εννα[κ]* in 𝔊B and the ברזלא in Tg. Jer. are at any rate exceptional. T. K. C.

ZINA (זִינָא), b. Shimei, a Gershonite Levite (1 Ch. 23 10). In *v.* 11 the name becomes ZIZAH (זיזה). 𝔊BAL reads ζιζα in both places.

ZION (צִיּוֹן, c[ε]ιωn). The designation, properly, of the 'Jebusite' stronghold at Jerusalem, which after its capture by David received the name 'David's burg,' 2 S. 5 7 9. Various explanations of the name have been given. Gesenius (*Thes.* 1164) and Lagarde (*Übers.* 84, n.*) derive from √צהה 'to be dry,' cp Syr. ܨܗܝܘܢ, which Lag. regards as the older form. Delitzsch (*Psalmen*,(3) 170) makes the primary form צַוֹּן, from צְוָה 'to set up.' Wetzstein (in Del. *Gen.*(4) 578) derives from √צין 'to protect,' so that the name would mean '*arx*, citadel'; cp ZIN.

It may be better, however, to add ציון to the group Zin, Zenan, Zaanan, and Zoan, and to suppose Zion to be a descendant of the race-name 'Ishmael' through the intermediate form צבעון (ZIBEON). Another corruption of the same name is probably שלם (see SHALEM), and this most plausibly accounts for a much-disputed name ירושלם. That the first part of this name means 'city,' Sayce (see col. 2409, top) and Nestle (*Philologia Sacra*, 17) have independently seen. We must now add that שלם is probably = ישמעאל, and that this is a type of corruption which occurs frequently in the OT. Jerusalem, then, according to this explanation, was originally one of the many Ishmaelite or Jerahmeelite settlements in Palestine, a view which is supported by the fact that Isaiah (29 1) calls the city of David 'Jerahmeel' [corrupted into 'Ariel'], and by the equally significant statement of the historian that after taking the stronghold David 'built round about Jerahmeel and within.'[1] See *Crit. Bib.* It is true, David is said (2 S. 5 6) to have 'gone against the Jebusites,' but the Jebusites apparently owe their existence in the text to corruption, and in an earlier form of the text this seems to have been indicated by the scribe himself. As in Gen. 36 20 [see ZIBEON] and elsewhere, the corrupt reading ישבי הארץ (EV 'the inhabitants of the land') has grown out of ישמעאלי (Ishmaelites), הארץ being an editor's insertion to make the corrupt ישבי intelligible. The earlier text appears to have said in *v.* 6, 'And the king and his men went to Jerusalem against the Ishmaelites'; 'Ishmaelites' here is a synonym of 'Jerahmeelites.' To this we must add that the 'lame' and the 'blind' spoken of in the MT (and in 𝔊) of 2 S. 5 6 8 are as imaginary as the tribal name 'Jebusite'; עורים and פסחים both being corrupt fragments of ירחמאלים (see *Crit. Bib.*, and cp MEPHIBOSHETH, PHINEHAS).

This is no digression; it had to be shown that names so closely connected as Zion and (Jeru-)salem had the same origin, and if in the course of doing so we have been enabled to show that the early historians at any rate did not 'infer incorrectly' from the tribal name Jebusite the existence of a city called Jebus[2] (of which the Amarna correspondence appears to have known nothing), this is perhaps at any rate a boon for future students. It is possible that the error יבוסי for ישמעאלי is really a somewhat ancient one (see, *e.g.*, Zech. 9 7). But Ezekiel (16 3 45) is still aware that Amorites (or Arammites = Jerahmeelites) and Hittites (rather Rehobothites) formed the pre-Israelitish population of the city of Jerusalem. Cp OG.

The term 'Zion' (we retain the term, as, even if a corruption, yet an ancient and a popular one) belongs properly, as shown elsewhere (JERUSALEM, §§ 17-20), to the southern part of the eastern hill, where the 'burg of David' stood. Above the 'burg' rose the temple, and in usage 'Zion' represents the temple hill (2 K. 19 31; Is. 24 23; cp 10 32). Even more commonly, however, we find it a term for the whole of Jerusalem, whether in parallelism with Jerusalem (Is. 4 3 30 19 Am. 1 2 Mic. 3 10 12 Ps. 102 22) or alone (Is. 1 27 28 16 Jer. 3 14 Lam. 5 11). Often it is personified (Is. 40 9 41 27 51 3 52 1 *f.* 7 59 20 60 14 66 8 Zeph. 3 16 Zech. 1 17) though here an idealisation has taken place, the 'Zion' intended being really the company of those residents in the Holy City in the period of the Second Isaiah and of Ezra who, in the orthodox sense of the phrase, 'feared Yahwè.' The phrase בַּת צִיּוֹן, literally 'the daughter Zion,' is an idiomatic expression for the people of Jerusalem, Is. 1 8 52 2 Jer. 4 31, etc. (see DAUGHTER, 3). It remains to be added that 'Zion,' in 1 Macc. everywhere means the temple hill (see 4 37 60 5 54 6 48 62 7 33 10 11 14 27). For a Hebrew writer, who formed his style on classical models, this was natural. Josephus, writing in Greek, does not use the name. In the NT it occurs only in quotations from the OT, except in Heb. 12 22 (a fine rhetorical passage) and in Rev. 14 1.

How fond the later Jews became of the name Zion appears most clearly from the Psalms. See especially Ps. 87 5, if, with Wellhausen, we may follow 𝔊's μήτηρ Σ[έ]ιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος), and render,

But every one calls Zion his mother,
And of it is every one native;
He himself, the Most High, keeps it.[1]

T. K. C.

ZIOR (צִיעֹר; cωρθ [B], cωραιθ [B^ab vid.; superscr. αι], cιωρ [AL]), a place in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 54†). It is mentioned with Arab, Beth-tappuah, Humtah, Kirjath-arba ('the same is Hebron').

The names Arab and Kirjath-arba (surely from Kirjath-'arâb) point to the Jerahmeelite border. So also does Ḥumṭah (*i.e.*, Hamath = Maacah) and perhaps Beth-tappuah (see NAPHTUHIM). 'Hebron' in the gloss on 'Kirjath-arba' is probably (as in some other cases) a corruption of 'Rehoboth'; P may already have found this corruption in the written list which he seems to have used. 'Zior,' then, is probably a corruption of the name of some Jerahmeelite place near Rehoboth. One cannot help thinking of Miṣṣur, properly the name of a region (see MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*), but possibly also of a town (cp Cusham-jerahmeel [SHECHEM]). The reading of 𝔊AL may suggest an identification with ZAIR (*q.v.*).

Van de Velde and Conder, however, identify Zior with Sa'ir or (*PEFM* 3 309) Si'air, 4½ m. N. from Hebron, where a tomb of Esau is shown. Eusebius (*OS* 293 19) mentions a village Sior between Ælia and Eleutheropolis. T. K. C.

ZIPH (זִיף; z[ε]ιφ [BAL]), whence the gentilic **Ziphites**, or, incorrectly [see Ps. 54], **Ziphims** (זִיפִים; z[ε]ιφαιοι, 1 S. 23 19 26 1 Ps. 54 title ζιφεογc T]).

1. An unidentified town belonging to Judah, situated towards the border of Edom (Josh. 15 24 [? B]). On the new theory which makes David carve out for himself at first a principality in the Negeb, this more southern Ziph may have a claim to be that intended in the early tradition. See 2, end.

2. A town in the hill-country of Judah (Josh. 15 55; οζειβ [B]), mentioned together with Maon, Carmel, and Jutah. Its connection with the clan of Caleb, which at one time had its seat about Hebron (but see below), is expressed in genealogical form in 1 Ch. 2 42,[2] and again in 1 Ch. 4 16, where **Ziph** and **Ziphah** (זִיף וְזִיפָה; ζαφα και ζαιρα [B], ζιφαι κ. ζαιφα [A], ζιφ κ. ζιφα [L]) are 'sons' of (the unknown) JEHALELEEL (*q.v.*). Ziph and that part of the wilderness of Judah to which it gave its name are mentioned in the account of David's outlawry (1 S. 23 14 *ff.*), and the surrounding hill country with its many caves supplied admirable 'lurking places' and 'strongholds' (1 S. 23 14 19, and cp 1 Macc. 2 31). See Conder's description of the fantastic cones and knife-like ridges of the hills of Ziph (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 43).

Ziph existed in the time of Jerome, who places it 8 R. m. from Hebron (*OS*(2) 159 14; cp 258 40 *ff.*). This is too much by nearly half. The true site was found by Robinson at *Tell Zif*, a conspicuous mound, 2882 ft. above sea-level, and 8-9 m. SE. of Hebron, with no trace of buildings at the present day, but with some cisterns. A little to the E., on a low hill or ridge, there are broken walls and foundations; but these do not represent the city fortified by Rehoboam (2 Ch. 11 8; see below). Conder endeavours to show that there

[1] That מִלּוֹא and הַמִּלּוֹא, wherever they occur, are mispointed, can hardly be doubted. They are corrupt fragments of ירחמאל (see MILLO). In 2 S. 5 9 the מן prefixed to המלוא has arisen in this way. The scribe began to write מלוא without the initial ה, and left מל uncancelled. Afterwards, מל was 'corrected' into מן.

[2] So Driver, in Hastings, *DB* 2 554*a*, expressing the common opinion.

[1] Furness's translation (*Psalms*, *SBOT*). But cp Che. *Ps.*,(2) and Bertholet, *Stellung*, 182.

[2] μαρ[ε]ισα[ς] [BA] (MT, MESHA [*q.v.*]), the father' of Ziph, is in 2 Ch. 11 8 mentioned along with Ziph (ζειβ[B]).

never was a 'wood' in the district of Ziph (see 1 S. 23 15, EV, and see below). 'The country is emphatically a dry land, looking down on the barren wastes which lie above the Dead Sea between Masada and Engedi. There is no moisture capable of supporting vegetable growth' (*PEFQ*, 1875, p. 45). G. A. Smith (*HG* 306 n., 307 n.) substantially agrees.

Among the many difficult points connected with the Hebrew traditions is this—Was the chief Calebite city Hebron or REHOBOTH (*q.v.*)? If the latter, then the Ziph of 1 Ch. 2 42 may be that mentioned in Josh. 15 24. And another is this—Was David's Ziph the first or the second place so called? The חרש (HORESH) of 1 S. 23 15 may very well be a corruption of אשחור (Ashḥur) which seems to have been a name nearly equivalent to Jerahmeel. We may also doubt about Rehoboam's Ziph, as well as about the other names in 2 Ch. 11 6-10 (see REHOBOAM).

T. K. C.

ZIPHION (צִפְיוֹן), Gen. 46 16 = Nu. 26 15, ZEPHON (*q.v.*).

ZIPHRON (זִפְרוֹן, scarcely 'stench,' see ZANOAH, but cp NAMES, § 106, n. 1; ΔΕΦΡΩΝΑ [B], ΕΦ. [B^ab]; ΖΕΦ. [AL]), a point on the N. frontier of Canaan, Nu. 34 9†. According to Furrer (*ZDPV* 8 28) and Socin (Baed.[2] 395), the mod. *Zaferāneh*[1] (Rob. gives *ez-Zaʿferāneh*), ESE. of *er-Restān*. This, however, does not suit Furrer's own view of the frontier, for *Ṣadad* (his Zedad) is SSE. of *Zaferāneh*, whereas it should lie to the N. Hence Mühlau, in Riehm's *HWB*, following Wetz. (*Reiseber.* 88), prefers the ruins called *Zifrān*, fourteen hours NE. of Damascus.

There is reason to think, however, that the description originally referred to the Negeb (see ZEDAD), that Ziphron corresponds to the SIBRAIM of Ezekiel, and that both names are corruptions of Zarephath. See ZEDAD. T. K. C.

ZIPPOR (צִפֹּר, צִפּוֹר; ϹΕΠΦΩΡ [BAFL]). BALAK (*q.v.*), king of Moab, is called 'son of Zippor' (Nu. 22 2 4 10 16 23 18 Josh. 24 9 Judg. 11 25), *i.e.*, either son of a person called Zippor ('bird'), or 'native of Zarephath,' the Zarephathites being a section of the N. Arabian Miṣrites (see ZAREPHATH, MIZRAIM, § 2 *b*). It is probable that just as the Edomite king Shaul (AV Saul) was a Miṣrite of Rehoboth (see BELA), so the Moabite king Balak was a Miṣrite of Zarephath (unless indeed Balak was king of Muṣri; see MOSES, § 17). The Cushite wife of Moses bore the startlingly similar name ZIPPORAH (*q.v.*). See, however, NAMES, § 68. T. K. C.

ZIPPORAH (צִפֹּרָה; ϹΕΠΦΩΡΑ [BAFL]), daughter of Hobab or Jethro, 'priest of Midian,' and wife of Moses (Ex. 2 21, J; 4 25, J; 18 2, E).

In Nu. 12 1 *b* she is called a 'Cushite woman'; 'Miṣrite' would perhaps have been more accurate, but Miṣṣur (= Muṣri) and Cush in N. Arabia were contiguous (see CUSH, 2). On the significance of her name (probably a distortion of Zarephath), and of her connection with Moses, see MOSES, §§ 4, 7, and cp CIRCUMCISION, § 2; ZAREPHATH; ZIPPOR.

In its present form the name means 'bird'; cp NAMES, § 68. There is an Aramaic proper name צפרא in *CIS* (10 1) 11 2 12 2; the Greek equivalent being σεφφερα (S. A. Cook, *Aram. Gloss.* 102, who refers to Cl.-Gan. *Rec. d'archéol.* 1885, p. 23). The name Zippor (*not* Zipporah) occurs as a woman's name in Talm. Jer. *Gittin*, 5 3. T. K. C.

ZITHRI, RV **Sithri** (סִתְרִי; for origin see SETHUR), b. Uzziel, a (Kohathite) Levite, Ex. 6 22 (σεγρει [B], σεθρει [A], σετρι [FL]).

ZIV (זִו), 1 K. 6 1 37 RV, AV ZIF. See MONTH, § 2 (2).

ZIZ, GOING UP OF (מַעֲלֵה הַצִּיץ), a pass in the S. of Palestine, 2 Ch. 20 16 (ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΒΑϹΙΝ ΑϹΑΕ [BA], Τ. Α. ΤΗϹ ΕΞΟΧΗϹ ΑϹΙϹΑ [L]). The name looks suspicious; but the ordinary view that the Wādy Ḥaṣāṣa, by which the old Roman road leads from En-gedi to Jerusalem, is meant, is plausible.

The mention of HAZAZON-TAMAR (*q.v.*) in *v.* 2, however, introduces a perplexing element into the geography. For a way out of the difficulty, see NEGEB, § 7. T. K. C.

ZIZA (זִיזָא, perhaps abbrev., § 58, cp ZAZA, ZUZIM).

1. A prince of SIMEON (§ 5 [ii.]), temp. Hezekiah; 1 Ch. 4 37 (αωσαλ [B?], ζουζα [A], ζιφα [L]).

2. One of Rehoboam's children by Maacah; 2 Ch. 11 20 (ζ[ε]ιζα [BAL]).

[1] For a southern Zaferāneh (cp Rob. *BR* 2 185) see ASPHAR.

ZIZAH (זִיזָה), 1 Ch. 23 11. See ZINA.

ZOAN (צֹעַן; ΤΑΝΙϹ [BℵA]), an Egyptian city. 𝔊, Vg., and Tg. identify it with Tanis, certainly correctly. The city had the name *Ṣʿnt*,[1] in Coptic times, *Dja(a)nē* (also *Djaane*, *Djani*). The Greeks called it Τάνις (thus 𝔊). The modern Arabic name is *Ṣān*. Consequently, the name must have been pronounced *Ṣaʿne*, *Ṣaʿni*, by the Hebrews (following the later habit of dropping the feminine termination [t]).

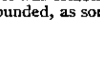
The city, the capital of the 14th nomos of Lower Egypt, near the NE. edge of the Delta, was situated on the right bank of the Tanitic branch of the Nile, in a plain which is at present, in summer, a marshy prolongation of the Menzaleh lake, in winter a salt-desert. The modern village of Ṣān is inhabited mostly by fishermen. The adjoining mound, *Ṣān el-ḥaǵar*, 'stone Ṣān,' was excavated first in part by Mariette in 1860, then completely by Petrie (in 1883-84, see *Tanis* 1 and 2, 1885). There were found many statues, sphinxes, obelisks, etc., belonging to a large temple, begun (it would seem) by kings of the sixth dynasty, continued in the twelfth dynasty, and completed by the greatest builder among the Pharaohs, Rameses II. See, on the fragments of the largest monolithic colossus known, EGYPT, § 37. The temple seems to have had a length of about 1000 ft. King Psusennes of the twenty-first dynasty built a huge wall of bricks around it. The importance of the city is shown by the fact that Rameses II. seems to have resided there and that the twenty-first dynasty originated from the city. In Esarhaddon's and Ašur-bani-pal's time, *Ṣaʾnu* or *Ṣiʾnu* was the seat of a prince; on its sack by the Assyrians see TIRHAKAH. In Strabo (802) it still figures as a considerable place. Of its ultimate downfall not much is known.

The biblical mentions are as follows. In Is. 19 11 13, the princes of Zoan represent Egypt (13 ‖ with Noph-Memphis). In 30 4, the Israelites are blamed for sending embassies to Zoan; the passage looks as if the Pharaohs were still residing at Zoan at times. In Ezek. 30 14, Zoan stands parallel with the old capital of Upper Egypt, No, which shows that in Lower Egypt only Memphis can have rivalled Tanis in importance. Perhaps it is thus to be explained that Ps. 78 (12 43) speaks of the wonders done 'in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan' in Moses' time. Zoan-Tanis seems to have been considered as the capital of Egypt, or at least of the Delta, in the time of the psalmist. The inference that Zoan was the residence of Pharaoh in Moses' time and that 'fields of Zoan' and Goshen were equivalent expressions has often been drawn by scholars, especially by Brugsch, who tried to show the identity of Rameses and Zoan.[2] Brugsch's arguments however, are fallacious (although Rameses II. may have resided here, see above); certainly Goshen cannot have extended to the surroundings of Tanis.

The curious remark Nu. 13 22 (Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt) seems to imply that the writer considered Tanis as one of the oldest cities of Egypt. Indeed, we can trace it to the sixth dynasty (see above); as capital of the nome it may belong to prehistoric times. Chronological conclusions about the date of Hebron's foundation cannot, of course, be drawn from the biblical remark, whether taken literally or not.[3]

W. M. M.

ZOAR (צֹעַר, in Gen. 19 22 30 צוֹעַר; ϹΗΓΩΡ

[1] 

[2] See RAMESES, § 3, on Brugsch's argument (followed by Ebers, *Durch Gosen*, 498), and EXODUS, § 10.

[3] A stele of the time of Rameses II., found at Tanis, was curiously dated 'year 400 of king Set.' If this date has a historical basis, it must mean that about 1700 B.C. the cult of Set was established (by Hyksos-kings?), not that Tanis was then founded, as some scholars have assumed.

[BℵADEFQ]; σιγ. [L]; in Gen. 13 10 ζογορα [ADEL]; in Jer. 48 34 ζογορ [BℵA]; Vg. *Segor*), a locality mentioned in Gen. 13 10 14 2 8. 19 22 *f.* 30 Dt. 34 3 Is. 15 5 Jer. 48 34†. It is commonly placed to the SE. of the Dead Sea, which may be correct so far as Is. 15 5 and Jer. 48 34 are concerned, but hardly for Gen. and Dt. (*ll.cc.*).

There is in fact a considerable body of evidence for the view that the chief seat of the southern Israelitish legends was the Jerahmeelite territory, bordering on Muṣri and Edom. See ISAAC, JACOB, and especially SODOM AND GOMORRAH. The play on the meaning of 'Zoar' in Gen. 19 20 22 is only accounted for, if the true name of the city was מִצְעָר, or rather מִצּוּר—*i.e.*, Miṣṣur (Muṣri). The 'Zoar' of legend was really 'Miṣṣur'; it was one of the cities of Muṣri in N. Arabia, towards S. Palestine. Cp MISRAIM, § 2 (*b*). Upon the new theory, Gen. 13 10, where 'Zoar' appears to be distinctly placed in the Jordan valley, originally ran thus, 'And Lot lifted up his eyes, and saw that the whole of Jerahmeel (כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן, a primitive corruption of ירחמאל) was well-watered, [before Yahwè destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah] like the garden of Yahwè, like the land of Miṣrim, in the direction of Miṣṣur.' Here, however, it is probable that Miṣṣur really means the *land* of Miṣṣur; כְּאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם may be omitted as an unintelligent alteration of בֹּאֲכָה מִצּוּר. Ball (cp GARDEN, § 4, n.) prefers reading צֹעַן 'Zoan' (Pesh.?). But surely 'like the land of Egypt' was clear enough, without a limiting or explanatory appendage. 'Egypt,' however, is not to be expected in this context, and the Hebrew traditions centre (as new evidence appears to show) in the Negeb and the N. Arabian border. For the later traditional view of Zoar see MOAB, and on the whole question of the original Zoar cp SODOM. T. K. C.

ZOBAH (צוֹבָה, σουβα [BAL]), or more fully ARAM-ZOBAH (אֲרַם צוֹבָה, Ps. 60 heading, σωβαλ [BℵR]), or ARAM-ZOBA (אֲ׳ צוֹבָא, 2 S. 10 6 8, but RV ARAM-ZOBAH), the home of one of David's 'thirty' (2 S. 23 36; δυναμεως [BA], μασσαβα [L]),[1] also the name of an Aramæan state, whose king Hadadezer was defeated by David (2 S. 8 1-14 10 15 *ff.*). In 1 S. 14 47 'the kings of Zobah' are said to have been defeated by Saul,[2] and in 2 Ch. 8 3 Solomon is asserted to have taken Hamath-zobah (*βαισωβα* [B], *αιμαθ' σουβα* [A], *εμαθσ.* [L]); the latter designation is thought to imply the same (erroneous?) conception of the importance of Zobah which is found in (*a*) 2 S. 8 3 8 10 15-19*a*, but not in the narrative (*b*) which contains 2 S. 10 1-14 19*b*. This at least is clear, that in the respective strata of narrative different views of the position of the kingdom of Zobah are suggested. If the view implied in the former stratum (*a*) is correct, the idea that David was one of the mightiest monarchs of his time is not an extravagant one, for here the kingdom of Zobah under Hadadezer is represented as dominating the whole of Syria, whereas in the latter stratum (*b*) Zobah appears with BETH-REHOB, MAACAH, and ISHTOB or TOB, as an ally of the Ammonites. This difference of view has been explained by the supposition that two different Zobahs have been confounded (see DAVID, § 9, with n. 2, where references are given for the evidence). One, to the N. of Damascus and Hamath, rich in copper (2 S. 8 8), was conceivably the mât Nuhašši[3] of the Am. Tablets (37 5 45 22, etc.), if Nuhašši means 'copper' (נְחשֶׁת), according to Halévy's theory (*REJ* 20 219; cp COPPER, § 3). The other Zobah corresponds to the 'districts of Ṣubitu,' referred to by Ašur-bani-pal (*KB* 2 217), and was S. of Damascus, perhaps (so Wi. *AOF* 1 467) between Ḥaurān and the Sea of Galilee. Two cities of the former Zobah (as we may provisionally say) are named in 2 S. 8 8, viz., Betah and Berothai (on these see TEBAH, BEROTHAI, BEROTHAH).

1. The prevalent theory.

[1] Marquart's suggestion (see JOEL, 3) to read הַמִּצְפָּה is only a step towards the right solution (see § 2).

[2] This, however, is probably due to a partisan of Saul, who wishes his favourite to vie with David (SAUL, § 3).

[3] Halévy supports this by the conjecture that צובה is a contraction of צְהוֹבָה, 'bright yellow,' and compares *Χαλκίς* from *χαλκός*, 'copper.' Chalcis was on the slopes of Antilibanus (cp Wi. *AT Unters.* 180). On the situation of Nuhašši, cp Flinders Petrie, *Syria and Egypt*, 179.

The preceding theory assumes the general accuracy of the MT of the passage of 2 S. referred to. There is grave reason, however, to hold that this assumption is erroneous. The Aram with which David had relations was, according to the still discoverable earlier form of the traditions, not the northern but a southern Aram—*i.e.*, the Jerahmeelites of the Negeb, and, if we use the many parallels and analogies of other restored passages, it is not difficult to recover the probable originals of names of places miswritten by the redactor. It should, however, first of all, be noticed to the credit of Winckler that, noticing the combination of Beth-rehob and Zobah, and the designation of Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, as Beth-rehob, he has suggested that both names represent one and the same state (*GI* 1 141 *f.*). This is, in fact, very near the truth. The statement in 2 S. 8 3 should probably run thus, 'And David smote Hadad [. . . .], a native of Rehoboth, king of Zarephath,[1] when he went to turn him [David] back from the river [of Muṣri].'[2] Verse 8 in its original form probably spoke only of one royal city, viz., Rehoboth; of this Beṭah gives one and Berothai another corruption.[3] In 10 6 the allies of the b'ne Ammon were probably given as Aram-rehoboth (to which Aram-zoba is probably a gloss),[4] Maacah (the southern Maacah), and Tubal; Helam in *vv.* 16 *f.* represents Jerahmeel (place-name). In 1 S. 14 47 מלכי צובה ('the kings of Zobah') is miswritten for ירחמאל צרפת (Jerahmeel-zarephath); see SAUL, § 3. In 2 S. 23 36 we need not question the reading, 'Igal, b. Nathan, of Zobah,' for 'Zobah' here too represents 'Zarephath,' while 'Igal' (like 'Joel' and 'Gaal') is a popular corruption of 'Jerahmeel.' That 'Zarephath' should sometimes be used comprehensively, sometimes with a narrower reference, affords no ground for surprise. 'Zarephathites' is constantly used widely, and yet primarily, of course, it merely meant the people of the city of Zarephath. On 'Hamath-zobah' (Maacath-zarephath), 2 Ch. 8 3 see SOLOMON, § 7.

2. New theory.

Nöldeke (*BL* 1 232) places Zobah 'nearly in the region of Emesa.' Elsewhere (see MEROM) it is suggested that Merom (Josh. 11 5 7) may be the second or more southerly Zobah.

T. K. C.

ZOBEBAH (הַצֹּבֵבָה), with 'Anub' and the 'families of Aharhel, the son of Harum,' is (perhaps) connected genealogically with Tekoa (MT Coz [*q.v.*]), 1 Ch. 4 8 (σαβαθα [B], σωβηβα [A], σαβ. [L]). See TEKOA.

ZODIAC (מַזָּרוֹת), Job 38 32 RVmg., EV MAZZAROTH (*q.v.*). See also STARS, § 3 (*d*).

ZOHAR (צֹחַר, § 66; 'reddish-white?' see COLOURS, § 7; σααρ [BADEL]).

1. Probably the name of the clan to which Ephron the Hittite (from Rehobothite [?], see REHOBOTH) belonged (Gen. 23 8 25 9). Possibly we should read זֶרַח, ZERAH.

2. b. SIMEON (§ 9); see Zerah (4).

3. b. Ashḥur, a Judahite (1 Ch. 4 7; Ḳr. וְצֹחַר, 'and Zohar.' RVmg.; Kt. יצחר, see IZHAR, 2; *καὶ σ.* [BA], *καὶ εισαρ* [L]).

ZOHELETH, STONE OF (אֶבֶן הַזֹּחֶלֶת, 'Serpent's Stone' [BDB], but see below). This stone was evidently sacred, like the fountain En-rogel beside which it stood, and in the building which enclosed it Adonijah, as claimant of the crown of Israel, probably held his sacrificial feast (1 K. 1 9).

Gk. readings are: *λίθον τοῦ ζωελεθ* [A], . . . *τὸν ἐν ζεαλαθ* [L], *αιθη τοῦ ζωελεθει* [B]; cp *παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ*, Jos. *Ant.* vii. 14 4.

There must have been something remarkable about it. Very possibly it was overlaid with a 'brilliant' metal called זחלת, *zōḥéleth*, and corresponding to the Ass. *zaḫalū*.[5] There were two brazen pillars before the temple at Jerusalem (1 K. 4 17 21). The 'stone of Zoheleth' may have been a ruder pillar of the same sort. Some writers would place Zoheleth in the rocky way near the village of Silwān (Siloah) called Zaḥweleh. 1 K. 1 41 implies that those who were with Adonijah could see what went on in the valley of Kedron; this, however, would have been quite easy from Zaḥweleh (see Buhl, *Pal.* 94; Baed.(4) 100).

Wellhausen (*Heid.*(2) 146) suggests a connection with the 'brilliant' planet Saturn (cp the Ar. proper name Zuḥal).

[1] The vague notice in 2 S. 8 1 (where פלשתים represents צרפתים) probably comes from another source.

[2] Read, with Winckler, לְהָשִׁיב אתו מִנָּהָר.

[3] In Ezek. 47 16 the names should probably be Maacath, Rehoboth, Zarephath (see SIBRAIM and *Crit. Bib.*)

[4] Note that no extra number of warriors is put down for Beth-rehob.

[5] Cp the passages cited by Del. *Ass. HWB*, *s.v.* 'zaḫalū.'

Others (*e.g.* WRS, *RS*(2) 172, and Benzinger, *Kön.* 4) doubtfully connect the sacred fountain and stone with the Dragon's Well of Neh. 2 13 (see DRAGON). Zoheleth might mean 'serpent.' T. K. C.

ZOHETH (זוֹחֵת) and BEN-ZOHETH (*q.v.*), sons of Ishi, a descendant of Judah, 1 Ch. 4 20 (ζωαν [B], ζωχαθ [A], ζαωθ [L]).

ZOPHAH (צוֹפַח; σωχαθ, σωφας [B] -φαρ, -φα [A]), *σουφα* [L]), a name in a genealogy of ASHER (*q.v.*, § 4 2), 1 Ch. 7 35 *f.*†

ZOPHAI (צוֹפַי), 1 Ch. 6 26 [11], see ZUPH.

ZOPHAR (צ[ו]וֹפַר; σωφαρ [BℵAC]), one of Job's friends, a Naamathite (Job 2 11 11 1 20 1 42 9 [and 17 *e* 𝔊]†). NAAMAH (*q.v.*) was in SW. Judah; but the clan which settled there was doubtless of Calebite and therefore of Edomite extraction (cp 'Naam,' 1 Ch. 4 15). The poet must have reckoned 'Zophar' as an Edomite.

Probably the writer took the name from the notices in Gen. 36 11 15 1 Ch. 1 36, where צפו (Gen.) or צפי (Ch.)—both forms miswritten for צופר (see 𝔊)—occurs among the sons of Eliphaz, son of Esau. (See ZEPHO.) Still, 'Naamathite' is hardly the name we expect. Possibly נעמתי may have come from נימתי, and this, by transposition, from תימני. Zophar, then, like Eliphaz would be called a Temanite.

Dozy's correction (see Di., 20), רעמתי, 'a man of RAAMAH' (*q.v.*), and Hommel's, מעיני, 'Minæan' (cp 𝔊, ὁ Μ[ε]ιναῖος and, 2 11 42 17*e*, ὁ Μ[ε]ιναίων βασιλεύς), seem less plausible. T. K. C.

ZOPHIM (צֹפִים, σκοπιαν [BAFL]), apparently a mountain-district (שׂדה, see FIELD, 1), where was the 'height of the Pisgah,' Nu. 23 14. Dillmann, but not Kautzsch (*HS*), renders 'שְׂדֵה צ 'the field of watchers,' and supposes that there in times of danger watchers were stationed, or else that there diviners were wont to scan the heavens or the flight of birds for omens.

In Nu. 21 20, however, 'the height of the Pisgah' is said to be 'in the highland of Moab,' or rather (see MOAB, § 14) 'of Miṣṣur.' This suggests that צֹפִים is a corrupt or mutilated form of the name of a region or a clan—*i.e.*, either of מִצּוּר or of צָרְפָתִים. It was in fact probably a mountain not far from Zarephath that was meant in the original story. See further NEBO i., § 2. T. K. C.

ZOPHIM, RAMATHAIM. See RAMATHAIM.

ZORAH (צָרְעָה, as if 'hornet'; cp צִרְעָה; σαραα). A city repeatedly mentioned, but not easy so to locate as to suit all the textual phenomena. It was closely connected with the story of Samson; but the scene of this story seems to have been differently viewed at different times (see SAMSON). It was Danite—of that there can be no doubt (Judg. 13 2, *σαραλ* [B]; Josh. 19 41, *σαραθ* [B]).

Zorah is included in the same group with Eshtaol and Ashna, among the cities of the Shĕphēlah (Josh. 15 33, AV ZOREAH, *ραα* [B]): but the kernel of the name Eshtaol (Shaol or Saul) is probably Jerahmeelite. It is also mentioned in Neh. 11 29 (AV ZAREAH, om. Bℵ*A, *σαρα* [L]) and in 2 Ch. 11 10 as fortified by Rehoboam; but in both passages there seems upon critical grounds to be reason to think that the original text referred to places in the Negeb. In 1 Ch. 2 53 we find the ZORATHITES (AV ZAREATHITES, הַצָּרְעָתִי, *σαραθαῖοι* [BA], *σαραaθι* [L] among the families of Kirjath-jearim, cp 1 Ch. 4 2 (*αραθει* [B], *σαραθι* [A], *σαλαθιηλ* [L]); also in 2 54 where the ZORITES (הַצָּרְעִי, *ησαρει* [B] . . . *ραει* [A], *σαραθι* [L]), together with the MANAHETHITES (*q.v.*, and cp MANOAH) are sons of Salma the 'father' of Beth-lehem. But the genealogy is Calebite; jearim in Kirjath-jearim may represent 'Jerahmeel'; SHOBAL and SALMA are N. Arabian names, and Beth-lehem certainly represents Beth-jerahmeel, a name which, in such a context, we naturally assign to the Negeb. Ephrath too is primarily a name of the Negeb. It would seem therefore that in spite of the assignment of Zorah to the Shephelah in Josh. 15 33, and its combination with Aijalon in Josh. 19 41 *f.*, we must admit that a confusion has been made by the redactors of the OT texts between a Zorah in the Shĕphēlāh and a place of a similar name (probably צֹעַר Zoar, or צור Zur, or even מִצּוּר Miṣṣur), and of equal strategic importance, in the Negeb, not far from Beth-jerahmeel (confounded by redactors sometimes with Beth-lehem in Judah, sometimes with Aijalon).

The Zorah of the Shĕphēlāh would be the modern *Ṣar'a*, which stands on an eminence on the N. side of the Wādy Ṣarār, opposite Beth-shemesh and 14 m. W. from Jerusalem. On the importance of the situation see GASm. *HG* 218 *ff.* The Zoar (?) of the Negeb we cannot venture to locate. T. K. C.

ZOROBABEL (ζοροβαβελ [Ti. WH]), Mt. 1 12 *f.* AV, RV ZERUBBABEL. See GENEALOGIES, ii., § 2 (*c*).

ZOROASTRIANISM

Names (§ 1).
Early obscurity (§ 2).
Ancient accounts (§ 3).
Zoroaster (§ 4 *f.*).
Date, sources (§ 6 *f.*).
Ormazd, Ahriman (§ 8).
Other spirits (§§ 9-11).
Dualism (§ 12).
Man, judgment (§§ 13-15).
Ethics (§ 16).
Worship, Magi (§ 17).
History, origin (§ 18 *f.*).
Influence on Israel (§§ 20-22).
Resurrection, 'Wisdom,' etc. (§§ 23-25).
Literature (§ 26, end).

Of Mazdaism, the religion of the Perso-Iranians, Zoroaster is regarded as the prophet; hence the religion is often called Zoroastrianism.

1. Names for Persian religion. Western writers, however, more usually speak of the doctrine of the Magi. It is not easy to say with certainty whether or not we are entitled to interchange the three terms, Mazdaism, Zoroastrianism, and Magism, as if they were synonymous.

2. Early obscurity. Positive information regarding the religious condition of Western Iran during the oldest historical period is almost entirely wanting. It is not absolutely certain, for example, of what faith Cyrus the Great was an adherent. With reference, moreover, to the antecedent conditions in Eastern Iran, which must have played an important rôle in the early development of the Persian religion, our sources are very scanty throughout. Our oldest positive witnesses for the belief in Mazda are the comprehensive inscriptions of Darius I., through which runs a strong vein of faith and pious devotion. Darius never wearies of glorifying the just and good guidance of the supreme god, Aüramazda (Ormazd). The other gods are mentioned only incidentally. Religious matters are often spoken of quite in the style of the later Avesta. The greatest evil is falsehood. The spirit of falsehood, the adversary (cp 'Satan') of Mazda, is not mentioned by any name. We are therefore confronted by the question,—Is the mere name of Mazda itself a positive proof of the Zoroastrian origin of the early Persian religion, or must the dualism be explicitly present as the essential mark of the prophet's teaching? Herodotus, moreover, our oldest authority, says nothing of Ahriman in his account of the religion of the Persians, nor does he mention the name of Zoroaster. Accordingly, C. de Harlez disputes the view that the Persians under the first Achæmenians were Zoroastrians. He also lays stress on the fact that the burial rites of the Persians, as pictured by Herodotus (1 140), are directly opposed to the Zoroastrian injunctions. Darmesteter rightly objects that it is not the intention of Darius to publish a creed or articles of faith. Herodotus, in a well-known passage (1 131-140), describes only the religious usages of the Persians, and expressly states that he does not know the whole truth regarding their customs connected with the disposal of the bodies of the dead. Darmesteter therefore comes to the conclusion that the Zoroastrian religion was in force in Persia at the time of Darius I. In practice, however, it was only the priestly caste of the Magi that was bound to rigid observance of the rule. Among the laity the religious prescriptions and usages did not have so binding a force nor so wide a scope as they had later at the time of the Sassanians. Windischmann had already expressed the conviction that Darius and his successors were genuine Zoroastrians, the name Aüramazda being as inseparable from the religion of Zoroaster as the name of Christ was from Christianity. This supposition would become a certainty if West is right in his conclusion that the Persian calendar, which is distinctly Zoroastrian in its naming of months and

ZOROASTRIANISM

days, had been introduced at the time of Darius, about 505 B.C. The entire question as to the Achæmenians being Zoroastrians is still under discussion. We know, at least, that Artaxerxes I. and his successors were Zoroastrians.

For references consult C. de Harlez, *Avesta*,(2) 1881, Introd. x, xvii, ccx; Darmesteter, *SBE* 4 (1880), Introd. xliv (2nd ed. 1895); *Le Zend-Avesta* (3 vols., 1893), vol. 3, Introd. lxx; Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien* (1863), 121; West, *SBE* 47 (1897), Introd. xliv.

According to Herodotus (1 132) no Persian could sacrifice without a Magian priest. This indirectly proves that there was a religious connection between the Persians and the Magians.

3. Greeks on Magi.

Everything implied in the statements of the Greeks regarding the usages and the doctrines of the Magi is genuinely Zoroastrian. The Magi allowed the bodies of their dead to be torn by dogs and birds of prey. They regarded it as a laudable act to kill as many ants, snakes, and other vermin as possible, whilst they held the life of a dog as sacred as the life of a man (Herod. 1 146). Marriage of near relations was with them a pious custom (Strabo, 15 20). All these things are treated with some fulness in the Avesta. Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* 46) explains the Magian zeal for destroying all unclean animal life on the ground of the Zoroastrian theology, and quite in accordance with the Avesta, as follows: 'Among plants, they attribute the one to the Good Divinity, the other to the Evil Genius; similarly with regard to animals; the dog,[1] birds, and the hedgehog belong to the Good Divinity; the water-rat belongs to the Evil One. On this account they esteem him fortunate who has killed the most of these beasts.' Plutarch (*l.c.*) gives a sketch of the doctrines of the Magian Zoroaster and of the mythology of the Magians. He clearly develops the outlines of the dualistic system; the two primeval spirits and their incessant warfare; creation and counter-creation; the division of the universe; its limited existence; the end of the evil principle; the regeneration and purification of the world (*de Is.* 47; partly drawn from Theopompus).

Areimanios was mentioned for the first time beside Oromazdes in a lost work of Aristotle, according to Diogenes Laertius (procem. 8). The name of Zoroaster occurs earlier in a fragment (29) of Xanthos, and in Plato (*Alcib.* 1 122), who calls him the son of Oromazdes. For Western writers Zoroaster is always the Magus or the founder of Magianism (Plut., *l.c.*; Plato, *l.c.*; Diog. Laert., procem. 2; other passages in de Harlez, *op. cit.*, 189; Max Duncker, *GA*(4) 4 50). The ancients also give some details as to the childhood of Zoroaster and his hermit life (Pliny, *HN* 30 2; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4; Dio Chrysostom, 2 60). They call him sometimes a Bactrian, sometimes a Median or Persian (cp Jackson in *Jour. Amer. Or. Soc.* 15 222). No reliance can be placed on their references to his extreme antiquity. Hermippus of Smyrna placed him 5000 years before the Trojan War; Xanthos, 6000 years before Xerxes; Aristotle assigned him a similar antiquity (Pliny, *HN* 30 1 2; Diog. Laert. procem. 2; cp Jackson, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* 17 3, and *Zoroaster*, 150-178). Agathias (2 24) rightly remarks that it is no longer possible to determine with any certainty when he lived and legislated. 'The Persians,' he adds, 'say that Zoroaster lived under Hystaspes, but do not make clear whether by this name is meant the father of Darius or another Hystaspes.'

What the Greeks regard as the doctrines of the Magi the Iranians themselves call the doctrines of Zoroaster.

4. Iranians on Zoroaster.

The native accounts bring the personality of Zoroaster into the foreground. To him alone Mazda vouchsafed the Law and the Holy Faith, and ordained him as the teacher of men. The Avesta, or Zoroastrian bible, makes only occasional reference to the external circumstances of Zoroaster's life, for the part of the Avesta which was specially devoted to the story of his life, the so-called Spend-Nask, is lost. Its contents, however, have been worked into the Pahlavi literature, which in three places gives a description of his life. These interesting accounts, two of which occur in the fifth and seventh books of the Dīnkard and one in the Zartūsht-nāmak,[2] have been translated by E. W. West under the title, 'Marvels of Zoroastrianism,' in *SBE* 47 (1897).

These narratives have a mythical tinge that is quite oriental; they are not histories, they are legends. Already in the Avesta Zoroaster appears for the most part as a legendary personality.

He stands in personal intercourse with the divinity. At his appearing all nature rejoices (*Yasht*, 13 93); he enters into conflict with the demons and rids the earth of their presence (*Yasht*, 17 19); Satan approaches him as tempter to make him renounce his faith (*Vendidad*, 19 6). The history of his life is a succession of marvels. The divine powers themselves initiate him into his high calling, and during the whole of his prophetic career they stand by him with their counsel.

Many scholars therefore have regarded the personality of the prophet as purely mythical (Darmesteter; Kern, according to Tiele, *Kompendium*, § 99). This is certainly going too far. There is no reason to doubt the existence of the religious founder, Zoroaster; he lives too strongly in tradition. The legend of Zoroaster is not one to be deprived of all historical foundation.

Zoroaster's real name is Zarathushtra, Modern Persian, Zardusht; it seems to mean, 'Possessor of old camels.'

5. Traditional data.

His father was Pourushaspa, of the noble family of the Spitāmas, his mother Dughdhōvā. Regarding his native place there is a double tradition. According to one, the house of his father was situated in Airyana Vaējo upon a hill of the river Dareja (the modern Darya, in northern Azerbaijān), and Zoroaster was born there. According to the other tradition he came from Ragha (Rai; see RAGES) in Media proper. In Sassanian times, Ragha as well as Atropatene was an important seat of the priesthood. In Ragha resided the Zarathushtrotema, the supreme head of the church. The riddle of the contradiction has been solved by Jackson. According to a statement of Shahrastānī, Azerbaijān was the home of Zoroaster's father, whilst his mother was by birth from Rai (Jackson, *Jour. Am. Or. Soc.* 15 228; Darmesteter, *SBE* 4 Introd. xlvii).

The most important traditional data of Zoroaster's life are as follows. When he was thirty years old, in a vision upon the bank of the river Dāitya, the archangel Vohumano appeared to him and invited him to a conference with Mazda. This first meeting, which is recorded also in the Avesta (*Yasna*, 43), is to be regarded as the coming of the new religion and as the beginning of a new era of the world. Seven other conferences followed in the next ten years. In the first two years, at the command of the Lord, Zoroaster preached the new doctrine to the Kavis and Karpans—*i.e.*, the ruling idolatrous priests of the land—in the presence of the prince of the region, a Turanian; but without effect. The injunction of 'next of kin' marriage shocked them. He then betook himself to Seistān, to Parshatgāu, who allowed himself to be converted, but not in public. It was only Zoroaster's own cousin, Maidyōi-māongha, who first openly professed himself his disciple, so that the prophet disheartened cries out: 'In ten years I have won only a single man!' Mazda now sent him to the court of King Vīshtāspa. There he had first to undergo cruel imprisonment; but after two years he finally overcame the opposition of the idolatrous priests and converted the king. At this time also the brother of the king, Zairivairi, as well as the king's son, Spentōdāta, and both the Vizirs, namely, the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa, became wholly devoted to him. Zoroaster lived to see the great religious war with King Arejataspa, who invaded Iran with the Hyaonas and was defeated, but met his death by the hand of a Turanian, it is said, at the age of 77 years and 40 days. The Avesta does not definitely express itself regarding the home of King Vīshtāspa; it is only the latest tradition that locates the seat of the king, and also the scene where Zoroaster successfully taught, in the E. and especially towards Bactria.

If there is anything historical in these notices it is the

[1] Contrast Is. 66 3 (see DOG, § 3).
[2] This forms part of the *Selections of Zād-sparam.*

figure of the royal patron and protector Vīshtāspa, 'who with his weapon broke a path for the truth, and became the arm and support of the Zoroastrian religion, and freed it from the chains in which it had lain bound, and raised it to power and spread it abroad' (*Yasht*, 13 99-100). His influential consort Hutaosā appears to have led the way by good example. Zoroaster found strong support at the court, moreover, in the two brothers, Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa. The Gāthās never mention the name of the king without mentioning with praise his two zealous and faithful counsellors. To both of these Zoroaster was related by marriage; he married Hvogvī the daughter of Frashaoshtra; and Jāmāspa married Zoroaster's daughter, Pouruchistā.

As to the era of Zoroaster, the extravagant dates given by the Greeks have no value. Modern investigation avoids mere guesses and places more reliance on the native statements.

6. Date.

We have two dates given by tradition. The one makes a period of 272 years intervene between the beginning of the religion (see above, § 5) and the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.); whilst according to the other, the religion had existed in purity for about 300 years before the invasion of Alexander. According to the first statement, Zoroaster would have lived from 625 B.C. to 548 B.C. West makes the second statement the basis of his reckoning, and taking account of a slight omission in the traditional chronology makes the dates 660-583 B.C. (cp *SBE* 47, Introd. xxvii and xxxviii). These numbers fall within historical times, and the former comes near the era of the historical Vīshtāspa (Hystaspes), the father of Darius I. With this Hystaspes, who was satrap in Parthia, it was formerly usual to identify the Vishtaspa of the Avesta. This identification, however, falls to the ground, at least for the present, because of the totally different ancestry of the historical Hystaspes and of the Vīshtāspa of the legend.

The chief source of information regarding the teaching of Zoroaster is the Avesta. This was redacted in the time of the Sassanidæ; it is drawn, however, in part at least, from older sources and tradition.

7. Teaching: sources.

To the oldest tradition belonged the so-called Gāthās. They contain remnants of the addresses and sermons, delivered before the assembled court, and put by tradition into the mouth of the prophet, who is conceived of as teaching, exhorting, and seeking to win recruits for his cause. The Gāthās themselves are distinguished in two respects from the 'younger (later) Avesta.'

First, the person of Zoroaster appears much less legendary in the Gāthās. The scenes of his activity and teaching are placed much more vividly before our eyes. His relation to his patrons is much more close and real. The Gāthās are marked by many personal allusions and references which are unknown to the younger Avesta. Secondly, the celestial world is much more predominantly abstract. Material and naturalistic divinities like Mithra are foreign to the Gāthās. The external cult and ritual sink almost entirely into the background. The holy drink, the Haoma, is not mentioned.

These two considerations, however, are not enough to enable us to distinguish sharply between the Gāthā Zoroastrianism as the pure and original doctrine on the one hand, and the later Zoroastrianism as systematically developed and corrupted by the older popular faith on the other. The Gāthās are really not properly dogmatic and doctrinal sermons; they are rather prophetic sayings, promises, and injunctions intended specially for the narrower community of the faithful and initiated; they represent the esoteric side of Zoroaster's teaching in its ideal bearing rather than its outward rules and statutes. The Gāthās are rather the philosophy of Zoroastrianism; the younger Avesta is rather its theology together with the systematic elaboration of the Zoroastrian doctrine.

The supreme God is Ahurō Mazdāo (Anc. Per., *Aŭramazda*, Mod. Per., *Hormazd* or *Ormazd*), 'the wise lord.' He is called also Spentō Mainyush—*i.e.*, 'the holy (lit., weal-bringing) spirit'—and he is the creator and regent of the world. His sovereignty over the universe, however, is contested by his foe, the fiend primeval, Angrō Mainyush—*i.e.*, 'the destructive spirit.'

8. Zoroastrianism: Ormazd, Ahriman.

In the beginning of things these twin spirits existed independently of each other; they became aware of their opposing character (*Yasna*, 30 3) and swore an eternal feud (cp *Yasna*, 45 2 and *Bundahish*, i. 14). Both spirits possess creative power, which manifests itself in the one positively and in the other negatively. Ormazd is light, life, and activity, the soul of all that is pure and good; in the ethical world he is law, order, and truth. His antithesis, Ahriman, is darkness, filth, death, and reaction; all that is evil in the world; lawlessness and lies spring from him. Ormazd has his throne in the 'endless light' of heaven, in Paradise; Ahriman rules in the cold north, in the endless darkness of Hell, from which he breaks forth from time to time. Ormazd alone possesses omniscience and prescience; Ahriman's wisdom is backward knowledge (*Bundahish*, i. 9); he is always coming too late, and has to look at events after they are past. For the time being the two spirits counterbalance one another. The complete sovereignty of Ormazd is to come to pass in the future existence. The ultimate triumph of the good spirit is an ethical demand of the religious conscience and the quintessence of Zoroaster's revelation. His doctrine is dualistic in so far as it sets up two opposing primeval powers; it is not, however, quite consistent; the two principles are not endowed with equal power. The dualism of Zoroaster is only an episode in the existence of Ormazd, who is the supreme and only god from the beginning of the world, and remains so to eternity.

In the realm of light, Ormazd is the sovereign lord. As a spirit, it is true, he is invisible to men; but he is not immaterial. A flaming, firm, exalted, and beautiful body is attributed to him. The heaven is his robe. In his exalted majesty he is the ideal figure of an oriental king. The other divine powers and genii are his creation, helpers, overseers, and servants, his instruments and his leaders in the war against evil.

Next to him in rank stand six archangels, the Amesha Spentas, 'the Immortal Holy Ones'; he himself is often counted with them as the seventh. They resemble the ministers of some autocratic sovereign. They sit round about Ormazd, and he holds counsel with them.

9. The Amesha Spentas.

According to their names they are pure abstractions, although in the Gāthās they are already represented as persons. They have been developed partly out of the ethical ideas of the old Aryan belief. As a whole, however, they are a true product of Zoroaster's conception. They form the necessary constituents of the kingdom of Mazda which is to be perfected, and in them the tendency of Zoroastrianism to personify abstract ideas takes its origin. In everything the Amesha Spentas are the truest fellow-workers of Ormazd. The care and guardianship of creation is entrusted to them, and they are regarded as tutelary divinities over the separate kingdoms of nature.

The names of the Amesha Spentas are: (1) Vohu Manō (Plut. *εὔνοια*), Good Mind—*i.e.*, the good principle, the idea of the good, the principle that works in man inclining him to what is good; this divinity acts also as genius of the flocks. (2) Ashem, or generally Ashem Vahishtem (ἀλήθεια), corresponding to all that is true, good, and right—ideas which, to Zoroaster, are practically identical—upright law and rule, also the genius presiding over fire. (3) Khshathrem, generally called Khshathrem Vairīm (εὐνομία), the power and kingdom of Ormazd, also the genius of metals. (4) Ārmaiti (σοφία), or the spirit of docility and obedience, early represented as the genius of the earth. (5) Haurvatāt (πλοῦτος), holiness, perfect health, the genius of the health-giving waters. (6) Ameretatāt, immortality, the genius of plants.

The other good spirits of Ormazd are comprised under the name Yazata (Izeds), 'angels.' These are partly religious and ethical abstractions of Zoroastrianism like Rashnu (Uprightness) or Ashi Vanuhī (the good

Reward of Piety). In part they are the unforgotten forms of Aryan mythology, such as Mithra and Verethraghna (the genius of Victory, the Iranian counterpart of the Indian Indra Vrtrahan), or they are the familiar personifications of natural phenomena such as the sun, the moon, fire, wind (cp Herod. 1 131). In the Gāthās most of the Yazatas are not mentioned—even such as hold quite an important place in the later system and ritual, like Mithra. It is only Sraosha (holy obedience) and Atar, the fire, the son of Ormazd, that play a more important rôle. For the younger Avesta, special mention must also be made of Anāhita, goddess of the waters, and of the Fravashis (Fervers), the spiritual prototypes of men and of the good creation and at the same time the guardian spirits of the pious.

10. Other good spirits.

Ahriman also has his infernal hosts which he created for the conflict with Ormazd.

11. Other evil spirits.

These are endowed with less individuality, however, than those of the kingdom of light. The Druj (Lie, Falsehood), for example, is opposed to Asha; Akem Manō (Bad Thought) to Vohu Mano; and Ārmaiti to Tarōmaiti (Pride or Presumption). In the Gāthās, the Druj is mentioned more often than Ahriman himself. In the later texts, the word Druj signifies a special class of female demons. The most familiar of these is Nasu, the corpse spirit. The schematic system of later times has also given Ahrimanian counterparts to each of the other Ameshā Spentās. Myriads of demons, Daēvas (Devs), make up the mighty horde of Ahriman. They embody all the disturbing elements in nature and the baser instincts in man. Of most of them we know only the names. The best-known among them is Aeshma, the demon of Wrath (see ASMODEUS).

As soon as the two spirits encounter each other their active or creative, and at the same time permanent, conflict begins. The history of this conflict is the history of the world. Every move of Ormazd is met by a counter-move (*paityāra*) of Ahriman.

12. The conflict.

Whatever the good spirit creates, the evil spirit sullies, or, as the text says, 'just like a fly he rushed out upon the whole creation' (*Bundahish*, iii. 17). No sooner has Ormazd created the world than Ahriman brings upon the earth distress in the form of plague and noxious creatures. Ormazd brings into existence the primeval bull (prototype of all animals); Ahriman tortures it to death with hunger, sickness, and blows, and its soul (Geush Urva) complains before the throne of Ormazd about the violence it has had to suffer. Ormazd comforts the soul of the creature with the assurance of the future coming of Zoroaster (*Yasna*, 29; *Bundahish*, 4). Ormazd creates the first man (Gaya Maretan); Ahriman incites against this man Astō-Vidhōtu, the demon of death, and thus sets death in opposition to life.[1]

A great cleft runs through the entire world and divides it into two great camps—the kingdom of light and the realm of darkness. All creation is divided into that which is Ahura's and that which is Ahriman's. This division extends even to the language. Whenever mention is made of face, ears, hands, and feet, of activity, speaking, going, striving, a sharp distinction is made in the expression between good and evil beings. The two spirits do not carry on the struggle in person. They leave it to be fought out by their respective creations and by creatures which they send into the field. The field of battle is the present world.

In the centre of the battle is man; his soul is the object of the war. Man is a creation of Ormazd, who therefore has the right to call him to account. Ormazd, however, created him free in all his decisions and in his actions, wherefore he is accessible to the influences of the evil powers. This freedom of the will is clearly expressed in *Yasna*, 31 11: 'Since thou, O Mazda, didst at the first create our being and our souls in accordance with thy mind, and didst create our understanding and our life together with the body, and works and words in which man according to his own will can frame his confession, the liar and the truth-speaker alike lay hold of the word, the knowing and the ignorant each after his own heart and understanding. Armaiti searches, following thy spirit, where errors are found.' Man takes part in this conflict by all his life and activity in the world. By a true confession of faith, by every good deed, by continually keeping pure his body and his soul, he impairs the power of Ahriman and strengthens the power of goodness, and establishes a claim for reward upon Ormazd; by false confession, by every evil deed and defilement, he increases the evil and renders service to Ahriman.

[1] This story is by some wrongly connected with the story of Adam in Genesis.

The life of man falls into two parts—its earthly portion and that which is lived beyond the grave. The lot assigned to him after death is the result and consequence of his life upon earth. No religion has so clearly grasped the ideas of guilt and merit. A strict reckoning of the works of men here below will be kept in heaven. After death, at the end of the third night, the soul arrives at the head of the Cinvatō-Peretu, or Accountant's Bridge, over which lies the way to heaven.[1] Here takes place the revealing and disclosure of all its past life, the *judicium particulare.* The angel Mithra and the angel Rashnu make up the account and reckoning (*SBE* 24 258), or Rashnu the Just weighs the good and the evil deeds over against each other in the impartial balance that does not vary a hair's breadth in favour of any man, not even a monarch (*SBE* 24 18).

13. Man, here and hereafter.

14. Judicium particulare.

Perhaps in ancient times the bridge itself was conceived of as a sort of automatic scale. In the case of the soul of the just whose good deeds outweigh his evil acts, the bridge becomes wide and easy of crossing; and at this moment his own religion comes to meet him in the shape of a beautiful maiden, and accompanies him to Paradise (Garōdemānem), where Vohu Mano receives him (*Vend.* 19 30-31). In the case of the soul of the wicked, however, the bridge becomes as narrow as the edge of a razor, and when he reaches the middle of it he falls off and is plunged headlong into hell (*SBE* 17 48).

Should the evil and the good be equally balanced, the soul passes into an intermediate stage of existence (the Hamēstakān), and its final lot is not decided until the last judgment.

Man, however, has been smitten with blindness and ignorance; he knows neither the eternal law nor the things that await him after death. He allows himself only too easily to be ensnared by the craft of the evil powers who seek to ruin his future existence. He worships and serves false gods, being unable to distinguish between truth and lies. Thus it came about that Ormazd graciously determined to open the eyes of mankind by sending a prophet to show them the right way of salvation. According to the later legend (*Vend.* 2 1), Ormazd at first wished to entrust this task to Yima (Jemshid), the ideal of an Iranian king; but Yima, the secular man, felt himself unfitted for it and declined the office. He contented himself therefore with establishing by order of the Lord in his paradise (*vara*) a heavenly kingdom in miniature, to serve at the same time as a pattern for the heavenly kingdom that was to come. Zoroaster at last was found fit for the mission. It was not without special reason, the Gāthās believe, that the calling of a prophet should have taken place precisely when it did. It was, they held, the final appeal of Ormazd to mankind at large. Like John the Baptist and the apostles of Jesus, Zoroaster believed that the fulness of time was near, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand. Through the whole of the Gāthās runs the pious hope that the end of the present world is not far off. Zoroaster himself hopes along with his followers to live to see the decisive turn of things, the dawn of the new and better æon. Ormazd will summon together all his forces for a final decisive struggle, and break the power of evil for ever; by his help the faithful will achieve the victory over their detested enemies, the *daēva* worshippers, and render them powerless. Then the great act (*yāh*) will be accomplished. Ormazd will institute a universal world-judgment (*judicium universale*).

15. Judicium universale.

[1] For parallels see Che. *OPs.* 438, note ee.

By means of an ordeal of fire and molten metal he will separate the good from the wicked and will judge strictly according to justice, punish the wicked, and assign to the good the hoped-for reward. Ahriman will be cast, along with all those who have been delivered over to him to suffer the pains of hell, into the abyss, where he will thenceforward lie powerless.

Forthwith begins the one undivided kingdom of God in heaven and on earth. This is called, sometimes the good kingdom, sometimes simply the kingdom. Here the sun will for ever shine, and all the pious and faithful will live a happy life that no evil power can disturb, in the fellowship of Ormazd and his angels for ever.

In one respect with regard to this, there has come about in the later writings a change that is easy to understand. In them the catastrophe and renovation of the world are placed in a far distant future. Whereas in the Gāthās Zoroaster himself is more or less clearly designated as the Saoshyant—*i.e.*, the predestined saviour of the world—the later writings look for the appearance of this Saoshyant only at the end of the present æon.

The Avesta does not contain any definite statement as to the division of time in the existence of the universe (yet cp Fragm. *Vend.* 2 24).

According to the *Bundehesh*, the duration of this world is 12,000 years divided into periods of 3000 years each (cp Plut., *de Is.* 47). In the first 3000 years Ormazd creates his creation in its spiritual form or prototype, without Ahriman being aware of it. At the beginning of the second period Ahriman raises himself from hell into the light and perceives the start which Ormazd has obtained. In this period both spirits create their material creation. At the beginning of the third era Ahriman invades the creation of Ormazd, and during this period good and evil counterbalance each other. At the beginning of the tenth millennium, Zoroaster appears, and a new prophet is to spring from his seed after each of the three remaining millennia. As the last of these Messiahs the real Saoshyant shall appear.

The Saoshyant with his helpers will accomplish the renovation of the world (frashō-kereti). Ormazd will raise the dead and the Saoshyant will assemble them all in one place. Everyone must descend into the great flood of molten metal. To the pious this lake will seem like a flood of warm milk; but to the wicked it will feel as if they were wading in molten metal. Then, in the name of Mazda, the Saoshyant will distribute unto everyone a reward according to his works. Ormazd will hurl Ahriman powerless back into hell, which is filled up with the molten metal, and the world will become purified for ever and for aye (*Bund.* 30). The younger (later) Avesta speaks of the end of the world and of the last things only in brief allusions. The idea of the resurrection of the dead is quite familiar to it and seems to be referred to several times even in the Gāthās.

16. Ethics.

The moral and ethical teachings of Zoroastrianism are sound and consistent. The moral code is summed up in the three words; 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds.' Man must enlist in the service of Ormazd and devote himself to the good cause with his whole being, and he must do every injury possible to Ahriman. This fundamental principle dominates the entire religious code and all the ecclesiastical legislation. Because of the general utility of its precepts this code represents a high standard of civilisation when we consider the early times to which it belongs. It imposed upon the faithful the duty of worshipping Ormazd and his spirits, of prayer, sacrifice, the inviolability of his creatures, the sacred respect for the cow (emphasised especially in the Gāthās), attention to agriculture and arboriculture, irrigation of dry lands, extermination of noxious animals, charity toward one's co-religionists, and the observance of absolute truthfulness. Above all stands the law of chastity. The faithful shall preserve purity, both of body and of soul. The soul must be kept pure from heretical doctrines and the influences of the Devs, the body must be kept from coming into contact with unclean persons, with corpses, filth, or other Ahrimanian objects. Man also must not in any way defile the pure elements of Ormazd such as fire, water, and earth. This love of purity, which as a principle is already proclaimed in the Gāthās (*Yasna*, 48 5), has led to the adoption of the most scrupulous washings and lustrations and elaborate ceremonies of purification, as well as of many strange customs, such as the exposing of corpses on the Towers of Silence (Dakhmas). According to strict logic, offences against the precepts of the law cannot be undone; but in the heavenly account they can be counterbalanced by a surplus of good works. The elaborately developed system of Zoroastrianism fixed the doctrine of equivalents with mathematical precision, and definitely assigned certain useful and pious works as acts of penance for certain sins. But corporal chastisements also were prescribed; these, in the main, were for the purpose of driving out the Devs that had taken possession of the sinner's body. In later times, however, matters were made easier for the sinner. For corporal punishment monetary fines could be substituted, and absolution from sin became more and more a means of grace to be had only at the hands of the church. Confession to the high priest, sincere repentance and reform, remove every sin from the body (*SBE* 24 95 and *Vend.* 3 71). For such a confession it was obligatory to recite one of the confessional formulas (Patets), in which the later literature abounds.

17. Worship. The Magi.

The cult of the Zoroastrian religion was without pomp. The sacrifice is described by Strabo (732). The sacred fire formed the central point. The sacrificial gifts which were offered were meat and milk, and more especially the sacred drink Haoma. The main stress was laid upon prayer and the ascription of glory to God.

The systematic development of the teachings of Zoroaster and of the Zoroastrian law is undoubtedly the work of the priesthood which through their strict exclusiveness became an hereditary caste. In the W. they were called Magi; in the language of the Avesta they are termed Āthravan; but even in the sacred texts the word Magi occurs in a few instances. The Āthravans were the privileged guardians of the religion and the leaders of worship. They alone could perform the sacrifices (Herod. 1 132), and carry out the ecclesiastical punishments and penances; they alone could interpret the law. They exercised a sort of spiritual guardianship over the laity. Every young man, after his reception into the community of the faithful, or Mazdayasnians, had to select a spiritual guide, a father-confessor (Ratu). The priesthood never attained political power—or never even claimed it.

18. History of Zoroastrianism.

After the fall of the Achæmenidæ (331 B.C.) Zoroastrianism lost greatly in power and dignity. It was subsequently rehabilitated, however, by the Sassanians, under whom it reached its highest prosperity. It was at this epoch that the clergy advanced to a firmly-constituted hierarchy, and Zoroastrianism became the official religion of the state, favoured and protected by the government. The formation of sects was at this period not infrequent (cp 'Manichæism' in *EB*(9)). The Zervanites flourished under Yazdegard II. (438-457 A.D.). They represented Ormazd and Ahriman as twin sons proceeding from the fundamental principle of all, the limitless time (*Zrvan akarana*). The Mohammedan invasion (636 A.D.), with the terrible persecution of the following centuries, was a deathblow to Zoroastrianism. In Persia itself only a few followers of Zoroaster are now found (in Kirman and Yazd). The Parsees in and around Bombay hold to Zoroaster as their prophet and adhere to the ancient usages; but their doctrine has reached the stage of a pure monotheism (see PARSEES in *EB*(9)).

19. Origin.

If we inquire into the origin of the Zoroastrian religion we must not lose sight of the fact that everything which is written on this point must necessarily rest upon mere conjecture. Tradition has obliterated every trace of the actual process by which the faith came into existence, and of the particular factors which were active in its formation. As far as tradition is concerned the complete doctrine was revealed by Ormazd in its entirety. Already in the Gāthās the belief in inspiration predominates; nevertheless they allow us to read between the lines other things as well.

We are denied, however, a clear insight into the popular religion before Zoroaster and into the ancient doctrines of the Magi, to whom Zoroaster must have had certain relation, whatever the exact extent of that relation may have been.

The Mazda-religion is distinguished from the nature-religion of kindred peoples by its dogmatic character and by the unity of its structure. There is a fundamental idea in it which is developed with absolute logic. It is the fundamental dogma of the two spirits, a tenet which contains both the problem of the world and the solution of its enigma. This doctrine, not only in its beginning and foundation, but also, in part at least, in its detailed structure, is the product of a single creative personality; and that personality was Zoroaster. It was a new religion that Zoroaster taught. This must not be taken, however, to mean that everything in Zoroastrianism is absolutely new. Zoroaster himself says that his desire was to purify the religion (*Yasna*, 44 9). In its fundamental teaching as well as in its completely elaborate system Zoroastrianism shows unmistakable traces of the old Aryan religion.

In common with the people of India, Zoroastrianism has the cult of fire and of Haoma; it has also in common with India the name of the chief sacrificial priest Zaota (Sk. *hōtā*), of the gods Mithra and Verethraghna, and the enforcement of minute purificatory precepts. The Zoroastrian doctrine of the weighing of good and bad deeds in the balance, which determines the fate of the soul after death, has its faithful counterpart in the Indian doctrine of *karman* and in the balancing of *dharma* and *adharma* in *Manu*, 12 20 *f.* It is only with Zoroaster, however, that this doctrine is developed in its most practical and, if one may say so, business-like form. Already in Šatapatha Brāhmaṇa (11 2 7 33) we meet with the conception of the scale in heaven, on which good and evil deeds are weighed. The threefold division according to thoughts, words, and deeds, is as familiar to the Hindus as to Zoroaster.

It has been believed that foreign influences even are traceable in Zoroastrianism; but this remains a quite obscure point. The isolated analogies with Turanian, Assyro-Babylonian, and Hebraic conceptions cannot be accepted as giving convincing proof of actual borrowing on the part of Zoroastrianism (cp C. de Harlez, *Des Origines des Zoroastrisme;* Z. A. Ragozin, *The story of Media, Babylon, and Persia* (1888), p. 147; Tiele, *Kompendium*, par. 109; Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3, Introd. lxxiv and lvii). The hypothesis of Darmesteter that the doctrine of the Gāthās was influenced by Gnosticism, has hardly found any adherents.

The dualistic idea of Zoroaster is not adequately explained by conceiving it as a remodelling of the old mythological opposition between gods and demons, influenced and favoured by the sharp contrasts in nature in the Iranian land (Duncker, 102; Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, 88 271; Ed. Meyer, *GA* 1 531 *f.*). Such an account still leaves unexplained the transformation and radical change of the Aryan *devas* (gods) into the Zoroastrian *daēvas* (devils). Just as the fiendish demons, *daēvas*, are opposed to the good god Ahura in Zoroastrianism, so the *devas* and *asuras* have been placed in opposition in India from the earliest times. In the oldest literature this opposition is not as yet one of pronounced hostility; but it soon becomes so. The *devas* remain gods, the *asuras* become demons. Between these two phenomena of contrasted meanings there must be a connection of cause and effect. They point to an old opposition in the Aryan world of the gods, expressed by the words *deva*, *asura*, which grew to be more and more distinct and sharp with both races, but in exactly opposite directions. In Iran the contrast seems to have led at first to two distinct cults, to an Ahura cult and to that of the Daevas. This seems to have been the religious condition of affairs in Iran when Zoroaster appeared. We meet with hints in the Gāthās which show us that the people were divided between these two opposing cults. The opposing parties are not separated by distance in space or by difference of race; they are found side by side. 'Hard by the believer in Ahura dwells the worshipper of the *daevas*,' complains Zoroaster. Not two cults, but two stages of culture, are struggling for the primacy; the Ahura worshippers represent the higher phase; they are breeders of cattle, and in their eyes the cow is a sacred animal; the worshippers of the *daēvas* on the other hand maltreat the cow and slaughter it in their sacrifices. From this religious difference and dissension Zoroaster seems to have received his first impulse for appearing in public. As an adherent of Ahura whose attribute is 'The Wise One,' and as prophet, he will warn men against false teachers and priests; and amidst the differences of creeds and beliefs he will guide them to the wiser choice in order to save their souls. What the other party worship as gods under the name of *daēva* are in reality powers by whom unwitting mankind is led to its destruction—evil powers, false gods, devils. Such is the position from which all his teaching starts; and thus the change in the conception of *daēva* was a natural development. From the *daēvas* proceeds all the evil in the world. But Zoroaster's speculation does not stop here. The *daēvas* themselves anon become manifest to him as being but the instruments of a higher principle, that is the spiritual enemy, Ahriman. This Ahriman or evil principle is the most characteristic product of Zoroastrian speculation. From the schism or religious dualism of his time he derived the idea of the dualistic scheme of the universe which has impressed its character upon the whole of the religion called by his name.

The literature of the subject has been cited in the course of the article. Consult especially Tiele, *Kompendium der Religionsgesch.*, or (best of all) Ed. Meyer, *GA* 530-573 (1884). On Zoroaster's life, A. V. Williams Jackson's *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (New York, 1898) may be specially recommended. See also the references in Cheyne, *OPs.* (see below).

K. F. G.

The question of the influence of Zoroastrianism on Jewish religion can only relate to *post-exilic* Jewish religion.

20. No early influence on Israel.

There is no evidence of any Persian influence on Jewish belief before the exile; the reference which has been supposed in Ezek. 8 16 to a Persian custom is based on a mistake (see *Crit. Bib.*). During the Babylonian exile, though contact with Persians was doubtless possible, it was the religion of Babylonia that naturally exercised more influence than any other on the Jews. In the Babylonian hymns we find a near approach to the Jewish conception of God, and to the Jewish view of sin, whilst the Babylonian view of the divine creatorship is surpassed in grandeur only by the Zoroastrian.

In the period which we may conventionally call post-exilic, Persian influence, or, more definitely, the influence of Mazdaism can more easily be supposed.

21. Post-exilic.

The Jews in Palestine cannot have been subject to much direct influence of this kind. It was rather indirectly, through the large Jewish colonies E. of the Euphrates and the Tigris, that Palestinian Judaism was affected by Persia. These colonies, as we know, kept up an intercourse with the community in Judæa. It is very possible that the idea of bringing what Artaxerxes is represented as calling 'the wisdom of Ezra's God which is in his hand' (Ezra 7 25) in book form to Jerusalem was, if not suggested, yet strengthened by the existence of a book-religion in Persia, and it would be unreasonable not to suppose that Jews in and near Persia gained some acquaintance with the Zoroastrian religion, and were influenced by it. The high moral tone of the best Persians (see the inscriptions of Darius) and of their religion could not but attract the best Jews (cp Mal. 1 11), and the Persian folk-lore would be equally attractive to Jews of a less spiritual turn of mind. We need not, of course, suppose an acquaintance on the part of the Jews with Zoroastrian *literature;* the ideas of book-religions are not propagated exclusively by the sacred writings. Eschatological and demonological ideas, in particular,

were likely to be communicated by word of mouth, and it is in the field of eschatology, angelology, and demonology that Persian influence on Judaism may most surely be recognised.

Early post-exilic Persian or Zoroastrian influence is not easy to prove. Jewish scribes and editors had other objects than that of enlightening the historical students of to-day, and official religious writers were doubtless anxious to check foreign influences, and to conceal the tokens of their existence. Even the protests of official writers, however, are useful to the historical student. The belief in Satan, as we find it in the OT, is thoroughly Jewish, and yet it would hardly have assumed its actual form without the indirect influence of the belief in Ahriman against which it became a protest (see SATAN). So too the ancient benediction called *yōṣēr ōr* must have had a polemical intention, and yet the custom of reciting it at dawn was no doubt influenced by a similar Zoroastrian usage.

It would somewhat strengthen the case for Persian influence on the Jews if we had other *linguistic* proofs besides the supposed derivation of ASMODEUS (*q.v.*) from Aēshma-daēva.

22. Later. Such proofs, however, are wanting, nor can the generally accepted Zend etymology of Asmodeus be called quite certain, owing to the imperfect correspondence of the qualities of the two demons. The question needs examination in connection with the story of Tobit (may we refer in advance to a new explanation of Asmodeus in *Crit. Bib.* ?), which seems to have passed through several phases. It is clear, however, that, as time went on, Persian and Babylonian influences in combination were more and more felt by the Jews. Hence it is difficult to say whether the seven evil spirits of Mt. 12 45 are to be traced to Babylon or to Persia, and whether the Book of Revelation (a Jewish even more than a Christian work) strikes us more by its Persian or by its Babylonian affinities.[1] Such a competent authority as E. W. West can see hardly any difference between the Devil of this book and the Zoroastrian Ahriman, whilst the eschatology of the later Zoroastrian books has a most striking resemblance to that of Revelation. The contest of Michael and his angels with the dragon and his angels is closely parallel to the contest between Vohumanō 'Good Mind' and the powers of evil, and to the 1000 years' conflict with Azhi Dahāka (the destructive serpent). Nor is the awful 'lake of fire' wanting in the later Zoroastrian books.

The seven 'men,' *i.e.*, angels, in Ezek. 9 2, together with the seven archangels of Tobit may supply evidence of an earlier date for Persian influence, though (without here raising the question as to the original setting of the story of Tobit) it may be admitted that the Persian Amshaspands developed out of Babylonian germs. In fact, it is becoming more and more clear that we cannot always draw a sharp distinction between original and imported Persian beliefs. The influence of Babylonia upon Persia must have begun earlier than used to be supposed. The religion of Aüra-mazda, in spite of its primitive Aryan roots, must have been influenced, like the religion of Yahwè, by that of Babylonia. For instance, both the seven chief good spirits and the seven chief evil spirits of Zoroastrianism have indisputable Babylonian affinities. Probably, however, it would be correct to say that Gabriel and Michael and their companions are more directly akin to the Zoroastrian Amesha Ṣpentas or Amshaspands (whose names are not less significant) than to the Igigi, or friendly genii, of the Babylonians. But the seven Amshaspands, even if borrowed, were modified Hebraistically, Yahwè not being (as analogy would have required) one of the seven.[2] Cp ANGELS, § 4, n. 1.

1 Gunkel in his able work (*Schöpf. u. Chaos*) has unduly ignored the Persian elements.

2 Cp Mills, 'Zendavesta' (*SBE*), 3 145.

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It is also not improbable that the belief in guardian angels (Mt. 18 10 Acts 12 15) was promoted by the Zoroastrian doctrine of *fravashis* (which may also illustrate the Jewish belief in the angelic hosts)—a doctrine which has its roots in primitive Sumerian beliefs.

'That the fravashis originally meant the spirits of the dead (Lat. *manes*) is certain; but that this conception early mingled with another—that of the heavenly prototypes of all beings of the good creation, which were objectified and regarded as the Sabaoth or heavenly hosts even by the Jews is equally certain. The conception of prototypes seems to be of Sumero-Accadian origin; "my god" or "my goddess" in the Babylonian penitential hymns is to be understood of a guardian spirit, equivalent to the worshipper's "better-self," or in other words, "of a fravashi"' (*OPs.* 499 *f.*). Cp Tiele, *BAG* 554; de Harlez, *Avesta*, Introd. cxix, etc.; Mills, *Zendavesta* (*SBE*), 3 279; Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, 137 *ff.*; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, 2 93; Che. *OPs.* 282, 335, 420.

23. Resurrection. How early the resurrection-idea appeared among the Jews, is uncertain (cp ESCHATOLOGY, index). The possibility of escaping death is certainly implied in the story of Enoch; but this story was, even if not unknown, not popular before the post-exilic period. It appears to have a Babylonian origin (see ENOCH). We are on much safer ground when we connect the Jewish belief in the resurrection with Zoroastrianism. Zoroastrian eschatology had a profoundly moral import which must have been congenial to the Jews. The leaders of Jewish religion no doubt adopted the resurrection doctrine long after it had been grasped by individuals. They adopted it cautiously, so cautiously that we might easily suppose that it arose quite naturally out of the necessities felt in their own spiritual life. This was certainly not the case, unless Jewish religion is to be viewed as a quite exceptional product. In course of time, it was felt that the caution of the earlier leaders was unnecessary. The resurrection might safely be made general, and the retribution of the wicked be made as conspicuous as that of the righteous. Nay, the awards of the righteous would only then acquire their full attractiveness when the punishment of the wicked had been made as complete as possible. As time went on, the indebtedness of Jewish to Persian belief became still greater, and it is possible that the Messiah's function of raising the dead (Jn. 5 25 28) is an unconscious copy of the function assigned to the hero Saoshyant (the Beneficent One) in the Avesta.[1]

The Zoroastrian origin of the doctrine of the resurrection and of the renovation of the world is in itself probable. It is raised almost to a certainty when we have proved the late origin of Is. 65 *f.*, which clearly expresses the hope of the new heavens and the new earth[2] (65 17 66 22), and of Is. 24-27, in which occurs not only the promise of the abolition of death (25 8*a*, if the text be correct, see *Crit. Bib. ad loc.*), but also a distinct anticipation of the resurrection of deceased Israelites[3] (26 19). This limitation of the hope to Israelites we may, as suggested above, ascribe to the caution of the religious leaders of the Jews.

1 'Whose name will be the victorious Saoshyant, and whose name will be Astvat-ereta. He will be Saoshyant, because he will benefit the whole bodily world; he will be Astvat-ereta (he who makes the bodily creatures rise up), because as a bodily creature and as a living creature, he will stand against the destruction of the bodily creatures, to withstand the Druj (the Lie-Demon) of the two-footed brood' (*Yast*, 13 129, Darmesteter's transl.). The *Bundahesh*, which is an expansion of genuine old Zoroastrian elements, is much more explicit (see ch. 30).

2 Dr. Charles seems too bold in pronouncing the expression of this hope an interpolation, perhaps from Mazdean sources (*Eschatology*, 122 *f.*). The reference in Is. 51 16 to a reconstitution of the heavens and the earth, has been commonly taken to be merely figurative. This is probable, if 51 15 *f.* is to be regarded as a part of the Second Isaiah's work. If, however, chaps. 49-55 were appended to chaps. 40-48 in the time of Ezra there is fairly good reason for not minimising the force of the language.

3 𝔊 perhaps gives the hope a wider scope; it renders 26 19, ἀναστήσονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ ἐγερθήσονται οἱ ἐν τοῖς μνημείοις. See *SBOT*, 'Isa.' Heb. 172.

The results here arrived at are not affected by Darmesteter's later views on the Avesta, for (1) these views are extremely difficult to justify, and (2) Darmesteter in 1893 admitted[1] that the defeat of Ahriman, the resurrection, and the renovation of the world, were already dogmatically fixed in the time of the Achæmenidæ.

It is much less certain, and yet far from improbable, that the interest of the later Jews in 'Wisdom' was stimulated by a kindred phenomenon in Zoroastrianism.

24. 'Wisdom.'

The stress laid in the Avesta and elsewhere on the two kinds of Wisdom[2] (heavenly and earthly) reminds us of the references to two kinds of Wisdom in Job and Proverbs. In later times the Jews identified the heavenly Wisdom with the Law; they took up, it seems, with enthusiasm the Zoroastrian idea of the pre-existence in heaven of the personified divine Law. It is also just conceivable that the comparatively high morality of the pre-Maccabæan Judaism may be partly due to the influence of the morality of Zoroastrianism. Certainly the Zoroastrian phrase, 'good thoughts, good words, good deeds,' might have been taken as a motto by the Jewish wise men and psalmists, and if the received text of Pss. 16 17 49 73 is correct, it will be reasonable to compare the expressions of the hope of immortality and resurrection which that text may be held to contain, with expressions of the same hope in the Gāthās. It may justly be questioned, however, whether the received text *is* correct. There are phenomena which no grammatical or exegetical subtlety can explain away, which seem to compel us to assume corruption of the text. But for this, we should certainly not be greatly surprised to find the hope of a future life emerging in any part of the Psalter, this book in all its parts being certainly a work of the Persian and Greek periods.

It has also been conjectured that the early myths of Genesis have a Zoroastrian origin. This view, however, was possible only before the wonderful discoveries in the libraries of Assyria.

25. Late Judaism.

The ultimate sources of these early myths are probably N. Arabian and Babylonian, whilst the second Fargard of the Zoroastrian writing called the Vendidad, in its present form, may even have been influenced by the narratives in Genesis.[3] It is true, the Talmudic and Midrashic statements on the First Man exhibit strong Persian elements. But this is only what might be expected in the *later* Judaism. It is remarkable that under the Sassanid kings Zoroastrianism appears to have been in some degree affected by Jewish influences[4]—a slight compensation for the long-continued indebtedness of Jewish to Zoroastrian belief.

Here this brief survey must close. A full exegetical treatment of the Biblical passages would have unduly extended this article. Enough if the close resemblance between Judaism and Zoroastrianism has been brought home to the reader. Elsewhere a parallel between Zoroaster and John the Baptist has been suggested. But, if we may follow the most respected authorities, this comparison does not go far enough. Indeed, there is no figure equal in interest to Zoroaster's: he is a prophet, reformer, sacred poet all in one, and has left an abiding impress on a faith which is as strongly moral as the Jewish, and without some acquaintance with which neither the later Judaism nor the later Christianity can be adequately appreciated.

An attempt to reconsider the relation of Judaism to Zoroastrianism on the basis of the sacred texts and of the most modern authorities is to be found in Cheyne's

26. Literature.

Origin of the Psalter (1891), pp. 357, 394-409, 433-440; 'Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Ancient Israel,' *Expos. Times*, June, July, August 1891; 'The Book of Psalms, its origin and relation to Zoroastrianism,' *Semitic Studies in memory of A. Kohut*, 1897, pp. 111-119; *Jew. Rel. Life after the Exile*, 74, 81, 151, 157, 210, 251, 258 *ff.* See also Moulton, *Expos. Times*, May 1898, pp. 352 *ff.* (essay by a Zend scholar, putting forward the same general view and the same leading facts as the first-named work); Stave, *Ueber d. Einfluss d. Parsismus auf d. Judenthum*, 1898; Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme* (1901); Böklen, *Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christl. mit der persischen Eschatologie* (1902). Oldenberg (*ZDMG* 50 43-68 [1896]) gives fresh reason for believing in close relations at an early date between Iranian and Babylonian religion. Hommel too (*PSBA* 21 137 *ff.* [1899]) points out that the foreign-looking divine name Assaramazas, in an Assyrian list of gods, is really Ahura-mazda; also that the divine names Mitra and Marun, found in Assyrian religious texts, are the same as the Vedic Mitra and Varuna. These names were borrowed by the Assyrians, according to Hommel, in the Kassite period (1700-1200 B.C.). Zimmern, too (*KAT*(3) 346 n. 1), points out, in harmony with the present article, that the relation of Parsism to Babylon needs to be more closely examined. K. F. G., §§ 1-19; T. K. C., §§ 20-26.

1 *Le Zendavesta*, 12 lxxiii.
2 See Che. *Expos.* 5 78 *f.*; *Jew. Rel. Life*, 157.
3 See CREATION, DELUGE.
4 Darmesteter, *Une prière judéo-persane*, Paris, 1891.

ZORZELLEUS (ζορζελλεου [A]), 1 Esd. 5 38. See BARZILLAI, 2.

ZUAR (צוּעָר; σωγαρ [BAFL]), an Issacharite (Nu. 1 8 [P]).

ZUPH (סוּף), Dt. 1 1, AVmg., RV SUPH (*q.v.*).

ZUPH (צוּף, as if 'honeycomb'). The 'land of Zuph' (1 S. 9 5, σειφ [BA], σιφα [L]) is the district about the unnamed city where Samuel and Saul met. In 1 S. 1 1 (νασειβ [B], σουα [A], σωφ [L]; and 1 Ch. 6 35 [20], Kr. σουφ [BA], σουφι [L]) the descent of Elkanah is apparently traced back to an ancestor Zuph; 1 Ch. 6 26 [11], however, gives the name as Zophai, or as we might vocalise, Zuphi—*i.e.*, 'the Zuphite' (σουφ[ε]ι [BAL]).

Most critics also find צופי (a Zuphite) in 1 S. 1 1, on which בֶּן־צוּף at the end of the verse may, it is thought, be a gloss. If, therefore, 'Zuph' in 1 S. 9 5 is the same as 'Zuph' in 1 S. 1 1, etc., the 'land of Zuph' will mean probably the district held by the clan Zuph.

It appears, however (see RAMATHAIM-ZOPHIM), that the MT of 1 S. 1 1 (on which 1 Ch. 6 35 [20] depends) is very corrupt, and that no use can be made of צוף, or Zuph, which is probably incorrect. The case is the same with 'Zuph' in the phrase 'the land of Zuph.' Of a Zuph in Mount Ephraim (commonly so called) we know nothing, and the supposed reference to such a land throws the geography of Saul's journey into great confusion. צוף or (see 𝔊) צִיף in 1 S. 9 5 is very possibly a corrupt fragment of מִצְפָּה, Mizpah; it is the Mizpah referred to in 1 S. 7 5 *ff.* and 10 17, and, as 7 16 shows, specially connected with Samuel. See MIZPAH, 1.

Winckler indeed has suggested (*GI* 2) that the land of Zuph (cp Ramathaim-zophim) was in the territory of Benjamin before the reduction of its limits by David (who, according to Winckler, conquered Benjamin and excluded from it 'the hill country of Ephraim'). There is also the possibility that 'the hill-country of Ephraim' spoken of was in the Negeb, and that צוף, as well as סוף, comes from צרפת. There does appear to have been a southern Ephraim, and though to find it in 1 S. 9 4 would subvert all our theories, yet we must leave the question open whether the home of Saul may not have been in the Negeb, improbable as this may seem.

ציף is also supported by 1 Ch. 6 20 Ktb. On the form צופי (1 Ch. 6 11) cp Kittel, *SBOT*, 'Chron.' *ad loc.* In 1 S 1 1 Wellhausen, Klostermann, Marquart, read צוף אפרים, 'Zuph of Ephraim.' T. K. C.

ZUR (and its possible compounds). We find צוּר, Zur (ṣur), used as a synonym for God or as an element in a compound title descriptive of God as the Mighty One, in Is. 17 10, and in many late exilic and post-exilic passages.

See Dt. 32 4 15 18 30 31 [*bis*], 37 1 S. 2 2 2 S. 22 [=Ps. 18] 3 32 47 [*bis*] 23 3 Ps. 19 15 [14] 28 1 31 3 [2] 62 3 7 8 [2 6 7] 71 3 73 26 78 35 89 27 [26] 92 16 [15] 94 22 95 1 144 1 [also 75 6, 𝔊] Is. 26 4 30 29 44 8 Hab. 1 12.[1]

Among these passages Dt. 32 4 18 30 *f.*, 1 S. 2 2 Is. 44 8 Hab. 1 12 are specially important, because here צור, 'Rock,' appears to have become altogether a synonym for 'God.'[2] To these we may perhaps add Josh. 15 58, where BETH-ZUR (*q.v.*) may mean 'house of Zur' = 'house of God.'[3] Are we to suppose that phrases like

1 Is. 30 29 and Hab. 1 12*b* are probably late; see the commentaries of Marti and Nowack.
2 In Ps. 75 6 we should probably read neither בצואר nor בצור, but בַּצַּדִּיק (cp 31 19 [18]).
3 Hommel (*AHT* 320, cp 300) also compares the royal name ברצר (Bir-ṣur) in the inscription of Panammu, king of Šam'al (8th cent.), and the S. Arabian woman's name Zuri-'addana.

'rock of my salvation' are suggested by an early divine title צור, Zur ('rock')? If so, the author of Dt. 32 and those who followed him did but revert to an ancient usage when they employed Zur and Yahwè synonymously. And if this early divine title existed among the Hebrews, we may, not without some plausibility, regard the four personal names ELIZUR, PEDAHZUR, ZURIEL, and ZURISHADDAI (all in P) as ancient names preserved by the late Priestly Writing.

The literary evidence, however, is not favourable to this view; and on the sole ground of the place-name Bethzur (which can quite well be explained 'rock-house' or 'rock-place') we cannot venture to regard as beyond all doubt the early existence of a divine name Zur. If, therefore, the four names referred to really contain the (late) divine name Zur, they must be artificial coinages of P. But it is an objection to this view that P never employs the title צור of God. Are we to suppose, then, that P derived the names from some other late, post-deuteronomic writer?

The difficulty can only be removed by a keener criticism of the MT. As the result of this we have found elsewhere that the four names are probably corruptions of ethnics or gentilics. The corruptions in the proper names of P are so numerous that this theory has to be seriously considered. See PEDAHZUR, ZURIEL, ZURISHADDAI. Cp also PASHHUR; if this word be a corruption of Pedahzur, we get another set of references to this name. The date of Jer. 20 (Pashhur chapter), however, is questioned (see JEREMIAH ii, § 6).

On the biblical passages, cp Gray, *HPN* 195 *ff.*, and on Jewish views of the meaning of Zur see Wiegand, *ZATW* 10 85 *ff.* ('90). T. K. C.

ZUR (צוּר, abbrev., perhaps from מִצּוּר, Miṣṣur in N. Arabia [see MIZRAIM, § 2*b*] cp Rekem=Jerahmeel, Reba='Arāb; COYP [BAFL]). 1. A Midianitish chief, Nu. 25 15 31 8 Josh. 13 21.

2. A name in a genealogy of BENJAMIN (*q.v.*, § 9 ii. *β*), cp ZEROR (1 Ch. 8 30 *ισουρ* [A] = 9 36 *ισειρ* [BℵA]). His mother bears the Jerahmeelite name MAACAH (Che.). See *JQR* 11 110-113, §§ 10 *ff.*

ZURIEL (צוּרִיאֵל, as if 'my rock is El,' but see below; COYPIHΛ [BAFL]), b. Abihail, 'prince' of the families of Merari (Nu. 3 35)†.

The name taken by itself might be a combination of two names of God (cp ZUR). But if Abihail is a (popular) corruption of 'Jerahmeel' (see MAHALATH, and cp אביחיל, if correct, in 1 Ch. 2 29) and if 'Mahli' is a corruption of 'Jerahme'eli' and 'Merari' of 'Miṣri' (*i.e.*, 'belonging to Muṣur or Muṣri [on the S. Palestinian border]'), or from some other ethnic (cp MERAB), it is probable that אל is simply an afformative, and that צורי implies a clan-name צור, possibly from צופר, and ultimately from צרפת. Cp ספרת (SOPHERETH). T. K. C.

ZURISHADDAI (צוּרִישַׁדַּי, § 43, as if 'my rock is Shaddai,' but see below; COYP[Є]ICAΔΑΙ [BAF], and COYPICAΔЄ [L]), father of the Simeonite prince Shelumiel, Nu. 1 6 (2 12, COYPICAΔΑЄΙ [F]; 7 36 41 10 19†). Under the form SALASADAI he is mentioned along with his son SHELUMIEL (*q.v.*) in the compiled genealogy of Judith (8 1, *σαρασαδαι* [B], *σαλα.* [A], *σαρι.* [ℵ]). See GENEALOGIES i., col. 1662, n. 1.

צור (Zur) and שַׁדַּי (Shaddai?) may both be names of God (see ZUR, SHADDAI). But names (especially in P) being so often corrupt, it is not improbable that both were originally ethnics, and ultimately come respectively from צרפת (Zarephath) and ישמעאל (Ishmael). See ZURIEL and SHADDAI. Asshur=the southern Geshur, with which the Simeonites may have been connected. Possibly, too, the Danite name, AMMISHADDAI (*q.v.*), may be a distorted form of Ishmael, and SHELUMIEL (*q.v*). may also have a tribal reference. T. K. C.

ZUZIM (זוּזִים), a people on the E. of the Jordan, Gen. 14 5† (cp HAM). Sym. *ζοιζομμειν*, 𝔊AEL *ἔθνη ἰσχυρά*, perhaps reading either עִזּוּזִים (Klo. *Gesch.* 107) or עֲצֻמִים (cp Pesh. עשינא, 'the mighty ones,' and the form זמזמים, ZAMZUMMIM. See EMIM). At any rate, we cannot venture to connect the name with that of the Roman military station Zîza, SE. of Heshbon. Sayce's theory (*Crit. Mon.* 160 *f.*) is also too hazardous. Probably the Zuzim are to be identified with the ZAMZUMMIM (*q.v.*), and are a branch of the Rephaim—*i.e.*, probably of the Ṣārephāthīm. זוזים may in fact have come from פרזים (Perizzites (though the plur. of פרזי does not actually occur); פרזי itself may be a corruption of צרפתי. See PERIZZITE, REPHAIM. T. K. C.

END OF VOL. IV